19th International Congress
of Classical Archaeology
Cologne/Bonn
22–26 May 2018

Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World

1

Wealthy and Healthy? Methodological Approaches to Non-Élite Burials

Panel 1.2

Ute Kelp
Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen (Eds.)

Propylaeum
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Proceedings of the

19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology

Volume 1: Wealthy and Healthy?

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Edited by

Martin Bentz and Michael Heinzelmann

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Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek:
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

Propylaeum
SPECIALIZED INFORMATION SERVICE CLASSICS

Published at Propylaeum,
Heidelberg University Library 2022.

This publication is freely available under https://www.propylaeum.de (Open Access).
urn: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-propylaeum-ebook-926-8
DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.926

Editorial Coordination: Florian Birkner, Ina Borkenstein, Christian Schöne
Editorial Staff: Stefanie Herten, Lisa Korbach, Katharina Zerzeropulos

Cover illustration: Burial in the Roman South-East necropolis of Pergamon, 1st cent. CE.
Photo: DAI-Pergamongrabung, D-DAI-IST-PE14-Ar-02_483.

ISBN: 978-3-96929-092-7
e-ISBN: 978-3-96929-091-0

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PREFACE

On behalf of the 'Associazione Internazionale di Archeologia Classica (AIAC)' the 19th International Congress for Classical Archaeology took place in Cologne and Bonn from 22 to 26 May 2018. It was jointly organized by the two Archaeological Institutes of the Universities of Cologne and Bonn, and the primary theme of the congress was 'Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World'. In fact, economic aspects permeate all areas of public and private life in ancient societies, whether in urban development, religion, art, housing, or in death.

Research on ancient economies has long played a significant role in ancient history. Increasingly in the last decades, awareness has grown in archaeology that the material culture of ancient societies offers excellent opportunities for studying the structure, performance, and dynamics of ancient economic systems and economic processes. Therefore, the main objective of this congress was to understand economy as a central element of classical societies and to analyze its interaction with ecological, political, social, religious, and cultural factors. The theme of the congress was addressed to all disciplines that deal with the Greco-Roman civilization and their neighbouring cultures from the Aegean Bronze Age to the end of Late Antiquity.

The participation of more than 1.200 scholars from more than 40 countries demonstrates the great response to the topic of the congress. Altogether, more than 900 papers in 128 panels were presented, as were more than 110 posters. The publication of the congress is in two stages: larger panels are initially presented as independent volumes, such as this publication. Finally, at the end of the editing process, all contributions will be published in a joint conference volume.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank all participants and helpers of the congress who made it such a great success. Its realization would not have been possible without the generous support of many institutions, whom we would like to thank once again: the Universities of Bonn and Cologne, the Archaeological Society of Cologne, the Archaeology Foundation of Cologne, the Gerda Henkel Foundation, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, the Sal. Oppenheim Foundation, the German Research Foundation (DFG), the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Romano-Germanic Museum Cologne and the LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn. Finally, our thanks go to all colleagues and panel organizers who were involved in the editing and printing process.

Bonn/Cologne, in August 2019

Martin Bentz & Michael Heinzelmann

Wealthy and Healthy? Methodological Approaches to Non-Élite Burials – An Introduction

Andrea Binsfeld – Ute Kelp – Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen

In order to discuss the question raised in our title – wealthy and healthy?[1] –, a number of disciplines is addressed. In accordance with our professional affiliation in ancient history (AB), archaeology (UK) and bioarchaeology (WRT), our common interest is to reflect social relations within ancient societies, and we aim at linking the capacities of material culture studies to social and natural sciences. The following chapters are spotlights on the interrelation of the archaeological record and wealth, health and social status in ancient societies. These introductory remarks are meant to outline the specific contribution that each of our fields is able to offer to funerary archaeology with respect to methodological approaches. At the same time, we want to emphasise the complementary character of these approaches in order to enhance the general objective of interdisciplinary studies.

The Social Gradient of Health

Before we go into detail, we should have a look at contemporary epidemiology regarding the topic 'wealthy and healthy'. In 2004, Michael Marmot published his pathbreaking book 'Status Syndrome',[2] which is based on the famous 'Whitehall Studies I and II'. In these, health and mortality of British civil servants, first males, later males and females,[3] was studied over longer periods.[4] The rank of the single individual in the hierarchy[5] of the British civil service was taken into consideration. While Whitehall I deals mostly with cardio-vascular diseases, Whitehall II has a wider focus and is called the "Stress and Health Study".[6]

The most important finding was bad health in the lower ranks and better health in the top ranks – although all groups had approximately the same access to medical aid. Age and risk factors e.g. in coronal heart disease are of lesser importance than the differences between the ranks.[7] Health inequalities are not only the differences in health status between the rich and the poor. There is a consistent stepwise downgrading across the entire social spectrum: health is getting worse at each point as one descends down the social hierarchy.[8] This is particularly interesting for our panel, which deals with non-élite, but also non-poor burials. Here, health should be better than the one of poorer individuals. In contrast, health is poorer than in the élite.

Known as the social gradient of health,[9] this consistent relationship between health and social status has profound implications for each individual and each society. The social gradient in health is a universal phenomenon found at all points in the life course and in different population groups around the globe.[10] The social gradient is valid for

Published in: Ute Kelp – Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen (Eds.), Wealthy and Healthy? Methodological Approaches to Non-Élite Burials, Panel 1.2, Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World 1 (Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2022) 1–32. DOI: *https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.926.c12230*

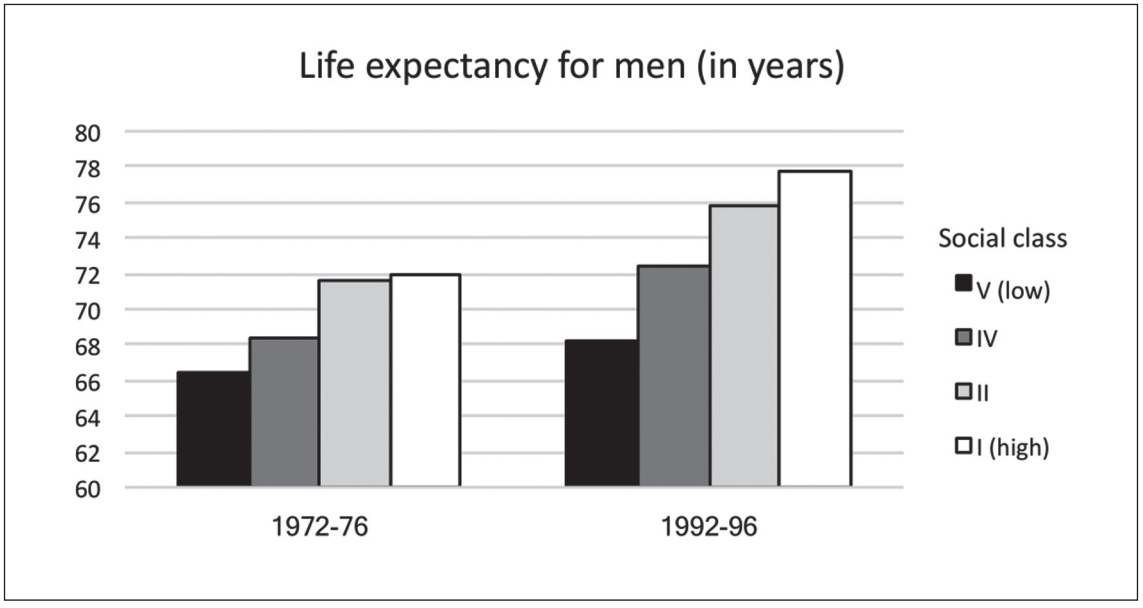

Fig. 1: Social determinants of health. Increasing life expectancy for males in England and Wales from low to high social classes. Data from Marmot 2004.

most diseases and health problems, probably with the exception of fast-acting infectious diseases like the Plague in the past – or influenza and Ebola in the present.[11] Public health research has highlighted that health inequalities are caused by the general conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work and age; the so-called social determinants of health.[12] In our example (fig. 1), we see the same trend on a different scale, however, for modern Australia and Vietnam. In his 2015 book the 'Health Gap',[13] Marmot is tackling ways out of health inequalities.

In 2015, University College London (UCL) and Public Health England published an illuminating booklet called "Social Inequalities in Oral Health: From evidence to Action".[14] It is not surprising that the social gradient of health is also valid for oral health.[15]

These social determinants are not only valid for today, but also for prehistoric, ancient or medieval times. In 1996, Tarlov[16] made a first attempt to include data also from prehistoric, ancient and medieval times. However, this topic is quite underresearched in bioarchaeology.

Thus, it is quite important to deal with the human remains, which are first class biohistorical sources. As shown later, they can also inform us – at least partially – about the social status of the deceased.

Funerary Archaeology

This said, our panel focusses on two main points: the burials and the aspect of non-élite. How can we identify non-élite burials based on the archaeological record? Taking on funerary archaeology means to reckon with the discrepancies between the portrayal of life and its reality in the interpretation of material culture. Not being related directly to social reality is a fundamental characteristic of representation.[17] Hence the prominence of semiotics[18] and image studies to determine rules of representation – especially strong in German research.[19] Moreover, in terms of methodology, quantifications tend to disregard manipulations of the dead as much as personal choices. Going back to 'New Archaeology', the Saxe-Binford-hypothesis claimed a straightforward correlation between dimension of and investment in status and wealth, respectively.[20] Confronting such approaches, Ian Hodder[21] and other advocates of post-processual archaeology have long since argued that in death, people often become what they have not been in life. Likewise, Ian Morris[22] stated that the lack of monumentality and burial riches bears no coercive argument for a low social status or a decrease in prosperity in an ancient society. He examined social structure using rituals as medium. Going even further, Mike Parker Pearson emphasised the varying individual investment into burial and declined ranking as a measure of social organisation.[23] A modern example from the main cemetery of Trier can illustrate these doubts on the Saxe-Binford-hypothesis on the correlation between wealth and status: one of the most remarkable tombs of the cemetery is a monument imitating an ancient temple (fig. 3a). The dimension and the style of the monument would suggest that the owner is a person of high status, wealth and classical education. Supposedly, one would not expect the profession which the inscription is revealing: the deceased, Henny and Heinz Wille, had been circus directors (fig. 3b).

In a rather parallel development, contextual archaeology thrived during the 1980s and 90s with Anglo-American research mostly guided by theory, while in German research empirical approaches prevailed, e.g. studies on the phenomenon of grave monuments of Roman time, situated along the main roads leading into the cities ('Gräberstraßen').[24] More recently, Pierre Bourdieu's *habitus*-concept[25] has proven influential in various ways, not least in funerary archaeology.[26] Equally relevant is a longstanding discussion on the interrelation between structure and action based on Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration.[27] Both are prominent in agency theories[28] that likewise counter a tendency to determine and simplify the relation between material culture, social complexity and burial ritual by also taking into account its situational character. Objects gain meaning within certain fields of action and may be related to beliefs, values and social structures. Observing variations for example in traditional rituals provides further insight into social change.[29] Hence the prominence of studies on funerary practices, many of them referring to the tripartite 'rites de passage' of Arnold van Gennep.[30] Excavation and scientific methods constantly open new horizons of data concerning these questions. Featured prominently in French 'Archéologie funéraire', the 'gêstes funéraires'

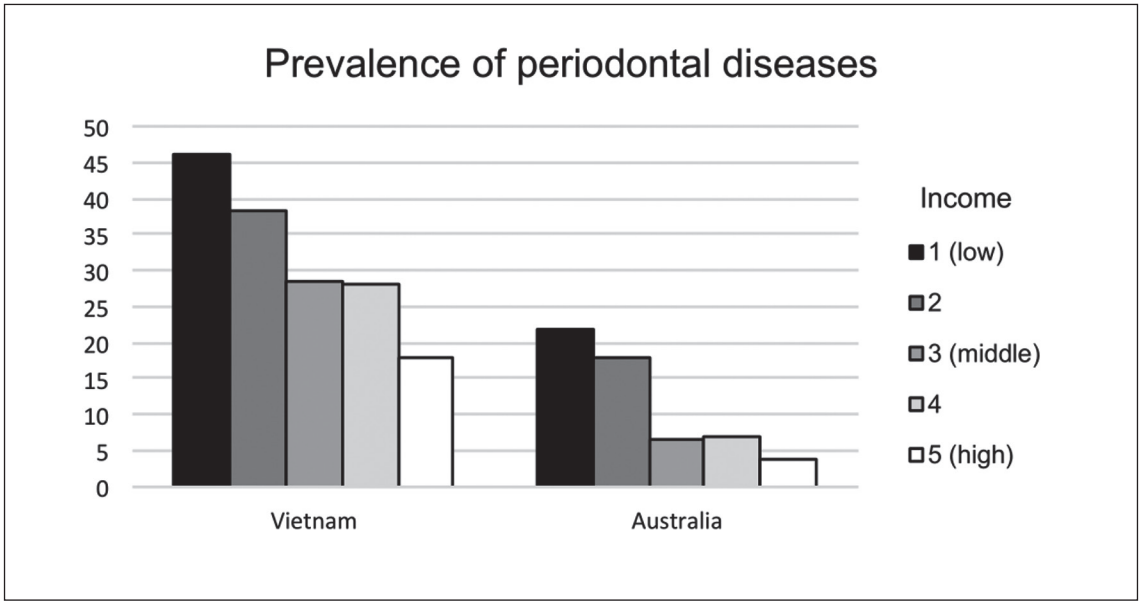

Fig. 2: Social determinants of health. Decreasing prevalence of periodontal diseases from low to high income people in modern Australia and Vietnam. Data from Watt et al. 2015.

rely heavily on these methodological extensions.[31] They also draw on the affordance and an 'Eigensinn' of things.[32] Accordingly, asking how funerary practices or monuments shape communities may result in tombs being not simply symbolic markers but real components of political actions and demonstrations of power, as Parker Pearson puts it.[33]

Élite vs. Non-Élite? The Ancient Institution of Slavery as an Example

Such considerations relate rather easily to élite grave monuments. But what does élite or non-élite actually mean? Is it the difference between rich and poor? Non-élite burials are not necessarily poor burials. But does that mean that rich burials are synonymous with élite burials? As a result, the obvious questions are: How does economic value translate into social standing? How do health conditions of the deceased reflect on their social status – are only the wealthy healthy? Here, the concept of the social gradient of health is helpful: in general, the élite has the best health, as can be seen in several élite burials studied from a palaeopathological point of view.[34] According to the "Osteological Paradox",[35] this group shows a high frequency of stress markers. Due to their resources, access to medical aid and other commodities, the infants and children of the élite survived critical periods in infancy and childhood – while the infants and children of socially inferior groups died more often. At the other end of the social spectrum are

free workmen and slaves. Their burials are underresearched, but according to slave burials of the 15th to the 19th century,[36] a high degree of physical load should be expected. People of an urban civic sphere should be in between – just like it is indicated by the health status of the deceased from the Roman south-eastern necropolis at Pergamon.[37]

The institution of slavery is an excellent example to examine the problematic relationship between material culture, health and social status. In principle, you find slaves everywhere – they were present in all areas of Greek and Roman life. They were present, but were they also represented? Were slaves visible at all? What was their archaeological/material record? How far were slaves integrated into ancient societies? How far excluded? Were they really socially dead, as the famous sociologist Orlando Patterson[38] once stated?

Slaves are the best examples of legal and social inequality in antiquity – but in analysing the depictions of slaves on funerary monuments or the burials and funerary monuments of slaves, we must realise that in practice, there can be a huge gap between the slaves' legal and social status and their representations – and this leads to the second aspect of the panel.

Representations of slaves are often exploited by their owners. Their number, their appearance etc. reflect on the wealth and status of the master. Then again, representations can also underline the social gap between master and slave; they can visualise the slave's alienation: slaves are 'the others'. They can be ugly and deformed or characterised by their exotic appearance.[39] In their own grave monuments, slaves choose to show their integration – they try to adapt to the style of their masters or they illustrate their hopes during their lifetime. Here, we have a good example for the above-mentioned manipulations of the dead and their personal choices. However, it also depends on the personal choices of the masters where and how slaves are buried: sometimes, they find their final resting places anonymously in mass burials, sometimes they have their own – often modest – burial in the family grave or in the catacombs of wealthy families, sometimes they get their own – sometimes even exceptional – funerary monument: with inscription, portrait etc. It depends on their value for and the relationship with the master. In these cases, the slaves social, relational and situational agency is essential.[40]

Even more interesting are the burials of freedmen who hold the Roman citizenship and are often wealthy persons. A prominent example is the monumental tomb of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces near Porta Maggiore in Rome (40/30 BC). This freedman proudly stated to be a baker (fig. 3), the owner of a large-scale bakery. Judging from his tomb, he made an immense fortune with his profession. According to his legal position and birth, he belonged to the *humiliores* (the 'lower classes'), but according to his wealth to the *honestiores,* the 'upper class'. Yet these freedmen often remained second-class Romans. Their wealth and their social standing do not correspond at all. For Cicero, the workshop was irreconcilable with the condition of a free man (de officiis, 1.42).[41] Here speaks the arrogance of the Roman aristocracy. Roman society ridicules such characters as for example Trimalchio, the extremely rich and extremely uneducated freedman in

Fig. 3: Trier, Main cemetery. a. Funerary monument imitating an ancient temple. b. Funeral inscription specifying the profession of the deceased: Henny and Heinz Wille had been circus directors.

Petronius' novel "Satyricon". In their own representations, freedmen try to adapt to the Roman citizens. Their funerary monuments are overrepresented in comparison to those of 'normal' Roman citizens. Thus, freedmen try to compensate for their inferior social status: they perform euergetism by donating monuments or they are acting as priests in the cult for the emperor. Freedmen are the classic example for a correlation between dimension of a grave/burial and wealth, but not of status. Thus, rich burials can be an evidence of an economic élite, but not necessarily a social élite. From a historical point of view, the importance of a social contextualisation of burials is evident.[42]

Social Stratification in Antiquity

This brings us back to the final part of the title: to non-élite and non-poor burials, respectively. While social practices are especially tangible in archaeological terms, concepts of the organisation and structure of ancient societies originate from socio-historical terminology. This often led to class-based stratified models of ancient society, as the well-known pyramidal model of Roman society in Early Imperial time by Géza

Alföldy shows (fig. 4).[43] Criticising this model, Friedrich Vittinghoff[44] stated that the main difference between modern and ancient societies was a generally accepted legal inequality. Based on his view, Aloys Winterling's model of social stratification changes basic notions of ancient society.[45] In contrast to modern times with a functional division of society into an economic, political, religious etc. sphere, ancient social stratification evolves along the lines of status, honours and lifestyle. Consequently, in a competitive society, changes in wealth distribution potentially threaten the social order. Income-based power relations, e.g. performing euergetism, may support political integration, but large accumulations of wealth may result in political disintegration. This model of social stratification is consistent with ancient sources and related topics in archaeology – a well-documented example being the Roman *domus*.

So again, how can we specify non-élite versus élite burials? The analysis of ancient societies beyond the political system, leading actors and élite groups relies heavily on the archaeological record. Abundantly preserved burial sites present a major part of ancient testimonies. Yet research on élite grave monuments is rather extensive, while the evaluation of numerous less conspicuous burials in the Classical world remains wanting. Furthermore, apart from terms like 'middle class burials', which are caught up in outdated models of society, we often lack a suitable terminology to refer to social groups. You may also recall the 'arte plebea' of Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli.[46] Focusing on 'communities' and the individual's role within social complexity while approaching social agents outside élite and prominent social circles helped to counterbalance top-down institutional structures, thus creating a nexus of ideological and cultural values.[47] However, even refraining completely from any ranking and aiming towards an 'archaeology of marginality' leaves much room for interpretation. Correspondingly, not considering these related limitations will certainly backfire in any type of quantification.

Social Status in Bioarchaeology

While methodological scrutiny is crucial in dealing with archaeological material, an independent approach is more than welcome. Exactly this is provided by the determination of the social status of a skeleton or of the cremated remains of an individual buried on an ancient cemetery – yet again, this approach has its own pitfalls, as we shall see in the following paragraphs.

Cemeteries of known social status can serve as a form of grading tool in palaeopathology (fig. 5). For antiquity they are, however, rare or non-existent. The best examples for our task are churchyards from the 17th to the 19th century with historically known social status, e.g. from London. Here, we can clearly see differences but also similarities in disease patterns in populations of different social statuses (fig. 6).

In prehistoric times and antiquity and also in the early Middle Ages, élite burials can be detected quite easily.[48] They are, however, rare and often robbed shortly after the

Fig. 4: Rome, Monumental tomb of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces near Porta Maggiore (40/30 BC), baker and freedman.

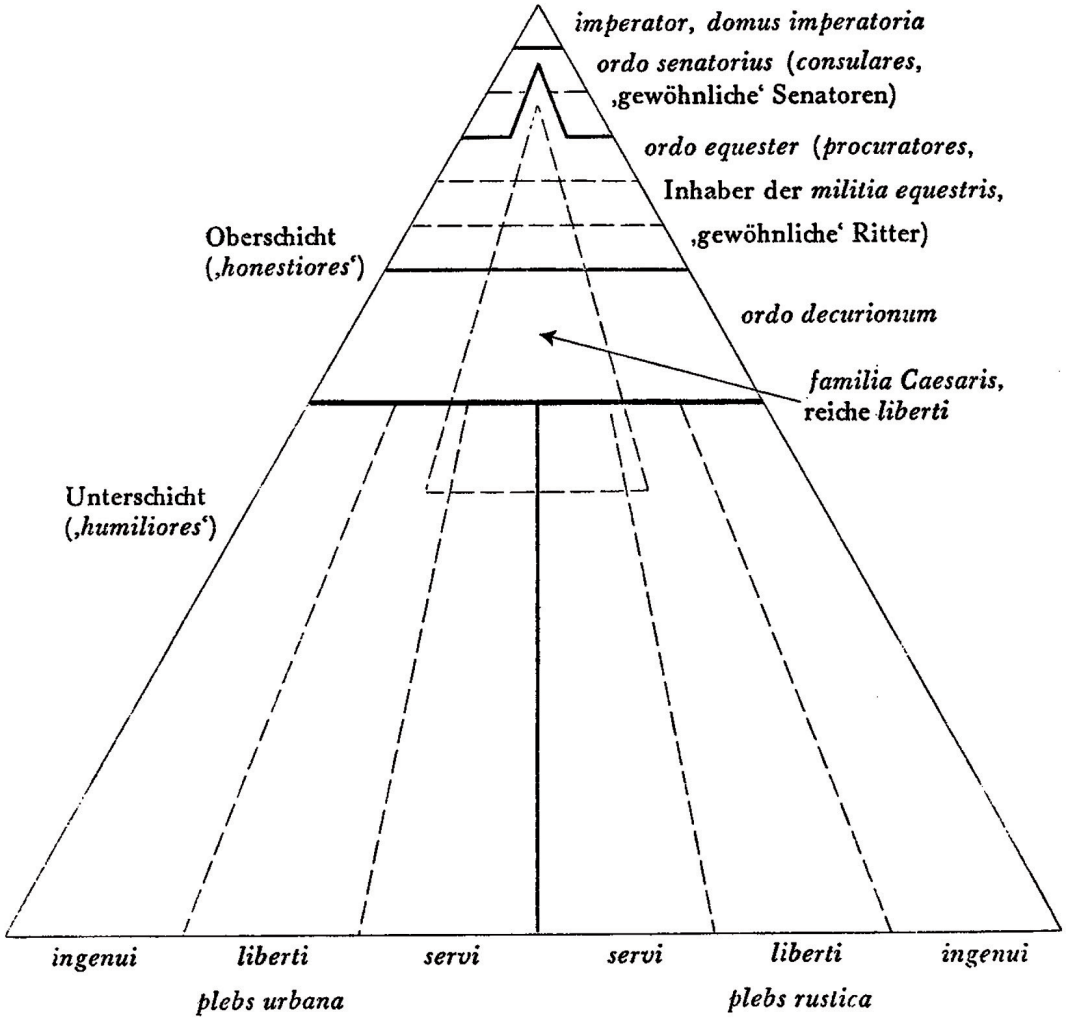

Fig. 5: Pyramidal model of Roman society in Early Imperial time by Géza Alföldy.

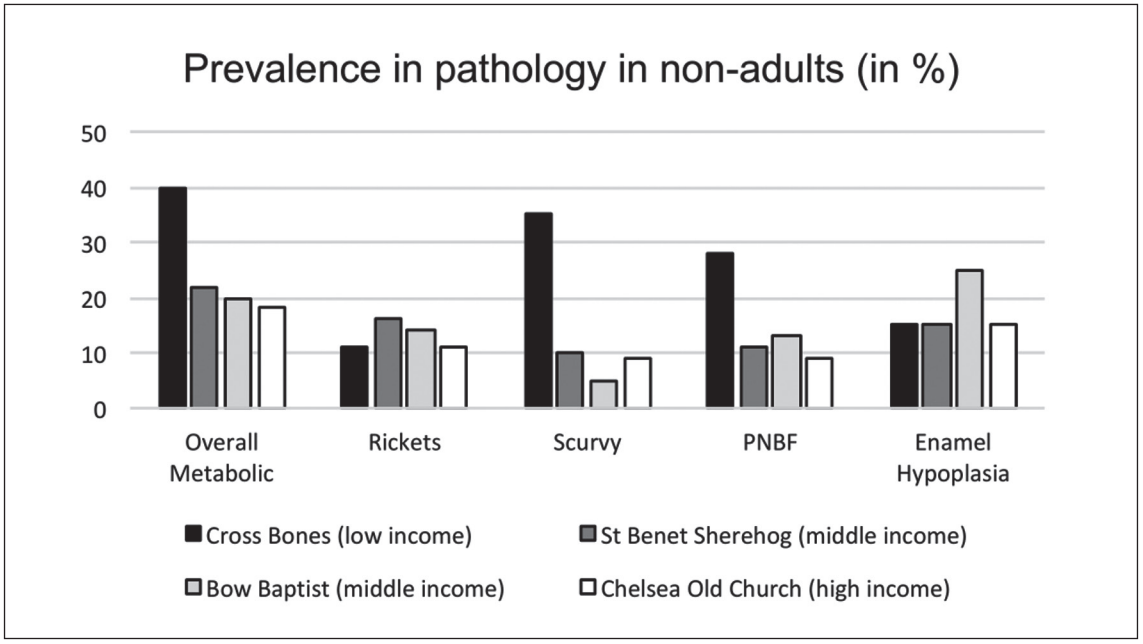

Fig. 6: London, Churchyards from the 17th to 19th century AD with historical known social status. Prevalence of metabolical diseases, rickets, scurvy, PNBF = periosteal new bone formation, and enamel hypoplasia. Data from Newman – Gowland 2016.

burial or in later times. In several or most cases, therefore, no human remains are preserved. If they are, their preservation status is often poor, e.g. due to ancient sarcophagus burials.[49]

For late antiquity, we have a sample of élite burials – at least in part on the senatorial level – from the cemeterial basilica Trier St. Maximin[50] (n = 50) with differing bone preservations. They are presently studied by one of the authors (WRT).

Ranking non-élite burials is difficult, in particular when no grave goods are present. In this case, the skeletons themselves could be a source for social interpretation, especially when diet is considered. Diet is a particularly interesting indicator for social status. Bread is a wonderful example: from antiquity onward, up to the middle of the 20th century, fine white bread (of fine grinded flour; *panis candidus*) was typical for the élite.[51] It causes less dental attrition – in contrast to *panis secundarius* of middle quality or the rough flour consumed by the "normal" population in form of the *panis acerosus* or *plebeius* or *rusticus*.[52] Diet, therefore, leaves traces also in the osteoarchaeological record, either macroscopically (e.g. in bone development, dental diseases, and so on)[53] or in the composition of the stable isotopes (^{13}C, ^{15}N, ^{34}S) in bones.[54] Due to different turnover rates, bones are giving an overall picture of the diet of the last five (ribs) or 10–20 years (long bones).[55] The consumption of animal protein either in form of meat or fish is reflected by an elevated $\delta^{15}N$ content (meat) or an elevated $\delta^{13}C$ and $\delta^{34}S$ content (marine resources) (fig. 7).

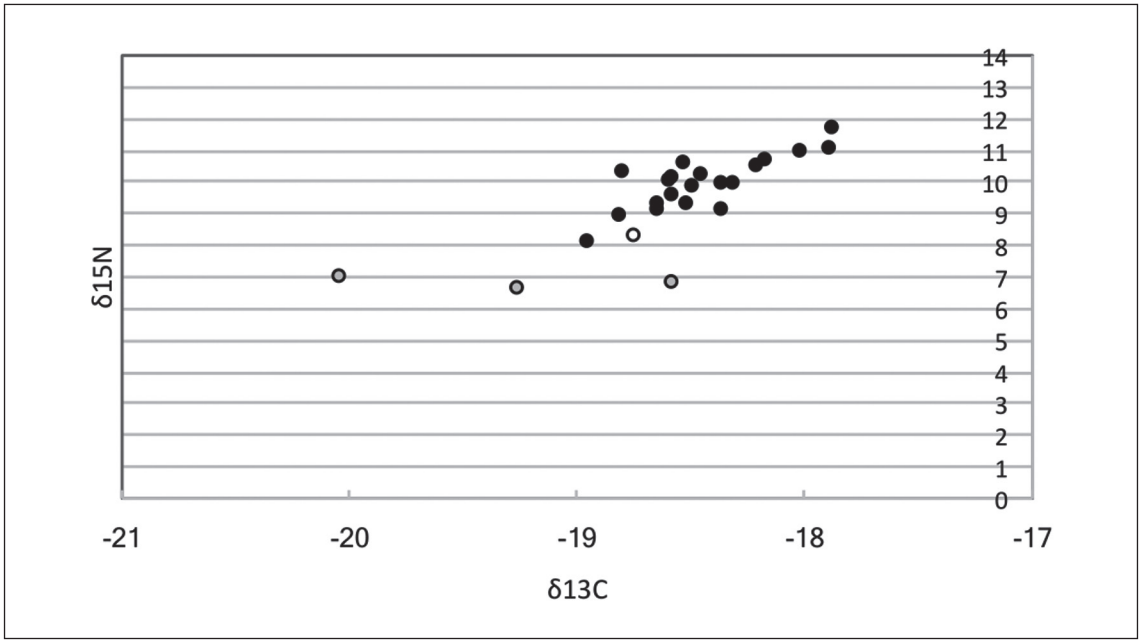

Fig. 7: Pergamon, South-East Necropolis. Stable carbon and nitrogen isotopes for diet reconstruction. Black circles: humans, white circle: dogs, grey circle: cattle, sheep, pigs. Mainly herbivorous diet: $\delta^{15}N$ 6–9.8, mainly carnivorous diet: $\delta^{15}N$ 9.8–10.8, marine input or foreigners: $\delta^{15}N$ >10.8. Data from Propstmeier et al. 2017.

Furthermore, meat[56] and fish[57] consumption is strongly dependent on wealth, as Diocletian's edict of maximum prices (*edictum de pretiis rerum venalium*) from 301 AD also indicates.[58] Here, we see different prices for different species. The age of the animals bought for slaughter is also of importance (young vs. old). Archaeozoology can determine this directly by examining the waste from houses of different social categories.[59] Written sources from ancient literature (e.g. *cena Trimalchionis,* see below), medicine (e.g. Galenus) or law add further information.

From an osteological point of view, we can deal with two sources: data deriving from archaeozoological analysis (consumed meat and fish) and stable isotope data on the consumers' side.

For the poor, we will expect a diet mostly based on plant products. Meat was probably only available during religious or political feasts. The well-known Mediterranean Trias consists of pulses (barley) or bread as carbohydrate source, olive oil as fat source and beans as the most important plant-based protein source. The famous 2nd century physician Galenus, who has influenced Old World medicine up to the middle of the 19th century, described the above-mentioned barley-bean-soup as a strengthening diet for (Pergamene) gladiators.[60] Liquids were water, diluted vinegar or wine and beer. The first and last are posing notable health hazards due to contamination by micro-organisms, especially in summer.

Body height, calculated on the basis of the length of long bones, is an important indicator of protein intake for populations in past and present. Here, we can see that the average height of people from non-élite burials is some centimetres lower than that of the élite itself (cf. table 1).

Lower body height can also derive from long bone bending – pathognomic for vitamin D-deficiency – rickets. In the early 2nd century AD, Soranus from Ephesus reported in his Gynaikeia (2.43sq.) that rickets was frequent in Rome. Galenus (XI 164) wrote: "the women, namely mothers, remained indoors, neither engaging in strenuous labour nor exposing themselves to direct sunlight".[61] In the osteoarchaeological record, evidence for rickets in ancient times is quite rare. Nevertheless, we can conclude that in the populous Roman quarters, inadequate alimentation and scarce exposure to sunlight were common, which resulted in rickets. These quarters were dominated by *insulae* with high buildings, where little sunlight reached the streets, the flats and the courts.

Galenus' observation was probably regarding the 'upper class'. In the Italian Renaissance, rickets was also common in children from the élite, taking the Medici children as an example.[62] As we know from 18th and 19th century Europe, rickets was very common in the 'lower classes', but also not uncommon in the 'upper class' (fig. 6).[63] Here, infants and children, often females, were kept at home. We can observe the same today in the Near East, where particularly rich girls suffer from rickets.[64]

On the basis of the three status groups of early medieval Merovingian society, defined by Rainer Christlein on grave goods,[65] Michael Schultz established for example otitis media and transverse enamel hypoplasia as diseases of the poor.[66]

Today, we have a broader view. Enamel hypoplasia is not only found in poor people, but also quite often in members of the élite and the 'middle class'.[67] With the help of enamel hypoplasia and other unspecific stress markers like root hypoplasia/periradicular bands and the so-called Harris' lines, it is possible to reconstruct the circumstances of the childhood even in human remains of adults.

It is interesting to compare the years of their development (generally between the first and the seventh year of life) with the mortality rates. Considering poorer people, there often is a higher mortality compared to a higher morbidity in wealthier people. This means, wealthier people had much more resources available than their poorer contemporaries.

Firstly, this means regular and sufficient meals. There is a particular difference between the poor and people with middle or high income. For the poor, there are also (periods of) starving. Secondly, wealthier people experience less psychic stress about the next meal. From studies in modern societies, we know that this can also be a crucial factor in health. Thirdly, better nutrition including proteins and vitamins is leading to better health, but also to better development, e.g. larger body height.[68]

Inflammatory processes of the paranasal sinuses can be found as well in the élite (like Pergamon İlyas Tepe[69] or Trier St. Maximin[70]), as in the middle (e.g. Pergamon SE ne-

cropolis)[71] and lower 'classes'.[72] They are reflecting insufficient heating both in palaces and in huts, but also bad cooking conditions due to fumes in the houses of 'middle and lower classes'.

Social Mobility and Stereotypes

There are more aspects to consider. In consequence to what we said above, we have no easy way to correlate wealth, health and social status. Neither does a straightforward correlation between archaeological assemblages and social status exist, nor do bad health conditions imply low status. This leads us back to the fictional personality of the freedman Trimalchio. In his novel, Petronius is describing a luxurious feast the freedman Trimalchio is giving. Trimalchio is trying to imitate the lifestyle of the Roman élite, but by exaggerating the sumptuousness of the dishes, he proves that he is not belonging to the élite. The display of food luxury was considered vulgar. The ideal Roman way of life – though not necessarily the reality – was oriented towards the old custom, the *mos maiorum.* Part of this custom was a certain austerity which also concerned the diet consisting of bread, olives and figs. This example shows that the diet was also part of an élite identity. By the way of life and the type of diet, the cultural and social affiliation could be defined. In theory, the Roman élite was living on a frugal diet – but the literary and osteoarchaeological evidence draws quite a different picture.[73]

As bioarchaeological analysis has proven, wealthier persons were better nourished and enjoyed a better medical care. However, in this case we have to take the social context into account. Slaves are again a good example: the bones of slaves and workmen can show signs of hard physical work – but slaves in wealthy households were certainly better nourished than poor workmen. Also in this case, we see a clear correlation between health and wealth, but not between health and status.

Just like the ambivalence between traditional ideals and realities of life leaves room for diverse lifestyles, the mere existence of monumental grave monuments for freedmen demonstrates that at least in Roman Imperial time there was space for a limited social mobility. Another example revealing the complicated relation of wealth and status is given by the 'phrygiones', as embroiderers were called since the 2nd century BC.[74] Their social standing offers a potential for social integration and discrimination. Since the Bronze Age, textile production is connected to the lower classes and to the élite, as chronicled in the tales of Homer or in images like the early Iron Age *tintinnabulum* from Bologna (fig. 8).[75] In the Iliad, Helena – at that moment wife of the Trojan prince Paris – is embroidering a purple cloak.[76] According to Plinius, who himself was referring to Homer, the Phrygians invented this craft, and he called such garments *'phrygioniae'.*[77] Eastern garments were precious and Greeks knew them as βαρβάρων ὑφάσματα; they were associated with luxury and opulence.[78] Phrygians not only appeared in the Iliad, but were often collectively identified with the Trojans.[79] Originating in the barbarian

Fig. 8: Bologna, Necropolis at the Military Arsenal, grave 5. Early Iron Age *tintinnabulum* with display of a female of rank spinning (left) and weaving (right).

stereotypes of Athenian society from the 5th century BC onward, the Phrygians were thus counted among the ancestors of the Romans, whom Ovid (Met. 15.444) called 'grandchildren of the Phrygians'. Yet, for Greeks and Romans, real-life Phrygians were mainly slaves. Therefore, *'phrygiones'* evoked on the one hand eastern barbarian stereotypes and social inferiority and on the other hand the heroic ancestors of the Romans who traced their origin back to the Trojan Aeneas.

Summary

To sum up, there is a strong correlation between wealth and health in antiquity. This relation is easier to quantify than the correlation between health and social status. However, human bones are included in burials, too, and burials with their grave goods and other remains are far from simply being a mirror of past lives, as funerary archaeology has worked out during past decades.[80] The bones of the deceased are, however, first-class bio-historical sources. They can mirror the social status via diet and health (cf. table 1). Animal protein consumption is mostly wealth-dependent and can be studied via stable isotope analysis (C, N, S). Protein-rich diet results also in a greater body height. Dental attrition is dependent on the food consumed and in particular on the quality of flour, bread and pulses. All these markers are listed in table 1.

	non-élite burial	élite burial
Average adult age	< 40 y	> 40 y
Average body height (males)	< 168 cm	> 168/170 cm
Hygiene	poor	fairly good
Nutrition	mostly plant based (low ^{15}N, low ^{13}C)	protein-rich like meat, fish (high ^{15}N, high ^{13}C)
Dental attrition	severe	moderate
Degenerative joint diseases	severe	moderate
Schmorl's nodes	beginning in juveniles, young adults	> 40 y
Enthesopathies	common	less common
Fractures (only civilians)	common	less common

Table 1: Osteological differences between non-élite and élite burials.

As our peer reviewer rightly pointed out, we did not define archaeological correlates offering general distinctions between social groups such as non-poor or slaves, who supposedly were all part of the large group of non-élite. Our main goal was to pinpoint problems surrounding such definitions and to offer some perspectives in using archaeological, bioarchaeological and historical sources for a better understanding of social groups in ancient society.

We hope it became quite obvious that we need a mixture of criteria to identify non-élite burials. Or to put it another way: one has to be careful not to base the interpretations on preconceptions. However, we should not finish without a recommendation on how to approach the materiality of death in the light of the considerations drawn here. Fredrik Fahlander and Terje Oestigaard (2008) present a list of seven issues how to analyse funerary contexts: 1) the materiality of the body: inhumation or cremation, analysis of the bones etc. 2) the materiality of practice: the rituals – remains of fire, burnt human bones, ceramics, food offerings; position of the bones – careless interment or careful alignment of the bones 3) the materiality of the interments: personal belongings and grave gifts, 4) the materiality of the memory: the monument 5) the materiality of social change: hierarchies and heritage 6) the materiality of age, sex and gender and 7) the materiality of eternity.[81]

In archaeological terms, working with non-élite burials not only attempts to establish the stratigraphy, chronology and mortuary practice at a site but also to evaluate them

regarding the social persona and lifestyle of the deceased as much as the ideology of the descendants expressing their beliefs through the burial process. It is precisely the focus on context analysis – preferably aiming beyond the funerary sphere – that constitutes the importance of case studies.

Some Introductory Remarks on the Contributions in these Proceedings

Eight papers by a total of nineteen authors were delivered in our panel "Wealthy and Healthy" at the AIAC conference at Bonn. Due to various causes, not all of them were submitted. All papers submitted went through a peer review process, including our introduction.[82] The following paragraphs provide some background on the papers and their main authors.

As part of his ongoing dissertation project, Christian Briesack from Bonn University – at the same time one of the coordinators of the AIAC event in Cologne/Bonn in 2018 – is examining the Archaic necropoleis of the Etruscan city of Orvieto in Italy. He is analysing standardised chamber tombs shaped like large cubes in relation to so-called fossa graves for single burials. Interestingly, members of the same *gens* may be buried in either grave type. Taking into account grave goods in both grave types, the main aim of Briesack's study is to evaluate the economic investment into a burial with respect to the social status of the deceased. In spite of some differences in the grave furnishings, his preliminary results indicate – for both grave types – an extension of functionalities in the spectrum of grave goods. While the importance of this development for the social status of the deceased remains undetermined, the economic value of the grave goods seems to be of minor consequence. Thus, this study is a pertinent reminder that burial efforts are only suggestive of the social status in relation to manifest ideologies and objectives behind particular burial customs.

In her analysis of social inequality based on funerary remains, Konstantina Chavela – curator at the Archaeological Museum of Patras – gains significant insight by reaching beyond the funerary sphere. Taking the Archaic settlement and cemetery at Toumba Thessaloniki in the Thermaic Gulf as reference point, she is able to identify some discrepancies in the ethnic interpretation of richly furnished graves. Some pit graves and a few sarcophagi found in two clusters in the necropolis of Toumba stand out due to the presence of gold artifacts and some exotica like amber beads. Close similarities of the funerary practices east and west of the river Axios, including well-known sites like Sindos and Archontiko, were interpreted as an indicator of the presence of Macedonians.[83] The transformation of Macedonian funerary rites around 570 BC has been traced to the use of idiosyncratic feasting sets and gold mouthpieces and masks. Questioning these elements as indicative of the self-awareness of Macedonians, Chavela draws attention to the Archaic settlement with some substantial storage facilities attached to particular domestic units with a concentration of feasting sets in these units. Instead

of an ethnic interpretation, she favours a view that considers such traits as signs of an internal social differentiation with newly emerging social groups. Accordingly, similar burial customs in the region are attributed to a common cultural environment without endorsing ethnic origins known from later sources.

Angela Pencheva is working on gilded funerary wreaths of mixed materials. The paper is a summary of her dissertation at the Humboldt University Berlin. Such wreaths are often locally produced replicas of gold wreaths which mostly originated in workshops in Macedonia. Compared to the golden specimens they are often associated with in burials, the material value of the gilded replicas is less significant. However, they are far from being a lesser substitute in less prosperous graves. Their diameter is larger than that of an actual headdress and their importance lies in number per burial and in their ritual function in the commemoration of the dead. The author's analysis of burial contexts in Macedonia and Thrace from the 4th to the 2nd century BC has led her to the hypothesis of the existence of a *normalised* model for élite burials of the time. Weaponry, symposium vessels and wreaths are fundamental elements and attest to a *cultural code.* Thus, referring to the military status of the deceased, written sources and iconographical studies in Macedonian chamber graves and the chronological and regional distribution of these wreaths underline their prominence in burial customs modelled on Macedonian royal ideology. Representing a military élite, the use of gold and gilded wreaths travelled far in the Hellenistic world.[84] However, the combination of gold and gilded wreaths and the corresponding ideology of the hetairoi was not obligatory, as Pencheva highlights based on the necropoleis of the Black sea Greek apoikiai.

As an ancient historian, Vasiliki Brouma has written her PhD on Hellenistic Rhodes. In her paper, she chose a material-centred contextual approach to funerary economics on the island. Her focus is a case study related to the koina (associations) of foreigners and their burial provisions by taking into account the epigraphical evidence for koina and examining inscriptions reporting funerary provisions of the associations for their members and benefactors. Of special interest are two documents which have been found *in situ* within actual grave plots. Stressing the importance of the funerary symposion and the notion of euergetism, she reflects on various economic aspects of the funerary ritual, such as individual and collective choice in the socioeconomic setting of Hellenistic Rhodes.

Hale Güney is an epigraphist from Turkey and currently surveying a region in central Anatolia, in the north of ancient Phrygia. The examples chosen for her presentation – the necropoleis of the villages of Dinek, Otluk and Gürleyik in northeast Phrygia, respectively – demonstrate the potential of systematic research in this area. The survey in remote locations with architectural remains mostly on site offers a unique opportunity to observe grave monuments which include door façades or so-called doorstones within their original setting. The 'doorstone' habit, as Güney calls it, is widespread throughout but not at all limited to Phrygia. Out of more than 1000 known 'doorstones' and door *stelai* found in Phrygia, only very few have been associated with

their architectural context.[85] The known monuments suggest that the door motif was popular for different grave types of various dimensions, showing a distinctive regional pattern. Roughly speaking, grave types with door façades were popular for prestigious monuments in western and central Phrygia in the 1st century AD. During the 2nd and 3rd century AD, they were also adopted as grave markers and built tombs in eastern Phrygia, while in urban centres of the western parts, wealthier families favoured more lavish grave models. The survey conducted by Güney in northern Phrygia is not least a case study to test the hypothesis of one of us (UK) who connected the 'doorstone' habit to the urban development of the wider region.[86]

The eastern part of the Po river plain and in particular the ancient *Regio X (Venetia et Histria)* was a centre of Roman textile industry. For several years, different departments of the University of Padova have been conducting intensive research in textile archaeology. Under the directorship of Maria Stella Busana, the project PONDERA dealt with archaeological findings for textile production (e.g. spindle whorls and loom weights), and the TRAMA project studied organic textile remains with the aid of scanning electron microscopy. Lastly, the LANIFICA project is studying both tools from burials and the human remains of people possibly working in textile production. The paper by Maria Stella Busana, Alessandro Canci and Cecilia Rossi is giving an overview about first results of this project. Project partners are the University of Cambridge (United Kingdom) and the University of Salento (Lecce, Apulia). While Busana and Rossi are dealing with the archaeological part, Canci is responsible for the anthropological/palaeopathological approach.

As shown by one of us (WRT), women, also of rank, are generally showing a higher degree of degenerative joint diseases in the wrist joint as men.[87] This is very likely due to textile production. At least since the Bronze Age, this was also a distinguished employment for women of rank. For the early Iron Age this is impressively documented on the so-called *tintinnabulum* from Bologna (see above fig. 8). Here, both spinning and weaving is on display as a distinguished task of a woman of rank.

In their paper, Maria Stella Busana and co-workers are giving a short overview of the data bank used in the PONDERA and also the LANIFICA project, which is coupled to a Geographic Information System (GIS). This allows a cartographic display of several artefact distributions (Busana et al., fig. 1). The paper summarises the results of the PONDERA project, giving typology and weights of spindle whorls (Busana et al., fig. 2) and loom weights (Busana et al., fig. 3) from Roman *Venetia.*

The most important and quite new approach is the analysis of skeletal markers correlated with textile work. This comprises non-masticatory use of the dentition, as described by Catullus in his *carmen* 64, 311–319. Bucco-palatinal (in the upper jaw) or bucco-lingual (in the mandible) running grooves on the occlusal surface of the teeth can be correlated with wetting and cleaning of fibers (Busana et al., fig. 6).

Enthesopathies on the proximal femur and anatomical variants on the knee cap can be correlated with sitting postures (Busana et al., fig. 7). Not used by Canci are the

degenerative changes in the wrist joints, which are giving important information about repeated movements of the hands. Dust and working in dark environments could have favoured tuberculosis infection, seen as Morbus Pott in the spine (Busana et al., fig. 8).

To sum up, this paper is an instructive example for an interdisciplinary approach of archaeology and osteoarchaeology and a step forward in integrative textile archaeology.

Ricardo Fernandes is a physicist, specialised in isotope analysis. He and his colleagues from the Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History at Jena and several institutions from Rome presented a paper on human diet. It could, however, not be submitted for the present publication.[88] There is only an extended abstract. Analysed were approximately 30 inhumation burials from the late Roman villa at Centocelle outside ancient Rome. All burials were radiocarbon dated.[89]

This paper showed new access to dietary data from human bones. Carbon and nitrogen stable isotopes were determined and then analysed using the FRUITS technique.[90] Furthermore, the isotope signals of single amino-acids were studied. Special preparation of the bones with slow collagen extraction revealed higher amounts of collagen in badly preserved skeletal remains. The new techniques are giving more detailed insights in ancient diets as "classical" stable isotope studies.

Notes

[1] Recently, wealth and health are quite frequently discussed in Classics (see Jongman et al. 2019).

[2] Marmot 2004. Here, the first paperback edition is used, which contains a new preface from June 2015.

[3] Marmot 2004, 38.

[4] Whitehall I (1967–1969; Reid et al. 1974), II (1985–1988; Marmot et al. 1991). Whitehall II has concluded the 12th phase at the end of 2016 (https://www.ucl.ac.uk/iehc/research/epidemiology-public-health/research/whitehallII; last access 26. 02. 2019).

[5] From top down: administrators, executives/professionals, clerical and office support grades (Marmot 2004, 39).

[6] https://www.ucl.ac.uk/epidemiology-health-care/research/epidemiology-and-public-health/research/whitehall-ii (last access 26. 02. 2019).

[7] Marmot 2004, 45 fig. 2.2.

[8] E.g. Syme 1998; Marmot 2004; 2015 (with further references).

[9] Marmot 2004; 2015.

[10] See in detail in Marmot 2015.

[11] For influenza cf. Tripp et al. 2018, 235. However, the poverty complex (overcrowding, poverty, unemployment, malnutrition) can trigger the spread of highly infectious diseases, as we can see in the actual Covid-19 pandemic (cf. Paremoer et al. 2021).

[12] Adapted from Watt 2015; see in detail Marmot 2004; Marmot 2015.

[13] Marmot 2015.

[14] Watt 2015.
[15] This can easily be observed in the workmen on archaeological excavations in the eastern Mediterranean – but also in the general decline in oral health since the first "health reform" in Germany in 1989.
[16] Tarlov 1996, 76 Table 5.1.
[17] E.g. Barlösius 2004, 238.
[18] With reference to literary studies of Roland Barthes (1988).
[19] In general, see Schneider et al. 1979; Hölscher 1987; Bergmann 2000; Lorenz 2016, 101–166. For funerary archaeology e.g. Kockel 1993; Bergemann 1997; Fabricius 1999; Sojc 2005. For a fundamental criticism of these approaches, see Bielfeldt 2014, esp. 21–23.
[20] Saxe 1970; Binford 1971. 'New Archaeology' vehemently opposed cultural archaeological approaches. For previously influential ideologies and concepts see Veit 1984. The criticism of an assumed linear relation between the static archaeological record and dynamic behavior in ancient times (e.g. between depictions of and real everyday life) resulted in the development of 'middle range theories'. Addressing and bridging this gap remains a challenge in archaeological interpretation.
[21] Hodder 2000.
[22] Morris 1987; Morris 1992.
[23] Parker Pearson 2005.
[24] Zanker – von Hesberg 1987; Heinzelmann 2000. These approaches mostly drew on hermeneutic methodology, see Giuliani 2003.
[25] Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu 1985.
[26] E.g. Perego – Scopacasa 2016; Borg 2019.
[27] Giddens 1979; Giddens 1984.
[28] Dobres – Robb 2000; Gardner 2008; Robb 2010.
[29] E.g. Kistler 1998; Hofmann 2008.
[30] Van Gennep 1907/1999.
[31] Duday 2009; Duday 2012; van Andringa et al. 2013.
[32] Hofmann – Schreiber 2011; Hahn 2014. In general on new perspectives in the field, see Harris – Cipolla 2017. These more recent approaches are not least supported by a material turn in the humanities and social sciences.
[33] Parker Pearson 2005, 193. Aiming to show the symbolic occupation of urban environs e.g. Pirson 2008; 2012. Drawing on cognitive studies, funerary monuments may also be seen as part of visual regions, see Williamson 2016, esp. 88.
[34] Cf. Teegen 2011; Teegen – Schultz 2017; Teegen in Reifarth et al. (forthcoming).
[35] Wood et al. 1992; recent contributions to this topic: Siek 2013.
[36] Cf. Corruccini et al. 1982; Handler – Corruccini 1983; Ferreira et al. 2019.
[37] Teegen 2017.
[38] Patterson 1982.
[39] Himmelmann 1971; George 2010; George 2011; Binsfeld 2012; George 2013.
[40] Binsfeld 2017.
[41] Morel 1993, 214.
[42] Zanker 1975; Kockel 1993; Hackworth Petersen 2006; Mouritsen 2011.

[43] Alföldy 2011.
[44] Vittinghoff 1990; Vittinghoff 1994.
[45] Winterling 2012.
[46] Bianchi-Bandinelli 1967; for a more recent evaluation see Zanker et al. 2012; Hackworth Petersen 2015.
[47] Perego – Scopacasa 2016.
[48] Parker Pearson 2005.
[49] Cf. Teegen et al. 2018.
[50] Reifarth et al. (forthcoming).
[51] Währen – Schneider 1995.
[52] Währen – Schneider 1995; Brothwell – Brothwell 1969.
[53] Sperduti et al. 2018; Gowland – Walther 2018.
[54] See e.g. Fernandes et al. 2015; Nehlich 2015; Bourbou 2018.
[55] Jørkov et al. 2009, 199.
[56] Purcell 2003.
[57] Wilkins 1993.
[58] Latin/German edition: Lauffer 1971; Latin/English edition: Graser 1940.
[59] Methodological papers: Gifford-Gonzalez 2007; 2014; overview for classical archaeology: MacKinnon 2007.
[60] Translation in Grant 2000.
[61] Cited from Minozzi et al. 2012, 277.
[62] Giuffra et al. 2015.
[63] Newman – Gowland 2016.
[64] Alzaheb – Al-Amer 2017.
[65] Christlein 1973. On the discussion of such social categorisation see below note 80.
[66] Schultz 1978.
[67] Discussion in Teegen 2011, 157.
[68] See key lecture to this conference by G. Kron 2018.
[69] Teegen 2011, 155.
[70] Teegen in Reifarth et al. (forthcoming).
[71] Teegen 2017, 256.
[72] Schultz 1982.
[73] Several examples in Erdkamp – Holleran 2018.
[74] Plaut. Aul. 3, 5, 34; Plaut. Men. 2, 3, 72; Verg. Aen. 3, 484.
[75] Morigi Govi – Vitali 1988, fig. p. 259.
[76] Hom. Il. 3, 125–127.
[77] Plin. nat. 8, 195–198.
[78] Von Lorentz 1937, esp. 198–212.
[79] Kelp 2015, 132–139 (with further references).
[80] Pro "mirror of lives": Haffner 1989, contra: Härke 2000. General discussion on theories in German and British funeral archaeology: e.g. Dürr 2016.
[81] Fahlander – Oestigaard 2008.

[82] We would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable contributions.
[83] Saripanidi 2017.
[84] E.g. found in a sarcophagus burial in Tumulus 2 in Pergamon (around the middle of the 3rd cent. BC), see Kelp in Pirson 2018, 170–175.
[85] Kelp 2015, 66–75 with references. 'Doorstones' are not a grave type themselves but rather part of built door façades, only a limited number functioned as plugs sealing a grave entrance. Door *stelai* constitute the bulk of the material.
[86] Kelp 2015, 93–105.
[87] Teegen – Schultz 2003, taking Slavic inhumation burials as an example.
[88] A submission of this path-breaking paper for a scientific journal is in due course (Personal communication during the Necropoleis Research Network meeting at Berlin, 23. 02. 2019).
[89] There were some outliers, due to contamination with kerosene from an air field after World War II. Due to special pre-dating treatment, they could be dated in 2019 and showed similar results as the other ones (Fernandes et al. 2019).
[90] See Fernandes et al. 2015.

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Fig. 1–2. 6–7: W.-R. Teegen, LMU Munich. – Fig. 3: A. Binsfeld, Luxemburg University. – Fig. 4: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:P.Maggiore_Tomb.JPG. – Fig. 5: From Alföldy 2011,125 fig. 1. – Fig. 8: From Morigi Govi – Vitali 1988, fig. p. 259.

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Grab und Gesellschaft im archaischen Orvieto (Etrurien). Eine Untersuchung verschiedener Grabformen[1]

Christian Briesack

Die Etrusker sind besonders für ihre Gräber bekannt, die sowohl eine bisweilen monumentale Architektur besitzen als auch reich mit Beigaben aller Art ausgestattet sind. Während im Zeitraum vom Ende des 8. bis zum Beginn des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. in den etruskischen Nekropolen Hügelgräber dominieren, setzt sich in der Folge in einigen Begräbnisstätten die Anlage von Kammergräbern in Würfelform durch. Besonders gut erhaltene Beispiele für Nekropolen mit Würfelgräbern finden sich in Orvieto. Dort sind zusätzlich zu dieser vorherrschenden Bestattungsform noch weitere Arten von Grabarchitektur, vorrangig in Form von kleinen, langrechteckigen oder quadratischen Gruben bzw. Kästen, zu beobachten. Man spricht dabei von sogenannten Fossa- oder Pozzogräbern.[2] Die Unterschiede zwischen den Grabformen wurden in der Forschung früh mit dem Status der Bestatteten in Verbindung gebracht: Auf der Basis von Qualität und Quantität der Beigaben sowie der Größe der Grabbauten wurde eine Diskrepanz zwischen Fossa-/Pozzogräbern auf der einen und Kammergräbern auf der anderen Seite postuliert und daraus geschlossen, dass jener Grabtypus einer niedrigen, dieser einer höheren sozialen Schicht zuzuordnen sei.[3] Zu einem gänzlich anderen Ergebnis kam später die Studie Simonetta Stopponis, welche die Fossa-/Pozzogräber auf ihre topographische Lage und Eigenschaften der Bestatteten wie Geschlecht, Alter und Abstammung hin untersuchte.[4] Demnach wäre der dort beigesetzte Personenkreis keinesfalls in der sozialen Hierarchie weit untergeordnet, sondern im Gegenteil durch verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen mit den Gentes der Kammergräber verbunden,[5] womit Mitglieder derselben Familie in beiden Bestattungsformen beigesetzt wurden.

Letztere Studie ist die bisher profundeste zur Bewertung der Grabformen und bietet vielversprechende Ansätze. Ihr fehlt allerdings fast gänzlich die Auswertung der Beigaben und der Grabbauten. In der vorliegenden Arbeit werden Ausstattung und Architektur nun neu bewertet und den bisherigen Forschungsergebnissen gegenübergestellt. Dabei ist es nicht vorrangiges Ziel, die Frage der sozialen Herkunft der Bestatteten endgültig zu klären, der Fokus liegt vielmehr darauf, am Beispiel Orvietos herauszuarbeiten, welche Rolle der bei Ausstattung und Architektur auftretende ökonomische Aufwand für den sozialen Status des Verstorbenen spielt und welche Strategien sich daraus für die Grabforschung ergeben können.

Das Verhältnis zwischen sozialem Status und sepulkralem Investitionsaufwand wurde innerhalb der Archäologie in der Vergangenheit bereits vielfach thematisiert und dabei kontrovers diskutiert. Dabei haben sich unterschiedliche Konzepte entwickelt.[6]

Eine Gleichstellung von Bestattungsaufwand und Status, wie sie beispielsweise bei den frühen Vertretern der „New Archaeology" postuliert wurde[7] und auf der Gleichsetzung von Grab und Gesellschaft beruht, ist kritisch zu betrachten. Zum einen berück-

Published in: Ute Kelp – Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen (Eds.), Wealthy and Healthy? Methodological Approaches to Non-Élite Burials, Panel 1.2, Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World 1 (Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2022) 33–51. DOI: *https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.926.c12231*

sichtigt die These nicht den eventuellen Erlass von Grabluxusgesetzen, wie er für die Antike vielfach belegt ist,[8] oder Manipulationen im Grabbereich wie etwa die spätere Umdeutung und Inszenierung älterer Grabbauten als Heroengräber.[9] Zum anderen basieren die Forschungen auf ethnographischen Studien, deren Übertragung auf die antiken Verhältnisse nicht ohne Weiteres möglich ist.

Die Gegenposition, wie sie von den Anhängern der sogenannten postprozessualen Archäologie vorgetragen wurde und von der Prämisse abhängt, dass das Grabritual eine Idealvorstellung der in der Gesellschaft bestehenden Verhältnisse widerspiegelt, verspricht durch eine differenziertere Herangehensweise zwar einen passenderen Zugang, verhindert durch den kontextuellen Bezug, der eine Vielzahl von Faktoren voraussetzt, jedoch eine Anwendbarkeit für das Material. Denn zur Bestimmung des sozialen Status eines Verstorbenen müssen demnach neben dem sepulkralen Investitionsaufwand auch andere Bereiche der im Fokus stehenden Gesellschaften Berücksichtigung finden, wie etwa Siedlungsstruktur, Resourcenverteilung und Austausch von Luxusgütern.[10] Dies ist für Etrurien in der Breite kaum möglich, da viele der Aspekte durch das Fehlen archäologischer Befunde nicht mehr auszuwerten sind.

Den vielversprechendsten Ansatz zur Erforschung des sepulkralen Aufwandes lieferte die sogenannte Neapler Schule des Centro di Studi sull'Ideologia Funeraria nel Mondo Antico um Bruno D'Agostino. Auch ihre Vertreter bewerteten Grabrituale grundsätzlich als Ausdruck einer Ideologie. Im Rahmen dessen kann aber ein hoher Investitionsaufwand, wie er sich z. B. in kostbaren Beigaben zeigt, im Grab als statusspezifisches Distinktionsmerkmal anerkannt werden, wenn zuvor geprüft wurde, ob und inwieweit die Artikulation von ökonomischer Leistungsfähigkeit des Verstorbenen und seiner Gens beabsichtigt und im Kontext möglich ist.[11] Diese These berücksichtigt m. E. sowohl den sepulkralen Investitionsaufwand als auch die gegebenen Rahmenbedingungen ausreichend, da sie weder die Bedeutung jenes verneint, noch Akteure und Grabrituale ausklammert.

Alle Gräber der folgenden Untersuchung stammen wie erwähnt aus den Nekropolen Orvietos, eine der wichtigsten Siedlungen in Etrurien. Das heutige Orvieto (etruskisch Velzna, römisch Volsinii) war Teil des etruskischen Zwölfstädtebundes[12] und Sitz des sogenannten Fanum Voltumnae, des Bundesheiligtums.[13] Die Stadt liegt im südlichen Inneretrurien auf einem steilen Tufffelsen, oberhalb des fruchtbaren Tibertals (Abb. 1). Die beiden Hauptnekropolen befinden sich am Hang, unterhalb des Stadtplateaus; im Norden die Nekropole von Crocefisso del Tufo, im Süden jene von Cannicella (Abb. 2).[14] Beide Begräbnisplätze weisen ein orthogonales Straßenraster auf. An diesen Straßen liegen eng aneinandergereiht die Grabbauten.

Die Materialbasis der Untersuchung umfasst Grabanlagen aus beiden Nekropolen, darunter 20 Fossa-/Pozzogräber sowie 30 Kammergräber. Der überwiegende Teil ersterer weist ungestörte Grabkontexte auf, von den Kammergräbern ist dagegen eine große Menge unterschiedlich stark beraubt.[15] Die Fossa-/Pozzogräber dienten in der Regel nur jeweils einem Verstorbenen als Grabbau, die Kammergräber waren hingegen für

Abb. 1: Karte von Etrurien.

Abb. 2: Orvieto. Lage der Nekropolen.

die Bestattung mehrerer Personen vorgesehen.[16] Beide Grabformen sind zeitgleich und wurden nach Aussage der Beigaben zwischen dem 6. und der 1. Hälfte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. zur Bestattung genutzt.

Bei den Fossa-/Pozzogräbern können grundsätzlich zwei Arten von Grabarchitektur unterschieden werden, die wiederum unterschiedliche Varianten haben. Die einen bestehen aus einer langrechteckigen, die anderen aus einer annähernd quadratischen Grube oder einem Kasten. Erstere kann durch Tuffblöcke oder -platten zu allen Seiten verstärkt sein.[17] Ein besonderer Fall ist dabei die Bestattung in einem Tuffsarkophag mit Abdeckplatte (Abb. 3, vorne).[18] Die langrechteckigen Gruben erreichen in der Regel eine Länge zwischen 1 und 2 m und eine Breite von etwas über 0,5 m.[19] Bei den annähernd quadratischen Gräbern überwiegt besonders eine Art der Konstruktion: Ein oberirdischer Kasten, der aus Tuffblöcken gebildet wird, weitere Blöcke dienen als Abdeckung und als Umfassung sowie Stütze einer Inschriftenstele, die das Grab bekrönt[20]. Der Boden besteht meist aus kleinen, zusammengedrückten Tuffbröckchen. Andere Formen des Grabtypus sind deutlich einfacher gestaltet und bestehen aus aufgestellten Tuffplatten (Abb. 3, hinten)[21] oder aus einer kleinen Grube, die zusätzlich mit solchen Platten verkleidet ist. Die Gräber sind in Länge und Breite in der Regel nicht größer als 1 m.[22]

Die Kammergräber stellen dagegen eine aufwendigere Grabarchitektur dar. Sie bestehen aus ein bis zwei Kammern mit kurzem Dromos. Die Decke wird von einem sogenannten falschen Gewölbe gebildet, das mit Erde oder Steinen zu einem Flachdach überdeckt wird. Die Struktur ist mit Tuffblöcken gemauert und weist einen rechteckigen Grundriss auf. Oben dient häufig eine Bekrönung aus einem sogenannten Eulen-

Abb. 3: Orvieto. Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 61 (im Vordergrund) und Grab 60 (im Hintergrund).

Abb. 4: Orvieto. Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 19 und Grab 20 mit dekorativer Bekrönung.

schnabel, einem Torus und einem Band als dekorativer Abschluss (Abb. 4). Innerhalb der Grabkammern befinden sich ein bis zwei steinerne Bänke.[23] Viele der Kammern haben eine Länge von knapp 2 m und eine Breite von unter 2 m,[24] selten sind diese geräumiger mit einer Länge von 3–4 m und einer Breite von 2 m.[25]

Fossa-/Pozzogräber sind also sowohl in den Dimensionen als auch der architektonischen Gestaltung deutlich bescheidener als die Kammergräber, für deren Konstruktion mehr Platz, Werkstoffe und Arbeitsaufwand nötig sind.

Ein Blick auf die Verteilung der Grabbeigaben könnte dabei helfen, weitere Erkenntnisse über die Gesamtsituation zu gewinnen. Für die Untersuchung der Beigaben wurden alle portablen Ausstattungsgegenstände in einem ersten Schritt aufgenommen und nach übergeordneten Gruppen wie Gefäße, Geräte für das Bankett, Möbel, Schmuck/Kleidung, Waffen und Webgerät sortiert.[26] In Fossa-/Pozzogräbern (Abb. 5)[27] beträgt der Anteil an Gefäßen 78 %. 11 % der Beigaben bilden Geräte fürs Bankett wie Bratspieße, Feuerböcke und Messer. Schmuck und Kleidung machen nur 4 %, Webgeräte, wie etwa Spinnwirteln und Garnspulen 3 % und Waffen, darunter meist Lanzen, nur 1 % der Beigabenmenge aus.

Auch in Kammergräbern (Abb. 6) überwiegen die Gefäße mit 77 %. Der Anteil des Bankettgeräts liegt bei 8 %, Schmuck/Kleidung machen 5 % der Beigaben aus, Webgeräte 3 % und Waffen 2 %. All diese Werte sind mit denen der Fossa-/Pozzogräber annä-

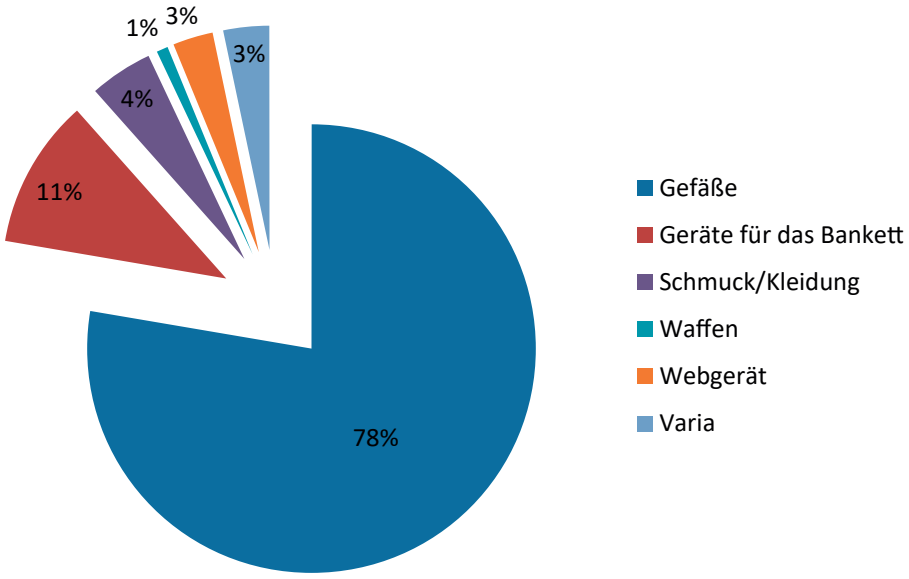

Abb. 5: Verteilung der Beigaben nach Gruppen für die Fossa-/Pozzogräber.

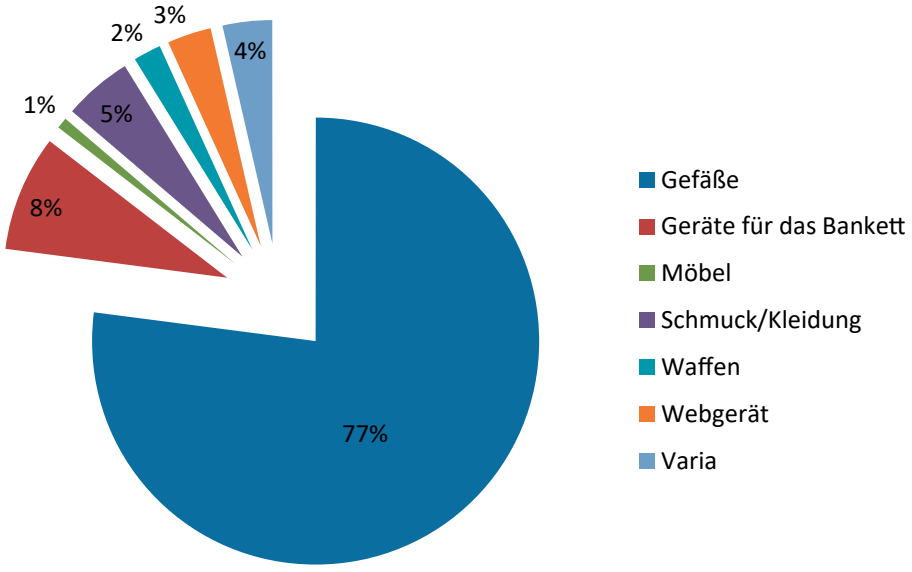

Abb. 6: Verteilung der Beigaben nach Gruppen für die Kammergräber.

hernd identisch. Der einzige größere Unterschied besteht im Vorhandensein von Mobiliar – Stühlen, Tischen oder Kästchen – in den Kammergräbern, wo es aber auch nur 1 % zur Beigabenausstattung beiträgt.

Das Fehlen von Mobiliar in den Fossa-/Pozzogräbern bedarf dennoch einer Erklärung: In den Kammergräbern wurden die Toten häufig auf steinernen Bänken gebettet,[28] das umliegende Trink- und Speiseservice und Gerät sowie dazugestellte Möbel wie Tische erwecken das Ambiente eines Banketts.[29] Die Verstorbenen werden, indem sie auf den Bänken liegen, als Teilnehmer daran inszeniert. In den Fossa-/Pozzogräbern ist die Ausstattung zwar auch auf das Gelage bezogen, es fehlt aber die Bühne, wie sie die Kammergräber bieten können. Das Phänomen des Mobiliars lässt sich also vermutlich mit der unterschiedlichen Umsetzung des Grabrituals begründen. Möbel spielen allerdings wie gesehen auch in den Kammergräbern keine große Rolle, fehlen sogar manchmal in ungestörten Kontexten.[30] Sie können natürlich gerade wegen ihrer Seltenheit ein Kriterium für soziale Differenzierung darstellen, jedoch verläuft diese Differenzierung dann nicht zwischen den Grabformen, sondern zwischen den einzelnen Gräbern.

Während die Verteilung nach Beigabengruppen trotz kleinerer Unterschiede eine grundsätzlich ähnliche Ausstattung in den beiden Grabformen belegt, muss in einem nächsten Schritt auch die Qualität des Materials in die Betrachtung einbezogen werden. Dies geschieht hier anhand der Gefäße, die größte Gruppe innerhalb der Beigaben. Dazu wurden diese – in der Hauptsache Keramik – in Gattungen eingeteilt. In Fossa-/Pozzogräbern (Abb. 7) bildet die lokal produzierte Buccherokeramik 79 % der Ware. Die ebenfalls lokal hergestellte Impastokeramik folgt mit 9 %, griechische Keramik – darunter ostgriechische, lakonische und attische Erzeugnisse – ist mit 3 % selten vertreten, gleiches gilt für den importierten Bucchero aus Caere, Vulci und Chiusi sowie die lokal hergestellte etruskisch-ornamentale Keramik mit jeweils 2 %. Noch seltener erscheinen Metallgefäße, sie sind mit 1 % vertreten.

In den Kammergräbern (Abb. 8)[31] beträgt der Anteil des lokal produzierten Bucchero 70 %. Die lokale Impastokeramik macht 10 %, die griechische Keramik 5 %, der importierte Bucchero 3 % und die einheimische etruskisch-ornamentale Keramik 2 % aus. Diese Verteilung ist der in den Fossa-/Pozzogräbern sehr ähnlich. Unterschiede bestehen aber bei den Metallgefäßen – diese sind in den Kammergräbern mit 6 % signifikant häufiger vertreten – und bei Gattungen, die nur bei dieser Grabform nachzuweisen sind. Dazu zählen die importierte etrusko-korinthische mit 2 % und die italo-geometrische sowie die etruskisch-schwarzfigurige Keramik mit 1 %.

Metallgefäße sind in den Kammergräbern nach dem lokalen Bucchero und der Impastokeramik also die drittgrößte Gruppe, im Gegensatz dazu treten sie innerhalb der Ausstattung der Fossa-/Pozzogräber kaum auf. Um die prozentuale Diskrepanz zu verstehen, müssen die Gefäßformen der entsprechenden Vasen in den Blick genommen werden. Die Gefäßformen der Metallgefäße sind: Amphore, Situla, Lebes mit Untersatz, Oinochoe, Olpe, Schale, Kessel und Becken; vier dieser Formen (Situla, Lebes mit Untersatz, Kessel und Becken) kommen im keramischen Repertoire nicht vor. Das Metall-

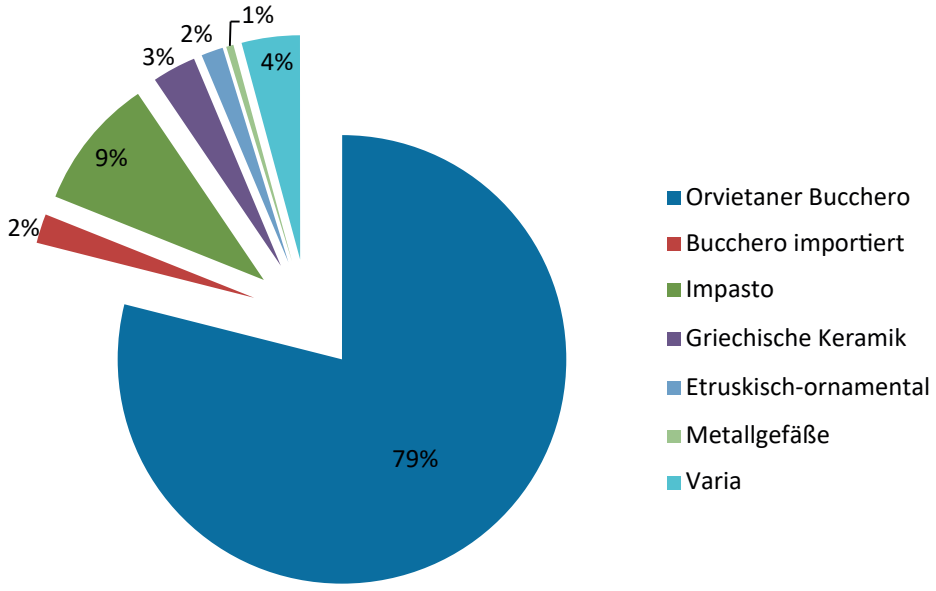

Abb. 7: Verteilung der Gefäße nach Gattungen für die Fossa-/Pozzogräber.

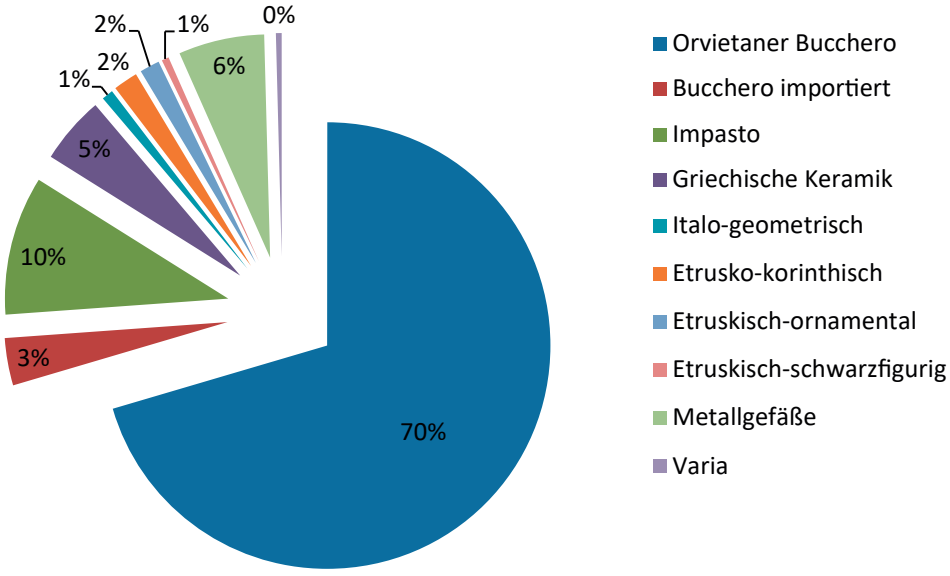

Abb. 8: Verteilung der Gefäße nach Gattungen für die Kammergräber.

geschirr ersetzt in seiner Gesamtheit also keine Tongefäße und diese sind wiederum kein billiges Surrogat. Die Ausstattung mit Metallvasen scheint dagegen einen anderen Zweck zu haben. Dies lässt sich am Beispiel des Lebes mit Untersatz ablesen. Dieser dient zur Kühlung der Mischgefäße, wie es zahlreiche zeitgleiche Gelagedarstellungen aus anderen etruskischen Städten beweisen.[32] Eine solche Funktion fehlt innerhalb der keramischen Ausstattung von Fossa-/Pozzogräbern. Für die Becken ließe sich vermuten, dass sie wie an anderen Orten Etruriens als Waschgeschirr dienten und in Kombination mit Oinochoen oder anderen Kannen zur Reinigung der Hände während des Banketts eingesetzt wurden.[33] Auch für die Becken finden sich keine tönernen Äquivalente in den Gräbern.

Metallgefäße werden primär also nicht wegen ihres ökonomischen Wertes im Grab berücksichtigt, sondern sie erweitern das Funktionsspektrum und tragen dazu bei, den Aspekt des Gelages innerhalb der Beigaben facettenreicher abzubilden. Ob und inwieweit diese Erweiterung mit sozialer Differenzierung einhergeht und Metallgefäße in diesem Kontext ein Indikator für einen höheren sozialen Stand des Verstorbenen sind, muss offenbleiben.

Unterschiede innerhalb der Grabformen sind auch bei den Importen zu beobachten: In den Fossa-/Pozzogräbern sind 5 % des Materials außerhalb Orvietos produziert worden,[34] in den Kammergräbern 11 % der Gefäße.[35] In welchem Maße allerdings Importe etwas über die ökonomische Kapazität des Verstorbenen und seiner maßgeblich das Bestattungsritual bestimmende Gens aussagen, ist unklar. Griechische Keramik hatte sicherlich einen nicht zu unterschätzenden Wert für die Etrusker, was sich z. B. an zahlreichen Reparaturen zeigt, die solche Gefäße häufiger aufweisen.[36]

Nachdem im ersten Teil die Architektur und die Beigaben untersucht wurden, liegt der Schwerpunkt im zweiten Teil auf den Bestatteten selbst. Anders als vorher, wo beide Grabformen ausführlich berücksichtigt wurden, geht die Analyse nun von den Fossa-/Pozzogräbern aus.[37]

Zuerst ist die topographische Lage dieser Gräber in den Blick zu nehmen und ihren Bezug zu den Kammergräbern zu dokumentieren. Es gilt die Möglichkeit zu prüfen, ob aus der Positionierung Informationen über das Verhältnis der jeweiligen Grabinhaber abzuleiten sind. Bei der Lage lassen sich unterschiedliche Situationen erkennen. Einige der Fossa-/Pozzogräber befinden sich unmittelbar vor der Frontseite der Kammergräber, links oder rechts von deren Eingang,[38] andere wiederum sind in einem schmalen Gang, der häufig zwischen zwei benachbarten Kammergräbern entstanden ist, angelegt,[39] während eine dritte Gruppe mittig unterhalb der Gräberstraßen Platz findet.[40] Fast singulär ist dagegen die Errichtung von Fossa-/Pozzogräbern innerhalb von Kammergräbern.[41]

Bemerkenswert ist, dass einige dieser Gräber auch baulich mit den Kammergräbern verbunden sind, indem sie direkt an deren Außenseiten platziert sind und diese Außenwände manchmal auch zur Konstruktion benutzt werden.[42] 7 von den 20 im Fokus der Untersuchung stehenden Fossa-/Pozzogräbern weisen einen solch engen Bezug auf. Bei

jedem dritten dieser Gräber lässt sich also eine Verbindung zu benachbarten Kammergräbern aufzeigen.[43] Ein Grund dafür könnten verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen der Bestatteten sein. Es muss allerdings berücksichtigt werden, dass auch Platzprobleme in der Nekropole für die Positionierung verantwortlich sein könnten. Diese werden insbesondere bei den Gräbern deutlich, die in einem schmalen Streifen zwischen zwei Kammergräbern angelegt sind. Grundsätzlich wäre aber die Konstruktion als Annex in keinem Fall notwendig.

Eine Auswertung der in den Fossa-/Pozzogräbern beigesetzten Personen nach Geschlecht, Alter und Abstammung könnte die Debatte erweitern. Geschlecht und Alter sind hauptsächlich anhand von Knochenfunden und Grabinschriften zu bestimmen.[44] Eine geschlechtsspezifische oder nach Alter durchgeführte Zuschreibung von Beigaben ist dagegen grundsätzlich eher schwierig[45] und bedarf erst einer tiefergehenden Auswertung, die an dieser Stelle aus Platzgründen nicht vorgenommen werden kann[46]. Die Knochenfunde in den Fossa-/Pozzogräbern zeigen, dass in drei Gräbern je ein Kind[47] und in einem Grab eine Frau[48] bestattet wurden. Aus dem epigraphischen Befund lässt sich eine der Kinderbestattungen dabei dem männlichen Geschlecht zuordnen.[49] Zwei weitere Inschriften nennen ebenfalls männliche Namen.[50] Zusammengefasst kann bei 6 von 20 Bestattungen in Fossa-/Pozzogräbern das Geschlecht und/oder Alter ermittelt werden. Aus dieser geringen Menge lassen sich keine sicheren Schlüsse ziehen, um den Personenkreis näher zu charakterisieren sowie eventuell geschlechts- und altersspezifische Kriterien der Bestattung zu erarbeiten.

Sofern der Verstorbene durch eine Grabinschrift zu identifizieren ist, ergeben sich auch Möglichkeiten, die Abstammung zu untersuchen und die in den Fossa-/Pozzogräbern beigesetzten Gentes mit denen der Kammergräber zu vergleichen. Aus dem vorliegenden Material ergibt sich ein Fall, der eine Übereinstimmung anzeigt.[51] Das Fossa-/Pozzograb gehört einem Angehörigen der Gens *Skanesna.* Diese wiederum ist in der leicht abgewandelten Schreibweise *Skanasna* für den Grabinhaber eines Kammergrabes belegt.[52] Es kann also im Einzelfall ein familiärer Zusammenhang zwischen den Gentes der beiden Grabformen nachgewiesen werden.[53]

Fasst man die Ergebnisse zusammen, so hat sich in der Untersuchung gezeigt, dass eine soziale Differenzierung zwischen Kammergräbern auf der einen und Fossa-/Pozzogräbern auf der anderen Seite anhand des Befundes, vor allem der Ausstattung, nur begrenzt möglich ist. Es sind zwar kleinere Unterschiede auszumachen, diese stehen aber im Zusammenhang mit einer Erweiterung des Funktionsspektrums, deren Bedeutung für die Bestimmung des sozialen Status offen ist. Der ökonomische Wert spielt dabei kaum eine Rolle.

Bei der Auswertung der Bestatteten nach ihrer Abstammung konnte schließlich nachgewiesen werden, dass die Grabinhaber der Fossa-/Pozzogräber in Einzelfällen auch denselben Gentes wie die der Kammergräber angehören. Sie stammen also aus derselben sozialen Schicht. Diese Tatsache, verbunden mit der weniger aufwendigen Architektur der Fossa-/Pozzogräber gegenüber den Kammergräbern, aber vergleich-

barer Ausstattung, macht besonders deutlich, dass der sepulkrale Investitionsaufwand nicht das entscheidende Kriterium für die Frage nach dem sozialen Status ist.

In Hinblick auf die Gräberforschung bedeutet dies, dass für das Studium sozialer Differenzierung im sepulkralen Kontext viele Aspekte berücksichtigt werden müssen. Der Bestattungsaufwand gehört sicherlich dazu, darf aber nicht überbewertet werden. Viel wichtiger erscheint m. E. die Analyse des Grabrituals zu sein. Auch die kulturellen Rahmenbedingungen, die z. B. in Form von Grabluxusgesetzten das Grabritual und die Zurschaustellung von Macht und Wohlstand stark beeinflussen, dürfen nicht außer Acht gelassen werden.

Anmerkungen

[1] Der vorliegende Artikel behandelt einen Teilaspekt aus meinem laufenden Dissertationsprojekt an der Universität Bonn mit dem Titel „Orvietaner Bucchero. Zu Form und Verwendung". Es handelt sich somit um vorläufige Ergebnisse. Neben der inhaltlichen ist dabei eine textliche Nähe nicht zu vermeiden, was an dieser Stelle aber noch einmal besonders angemerkt sei.

[2] Bizzarri nennt die Gräber auf Grund ihrer Lage unterhalb des antiken Laufniveaus „tombe sotterranee", s. Bizzarri 1962; 1966. Da aber nicht alle Gräber diese Position aufweisen, sondern einige auch oberirdisch sind, wird die vorliegende Benennung Fossa- oder Pozzogräber verwendet. Zur Argumentation s. auch Stopponi 1987, 63 f. (dort auch eine Zusammenfassung der bisher in der Forschung auftretenden Bezeichnungen der Grabform).

[3] s. etwa Körte 1877, 110 f., der in den dort Bestatteten die Sklaven der Gentes sah, deren Angehörige wiederum in den Kammergräbern beigesetzt wurden. Diesen Ansatz übernahmen auch Bizzarri 1966, 31. 38 und Donati 1969, 446.

[4] s. Stopponi 1987.

[5] s. Stopponi 1987, 80. Dieser Ansicht folgten auch Feruglio 2003, 281 und Bruschetti 2006, 40. Bereits Klakowicz 1972, 173 bezweifelte die Möglichkeit einer sozialen Differenzierung anhand der Grabform.

[6] Die folgende Zusammenfassung theoretischer Ansätze ist auf Grund des zur Verfügung stehenden Raumes keinesfalls erschöpfend. Es werden lediglich die für die Diskussion wichtigsten Grundgedanken in stark reduzierter Weise referiert. Zu einer tiefergehenden Auseinandersetzung s. etwa D'Agostino 1985 (besonders 47–52); Härke 1989; Graepler 1997, 149–157; Cuozzo 2000, 1–13; Cuozzo 2016, 3–10.

[7] s. etwa Binford 1971, 23, der den Status vorrangig an der Quantität der Beigaben und bestimmter Amtszeichen im Grabkontext festmachte. Des Weiteren sei auf Tainter 1978, 125 f. verwiesen, der die Ansätze Binfords um die Berücksichtigung des gesamten Arbeitsaufwandes, der für die Bestattung eingesetzt wurde, erweiterte.

[8] Zu Grabluxusgesetzten s. umfassend die Studie Engel 1998.

[9] s. den Befund in Eretria bei Schweizer 2008, 260.

[10] Zur Debatte s. allgemein Hodder 1982. Zu einer Analyse des Status im Sinne der postprozessualen Archäologie an einem Fallbeispiel der klassischen Archäologie s. Morris 1987, 140–155; Morris 1992, 128–155. Zu weiteren Fallbeispielen, die besonders das Verhältnis von Grabbeigaben zu Status thematisieren,

s. Parker Pearson 2002, 78–80.

[11] s. D'Agostino 1985, 52.

[12] Zum Bund s. kurz Liv. 4, 23, 5 (s. auch 1, 8, 3). Zu den 12 Städten werden in Regel Veji, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci, Vetulonia, Orvieto, Chiusi, Perugia, Cortona, Arezzo, Volterra und Populonia gerechnet.

[13] Zum Fanum und seiner Lokalisierung s. Liv. 4, 23, 5; 4, 25, 7; 4, 61, 2; 5, 17, 6; 6, 2, 2 und Prop. 4, 2, 1–4.

[14] Allgemein zu beiden Nekropolen s. Feruglio 2003; Bruschetti 2013. Zur Nekropole von Crocefisso del Tufo im Detail s. Bizzarri 1962; 1966; Mansuelli 1970; Klakowicz 1972; Bruschetti 2012. Zur Nekropole von Cannicella im Detail s. Klakowicz 1974, 52–286; Prayon u. a. 1993; Bonamici u. a. 1994.

[15] Bei den im Fokus der Arbeit stehenden Kammergräbern konnte bei sechs von ihnen noch die komplette oder fast vollständige Ausstattung geborgen werden. Dazu zählen Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 21 und Grab 147, zu Grab 21 s. Bizzarri 1962, 42 f. 97–99. 144 Nr. 14; 152–154; Klakowicz 1972, 61 f.; Bruschetti 2012, 116–127, zu Grab 147 s. Feruglio 1999, 142–145, der Großteil des Materials ist noch unpubliziert. Des Weiteren zählen zur Gruppe Cannicella, Grab Mancini 1 und 2, Grab T 4 und Grab 73. Die Ausstattung der ersten beiden Gräber ist bisher nur in Teilen vorgelegt worden, zu den Gräbern s. Fiorelli 1877; Messerschmidt 1929, 526–528; Klakowicz 1974, 58–60. Gleiches gilt für Grab 73, zum Grab s. Milani 1912, 239 Taf. 90, 1; Klakowicz 1974, 157 f. Einzig Grab T 4 wurde bisher in seiner Gesamtheit veröffentlicht, dazu s. Prayon u. a. 1993, 49–86; Bieg – Prayon 1996, 146–149. 151 Abb. 2. Im Rahmen zweier Forschungsaufenthalte konnten von mir die Funde von Grab 147, Grab Mancini 1 und 2 sowie Grab 73 aufgearbeitet werden. Für die Genehmigung sei an dieser Stelle den Verantwortlichen des Archäologischen Nationalmuseums in Florenz Mario Iozzo und Giuseppina Carlotta Cianferoni und der damaligen Direktorin des Archäologischen Nationalmuseums in Orvieto Maria Cristina De Angelis gedankt.

[16] Deren Anzahl lässt sich nur grob bestimmen, da insbesondere bei den Altgrabungen menschliche Überreste nur selten adäquat berücksichtigt wurden. In den Fällen, in denen die Reste von Körper- und Brandbestattung sorgfältig gesammelt wurden, lassen sich pro Grab nicht mehr als vier Bestattete nachweisen: Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 21 mit vier, Cannicella, Grab P 2 und Grab T 4 mit jeweils drei, Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 147 mit zwei und Cannicella, Grab P 3 mit einer Bestattung. Zur Auswertung von Knochen und Asche s. Bizzarri 1962, 43. 152–154 (zu Grab 21, eine im Kontext gefundene Brandbestattung ist nur schriftlich überliefert); F. Malegni in: Bonamici u. a. 1994, 234. 237 (zu Grab P 2 und P 3); V. Dresely in: Prayon u. a. 1993, 84 f. (zu Grab T 4); Feruglio 1999, 143 (zu Grab 147). Die Laufzeit der Gräber kann trotz der geringen Menge an Bestatteten mehrere Generationen umfassen. In den meisten Fällen waren die Gräber etwa 50 Jahre in Gebrauch.

[17] Dazu s. etwa Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 208 (B 45). Zum Grab s. Bizzarri 1966, 32–35 (mit Abb. 16); 76–79 (mit Abb. 36). Zur Lage innerhalb der Nekropole s. Stopponi 1987, Taf. 4 (hier Nr. 45).

[18] Zum Grab s. auch Bizzarri 1966, 24–27. 67. 69. Zur Lage innerhalb der Nekropole s. Stopponi 1987, Taf. 4 (hier Nr. 38).

[19] Zu einem besonders großen Grab s. Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 40 (B 49). Zum Grab s. Bizzarri 1966, 39. Zur Lage innerhalb der Nekropole s. Stopponi 1987, Taf. 4 (hier Nr. 49).

[20] Dazu s. besonders Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 146. Zum Grab s. Feruglio 1999, 145; 154 f. Abb. 9–11. Zur Lage innerhalb der Nekropole s. Bruschetti 2006, 28 f.

[21] Zum Grab s. auch Bizzarri 1966, 22–24. 67 (mit Abb. 33). Zur Lage innerhalb der Nekropole s. Stopponi 1987, Taf. 4 (hier Nr. 37)

[22] s. exemplarisch etwa Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 73 (B 39). Zum Grab s. Bizzarri 1966, 27. 69–71 (mit Abb. 34). Zur Lage innerhalb der Nekropole s. Stopponi 1987, Taf. 4 (hier Nr. 39).
[23] Zur Architektur s. zusammenfassend Feruglio 2003, 275–280.
[24] s. etwa Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 21. Zum Grab s. Anm. 15. Zur Lage innerhalb der Nekropole s. Stopponi 1987, Taf. 4.
[25] s. exemplarisch Cannicella, Grab T 4. Zum Grab s. Anm. 15. Ein Lageplan der Nekropole liegt nicht vor.
[26] Da sich das Material in den Kammergräbern bei Mehrfachbelegung nur in seltenen Fällen einzelnen Bestattungen zuweisen lässt, wird die Ausstattung der Gräber im Gesamten untersucht. Zu einem Kammergrab, das mit Angabe der Fundsituation der Beigaben vorgelegt wurde, s. Anm. 15 (Cannicella, Grab T 4).
[27] Die Prozentzahlen in allen Diagrammen sind gerundet.
[28] In einigen Gräbern wurden die Knochen der Toten auf den Bänken geborgen, s. Literatur bei Anm. 16.
[29] In zahlreichen etruskischen Gelageszenen gehören kleine Beistelltische vor den Klinen der Gelagerten zur Ausstattung, s. etwa Jannot 1984, Taf. Gruppe B I Nr. 93. 95; 106 mit Darstellungen auf chiusinischen Urnen des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.
[30] s. etwa Cannicella, Grab Mancini 2. Zum Grab s. Anm. 15.
[31] Da die Prozentzahlen in den Diagrammen gerundet sind, werden die Werte, die unter 1 % liegen, als 0 % angegeben. Dies gilt hier für die Gruppe der Varia.
[32] Bilder auf chiusinischen Urnen und in der Wandmalerei Tarquinias dienen als gute Beispiele hierfür. Zu den Urnen s. etwa Jannot 1984, 19–21 Nr. B I 1; 52 f. Nr. C I 14; 144–146 Nr. D I 6 Taf. Gruppe B I Nr. 93; Taf. Gruppe C I Nr. 179; Taf. Gruppe D I Nr. 499. Zur Wandmalerei s. etwa Steingräber 1985, Taf. 35 (Tomba Bartoccini); 298 Abb. 84 (Tombe delle Bighe). Zum funktionalen Zusammenhang zwischen Lebes und Mischgefäß im etruskischen Gelage s. Wiel Marin 1997 (besonders 513–516). Zum etruskischen Bankett s. allgemein de Marinis 1961.
[33] Bilder in der Wandmalerei Tarquinias machen die Funktion der Gefäße wahrscheinlich, s. etwa Moretti 1966, 244–246 Abb. Gesamt (Tomba del Guerriero); Steingräber 1985, Taf. 119 (Tomba della Nave). Es sei allerdings angemerkt, dass Darstellungen, die eine Kombination beider Gefäßformen belegen, erst gegen Ende des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. auftreten. Zum Funktionspaar aus Becken und Oinochoe bei etruskischen Banketten s. Wiel Marin 1997 (besonders 516).
[34] Darunter zählen die griechische Keramik mit 3 % und der Bucchero mit 2 %.
[35] Dazu gehören die griechische Keramik mit 5 %, der Bucchero mit 3 %, die etrusko-korinthische Keramik mit 2 % und die italo-geometrische Keramik mit 1 %. Die etruskisch-schwarzfigurige Keramik teilt sich auf importierte und lokal hergestellte Stücke auf, was für die Importe weniger als 1 % ausmacht und nicht weiter ins Gewicht fällt.
[36] Für Orvieto s. etwa bei Bizzarri 1962, 59 Abb. 23 a. b.
[37] Die folgende Untersuchung ist eine Neubewertung und Ergänzung der Arbeit Stopponis, zur Studie s. Anm. 4.
[38] Dazu s. exemplarisch Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 73 (B 39). Zum Grab s. Anm. 22.
[39] s. etwa Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 61 (B 38) (hier Abb. 3, vorne) oder Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 60 (B 37) (hier Abb. 3, hinten). Zu den Gräbern s. auch Anm. 18. 21.
[40] Für diesen Fall steht etwa Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 47. Zum Grab s. Bizzarri 1966, 37 f. 82–85 (mit Abb. 38). Zur Lage innerhalb der Nekropole s. Stopponi 1987, Taf. 4.

[41] Dazu s. Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 44. Zum Grab s. Bizzarri 1966, 31 f. 76. Zur Lage innerhalb der Nekropole s. Stopponi 1987, Taf. 4.

[42] Dazu s. die Ausführungen bei Stopponi 1987, 74 f. mit Beispielen.

[43] Stopponi kommt in ihrer Arbeit auf ein Verhältnis von etwa eins zu zwei (sechs aus elf), was aber daran liegt, dass ihre Materialbasis geringer ist. Zur Auswertung s. Stopponi 1987, 75.

[44] Stopponi schließt dagegen auch die Beigaben mit ein s. Stopponi 1987, 78–80.

[45] Zu den Problemen der Zuweisung anhand der antiken Materialbasis s. etwa Cuozzo 2016. Zur theoretischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Thema der archäologisch fassbaren Geschlechts- und Altersspezifizierung s. die Arbeit Lohrke 2004 aus dem Bereich der prähistorischen Archäologie.

[46] Erst eine sorgfältige Analyse ermöglicht es, zu erklären, ob und inwieweit sich geschlechts- und altersspezifische Beigaben fassen lassen. Die generelle Problematik bei der Zuschreibung von Beigaben kann anhand zweier Beispiele für Orvieto erörtert werden. In Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 146 wurde eine Haarnadel aus Bronze gefunden, wie sie vor allem im Zusammenhang mit weiterem Schmuck wie Ketten und Anhänger auftritt und vermutlich eher der weiblichen Sphäre zuzuschreiben ist. Über eine Grabinschrift lässt sich der Tote aber klar als männlich identifizieren. Zum Grab s. Anm. 20. Den zweiten Fall betrifft Cannicella, Grab T 4, im Gegensatz zum ersten Beispiel handelt es sich dabei um ein Kammergrab. Im Grab wurde ein Paar von Miniaturfeuerböcken gefunden, wie sie vor allem für Kinderbestattungen nachgewiesen sind. Auf Grund des guten Erhaltungszustandes konnten im Grab Knochen geborgen werden, die untersucht und drei männlichen Personen im Alter zwischen 30 und 50 Jahren zugewiesen wurden. Es ist zwar nicht auszuschließen, dass unter den Bestatteten auch ein Kind war, archäologisch lässt sich dies aber nicht belegen. Zum Kontext s. Anm. 15, zur Auswertung der dort gefundenen menschlichen Überreste s. Anm. 16. Zu Feuerböcken in Orvietaner Gräbern s. auch M. Bonamici in: Bonamici u. a. 1994, 157–161.

[47] s. Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 60 (B 37), Grab 146 und Grab K 237. Zu Grab 60 (B 37) s. Anm. 21, zu Grab 146 s. Anm. 20 und zu Grab K 237 s. Klakowicz 1972, 184 f.; Bruschetti 2012, 152–155.

[48] s. Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 44. Zum Grab s. Anm. 41.

[49] s. Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 146. Zur Inschrift s. kurz Maggiani 2013, 169 f.

[50] s. Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 207 (B 43) und Grab 42. Zur Inschrift von Grab 207 (B 43) s. CIE 4970; Bizzarri 1962, 141 Nr. 9; Rix 1991, Vs. 1.23; Morandi Tarabella – Marchesini 2004, 467 Nr. 1 (zu *Skanesna, Skanasna*). Zur Inschrift von Grab 42 s. Bizzarri 1962, 138 f. Nr. 4; Rix 1991, Vs. 1.16; Morandi Tarabella – Marchesini 2004, 529 Nr. 1 (zu *Tethuna*).

[51] s. Crocefisso del Tufo, Grab 207 (B 43). Zur Inschrift s. Anm. 50.

[52] Das Grab stammt aus der Nekropole von Cannicella und ist außer der Inschrift nicht weiter vorgelegt. Zur Inschrift s. CIE 5059; Rix 1991, Vs. 1.158; Morandi Tarabella – Marchesini 2004, 467 Nr. 2 (zu *Skanesna, Skanasna*).

[53] Einen weiteren Fall nennt Stopponi, s. Stopponi 1987, 80 f.

Abbildungsnachweis

Abb. 1: nach Pallottino 1992, 29 Abb. oben. – Abb. 2: auf der Basis von Google Earth. – Abb. 3: Foto Autor. – Abb. 4: nach Bizzarri 1966, Taf. 2. – Abb. 5–8 Graphik Autor.

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"Poor" Indigenous and "Wealthy" Macedonians(?). The Evidence of Burial Practices around the Thermaic Gulf (Thessaloniki)[1]

Konstantina Chavela

Introduction

From the beginning of recorded human history social inequality, in other words "rich and poor", was rather the rule than the exception. Due to a lack of written documents, the most suitable approach to the concept of "rich and poor" in ancient societies is provided by the combination of archaeological and anthropological data. Potentially the most informative sources for identifying social inequalities are funeral remains.

However, recent discussions in archaeological theory and mortuary studies have emphasized that burials do not simply reflect social reality. Thus, cemeteries may be used as a tool to reconstruct the social structure of communities as well as to understand the ideological and symbolical significance of burials.[2] For this reason, mortuary practices must be placed within their wider social context, which is made up of cultural traditions, the historical context and political strategies. Our reference point in this paper will be the ancient settlement and cemetery at Toumba Thessaloniki, in the Thermaic Gulf.

In handling the data, we take into account that differences between individuals or groups can become apparent through a comparative analysis of individual burials: firstly, through an intra-cemetery analysis at Toumba, and secondly through an inter-cemetery analysis of different cemeteries around the Thermaic Gulf. In addition, a brief description of settlement and mortuary data is given: this is essential. The evaluation of the cost and energy differentials in mortuary ritual *versus* the comparable expenditures in constructing the houses of the living may yield a more balanced understanding of the actual degree of stratification within the living society. Differential distributions of prestige goods in settlement contexts may illustrate variations in "real wealth" within this society.[3]

Intra and inter Cemetery Analysis

The archaeological site of Toumba Thessaloniki, known since 1895, spreads over a plateau to the east of the city of Thessaloniki. It includes first a conical mound (tell) with layers of the Bronze Age, the Iron Age and of historic times, and also a trapezoidal (almost flat) area extending around the mound itself with settlement layers mainly of the early Iron Age until the end of the 4th century BC. In addition, outside the boundaries of the ancient settlement remains of sporadic facilities from various eras and the extensive

Published in: Ute Kelp – Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen (Eds.), Wealthy and Healthy? Methodological Approaches to Non-Élite Burials, Panel 1.2, Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World 1 (Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2022) 53–70. DOI: *https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.926.c12232*

Fig. 1: Map of the archaeological site of Toumba Thessaloniki.

cemetery have been identified, dating from the 8th century down to the 4th century BC. One of the most striking elements of the settlement, which makes it literally stand out from the rest of such monuments in central Macedonia, is the height of the tell that reaches 23 m. Its ground area is close to 13 stremmata, a size unusual for the region, while the top area is today reduced to about half that area (fig. 1).[4]

Hardly any information exists regarding the LBA treatment of the dead in central Macedonia. Although it cannot be ruled out that the invisibility of funerary remains may be accidental, there are strong indications for a real lack of interest in funeral places and practices for the dead at LBA tell sites. The 17 late Bronze Age graves, dated mostly to the late 12th and early 11th centuries BC, which have been recently investigated within the settlement (inside buildings and in the streets) at Toumba Thessaloniki are so far the only evidence for burial practices developed in the region.[5]

The first evidence for the existence of an organized space for the burial of the dead of the settlement dates back to the Iron Age and more specifically to the 8th century BC, at which time the process of the settlement's expansion into the area around the prehistoric mound seems to have been completed. These areas are relatively distant, 400

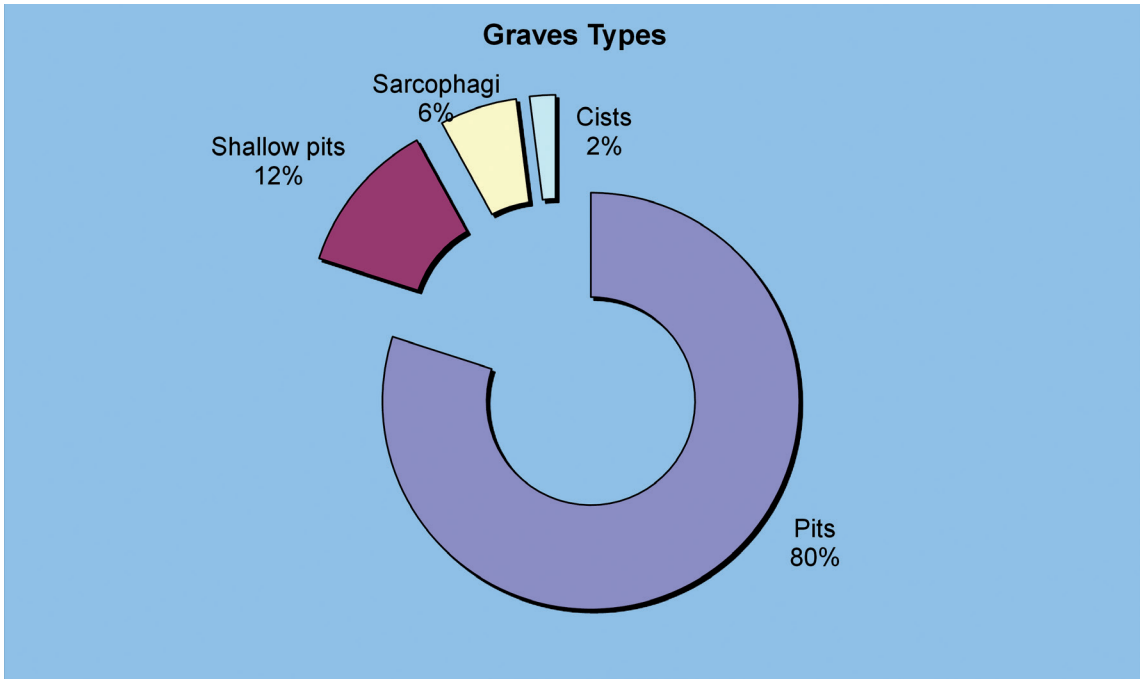

Fig. 2: Frequency of grave types.

to 800 m from the ancient settlement. These specific areas were used only during the 8th and occasionally during the early 7th century BC.[6]

During the Archaic, Classical and early Hellenistic periods the dead were placed elsewhere, east, south and west – but closer to the settlement.[7] Regarding the Archaic period the vast majority of graves had the form of pits of various sizes (80%). Less frequent are the shallow pits without cover by (12%) and monolithic sarcophagi (6%). Extremely rare is the type of the cist grave (fig. 2). The majority of the dead is east-west oriented without missing the north-south oriented. The basic burial custom is that of individual interment, while the custom of cremation is absent.

Comprehensive bio-archaeological data is unfortunately unavailable, as the anthropological material, in most cases, was not preserved due to chemical properties of the soil. The absence of these data makes any interpretation of issues relating gender and age of death very difficult. On several occasions, this lacuna has forced reliance to be placed on grave offerings present to reach an understanding of the gender, knowing that such conclusions are quite precarious. Regarding the age of death of the deceased, conclusions are mostly drawn from the dimensions of the graves and less from the grave goods. Hence the majority of graves seems to belong to adults or juveniles, while child burials are few in number, only ten.

Most of the graves are furnished with at least one object. In most cases, approximately 51,2%, offerings consist of a combination of ceramics and non-ceramic offerings. 41,2% of the burials have been furnished exclusively with vessels – usually one or two, rarely

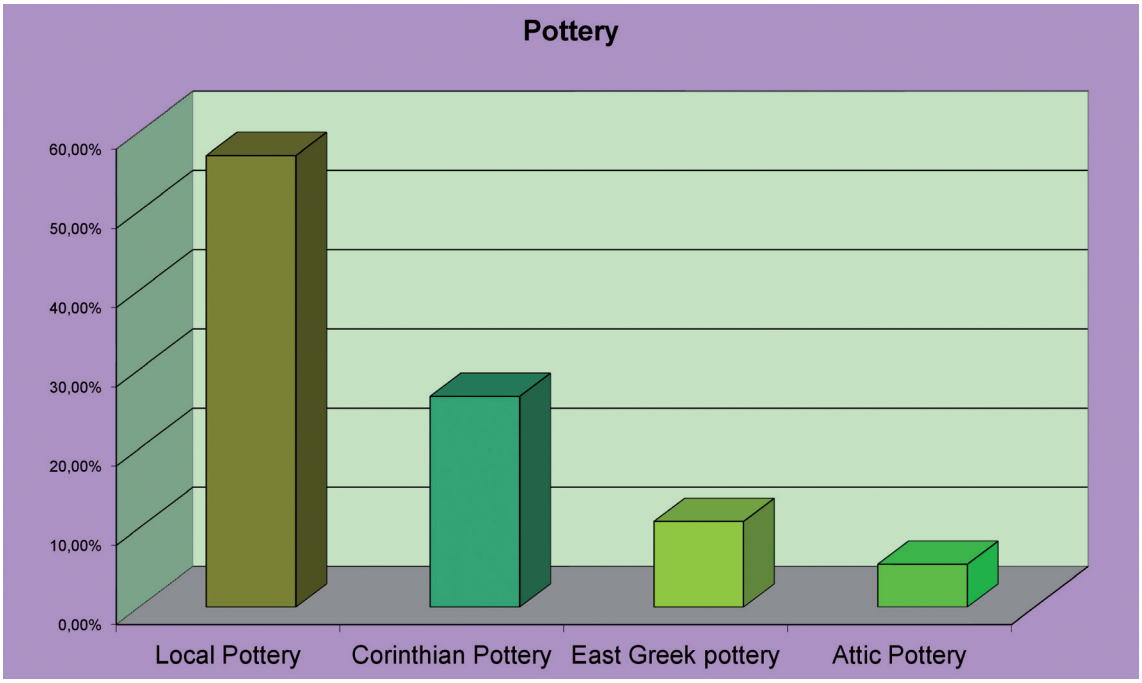

Fig. 3: Frequency of pottery in the graves.

three – while in 7,6% of the graves only one item not of clay was deposited. For the most part, vessels belonged to local production (57,1%). Imported pottery is represented by Corinthian (26,3%), East Greek (10%) and more rarely Attic types (5,5%) (fig. 3). Locally produced vessels are exclusively connected to the consumption of wine and food. While imported vessels are containers of perfumes and ointments or connected to the consumption of wine – with the former being more abundant.

The other offerings consist mainly of metal objects and beads made of amber, bone, clay and glass. As for the metal objects, the majority is made of gold followed by bronze and iron objects (fig. 4). Golden objects are not restricted to mouthpieces but also include diadems, appliqués on cloths, beads and rings (fig. 5). Less frequent is bronze jewellery and dress equipment as well as iron knifes.

In a total of 60 graves, without counting the unknown number of graves surveyed in the early 20th century, 18 graves stand out on account of an apparent wealth from the rest of the burials (fig. 6). The characterization of these graves as rich is based on the presence of gold artifacts and some exotica like amber beads. They are located in two different clusters. The first cluster of six graves is located northwest of the ancient settlement. Four are pit graves and the other two sarcophagi, one of the latter unfortunately looted; they have a north-south orientation. The most interesting are three male graves, two pits and one sarcophagus, dating to the second quarter of the 6th century BC. They are furnished with one eastern Greek cup, a so-called Ionian kylix and a globular aryballos, of Corinthian or Ionian origin. The gold objects are mouthpieces

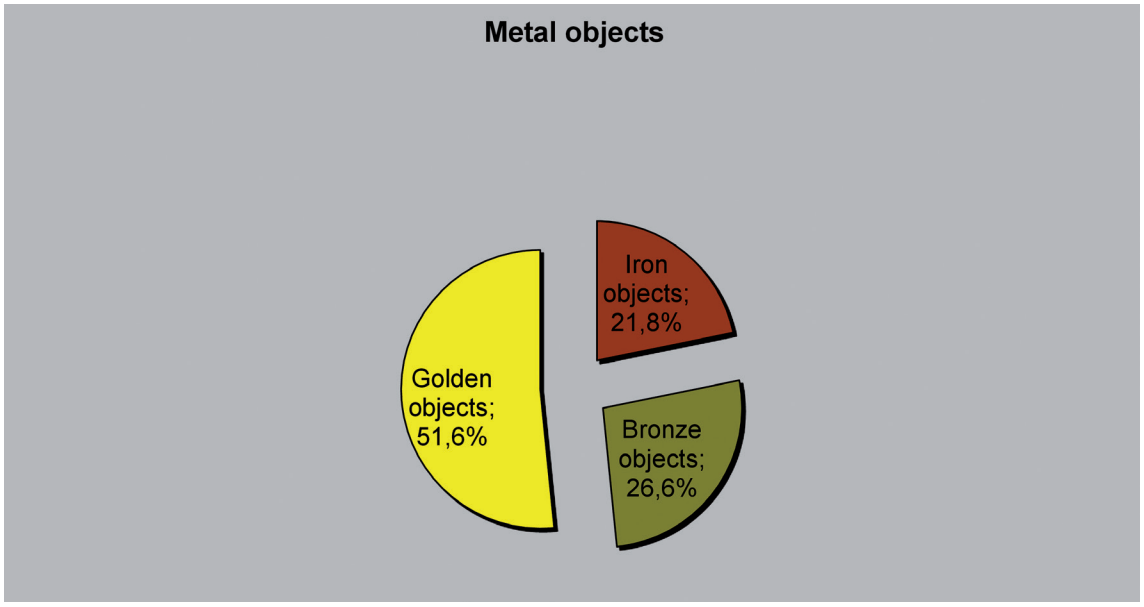

Fig. 4: Frequency of metal objects.

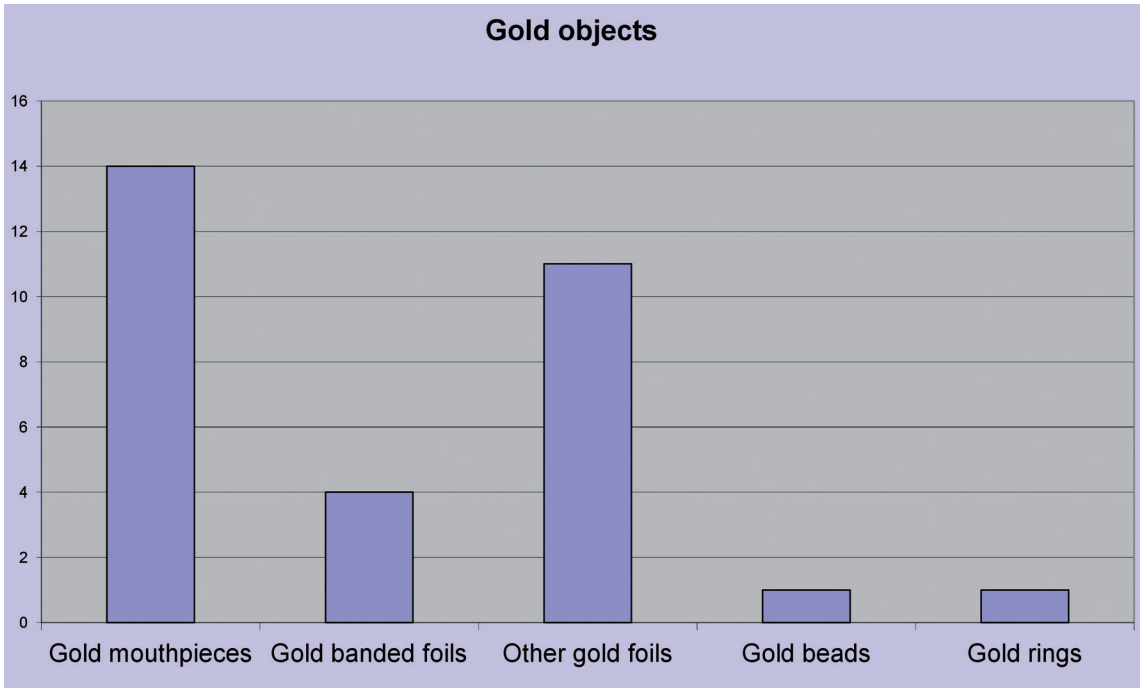

Fig. 5: Frequency of gold objects.

Fig. 6: Frequency of "rich" and "poor" graves.

and sheet foils in various shapes. All of the graves contained an iron knife, one of them with an incised bone handle. In one of them also a spearhead was deposited, the only one known in the cemetery of Toumba. However, the most intriguing objects from these three graves were iron belts placed around the waist of the dead.[8] Similar belts are known from the cemeteries both of Vergina and Archontiko[9] and ascribed to the Homeric *mitra.*[10]

Two graves in this cluster are dated to the second half of the 6th century BC. One of them, according to its grave goods, belongs to a woman who is buried with gold artifacts such as a mouthpiece, foils and a spindle shaped bead, bronze jewellery (4 ring earrings and 3 bracelets) and dress accessories (fibulae) as well as bone, glass and amber beads. The vases are locally produced: one handler and an exaleiptron. The remaining grave of this cluster was furnished with a locally manufactured kotyle, a gold mouthpiece and an iron knife.

The other cluster is located south of the settlement, in the center of the ancient cemetery. Considering the grave goods excavated by K. Pelekidis in the early 20th century, the earliest graves of this cluster are dated to the first quarter of 6th century BC.[11] According to his reports, rich cist graves have been unearthed in this specific area. Since cist graves did not occur in the cemetery of Toumba it seems more likely that he meant sarcophagi. They were furnished with the usual locally manufactured vases (one handlers, egg shelled cups, and small jugs) and more elaborated imported pottery of Corinthian, eastern Greek and as well Attic origin. Impressive are the gold mouthpieces,

sheet foils and diadems.[12] The recently excavated graves of this cluster are similar to the aforementioned graves of the first cluster. Furthermore, three rich individual graves have been found in other parts of the ancient cemetery. The most impressive was a monolithic sarcophagus furnished with an Attic floral cup, a gold mouthpiece, 5 long sheet foils and a ring, as well as two iron knifes.

The term "poor" graves has been used for all graves that did not contain gold artifacts or exotica. Unfurnished graves were child burials with only one exception. These "poor" graves show a lot of gradations. They are pits of various dimensions covered with slabs or shallow coverless pits. They were usually furnished with one or two local vases; less frequently they contained one local combined with one or two imported vases, usually Corinthian aryballoi or exaleiptra. Rarely they were furnished also with clay beads or iron knifes. They occurred throughout the cemetery except to the two aforementioned clusters, which were more likely used by distinct or prosperous population groups who either over time or at a specific period buried their dead in a separate location.

Around the Thermaic Gulf, in addition to the ancient settlement of Toumba, several other settlements emerged, mostly during the early Iron Age and soon after: in the west, Polichni, Sindos, Nea Philadelpheia and Archontiko at the innermost point that the Thermaic Gulf extended to in ancient times; in the east, Karabournaki, Therme-Sedes and Agia Paraskevi in the valley of Anthemus (fig. 7). Nowhere were found cemeteries of the late Bronze Age. During the 8th century BC the formal cemeteries of these sites were situated outside the boundaries of the settlements and at a considerable distance from them.[13] Furthermore, there was a clear distinction from the cemeteries of the Archaic and Classical periods.

Archontiko formed part of ancient Bottiaia that, together with Pieria, is believed to have been one of the first regions to be annexed to the Macedonian kingdom, sometime before the middle of the 6th century BC. A total of 1,001 burials were excavated. 474 of them belong to the Archaic period (580–480 BC). The undisturbed graves, 102, were furnished both with vases and other types of offerings, which include in all cases metal objects made not only of bronze and iron, but also of gold and/or silver. The most impressive objects were gold masks, sheets for mouth and eyes as well as golden and gilded ornaments for garments. Furthermore, men were most often buried with weapons (spears, knives, swords, helmets, shields). Moreover, there is a considerable quantity of bronze pouring, mixing and particularly drinking vessels. Less regular occur bronze graters, bundles of miniature iron spits with firedogs and iron or bronze miniature tables and chairs.[14]

East of the river Axios Sindos is situated, where 52 out of the 123 graves, which have come to light at this site can be dated with certainty to the Archaic period and more precisely between ca. 560 and 480 BC. Grave goods in Sindos, local and imported, overlap with finds of Archontiko in terms of type provenance and modes of deposition. There are gold artefacts, dress accessories and jewellery made of metals and other materials; metal cart models; bronze distaffs; and clay figurines. All men were buried with weapons.

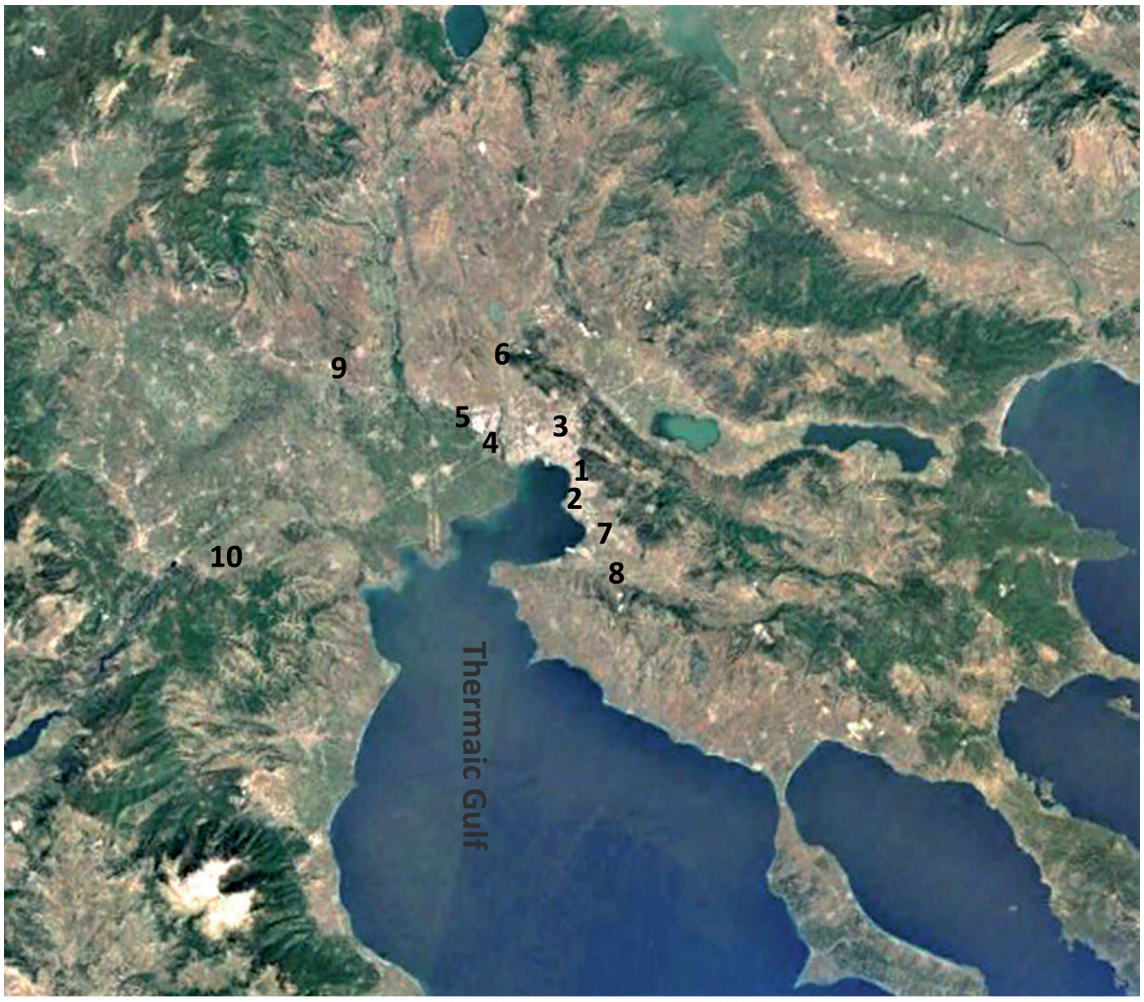

Fig. 7: Map of the study area.

Moreover, the same feasting equipments came to light composed by sets of mixing and drinking vases both of clay and metal.[15] Similar furnishing of the graves occurred at the cemetery of Agia Paraskevi. However, characteristic is the smaller number of metal vases and the complete absence of gold masks as well as of supplementary metal feasting accessories such as miniature funerary furniture spits and firedogs.[16] Also similar burial customs are observed at the cemetery of Nea Philadelpheia[17] and Therme-Sedes[18] where masks and feasting sets are absent, while weapons and gold artifacts occurred in a smaller number of graves. Even more limited is the presence of these rich burials at the cemeteries of Agios Athanasios,[19] Polichni[20] and Karabournaki;[21] furthermore, these burials are dated to the end of the 6th century and the first quarter of 5th century BC.

Identities

Despite its popularity definitions of the term identity are hard to find.[22] In the ancient world many different types of identity are evident such as gender, age, rank, status, profession or religion, but most notable are cultural and ethnic identities, which are closely linked and easily confused. Ethnicity is usually understood as a form of large-scale identity of a social group, whose members share a common descent or ancestry.[23] However, the determining factor is not a shared genetic link, but rather whether the members of a group think of themselves as a collective and believe that they have a shared history. So ethnicity seems to be rather a social phenomenon than a biological.[24] Cultural identity frequently overlaps with ethnicity. A range of different cultural factors may become associated with the ethnicity of a group (language or dialect, clothing or bodily adornment, cult or rituals, burial customs). These traits and many others are often linked to ethnicity or could sometimes express ethnicity, but they are not always aligned with the ethnic identity of a group. The aforementioned overlap between cultural and ethnic identity has been observed in the interpretation of funerary rites of central Macedonia during the 6th century BC.

On account of the exceptional wealth of the graves in the cemeteries of Archontiko and Sindos, which have similarities with the Archaic graves of Vergina,[25] these are often referred to in relation to the phenomenon of the so-called "princely" burials. According to the world-system approach, the wealthiest northern Aegean graves are tied to a broader phenomenon of "princely" burials, which occurred after the mid 6th century BC in various parts of continental Europe, like the southern Balkans, the interior of the Iberian Peninsula, the northwestern Alpine region, northern Italy, even at the southeastern coast of the Black Sea.[26] The splendor of the burial deposits found in these "princely" tombs has led to the elaboration of different social models. Some scholars interpret these findings as the concentration of power in the hands of a restricted number of chiefs, becoming more and more wealthy, others see them as the manifestation of a social model of increasing complexity by the emergence of an additional hierarchical rank.[27]

Recently Vivi Saripanidi concluded in a thorough study of the burial practices during the Archaic period that the close similarities of the funerary practices on both sides of the river Axios, east and west, should be considered as an indicator of the presence of Macedonians, who had probably crossed the river shortly before 570 BC. According to this scholar, the radical transformation of Macedonian funerary rites around 570 BC could be traced to the use of idiosyncratic feasting sets as well as gold masks and mouthpieces, is indicative of the self-awareness of Macedonians through a local system of "heroic" forms. These forms would not have been aimed to assign any heroic quality to their deceased but to denote a particular component of the Macedonian identity. In other words, the Macedonian funerary feasting sets seem to have a clearly ethnic resonance.[28]

However, the archaeological data from the ancient cemetery and settlement of Toumba provide us with a different approach to the "identities" of its inhabitants. Of course the presence of some gold artifacts (mouthpiece, some sheet foils), bronze jewellery, and two or three clay vessels may distinguish these burials on an intra site level, but on an intra regional level such offerings are far from adequate for the qualification of any burial as "princely". Moreover, the prevalence of local wares, which was observed in the graves of Toumba could be considered indicative of an economically and politically less prominent community. Also the absence of eclectic feasting sets and especially of mixing vessels could be due to non-Greek drinking practices.[29] Is this a valid interpretation for the settlement of Toumba? The image provided by the settlement context is completely different from the one we obtained from the cemetery, even contradictory.

During the first quarter of the 6th century BC the urban plan was extensively alterated. The settlement acquired an urban web of radial streets around the prehistoric mound, which were interconnected by narrow streets and houses. The latter seem to be multiplex with rectangular shape. All household activities such as food processing, storage, textiles, and even fabric dyeing took place in these rooms. Among these multiplex houses at least three stand out with larger dimensions and extended storage rooms.[30] Their inhabitants seem to be fully acquainted with the celebration of symposia. They have quite impressive feasting equipment, which includes both mixing and drinking sets mostly imported from Attica and Corinth. The earliest examples are black figured column craters and hydriae attributed to Lydos and his workshop and Siana cups attributed to Painter C. After the mid 6th century BC banded Little Masters cups, Droop cups, Hermogenian skyphoi as well as a variety of Attic column craters occurred.[31]

The complexity of the settlement of Toumba becomes more apparent by the presence of a communal ritual space at a central point. Clay grids, pyres, iron knifes and spits, sacrifices of small and big animals, like a male deer, add to the image of a place where rituals related perhaps to Artemis were taking place.[32] A large column crater attributed to Lydos[33] was placed on a larger grid along with locally manufactured storage and pouring vessels.[34] Feasting sets both imported and locally manufactured as well as a few metal vases were placed on stone benches.

The variation in architectural elaboration and size, the substantial storage facilities attached to particular domestic units as well as the concentration of feasting sets in these units are signs of an internal social differentiation. While the ritual space could have been used to stage practices of group affiliation to foster a sense of collectivity, it seems more likely to have been the setting for social competition, public display and the active contestation of status.

Probably these newly emerging social groups, who in any case could not be identified as Macedonians, used the clusters of "rich" burials. They manifested their power on the one hand through the manipulation of space, by using specific clusters for their graves, excluding the less prosperous inhabitants, and on the other through the deposition of gold artefacts in their tombs. On an intra-regional level, the differentiation in details in the burial customs of the cemetery of Toumba could be indicative of an internal cohesion and collective identity.

Labeling cultural traits as ethnic identity is tempting but the notion of "ethnic identity" is quite problematic and complicated[35] especially in the case of material culture, which by definition is multi-vocal. The cultural traits must not be interpreted as evidence for the domination of one population group. They are objects, styles or practices, which "can be used and modified to suit different social functions and different historical contexts".[36]

Moreover, in the areas east of the river Axios, where according to Edith Hall[37] "ethnic groups shade off into one another" during the 6th century BC, no one can be sure about the ethnic identities of the indigenous inhabitants. The similarities of the burial customs of these regions perhaps indicate a common cultural environment, regardless of the inhabitants' ethnic origin (Thracians, Macedonians, non-Greek or Greek colonists).[38] After all, the determining factor is not so much if people share a genetic link, but rather if they consider themselves a collective and believe that they have a shared history, even more a shared culture.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I am indebted to Dr. K. Soueref for the permission to study and publish the context of his excavations at the settlement and the cemetery of Toumba Thessaloniki. Crucial to the study of the context was the contribution of I. Kostopoulos Foundation. Finally, I wish to thank the panel organizers, Ute Kelp and Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen.

Notes

[1] The present paper is part of a more thorough presentation, which is to be published by the author.
[2] Voutsaki 1993, 56. 167; Keswani 2004; Rakita et al. 2005; Papadopoulos 2005, 354.
[3] Bloch 1971, 112–113; Metcalf – Hundington 1991, 110; Parker-Pearson 1984, 71; Keswani 2004, 9.
[4] Soueref 2009, 345–358; Chavela forthcoming.
[5] Andreou – Kotsakis 1993, 279–286; Andreou – Eukleidou 2008, 325–326 fig. 1; Andreou et al. 2010, 362–364.
[6] Chavela 2018; Chavela – Soueref forthcoming.
[7] Chavela – Soueref 2019; Chavela forthcoming.
[8] Soueref 2000, 222 fig. 16. Chavela – Soueref 2019.
[9] Chrysostomou – Chrysostomou 2009, 481.
[10] Iliad 4.187, 216.
[11] Pelekidis 1921; Efkleidou 2018, 228–230.
[12] Vokotopoulou et al. 1986, 16–17. 66–82. 88–94 fig. 3.
[13] Chavela 2012a, 307–322; Chavela 2018, 159–186.
[14] Chrysostomou – Chrysostomou 2005, 505–516; Chrysostomou – Chrysostomou 2007, 113–129; Chrysostomou – Chrysostomou 2009, 477–490; Chrysostomou – Chrysostomou 2012, 490–517.
[15] Vokotopoulou et al. 1985; Despoini et al. 2016.
[16] Sismanidis 1987, 787–803.
[17] Misailidou-Despotidou 2008, 25–69.
[18] Skarlatidou 2007.
[19] Tsibidou-Avlonitou 1996, 427–442.
[20] Lioutas 2018, 213–240.
[21] Poulaki-Pantermali – Trakosopoulou 1994, 203–212; Poulaki-Pantermali – Trakosopoulou 1995, 283–292.
[22] For an overview of the history of 20th century archaeological concepts of identity, see Díaz-Andreu – Lucy 2005, 2–5.
[23] Hall 1997, 19–33.
[24] MacSweeney 2014, 2514.
[25] Kontogoulidou 2007, 143–148; Kottaridi 2009, 143–153.
[26] Pare 1997; Babić 2002, 70–87.
[27] Baray 2008.
[28] Saripanidi 2016, 89–95; Saripanidi 2017, 91–95.
[29] "The absence of mixing vessels could be simply due to non-Greek drinking practices…", Saripanidi 2017, 80.
[30] Chavela forthcoming.
[31] Chavela 2012, 179–188; Chavela forthcoming.
[32] Chavela forthcoming.
[33] Chavela 2012, 180–182 fig. 3.
[34] Chavela 2013, 202 fig. 3.

[35] Malkin 2001, 3; Tood 2001, 14; Siapkas 2003; Lucy 2005, 86–109; MacSweeney 2009, 101–106; MacSweeney 2014, 2514–2523; Reher – Fernandez-Götz 2015, 400–416. According to Müller the task of looking for ethnic groups in the archaeological record seems to be a chimera, Müller 2014, 15–33.
[36] MacSweeney 2014, 2517.
[37] Hall 1989,170; Xydopoulos 2017, 75–77; for an opposite view see Hall 2001, 165–167.
[38] Xydopoulos 2017, 84.

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Late Classical and Hellenistic Burial Complexes with Gold and Gilded Clay Wreaths from Macedonia, Thrace, and the Necropoleis of the West Pontic Greek Poleis: A Comparative Analysis of their Context

Angela Pencheva

Abstract

In the period spanning the second half of the 4th and the first quarter of the 3rd century BC the number of burial complexes containing gold and gilded clay funerary wreaths increased steadily across the entire Greek world. The functional similarities between the main categories of grave goods originating from most of these complexes e.g. symposiastic metal vessels and weapons, lead to the hypothesis of the existence of a *normalized* burial model serving the needs of elite in this time period.

This paper is focused on the two adjoining regions Macedonia and Thrace[1] where the significant portion of grave complexes with the outstanding gold specimens and their gilded clay replicas clearly illustrate the above-mentioned burial model and its evolution in time. This can be also attested by the interpretation of several iconographic compositions represented in the wall painting scenes at some of the most well known Macedonian and Thracian chamber tombs.

At the same time, gilded clay wreaths appear in the necropoleis of the west Pontic Greek poleis, such as Apollonia Pontica, Messambria, Odessos, Kalatis. The overall inventory of these grave complexes is generally very modest.

Introduction

The chronological distribution of burial complexes containing gold and gilded clay funerary wreaths starts in the in the early 4th century BC and lasts until the middle of the 2nd century BC. In the Balkan region, especially the ancient regions of Macedonia, the territories of the Thracians south of the Danube and the Greek apokiai on the Black Sea coast, at this time coincide with a period of intense political dynamic, which caused significant social changes.

This is the time after the Scythian campaign led by the Persian king Darius in 512 BC, followed by 30 years of Persian presence in the coastal region of Thrace south of the Rhodope Mountains, when the Macedonian kingdom was under the sway of Achaemenid Persia. These events influenced to a great extent the stage of consolidation of the Macedonian and the Odrysian state organizations, and consequently their hierarchical societies and elites. The political situation in the next centuries lead to the establishment of various kinds of interactions, in which Macedonians and Thracians were constant

Published in: Ute Kelp – Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen (Eds.), Wealthy and Healthy? Methodological Approaches to Non-Élite Burials, Panel 1.2, Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World 1 (Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2022) 71–88. DOI: *https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.926.c12233*

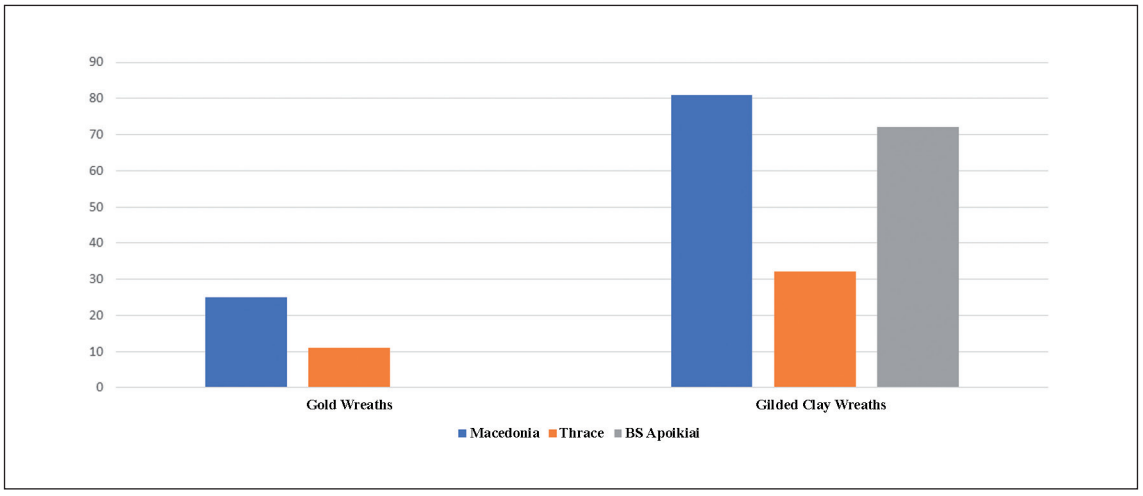


Fig. 1: Distribution of funerary wreaths: 4th–2nd century BC

participants as opponents or allies: during the successful campaigns of Philip II and Alexander III in Thrace, Macedonia and Greece, as well as the campaign of Alexander in Asia and the following Diadochi wars until the annexation of both regions into the Roman Empire.

The basis of the following paper is research conducted on 222 catalogued burial complexes from the three regions in the focus of this research[2] containing gold and gilded clay funerary wreaths, dated from the first half of the 4th until the end of the 2nd century BC (fig. 1. 2). In order to trace their chronological and geographical distribution, as well as to identify the specific contextual features of the cataloged complexes, they have been conditionally divided in four chronological groups, detailed below.

The funerary wreaths, which comprise the focus of this research are two main types according to material of manufacturing: 1.) gold wreaths and 2.) gilded clay wreaths.

The gold wreaths were mostly entirely made of gold. The term "gilded clay wreath" refers to examples made of gilded clay components such as berries, blossoms and buds and constituents of other materials, e.g. cooper, lead, ivory and wood. Their prototypes were certainly the gold wreaths which is clearly confirmed by the preserved traces of gilding on the surface of the clay components.

The technological and typological characteristics of the late Classical and Hellenistic metal and clay wreaths, and the question about their chronological classification in the geographical scope of this research, have already been the subject of number of scientific investigations. For this reason, the attempt at chronological classification considered in this research is based partly on some earlier publications. The approach chosen, and indeed most of the established typological and chronological criteria for systematization of metal wreaths from Macedonia, was based on a series of investigations conducted by Bettina Tsigarida[3]. Essential for the technical features and data analysis of the examples from Thrace, was the contribution of Milena Tonkova.[4]

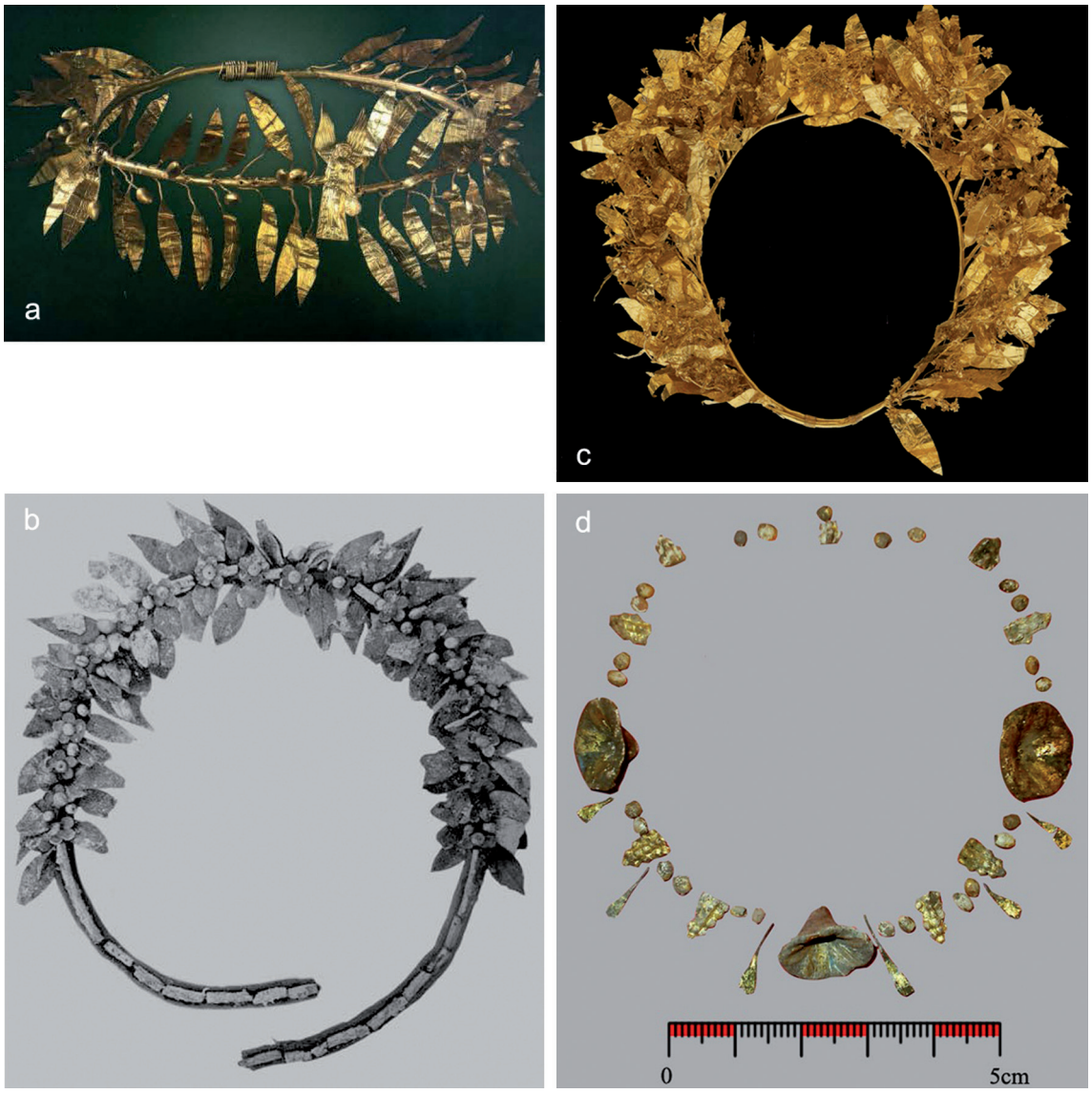


Fig. 2: Golden and gilded clay funerary wreaths; a: Malomirovo Zlatinitza; b: Olynth; c: Derveni; d: Dolno Izvorovo, Kazanlak District

This approach not only allowed the distinguishing of different technological features of the gold and clay wreaths as dating indicators, but also helped identifying productions of the same workshops discovered in Macedonian but also in Thracian burial complexes. Furthermore, it also made the reconstruction of a comparable burial custom with many similar features possible that reflects socio-historical processes in the late Classical and Hellenistic period in Macedonia and Thrace, but which was not attested in the necropoleis of the Black Sea Greek poleis.

Wreaths in the Greek world were worn at major formal social activities such as symposia, rites of passage, religious ceremonies etc. To a certain extent, the wreath in the late Classical and Hellenistic funerary context can be seen as a material expression of the ancient Greek ritual of worshiping the dead but it also incorporates aspects of other apotropaic functions. Literary sources and vase paintings attest to the plant prototypes of the gold and clay wreaths – olive, ivy, myrtle, laurel, and oak – used for burials at different places in the ancient Greek world.[5] Their symbolic, meaning and function is analyzed in detail by Michael Blech.[6]

It seems that the functions of the gold wreath and their gilded clay replicas serve the needs not only of burial customs but constitute also an established social model in Hellenistic society. From the description of the exceptional funeral pyre of Alexander's companion Hephaestion in Babylon[7] it becomes clear that the "gold wreaths" mentioned, are part of an entire symbolical system of valuable grave goods connected to his successful military career, and indicative of the special status of the deceased.

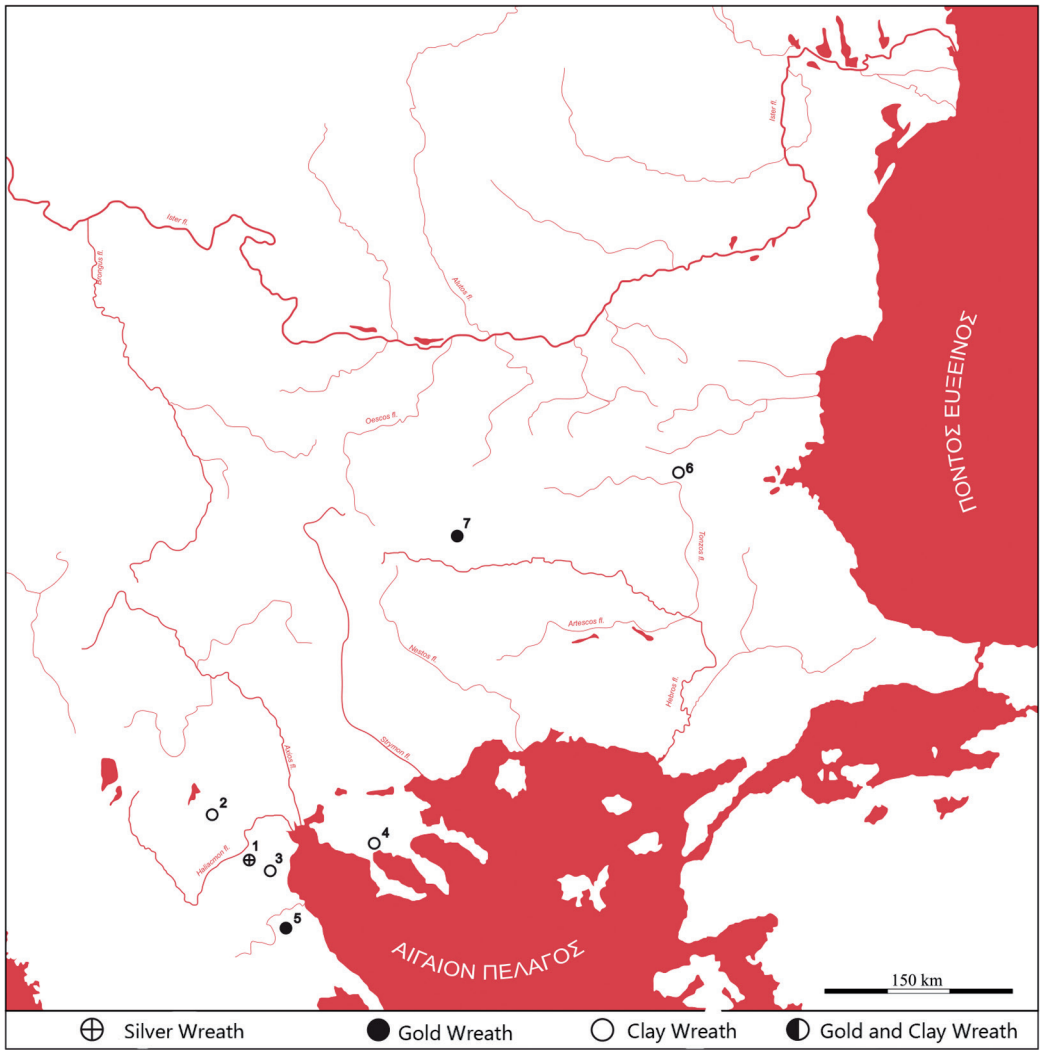
Chronological Group I (fig. 3)

The first chronological group marks the appearance of the wreath in funeral contexts in Macedonia and Thrace in the first half of the 4th century BC. Except for a gilded silver wreath from Aiani[8] and a gold example from Malomirovo-Zlatinitza,[9] all the other grave complexes of this group contain gilded clay wreaths.[10]

Despite the fact that almost all catalogued Macedonian complexes of this group were discovered after being plundered, the few remaining grave goods (remains of weapons and armory) they contained mostly indicate male burials: Vergina-Stenomakri,[11] Katerini.[12]

The inventories of two synchronal burials from the Odrysian territories – Malomirovo Zlatinitza[13] and Peichova Mogila[14] – suggest that they belonged to representatives of the Thracian military elite. A very similar selection scheme is repeated: a helmet, leather armor, a sword, a bow with arrows, spearheads, greaves, a shield, ceremonial harness, horse harness, Attic vessels, golden signet rings, and local vessels.

The historical events of this period mark the gradual decline of the Odrysian Empire, after the death of Kotys I (359 BC), which coincided with the rise of the Macedonian kingdom under the reign of Philip II and his successful campaigns in Thrace.



1. Aiani GK 8
2. Vergina - Stenomakri GK 213, 214, 215
3. Katerini GK 100
4. Olynth GK 156, 157
5. Homolion GK 82
6. Malomirovo - Zlatinitsa GK 110
7. Peichova Mogila GK 170

Fig. 3: Chronological group I: first half of 4th century BC

Chronological Group II (fig. 4)

The complexes with funerary wreaths from the period between the second half of the 4th century BC and the beginning of the 3rd century BC not only form quantitatively the most comprehensive second chronological group in Macedonia and Thrace, but also represent the finest examples of gold wreaths originating from the region of Macedonia: Vergina,[15] Derveni,[16] Stavroupolis,[17] Sevastae,[18] Pella.[19] Also, the abovementioned categories of grave goods which were attested in chronological group I, become well represented here.

The concentration of burial complexes containing gold wreaths with technological similarities in and around Aegae and Thessaloniki, suggests that they must have been products of the same workshops.[20] Again, due to significant technological resemblance, it can be assumed that most of the gold wreaths from Thrace were produced in Macedonian workshops.[21] They are represented by the gold specimens from Rachmanlij,[22] Goljamata Kosmatka,[23] Naip Tumulus,[24] Vratza.[25] Not only the wreaths but also most of the weapons and metal vessels discovered in these complexes suggest that their origin can be connected to Macedonia.

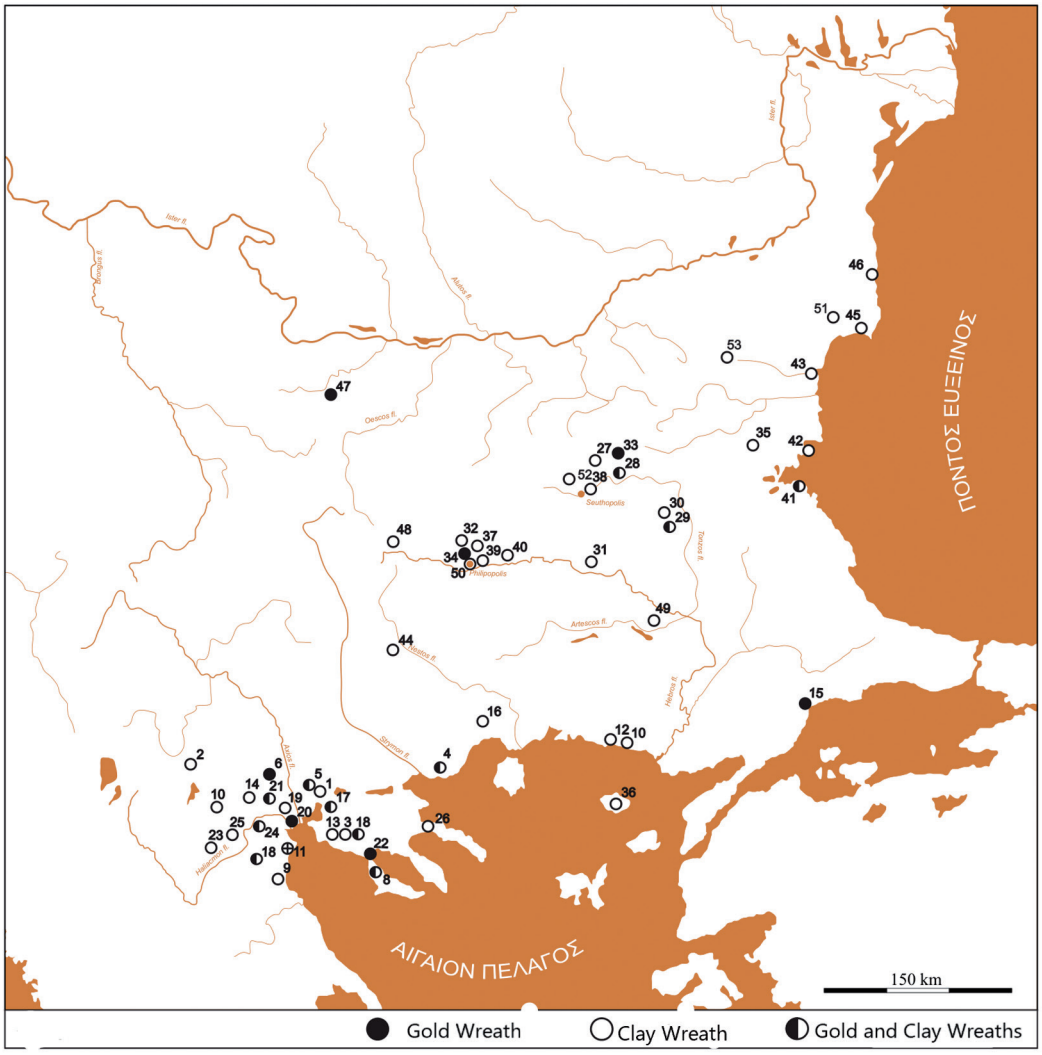
Gilded clay wreaths were also discovered in grave complexes from both regions. Gold and clay wreaths are often found together in the same funerary complex, especially in Macedonia.[26] Some of these are of an extraordinary size which indicates that they were not placed at the head of the deceased but were probably decorating the grave goods and walls of the grave (e.g. both abovementioned burials from Vergina[27]).

Funerary wreaths are attested in the context of female burials in Macedonia, where the weaponry is missing. The so-called Philip's grave from Vergina[28] and the complex from Vratza[29] are exceptional because they represent burials of couples.

The number of precious objects found in some of the tombs in both regions is remarkable, which gives a clear indication that the burials can be associated with representatives of the Macedonian and Thracian elite, in some cases even with royal dynasties. There is a significant similarity in the inventory of these complexes, composed of almost identical functional categories of grave goods, as in those of chronological group I: wreaths, symposiastic metal vessels, weapons, Greek table vessels and amphorae.

The most outstanding example from Macedonia is the inventory of the aforementioned Philip's tomb in Vergina.[30] More modest, but still representative is the inventory from the grave complex from the Goljamata Kosmatka[31] tumulus in Thrace, which clearly repeats the functional categories.

The selection of the same combinations of symposiastic vessels in the tombs of the two regions evidences a very similar *symposion tradition.* A similar trend is well attested by the weapons, Xenophon mentions their importance as grave goods, together with the gold wreaths.[32] Already in the Archaic times, weapons appear in funerary contexts and as offerings in sanctuaries in the Greek world, including Macedonia.[33]



1. Ainea GK 11, 12
2. Agios Athanasios GK 8, 9
3. Ag. Paraskevi GK 7
4. Amphipolis GK 17, 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 49, 50
5. Derveni GK 66-9, Lete GK 106, 107
6. Europos GK 75
7. Finikas GK 76-81
8. Kassandreia (Ag. Mamas) GK 98, 99
9. Korinos (Pydna) GK 104
10. Leukadia GK 83
11. Makrygialos (Pydna) GK 178-182
12. Messambria-Zone GK 111
13. Messimeri GK 132
14. Mieza GK 135
15. Naip GK 139
16. Nikisiani GK 140-145
17. Sedes GK 194, 195
18. Sevastae GK 198, 199
19. Souroti GK 202
20. Stavroupolis - Oreokastro GK 158, 159, 203
21. Pella GK 162 - 165
22. Potideia GK 174
23. Pirgos GK 183
24. Vergina GK 210, 211, 216, 217
25. Veria GK 219
26. Akanthos GK 13
27. Goljama Arsenalka GK 62
28. Momina Mogila (Dolno Izvorovo) GK 72
29. Kabyle GK 84, 86, 87, 88
30. Kalojanovo GK 97
31. Mezek GK 133, 134
32. Miromir GK 137
33. Ploskata mogila, Slavcheva mogila GK 173, GK 201
34. Rahmanlij GK 185, 186
35. Ruen GK 18
36. Samothrake GK 88, 89, GK 92
37. Sarnegor GK 193
38. Seuthopolis GK 197
39. Simeonovgrad GK 200
40. Zelenikovo GK 222
41. Apollonia Pontica GK 48, 49
42. Messambria GK 124, 125, 130
43. Odessos GK 148 – 152, 154
44. Goriani GK 64
45. Dionysopolis GK 70
46. Kalatis GK 90, 92, 94, 95, 96
47. Vratza GK 221
48. Vetren GK 160
49. Arzos GK 58
50. Philipovo GK 172
51. Dionysopolis GK 70
52. Seuthopolis GK 196, Kazanlak, GK 101
53. Kiolmen GK 102, 103

Fig. 4: Chronological group II: second half or 4th–first half of 3rd century BC

The Macedonian kings Philip II, Alexander III, Antigonus, Seleucus, Lysimachus were above all military leaders. Even the later Hellenistic rulers succeeded in being militarily active and to place emphasis on their military characteristics. It was a general peculiarity of Macedonians in this period, to legitimize their position as masters of the people of Asia Minor. Consequently, the military plays an important role in the material culture of the Macedonians, e.g. the Macedonian shield as a symbol of ethnic identity and national heroism depicted on the coins of the Macedonian colonies as well as deposited together with weapons in the graves – Macedonian chamber tombs – of individual Macedonians. Such shields were often decorated with military scenes and the weapons are a *conditio sine qua non* in the burial of men of the era.[34]

These observations lead to the hypothesis of the existence of a *normalized* burial model, well reflected in the two adjacent ancient regions of Macedonia and Thrace. It consisted of a selection and combination of normatively and aesthetically charged symbols in the form of expensive grave goods. The combination of these objects seems to suggest that there was a *cultural code* indicating social rank of the deceased. In the period from the second half of the 4th and the first quarter of the 3rd century BC after Alexander's death and the wars between the Diadochs but also during the heyday of the Odrysian kingdom under the rule of Seuthes III (331–300 BC) the number of the grave complexes with those characteristics increased.

This statement is attested by several wall paintings with scenes from chamber tombs in Macedonia and Thrace: The Philip's tomb and Bella Tumulus B at Vergina,[35] the Kazanlak[36] and Sveshtari[37] tombs, dated between the second half of the 4th and the first half of the 3rd century BC. The gold wreath serves here as a key element in the visual mediation of the entire iconographic composition: differentiating the deceased from the living, a symbol that marks the transition from human to heroic status. In particular, the two examples from Vergina (fig. 5), and also the one from Sveshtari (fig. 6) are hardly conceivable before Alexander's art policy. These early Hellenistic monumental tombs form a material expression of the contemporary notion of history in a time when religion and mythology have often served the political propaganda of ambitious rulers.

This is also the time when gilded clay specimens appear in the necropoleis of the Greek apoikiai at the Black Sea coast: Apollonia Pontica,[38] Messambria,[39] Odessos,[40] and Kalatis.[41]

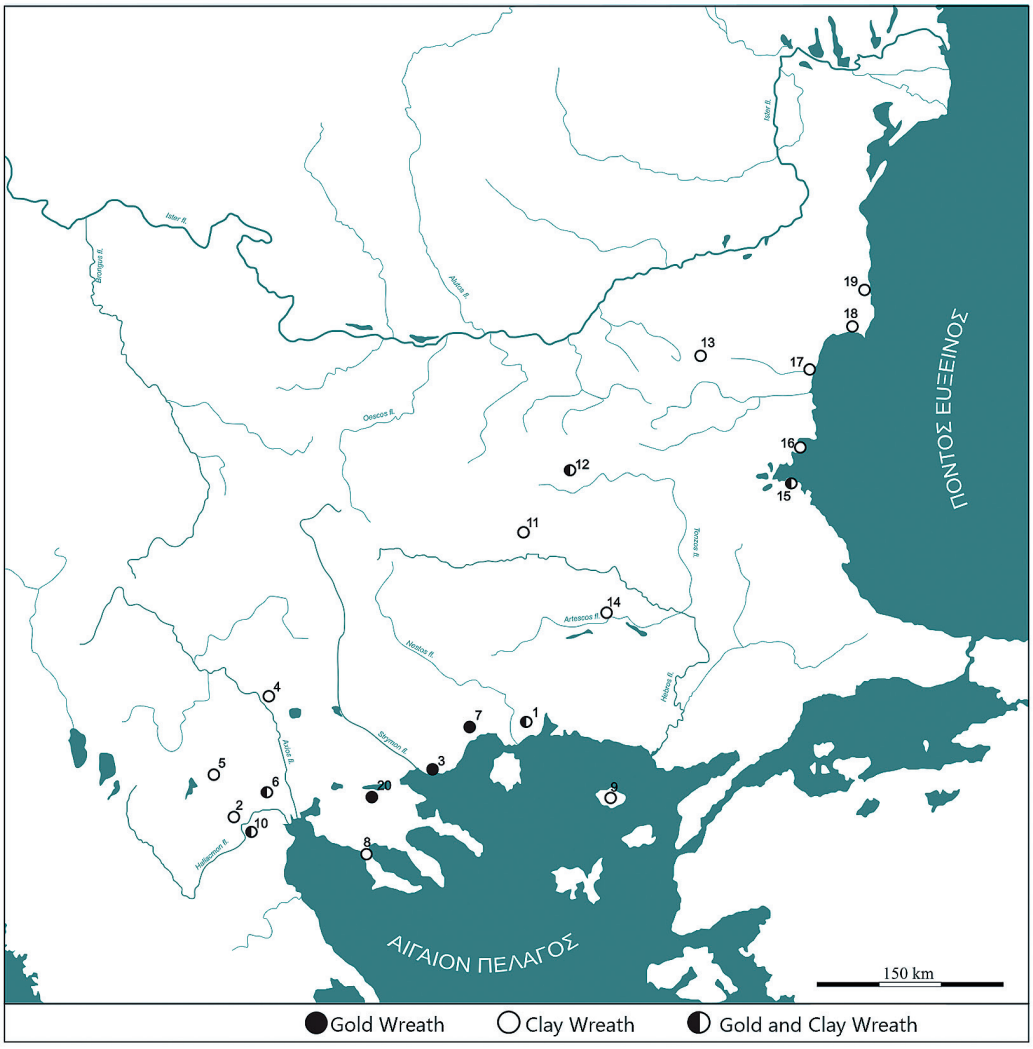
Serial production of gilded clay wreaths is well attested in some of the necropoleis of the Macedonian cities, as well as those of the Greek apoikiai on the Black Sea coast.[42] In contrast, the synchronous grave complexes with gilded clay wreaths from the necropoleis of the Greek west Pontic apoikiai contain no other, or only a very modest inventory.

Fig. 5: Vergina. Façade of the Tomb of Philip II, Frieze with fresco painting of Royal hunt

Fig. 6: Sveshtari. Caryatid Tomb, Painting in the lunette of the burial chamber

Chronological Group III (fig. 7)

The number of complexes with the abovementioned characteristics becomes significantly lower after the first quarter of the 3rd century BC. The only golden specimens from this chronological group were discovered in several female burials with gold jewelry from Amphipolis.[43] All the other examples from Macedonia originate from funerary complexes with a modest selection of grave goods. There are only few examples of gilded clay wreaths from this period discovered in Thrace, namely in the necropoleis of the Odrysian city of Kabyle.[44] The technological features of the wreaths become more and more schematic and simple. The other above-discussed categories of the inventory,



1. Abdera GK 2, 3, 4
2. Veria GK 219
3. Amphipolis GK 14, 17, 19, 21, 23, 26
4. Isar Marvinci GK 83
5. Edessis GK 108
6. Pella GK 166-8
7. Philippi GK 171
8. Potideia GK175
9. Samothrake GK 190
10. Vergina GK 212
11. Bednjakovo GK 159
12. Goljama Kosmatka GK 63
13. Madara GK 109
14. Voivodovo GK 220
15. Apollonia Pontika GK 30-42, 44-47, 50-56
16. Messambria GK 112-116, 119, 121-3, 126-9, 131
17. Odessos GK 146, 147, 153
18. Bizone GK 60
19. Kalatis GK 91, 93
20. Apollonia Mygdonia GK 29

Fig. 7: Chronological group III: second half of the 3rd century BC

such as metal vessels, also gradually disappear. The remaining grave goods are small, with locally produced clay pots being the most common items.

The information from the necropoleis of the west Pontic Greek cities shows a wide use of gilded clay wreaths in the 3rd century BC. These grave complexes contain, just as earlier, few and simple grave goods.

It is noticeable that the number of metal vessels from the funerary complexes in Macedonia declines after the first years of the 3rd century BC, and even earlier in Thrace. This can be connected to the political and economic instability of Macedonia after the death of Alexander III, and especially after the death of Lysimachus in 281 BC and the followed Celtic invasion in the region.

Chronological Group IV (fig. 8)

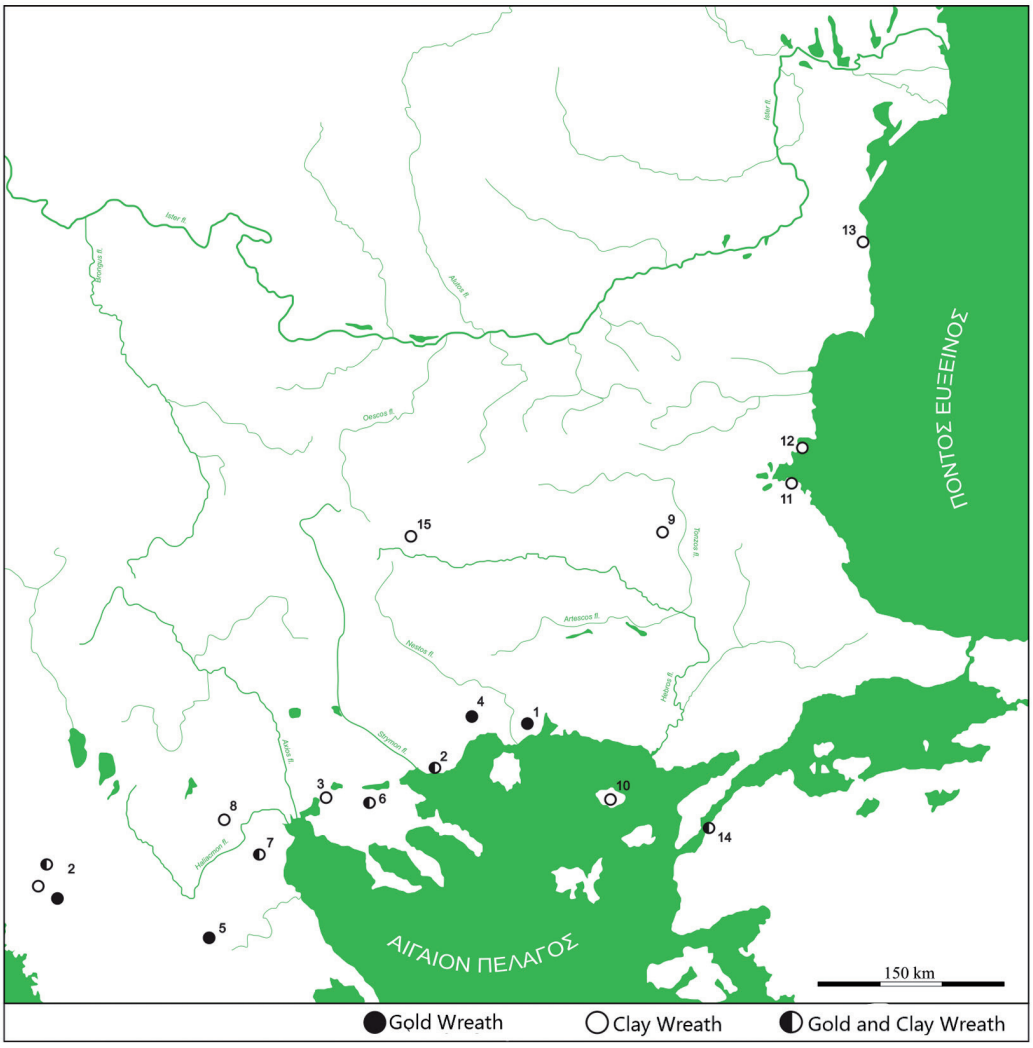
From the 2nd century BC the funerary wreaths of both types appear even less frequently in funerals from Macedonia and Thrace, which leads to the assumption that the custom was vanishing in the two regions. The low number of catalogued grave complexes from this chronological group do not allow the outline of characteristic features of these complexes. In contrast, certain forms of roughly made funerary gilded clay wreaths continue to be attested in some of the west Pontic apoikiai (e.g. Tomis[45] and Kalatis[46]).

A possible explanation for this change could be the historical events that caused a high political instability in both regions. In the Balkans the expansion of the Romans lead to warfare, and ultimately to the end of the Macedonian kingdom, as a result of the battle of Pydna in 168 BC.

Outcome

The short overview presented in this paper of the distribution of gold and gilded clay funerary wreaths and their context in Macedonia and Thrace serves to reconstruct a comparable burial custom, which was established in the second half of the 4th century BC, and that reflects the aftermath of the intense political and social processes after Alexander the Great's death. It seems that at the end of the 3rd century BC, because of the political instability in the region, this burial custom gradually loses its symbolic value, insofar as social differences are no longer communicated by means of prestige objects (including gold wreaths). Here, social acceptance plays a role, and due to the historical and social changes the local élites no longer needed to express their social status through this type of burial custom.

The fact that this burial custom has not been attested in the necropoleis of the Greek apoikiai on the Black Sea coast can be explained by the alleged diverse nature of the burial tradition in these poleis, where the *normalized burial model* of the *elite* resulting



1. Abdera GK 1
2. Amphipolis GK 15
3. Charilau GK 61
4. Drama GK 73
5. Pelinna GK 169
6. Kalamoto GK 89
7. Pydna GK 176, 177
8. Rachi GK 184
9. Kabyle GK 88
10. Samothrake GK 91
11. Apollonia Pontika GK 43
12. Messambria GK 117, 118,200
13. Tomis GK 204-209
14. Dardanos GK 65
15. Oreshova Mogila GK 160

Fig. 8: Chronological group IV: 2nd century BC

from Alexander's political propaganda did not correspond to the needs of the local Greek society. The social practice of commemorating the dead manifested different tastes in both societies, as a result of varying signs of social distinction. The political conditions affecting the Macedonian and Thracian societies at this time were highly volatile and the display of taste in the burial complexes of the Macedonian and Thracian *elite* resounded with political overtones. Therefore, it can be assumed that the gilded clay wreath in the necropoleis of the Black Sea Greek apoikiai has inherited the function of the natural green wreath: commemorating the death. Notably, it cannot be viewed in opposition to the gold wreath as a sign of *non-elite* affiliation of the deceased.

The comparative and functional analysis of the funerary wreath in Macedonia and Thrace shows diversity and contextual symbolic complexity, which does not allow it to be treated as a homogeneous phenomenon. It cannot be understood as a custom with a singular, unified meaning in an exclusively non-Greek environment. On the contrary: the function of the funerary wreath proves to be extremely diverse and complex. It seems to be based on different aspects of the complex function of the wreath outside the grave complex, which in the late Classical and Hellenistic times are reflected in the formation of a certain *normalized model* of burials, in which the wreath carries new meanings and determinations.

Notes

[1] Burial customs with similar characteristics are not only attested in the territories in the focus of this research but also elsewhere, e.g. in Magna Graecia (e.g. Guzzo 1993) and Asia Minor (e.g. Pfrommer 1983 and 1990).

[2] The following article summarizes some of the outcomes of my PhD thesis defended in 2016 at HU Berlin. Its main goal was to compare the specifics of synchronous burial complexes with golden and clay wreaths form the neighboring regions of Macedonia, Thrace and the Greek Apoikias at the Black sea coast. The catalog is based mainly on published material. Due to the different stage of excavations and publications in the three adjoining regions the number of catalogued complexes of each of them is very different.

[3] Tsigarida 1987, 907–913; 1993, 1632–1643; 2002, 61–70; 2006, 139–151; 2010, 307–315.

[4] Tonkova 2013, 699–716.

[5] Blech 1982, 93–108.

[6] For more details see: Blech 1982. The author presents an extremely detailed analysis of the meaning and function of the plants for wreaths used by the Greeks on different occasions. The evidence from the complexes included in this research that originated from non-Greek surroundings only partly suggests a consistent pattern in the use of golden and gilded clay specimens in burial complexes (e.g. myrtle wreaths were predominantly found in female burials). It is also difficult to say if the serial production of gilded clay wreaths in the necropoleis of the Black sea apoikias in the Hellenistic period followed any semantic order in the use of the imitated plants.

[7] Diod. 17, 115, 1–5.

[8] Karametrou-Mentesidou 1987, 424.
[9] Agre 2011.
[10] Olynth: Robinson 1942, 17 pl. 13; Pejchova mogila: Kitov 2003, 506–524; Katerini: Despini 1980, 198–209; Vergina-Stenomakri: Kyriakou 2008.
[11] Kyriakou 2008.
[12] Despini 1980, 198–209.
[13] Agre 2011.
[14] Kitov 2003, 506–524.
[15] Andronikos 1980, 38–56; Andronikos 1987, 198–217.
[16] Themelis – Touratsoglou 1997.
[17] Romiopoulou 1989, 194–218.
[18] Bessios 1987, 209–218.
[19] Chrysostomou 1998, 337–351.
[20] Kyriakou, 2014; Tsigarida 2010, 208–2010.
[21] Tonkova 2013, 425, e.g. the examples from Rachmanlij: Filov 1934, 159–162 and Vratza: Venedikov 1996, 7–14.
[22] Filov 1934, 159–163.
[23] Dimitrova 2015.
[24] Delemen 2006, 251–273.
[25] Venedikov 1966; Torbov 2005.
[26] e.g. Pydna: Voctopoulou 1983, 276; Derveni: Themelis – Touratsoglou 1997.
[27] Andronikos 1980; 1987.
[28] Andronikos 1980, 38–56: cremation of a man and a woman in two gold larnakes.
[29] Venedikov 1966: inhumation of a woman with gold wreath and cenotaph(?) with greave goods indicating the burial of a man.
[30] Andronikos 1980, 38–56: cremation of a man and a woman in two gold larnakes with oak and myrtle gold wreaths, about 17 silver and 6 bronze symposiastic vessels, 3 pairs of greaves, a Macedonian helmet, swords, arrowheads, armory, three shields etc.
[31] Dimitrova 2015, contained: a golden oak wreath, a helmet, gold applications from armor, greaves, a *makhaira,* a gold kylix, 2 silver and 2 bronze vessels, etc.
[32] Gröschel 1998, 128 (Xen. Hell. 4, 2, 5 ff.).
[33] Snodgrass 1971, 277–281.
[34] Billow 1995, 28 f.
[35] Andronikos 1992; Andronikos 1994.
[36] Jivkova 1977.
[37] Valeva 1999.
[38] Mladenova 1963.
[39] Bozkova – Kiashkina 2013, 22–30.
[40] Škorpil 1909, 8–14.
[41] Preda 1961.
[42] e.g. Apollonia Pontica: Mladenova 1963.

[43] Malama 2001, 120 f.; Samartzidou 1987, 327–335.
[44] Getov 1991, 168–197.
[45] Bucovală 1967; Lungu – Chera 1986, 89–114.
[46] Preda 1961, 276–304.

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The Economics of Death in Hellenistic Rhodes – the Case of the *Koina*

Vasiliki Brouma

Material evidence and display for afterlife suggest a conscious psychological preparation for death. However, display in the funerary sphere can also be indicative of various socioeconomic agendas in connection to the burial ritual. This paper presents a contextual approach to funerary economics in Hellenistic Rhodes. The focus is a case study related to the *koina* (associations) of foreigners and their burial provisions.

From the 2nd century BC onwards, the islands of the Aegean and Asia Minor experienced an influx of foreign populations, both Greeks and non-Greeks, that can be divided in two broad categories: on the one hand short-term visitors who travelled around the Mediterranean world for economic, military and religious purposes and on the other hand permanent populations that chose the mainland and the islands as their stable residency. Epigraphic evidence suggests that foreigners had limited rights of participation in the civic and political life of the islands, yet they formed and maintained a great number of private associations: the so-called *koina.*

In Rhodes, we know of more than 150 *koina.* The members of these associations came from major trade cities of the Mediterranean such as Alexandria and while they were not politically important, they held considerable economic power. Members of the associations were organised along tribe lines and other activities that imitated sectors of civic life such as athletic competitions with officials of the *poleis* proper and funerary activities.

The Rhodian epigraphic corpus detailing these funerary activities is particularly rich: most date to the 2nd and 1st century BC and consist of honorary decrees and epitaphs. These texts describe that the members of the associations were honoured as *evergetai* post-mortem and were commemorated annually through a number of activities (i.e. banqueting) that were organised by the living members. Also, it appears that their status in the group was consolidated in regard to their financial contribution. And although the amount of written sources is remarkable, little do we know about the actual material evidence associated with these burial provisions.

In this paper, I will argue that a material-centred approach can throw light on the funerary ritual of the associations and provide a more accurate picture on the economics of these rites. A closer examination of the tombs and the funerary monuments associated with the *koina,* will enable us to reflect on various economic aspects of the funerary ritual such as individual and collective choice in the socioeconomic setting of Hellenistic Rhodes.

Published in: Ute Kelp – Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen (Eds.), Wealthy and Healthy? Methodological Approaches to Non-Élite Burials, Panel 1.2, Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World 1 (Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2022) 89–90. DOI: *https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.926.c12234*

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Textile Workers in Roman *Venetia:* From Tools to Skeletal Remains

Maria Stella Busana – Alessandro Canci – Cecilia Rossi

Abstract

For years, the Padua University has carried out many studies on the textile economy in Roman *Venetia* (north-eastern Italy), an area famous for its wool industry according to the ancient literary and epigraphic sources. After investigating the topographic evidence and sheep breeding settlements, the *Pondera* Project focused on a systematic survey of archaeological textile tools found in the region in order to analyse technological and socio-economical aspects. After that, the TRAMA Project aimed to identify samples of organic and mineralised fabrics, for the first time offering a real picture of textiles produced in the area. Finally, the *Lanifica* Project is now focused on tools coming from funerary contexts to enlighten the ideological meaning and the connection with the socio-economical profile of the deceased, combining both the grave goods and the human remains. The results of these studies give us a comprehensive picture of the textile manufacturing, from the tools to the human beings involved. The new goal is to single out ancient textile workers and their health conditions, based on the study of occupational markers and pathological affects produced by textile activities. In addition, we will try to distinguish the skeletal modifications depending on the different kinds of looms in use. This approach could give an original contribution to the knowledge of both the occupational health in Roman society and the weaving technology in Roman *Venetia.*

Venetia: A Land Suitable for Sheep Breading and Textile Production

Wool economy played an important role in Roman *Venetia,* the main area of the Augustean X *Regio* (north-eastern Italy), thanks to its geography and natural resources (plains, alpine meadows, salt), thus, strengthening an economy already developed in pre-Roman times. This topic has been studied for years by scholars of Padua University, primarily with a topographic approach, identifying the routes of transhumance.[1]

The wool from the flocks raised in the Po valley, called *gallicae,* was famous for its whiteness and softness (Plin. nat., 8, 190). According to Columella (1st century AD), it surpassed even the wools of Calabria and Puglia (Colum. 7, 3). In *Venetia,* the wool most praised by writers was that from *Altinum,* which was held in high esteem up to the 3rd/4th centuries AD. In Diocletian's *Edictum de pretiis* it stood in third place along with the dark wools of Modena (200 *denarii*). The sources also note several products that reached the markets of Rome and *Noricum: Patavium* – where, according to Strabo (V, 7 e 12),

Published in: Ute Kelp – Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen (Eds.), Wealthy and Healthy? Methodological Approaches to Non-Élite Burials, Panel 1.2, Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World 1 (Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2022) 91–112. DOI: *https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.926.c12235*

the flocks produced a wool intermediate in quality between that of *Mutina* and that of Liguria (notoriously the worst in the Cisalpine region) – produced *gausapa, tapetes* and *trilices.* These cloths, famous for their weight and softness, were used to make blankets, tablecloths, cloaks and tunics (Strabo V, 1, 7 e 12; Mart. ep., 14, 143; 145; 147; 152; Petron. sat. 28, 4). A cloth similar to Patavium's *gausapa* was produced at Verona and known as *lodices* (Mart. ep. 14, 152). The epigraphic evidence from urban cemeteries mentions several workers involved in the wool processing (*lotores, lanarii purgatores, lanarii carminatores, lanari pectinarii, lanarii coactores, tinctores tenuarii, infectores, purpurarii*) and trade (*vestiarii* and *centonarii*).[2]

The rural settlements also suggest the importance of this economy, as the sheep farm discovered in the *Altinum* area (Ca'Tron), probably related to housing the *delicatissimae oves* of *Altinum* cited by Pliny.[3]

Research on Textile Production

Recently we have focused our research on the textile production looking for fabrics and tools, in order to investigate technological, economic, social and ideological aspects of textile craft.

Because of the climate and the terrain features, fibres, yarn and textile fabrics are rarely preserved in Italy. A piece of wool tissue from *Adria,* studied by M. Gleba in 2012, is the only Roman fabric known from the *Venetia* until now: It is a fairly coarse cloth, worked in tabby weave.[4] In the course of the TRAMA Project (Textile Roman Archaeology: Methods and Analysis) started in 2015, we increased the sample with more than 30 textiles mineralised on metal objects, mainly tabby fabrics from funerary contexts.[5]

Before, since 2009, the *Pondera* Project had started. The first goal of the project has been a systematic survey and study of the archaeological tools related to textile processing found in *Venetia:* shears, spindle whorls, spindle shafts, hooks and distaffs, loom weights and spools. We created a database using *open source* software (SQLite interfaced with Openoffice.org Base) to record context, morphometry, weight, decoration, condition, wear, chronology, bibliography and archive data of each tool;[6] the database was linked to a GIS, which allows us to proceed to spatial analysis and to link it to other data systems.[7] So far, almost three thousand items (2893) have been recorded, coming from eastern Lombardia (Brescia) and from the Veneto Region (fig. 1): Among these, the most numerous tools are the spindle whorls (292) and above all the loom weights (2352). Most of them (about 70%) were completely unpublished and most of the published materials is simply mentioned in the bibliography, lacking measures and weight.[8]

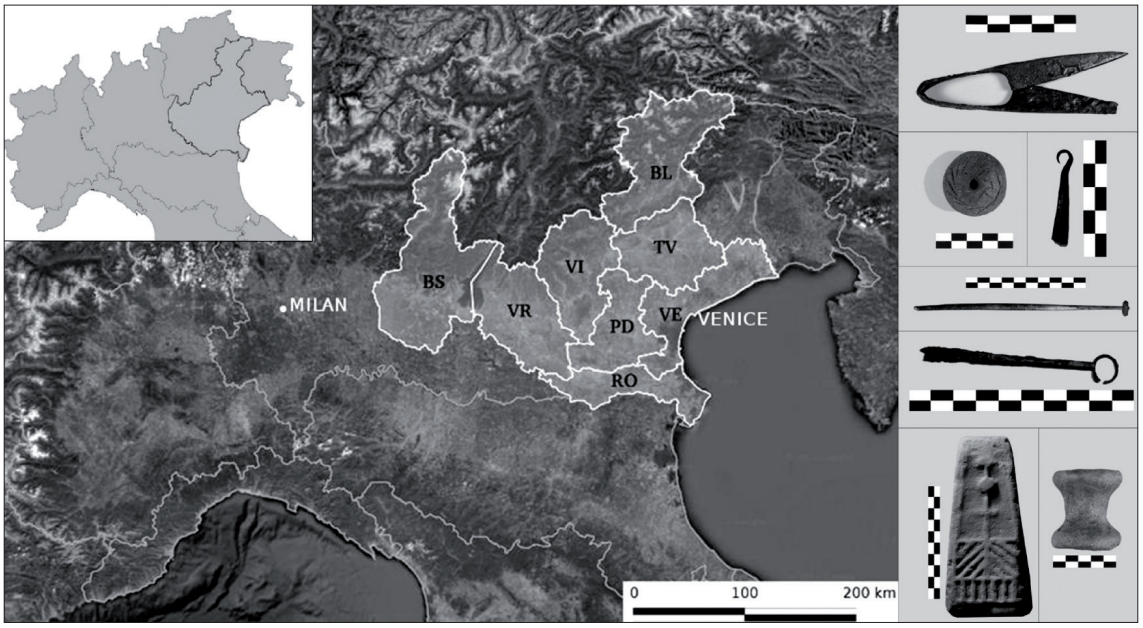

Fig. 1: Area of research and tools recorded.

Spindle Whorls and Loom Weights: Morphometric Features, Functional Parameters, Chronology

The research focused up to now on the spindle whorls and the loom weights, highlighting the functional parameters, which are useful to define the features of yarns and fabrics, based on CTR experimental tests: The weight of the spindle whorls[9] and the weight and the thickness of the loom weights.[10]

About the spindle whorls, six different morphologies have been recorded: Discoid spindle whorls are the more attested, followed by the truncated cone and spheroidal ones, while other shapes appear in lesser amounts (fig. 2a). The majority of items weigh between 16 and 30 grams, with a peak between 26 g and 30 g: We can imagine a production of a medium yarn size (fig. 2b).[11]

As concerns the loom weights, we distinguish two morphological macro-groups: The truncated pyramidal shape and the discoid shape. The truncated pyramidal shape, that represents the 85% of the weights recorded, includes three variants related to the thickness of the lower base: Thickness variations affect the position and, consequently, the space between the warp threads and, therefore, the fabric weaved (fig. 3a). As regards the weight, most of the items are between 400g and 900g (70%), with a peak between 600–700g (48%) (fig. 3b).[12] Comparing weight/thickness and morphology, we also notice some distinct groups of items, probably designed for specific production.

Such high values entailed a considerable effort to move back and forth the heddles to which the warp threads were tied, held in tension by the loom weights.

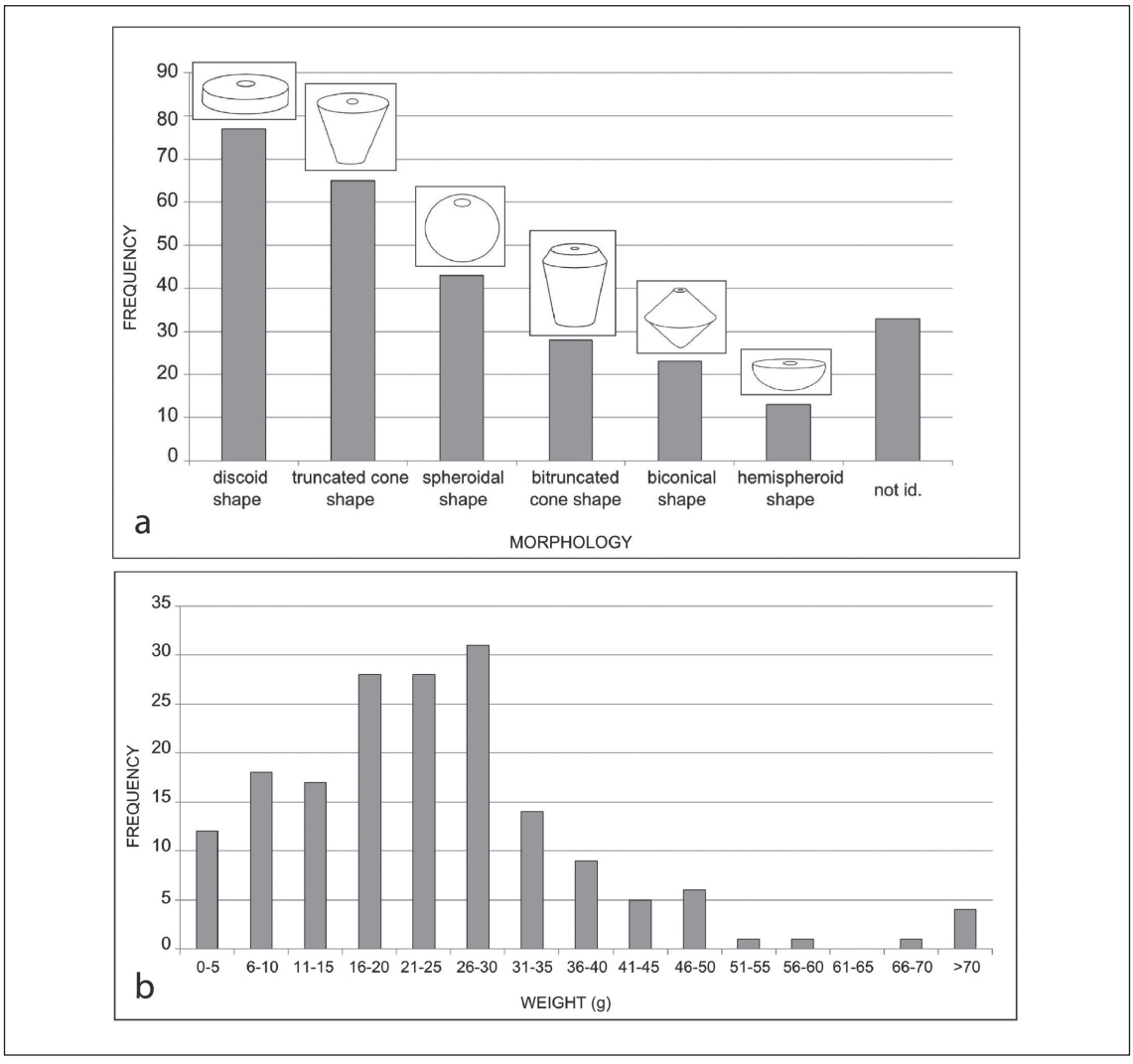

Fig. 2: Morphology and weight of spindle whorls.

The analyses of the weight of loom weights from Altino, Padua and Verona allow us to assume the productions of different fabrics for different purposes: The loom weights are on average gradually heavier in the three contexts, according to the literary sources on the wool and fabric quality.[13]

The analyses of the weight of spindle whorls and loom weight from urban and rural contexts suggest also the productions of different yarns and fabrics for different purposes, and maybe different customers: Both classes of objects are heavier and more standardised in the countryside than in the cities, where maybe there was demand for finest fabrics and for products of different quality.[14]

Chronologically, it should be emphasised that from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD is testified the greatest variety of types, with a clear predominance of the trun-

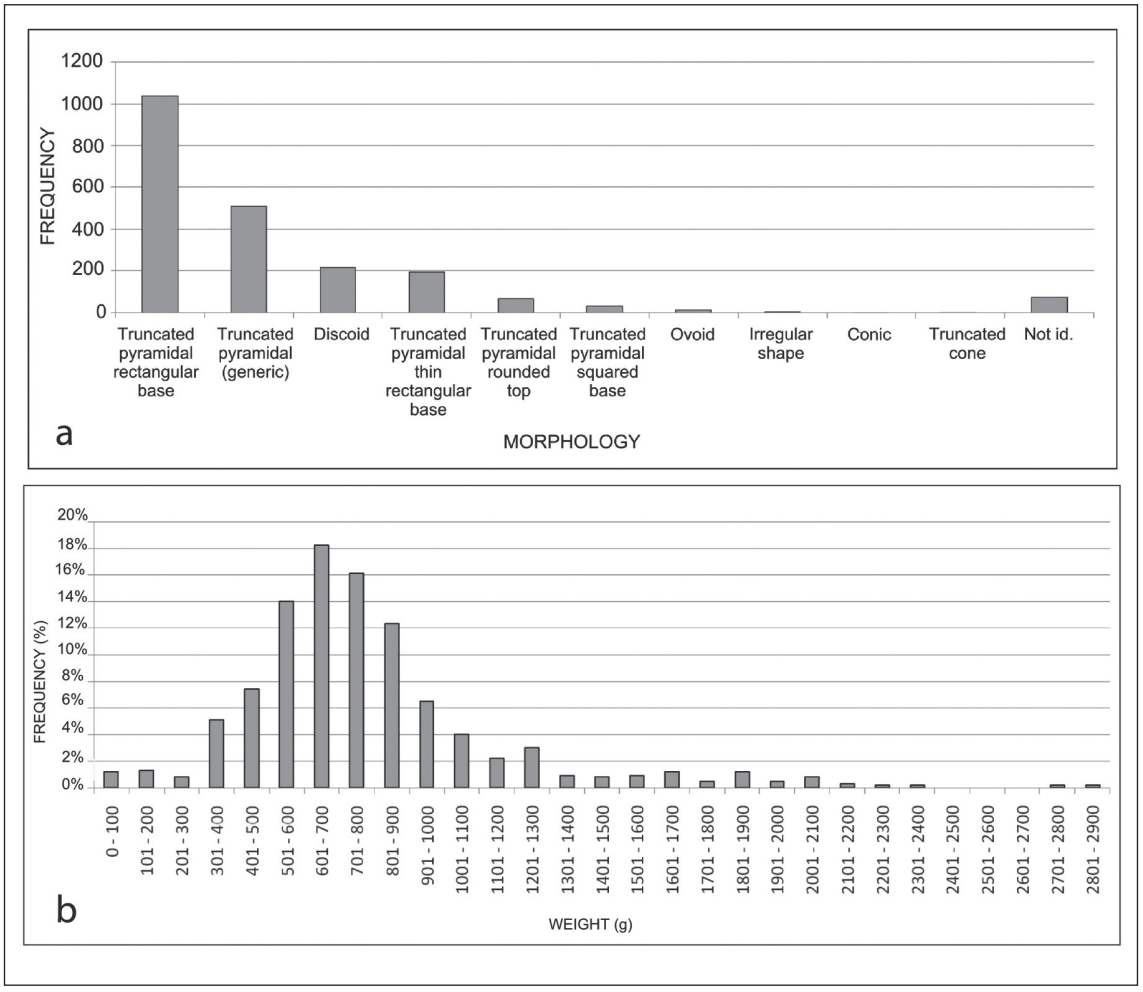

Fig. 3: Morphology and weight of loom weights.

cated pyramidal loom weights. No loom weight exceeds the 2nd century AD suggesting the probable decline of the warp weighted loom and the spread of the two-beam loom.[15]

M. S. B.

Spindle Whorls and Loom Weights: Contexts and Ideology

The *Pondera* project revealed that weaving tools were mostly recovered in settlements, while spinning tools came, for the most part, from graves.

What was the role of textile tools with regard to funeral celebrations? What social and economic rank were they referring to? What was the age group represented? What kind of woman was portrayed? The *Lanifica* project, whose name evokes the title used

in Roman epitaphs to praise the moral virtues of the deceased by means of a reference to the skillfulness in wool working, is designed to answer these questions; the aim is to provide broader insights into Roman society, with particular attention to the feminine world and the role of textile manufacturing in women's lives, on both the real and the ideological level.

This investigation includes a multidisciplinary analysis of tombs discovered in northern Italy and the north-western Roman provinces, characterised by the presence of textile tools among the grave goods.

A systematic survey is currently underway, implying a wide-ranging analysis of the evidence, which combines the position, the structure and the burial rite of each tomb, as well as the composition and nature of the grave goods, and the anthropological data.

Textile tools are quite unusual among the Roman grave goods, ranging on average between 1 and 20% in burial plots excavated in extension. When present, spinning tools are the most common and generally stand in lavish graves. Made up of breakable materials, most of them were hardly used in the everyday life. Some were even warped or altered in colour because of a contact with the flames and then placed inside the ossuary, just like a part of the human being. These elements reveal the high symbolic value the spinning tools were given within the cremation and the interment. Where preserved, the human remains belong to adult women or young ladies in marriageable age.

Considering this evidence, it is likely that in Roman funerary practices spinning tools were not aimed to convey the profession of the deceased. Rather, they were intended to suggest their moral integrity, establishing a sort of comparison between the women and the outstanding figures from the past or the myth. They could have even served to indicate the marital status of the woman, recalling the image of the bride entering the groom's house with her spindles and distaffs during the wedding ceremony.[16]

Textile Working as a Feminine Profession

It is impossible to say how much time the elite women actually spent working wool; *vice versa,* it is not unlikely that many women from the lower classes spun and weaved more regularly, for private use or to contribute with some income to the home finances.[17]

As the studies advance, the canonical portrait of Roman women, leading a secluded life, devoted just to the home and the care of offspring, turns out to be more and more distant from the true and appears to be strongly compromised by gender biases, social conventions and literary *topoi.* In everyday life, most women did not stay at home and often had to go out to earn a living.[18]

The number of occupational activities available to women was certainly lower than that for men, because of their lesser physical resistance and their greater commitment to run the household and to look after the children. Textile industry was one of the most

common options.[19] Among the job titles remembered in commemorative inscriptions for women, we find a fair number of spinners (*quasillariae*), weavers (*textrices/staminariae*), wool-weighters (*lanipendae*), tailors (*vestificae/sarcinatrices*) and even a sort of wool businesswoman (*lanifica circlatrix*) leading a small textile enterprise in the land of Aquileia (InscrAq, 69); according to the occupational titles, these jobs were performed seldom even by men.[20] Where the activities took place is still under debate: Most likely, the commercial production chain was held in a double manner, on piece-work, in small-scale and domestic settings, or on a more organised scale, within specialised workshops, rationally arranged for profit.[21]

In urban contexts, the textile craft could have been the sole feminine profession requiring women to make an actual huge physical effort. Besides it, the commitment was highly time-consuming and probably non-stop, implying a continuous repetition of mechanical movements for many hours a day. Suffice it to consider how much time was assessed in a recent study to produce a toga, the most distinctive garment of ancient Rome: Working non-stop ten hours a day, the production of this vest would have taken almost 120 days of a single person work.[22] Of course, in antiquity as today, several additional factors could affect the time consumption in textile craft: the technique chosen, the tools used, the type of fibers and, last but not least, the workers' level of experience.[23]

Reconstructing Gestures and Postures in Roman Textile Craft: Written and Iconographic Sources

In Roman Europe the most common way of spinning was the so-called suspended/drop-spindle spinning, i.e. working with a free hanging spindle, having a whorl stuck on the upper or lower end. In one of his most famous poems, Catullus gives a straightforward account of the spinning procedures in use in his time: He emphasizes the use of mouth and teeth to bite out the fibres flaws and to soften the resulting thread by wetting the yarn with saliva (Catul. 64, 311–319). The actions detailed by the poet correspond with the image on an attic vase found in Orvieto, dated to the early 5th century BC.[24]

Other sources concern the weaving techniques. The warp-weighted loom was the most common type till the end of the 1st century AD. It was made of two upright beams, placed slanting against a wall or a support in the roof, and a single horizontal beam to which the warp threads were fastened. Loom-weights held in tension the warp threads.[25] The image on a Corinthian aryballos (fig. 4a) and ethnographic parallels studied in Norway by M. Hoffmann in the mid-twentieth century (fig. 4b) prove that, while weaving, the worker stood in front of the loom, if necessary on a bench, pulling forwards the heddle rod, to change the position of threads, and weaving from the top downwards.[26] Most likely, in consideration even of the high weight values recorded for the Roman loom weights, a great effort was required, in particular at the back and at the upper

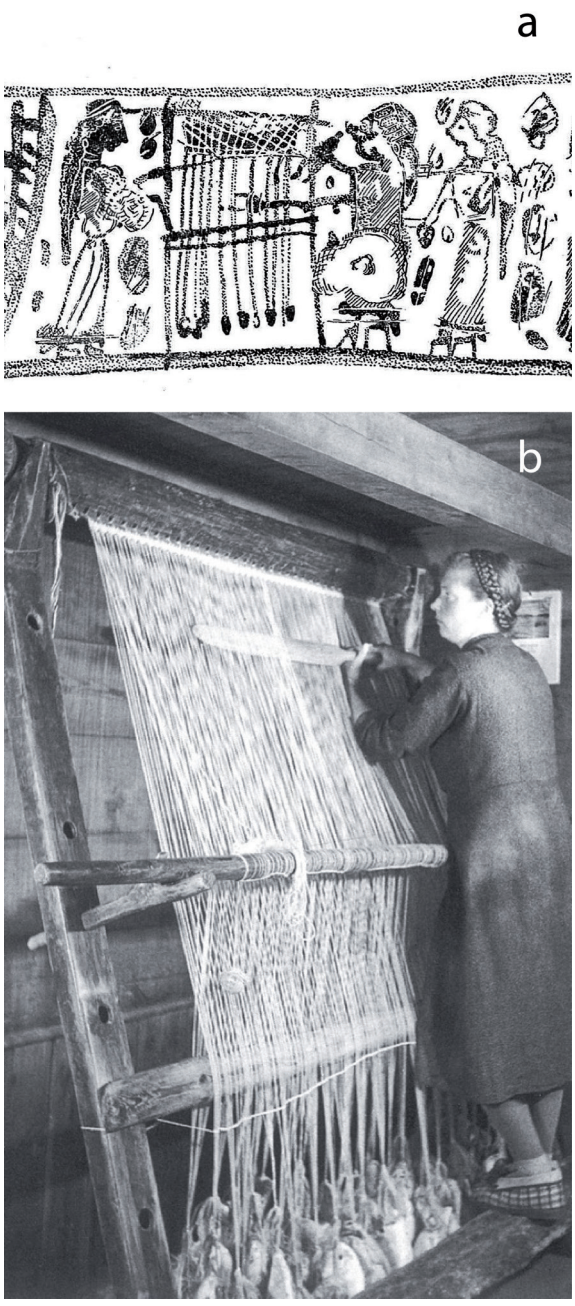

Fig. 4: a) Corinthian aryballos detail, 580–560 BC; b) Warp-weighted loom in Scandinavia, 1930.

Fig. 5: a) Rome, *Forum Nervae*. Detail of the frieze with Arachne's myth; b) Tapestry loom in Iran.

limbs, not only to pull the heddle rod, but also to beat upwards each insertion of new weft yarn against the woven web.

Conversely, the vertical two-beam loom is generally considered to have spread across Italy and the Roman western provinces by the 1st century AD. In this loom the warp was stretched between two horizonal beams, which were fixed to free-standing upright ones. The representation of a weaving scene on the frieze of the *Forum Nervae* in Rome clarifies the way of working with this new type of loom (fig. 5a): The worker sat in front of the loom, still pulling forwards the heddle rod, to change the position of threads, but weaving from the bottom to the top and packing the weft downwards just like nowadays in some parts of North Africa and the Near East for handmade tapes-

try and carpets[27] (fig. 5b). Even in this case, a great effort can be imagined, resulting in backaches and pains at the lower limbs, the latter due to the posture.

C. R.

Reconstructing Gestures and Postures in Roman Textile Craft: Skeletal Markers

Ethnographic research played and plays even today an important role in the resolution of archaeological issues, such as the recognition of skeletal markers related to the textile craft. As an example, the technique of spinning described by Catullus is still common in several parts of the world, such as northern Anatolia, where many old women still produce yarn in the traditional way, using teeth like a third-hand to grasp the thread while softening the fibres with saliva. This non-alimentary use of the mouth results in microtraumas of the soft tissues and even in grooves and scrapes on the occlusal surface of the anterior teeth. Similar wears on skeletal remains from archaeological context can prove the existence of yarn production among the ancient communities.[28]

A recent field of osteo-archaeological research consists in identifying markers of Musculoskeletal Disorders (MSDs) related to occupational activities in human skeletal remains. In short, a prolonged and strenuous physical activity can cause modifications recognisable on the bones. In these terms, enthesopaties (i.e. bone modifications consisting in bone spurs, osseous crests and erosions at the insertion of muscles, ligaments and tendons) are particularly important.

Modern researches of occupational medicine on the incidence of MSDs in communities from India and Iran, where the textile craft is still performed to large extent in a traditional way, show that, on average, people work at the loom ten hours a day, seven days a week. At these conditions, it is not uncommon for weavers to develop severe injuries. In particular, long-lasting static work in awkward position on hard benches or floor can produce traumas involving the vertebral column, because of an uncomfortable work place without back rest and with little space for legs; a prolonged crouching and kneeling work posture can cause bone modifications at the lower limbs, especially femur and patella, with additional onset of osteoarthrosis at the knee; the repetitive rotation of wrist and the intensive use of flexor tendons of the hand while weaving can cause osteoarthritis and bone crests in the hands.[29] In addition, the continuous inhalation of fibre dust, together with a poor hygiene of the work environment and a lack of proper ventilation, can lead to a severe impairment of breathing, resulting in bronchial obstruction and lungs restrictions.[30] Moreover, the synergy between the poor hygiene condition, the scarce ventilation and pulmonary weakening due to suspended particles of polluted fibers can place the weavers at risk of more serious infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis.[31]

Female Textile Workers in Roman *Venetia:* The Bio-Archaeological Evidence from Padua

In consideration of these aspects, we tried to evaluate the presence and the health state of female textile workers in Roman north-eastern Italy, starting from the skeletal sample recovered in Padua/*Patavium,* one of the main manufacturing and trade centres of the region. Ancient authors state that wool processing and cloth production played a pivotal role in the city's economy[32] and archaeological data seem to prove it.[33]

At present, the urban cemeteries of Padua are the best-known throughout the *Venetia,* thanks to a systematic study of the Roman funerary evidence recovered from the 18th century onwards:[34] The whole sample consists of more than 427 graves, around two-thirds of which received a bio-archaeological analysis. An in-depth evaluation of occupational markers was possible only in the case of inhumation graves, corresponding to 13% ca of the total amount and, for the most part, dating back to the 2nd century AD. The bone sample consists in 25 skeletons fairly well preserved, twelve of which belonged to females with average age at death of 30 years old. In spite of the small bone sample, some interesting considerations about the female skeletons were possible.

Fig. 6: a) Padova. Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, 141–143, Tb. 23. Severe dental wear due to a non-alimentary use affecting superior dentition; b) Detail; c) Non-alimentary use of teeth while spinning (after Erdal 2008).

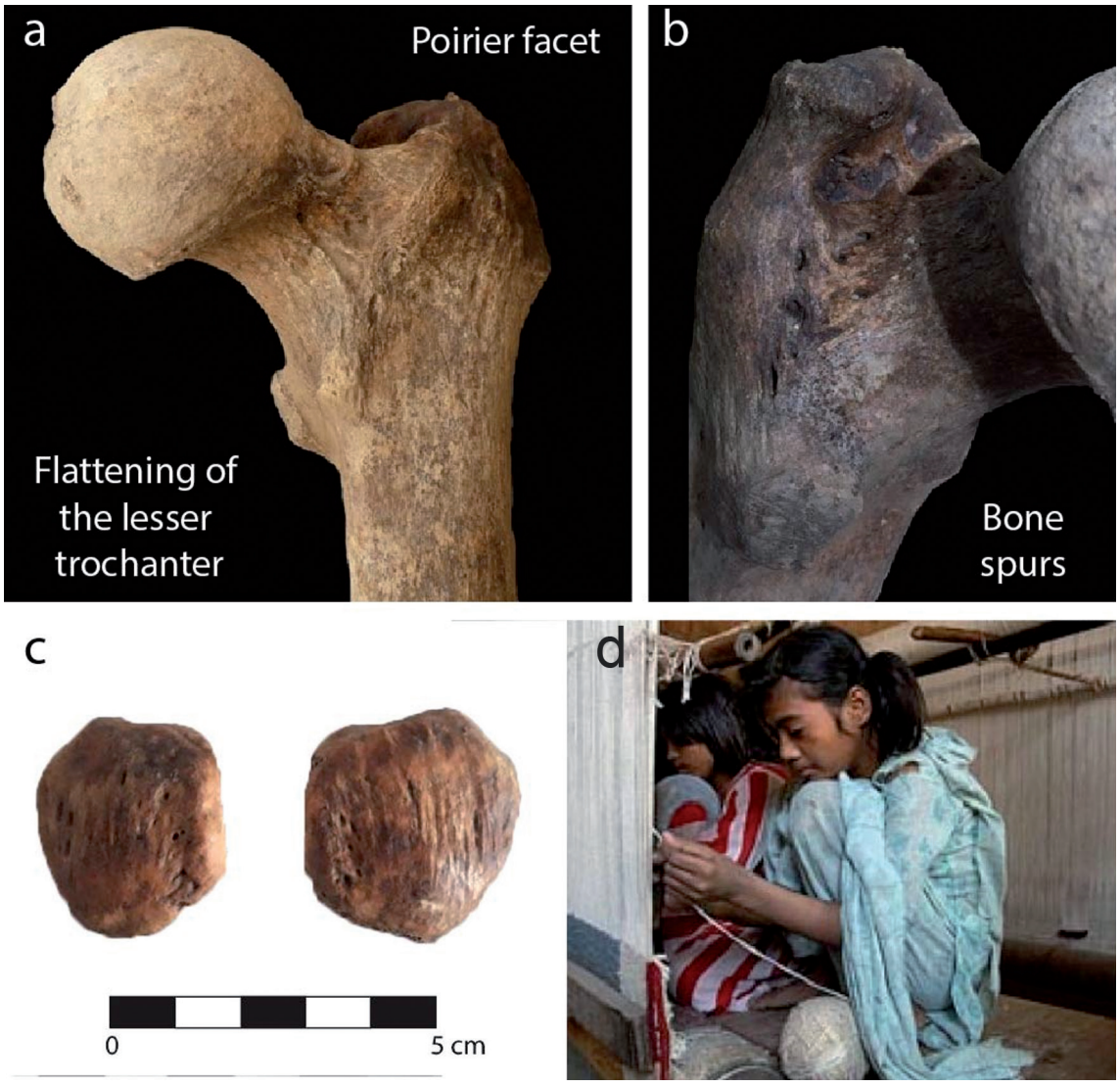

Fig. 7: a–b) Padova. Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, 141–143, Tb. 36. Enthesopaties at femur produced by stress related to the impact of the femural head to the hip's acetabular rim, in consequence of a repetitive crouched position; c) Padova. Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, 141–143, Tb. 23. Squeeze of the supero-lateral surfaces of the patellae, due to a posture with both lower limbs hyperflexed; d) an ethnographic example.

Fig. 8: Padova. Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, 141–143, Tb. 36. Pott's disease related to a probable tuberculosis with partial destruction of T11 vertebral body, fused to T12 vertebral body, collapse and forward bending (kyphosis) of the spine. On bottom TAC of T11–T12.

First of all, just in the female sample a marked dental wear on the anterior teeth was recognised, implying a use for regular and heavy non-alimentary activities, such as grasping the thread while spinning (fig. 6). The same wears are absent in the male sample. Therefore, the presence of grooves and abrasions only on feminine teeth could suggest that spinning was a mere feminine task.

Four female skeletons (44,4%) show enthesopathies at the lower limbs consisting in marked flattening and medial shifting of the lesser trochanter, bone spurs at the trochanteric fossa and notches to the superolateral corner of the knee caps at the insertion of vastus lateralis muscle. All these bone modifications are most likely due to repetitive crouched working posture or to a seated position with both knees hyper-flexed. Both postures are compatible with weaving activities and, first of all, with a continuous use of a vertical two-beams loom (fig. 7).

Finally, the paleopathological investigation on the female skeletons revealed a classical example of Pott's disease in a mature woman (fig. 8). This pathology, that affects the vertebral column, consists in erosive destruction of one or more vertebral bodies usually of the thoraco-lumbar tract of the spine that results in collapse and kyphosis. Pott's disease is the result of the spinal involvement by a tuberculous infection and it is not uncommon among spinning and weaving traditional workers. Among these workers tuberculosis is usually due to both the pollution of fibres used and the poor hygiene condition of the working place. Although it is not a conclusive proof, the existence of this disease, alongside with other aforementioned evidence provided by the analysis of the skeletal remains, allows us to consider the weaving activity as the potential occupation of this woman.

A. C.

Conclusion

In conclusion, even the human remains seem to prove the great relevance of textile craft in Roman Padua and, furthermore, the active role of women in this production chain.

Even if both the archaeological and the anthropological data are partial and inconclusive, the final picture seems to show a fair concurrence of results.

We can finally affirm that only the use of a multidisciplinary approach could help us to go beyond the documentation gaps, allowing us to reach more reliable results. While this paper will be published, the *Lanifica* Project will have been completed. In the meantime, several works have already seen the light. In particular, see Busana – Rossi 2020; Rossi et al. 2020. For an overview see also Busana – Francisci – Rossi (forthcoming).

M. S. B., C. R., A. C.

Notes

[1] Marchiori 1990; Bonetto 1997; Bonetto 1999a; Bonetto1999b; Modugno 1999; Rosada 2004; Bonetto 2008.
[2] Basso et al. 2004; Bonetto et al. 2011.
[3] Busana et al. 2012a.
[4] Gleba 2012, 331.
[5] Busana – Gleba 2018.
[6] Busana et al. 2015. Unfortunately, the manufacts were rarely *in situ* when they were discovered: Not *in situ* but inside the original context are the 25 or 27 loom weights from a Roman farm in Isola Vicentina (Vicenza).
[7] Busana et al. 2012b, 405–406.
[8] Busana et al. 2012b; Galiazzo 2012; Gottardi 2012; Paderno 2012; Zentilini 2012; Tricomi 2012; Tricomi 2014; Tricomi forthcoming.
[9] Mårtensson et al. 2005–2006; Mårtensson et al. 2006; Andersson Strand 2012, 208–210.
[10] Mårtensson et al. 2007; Mårtensson et al. 2009; Andersson Strand 2012, 210–212.
[11] Busana – Tricomi 2016; Tricomi 2018.
[12] Busana – Tricomi 2016; Tricomi 2018.
[13] Busana – Tricomi 2018.
[14] Busana – Tricomi 2016; Tricomi 2018.
[15] Busana – Tricomi 2016; Tricomi 2018.
[16] For the first results of this part of the Lanifica project, see Rossi 2012 and Rossi 2018.
[17] Groen-Vallinga 2013, 298.
[18] For this gap between imagery and actual life see Hemelrijk 2016 with bibliography.
[19] A huge literature flourished in the last decades, following the first studies by Susan Treggiari (1976, 1979). For an overview, see Buonopane – Cenerini 2003; Cenerini 2009, 165–183; Groen-Vallinga 2013; Larsson Lovén 2016 and Becker 2016.
[20] On the epigraphic evidence, with particular attention to the feminine textile craft, see Larsson Lovén 2013, 111–117.
[21] For a discussion on this topic, see Treggiari 1979, 67–70 and Dixon 2000–2001.
[22] For this assessment, based on the analysis of statues in scale 1:1, see Harlow 2016, 139.
[23] Andersson Strand 2015, 46.
[24] For a wider reconstruction of the spinning technique, see Wild 1970, 31–37; Andersson Strand 2015, 44–48; Grömer 2016, 74–81. On the image, see Barber 1991, 70 fig. 2, 36; Lipkin 2012, 70 fig. 32.
[25] For a reconstruction of the weaving technique with a warp-weighted loom see Wild 1970, 61–68; Barber 1991, 91–113; Ciszul – Hammarlund 2008, 122–123; Andersson Strand 2015, 52–53.
[26] Respectively, Davidson Weinberg – Weinberg 1956 and Hoffman 1964.
[27] For a discussion on two-beam looms see Wild 1970, 69–72; Ciszul – Hammarlund 2008, 124–127; Andersson Strand 2015, 54.
[28] On the recognition of this kind of occupational markers in ancient Mediterranean contexts, see Erdal 2008; Baker et al. 2012; Liston 2012, 134; Lorentz 2016.
[29] Choobineh et al. 2004; Motamedzade – Moghimbeigi 2012.

[30] Golshan et al. 2002; Rastogy et al. 2003.
[31] Goel – Tyagi 2012; Golshan et al. 2002.
[32] Basso et al. 2004; Busana – Tricomi 2018.
[33] E.g. two Roman floors entirely made with loom-weights and the presence of a fair number of Roman alum-amphorae, presumably linked to wool processing workshops. See Busana et al. 2012b, 423–424.
[34] For the Roman cemeteries of Padua, see Rossi 2014; Rossi 2016; Rossi – Marini 2018 with bibliography.

Image Credits

Fig. 1–3: by the author. – Fig. 4: a) after Davidson Weinberg – Weinberg 1956; b) after Hoffman 1964. – Fig. 5: a) AAR-Barbara Bini Collection; b) Google. – Fig. 6: a–b) by the author (courtesy of Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Venezia e le province di Belluno, Padova e Treviso – Mic); c) after Erdal 2008 – Fig. 7: a–c) by the author (courtesy of Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Venezia e le province di Belluno, Padova e Treviso – Mic); d) Google – Fig. 8: by the author (courtesy of Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Venezia e le province di Belluno, Padova e Treviso – Mic).

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Different Grave Types from Northeastern Phrygia

Hale Güney

Since 2014, an epigraphic survey, conducted in northeastern Phrygia, today's eastern part of the Eskişehir Province in Turkey, revealed a number of fifty inscriptions.[1] A part of this area belonged to the Choria Considiana, an imperial estate located in the province of Galatia between the ancient cities of Midaion and Akkilaion in the west, Gordion in the east, Iuliopolis in the north and Colonia Germa in the south. Within the research area, the ancient villages of Akreina and Phyle were apparently part of another estate, belonging to the Roman senatorial family of the Plancii, which was situated to the east of Choria Considiana. Our case studies, the necropoleis of Çalçak and Gürleyik were located in northern Choria Considiana. A newly found inscription indicates yet another estate in the surroundings of the village of Otluk belonging to a veteran and his son.[2]

The fifty inscriptions, which have been discovered in Mihalıççık County so far, are mostly dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. The majority of these inscriptions are epitaphs. In general, status, wealth, origin, citizenship, careers, family relations and age were regularly recorded in epitaphs. The use of portraits and depictions of the deceased in various appearances on tombs and grave markers was a common reflection on the social life and social values of the communities in Phrygia. Here, grave and votive monuments are especially idiosyncratic when compared with those from other regions. They frequently display agricultural and other tools, and thus show the Phrygians' rural occupations and way of life. Grave monuments from Phrygia, the so-called doorstones in particular, have been studied by several scholars.[3] Though already studied based on published evidence from Phrygia,[4] the new evidence from our survey will allow to confirm or modify opinions formed so far. The 'doorstone' tradition was common practice for grave monuments in Phrygia. However, the typology of grave monuments with a door façade among other decorations, changed through the Roman Imperial period. This paper questions whether the 'doorstone' tradition was common practice for funerary monuments in our survey area. Also, it asks whether there was any impact of other burial practices and grave monuments observed in the Roman Imperial period.

Taking case-based evidence into account, the paper focuses on three necropolis areas in the villages of Dinek, Otluk and Gürleyik in northeast Phrygia which offer grave monuments still on site including grave altars (bomoi) and stelai of Roman Imperial time, among them several door stelai. Twenty-eight funerary monuments are attested in these necropolis areas. Spolia in the villages also confirm some other grave monuments. All the evidence with or without architectural context needs to be classified in terms of typology and chronology and then evaluated with respect to find context, style and social identity. Employing epigraphical data as well as archaeological records, the aim of the paper is to identify social settings in northeast Phrygia concentrated on burial practices and variation in grave monuments.

Published in: Ute Kelp – Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen (Eds.), Wealthy and Healthy? Methodological Approaches to Non-Élite Burials, Panel 1.2, Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World 1 (Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2022) 113–115. DOI: *https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.926.c12236*

With reference to the above-mentioned cases, four grave types are documented: grave altars, grave stelai with pediment, grave stelai with pediment and door motif, grave stelai with architectural pediment and pillar stelai. Based on current evidence it seems that both grave stelai with and without door motif were favoured within our survey area. However, this preference varied in the three cases examined in this study. In general, grave stelai with pediment or decorated kyma seem to be locally produced by resident stonemasons throughout our survey area. Nonetheless, further stylistic analysis should be undertaken to reach certainty.

Notes

[1] Güney 2016; Güney 2018a.

[2] Güney 2018b, see also Güney (forthcoming).

[3] Waelkens 1986; Lochman 2005; Masséglia 2013; Kelp 2015.

[4] Kelp 2013; Masséglia 2013.

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A Glimpse at the Bioarchaeological History of the Late Antiquity Necropolis of Centocelle (Rome): Results from a Multiproxy Approach

Ricardo Fernandes – Alessia Nava – Christian Hamann – Thomas Larsen – Patrick Roberts – Yiming Wang – Alfredo Coppa – Luca Bondioli

Given an emphasis on historical sources, the vast majority of the people that lived within the Roman world remains voiceless. In their aid, isotopic analyses of archaeological human remains provide important insights into the diet, nutrition, and mobility of single individuals.[11] Nonetheless, available Roman isotopic data is still sparse and periods of contrasting forms of political and social organization, such as late antiquity, remain comparatively unexamined.

Burials from a Roman villa complex next to the Via Labicana (within modern day Centocelle, Rome) offer an opportunity to reconstruct the lives of late antiquity Romans. A pilot interdisciplinary research project was undertaken that included osteological analysis, radiocarbon dating, and multiple isotopic analyses of human remains. Caloric contributions from food groups and macronutrients were quantified using a Bayesian mixing model (FRUITS)[22] and relied on a database (IsoArcH)[33] of isotopic values for roughly coeval food remains.

Radiocarbon dates revealed a complex chronology while isotopic results demonstrated that the Centocelle individuals likely lived for several years in the region prior to their deaths. Most individuals had comparatively poor diets with low contributions from animal protein and major caloric contributions from plant foods. Given the limited amount of available samples different interpretations of the results can be put forward. Namely, if reconstructed diets reflect a specific socio-economic condition, a cultural choice, or a more general trend towards impoverishment within late antiquity. This provides a basis for future extended research into the lives of late antique Romans.

Notes

[1] Fernandes – Chowaniec 2018.

[2] Fernandes et al. 2014.

[3] Salesse et al. 2018.

Published in: Ute Kelp – Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen (Eds.), Wealthy and Healthy? Methodological Approaches to Non-Élite Burials, Panel 1.2, Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World 1 (Heidelberg, Propylaeum 2022) 117–118. DOI: *https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.926.c12237*

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The analysis of ancient societies beyond the political system, leading actors, and élite groups relies heavily on the archaeological record. Abundantly preserved burial sites present a major part of ancient testimonies. Yet, neither are burials with their grave goods a mirror of past lives nor do non-élite burials necessarily equal poor burials, and we need a mixture of criteria to identify non-élite as well as non-poor burials. The bones of the deceased are, however, first class bio-historical sources. There is a strong correlation between wealth and health in antiquity and human remains reflect the social status via diet and health.

With respect to various methodological approaches to funerary archaeology linking the capacities of material culture studies to social and natural sciences, the contributions in this volume explore the relationship between material culture, health and social status. They evaluate non-élite burials regarding the social persona and life style of the deceased as much as the ideology of the descendants expressing their beliefs through the burial process. Precisely the focus on context analysis – aiming beyond the funerary sphere – constitutes the importance of the case studies united in this volume.

ISBN 978-3-96929-092-7

Associazione Internazionale
di Archeologia Classica
International Association for Classical Archaeology