ARTIFACTS AND BURIAL PRACTICES IN THE VAGNARI CEMETERY

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By LIANA BRENT, B.A.

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AUTHOR: Liana Brent, B.A. (Honours, McMaster University)
SUPERVISORS: Professors M. George and T.L. Prowse
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Abstract

Located in southeast Italy, the site of Vagnari has been explored archaeologically to provide new insight into the Roman *vicus* that once formed part of an imperial estate. After the discovery of a cemetery on the property in 2002, its exploration has yielded important results for understanding the lives and deaths of individuals in rural Italy from the first to early fourth centuries AD. Within the sphere of funerary archaeology and commemoration, there has been a shift in recent scholarship away from the monuments and practices of imperial and senatorial families in urban cities towards those who were underrepresented in epigraphic and textual evidence, namely ordinary individuals. Although the deaths of slaves, freedmen and freeborn individuals on rural estates may not survive in textual forms, funerary archaeology presents one medium of exploring both funerary and burial practices in previously understudied areas of Roman Italy.

Previous studies of the Vagnari cemetery have been centered around a catalogue of burials, artifacts, and pathology, with more recent work focusing on stable isotopes and ancient DNA. This thesis focuses on the artifacts and patterns of distribution to understand how burial practices may have been shaped by social, economic and legal status. Material from the archaeological record is used to reconstruct funerals at this rural site, as well as explore the treatment of children in the cemetery. The primary focus is not simply the artifacts themselves, but the ways in which material culture can be interpreted to address issues of social status, prosperity, and internal hierarchy within the cemetery. Within the wider realm of funerary practices, this study aims to understand funerals in a rural setting based on the burial record by incorporating archaeological, literary and historic evidence, in order to situate the site within our increasing knowledge of death and commemoration in the Roman Empire.

Acknowledgements

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I am also grateful to Alastair and Carola Small for their initial invitation to excavate at Vagnari, and for all subsequent support in my thesis. Much of this research originated from a lifetime of their work, and I am appreciative of their encouragement to study Vagnari. Additional thanks must be extended to Dr. Evan Haley for his enthusiasm in early morning classes, and to Mrs. Carmen Camilleri, who has always made it a pleasure to work on the seventh floor.

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Introduction

Burial Practices in the Roman World

The study of burial and commemoration in the Roman world is a multi-faceted one that draws on evidence from a broad array of categories in order to understand better the treatment of the dead and the interrelated impact upon the living. Literary, historical, and archaeological evidence promotes studies of funerary commemoration across many disciplines, since information gleaned from death elucidates various aspects of life, including social stratification, belief systems, and changing views over many centuries. Alternating practices of cremation and inhumation from the Iron Age onwards are recognized indicators of cultural identity in peninsular Italy among the Villanovans, Etruscans, Greeks and Romans. Both methods of burial reflect underlying tenets of respectful treatment and disposal of the deceased.

Etymologically, the word *necropolis* derives from the Greek for 'city of the dead,' while 'cemetery' originates from κοιμητήριον, transliterated to *coemeterium*, meaning 'a sleeping place.'[1] The former term was used in antiquity to describe an area for burials, and it will be used in this study when referring more generally to ancient burial sites, whereas the focus of this research, namely the collective group of burials at Vagnari in southern Italy, is referred to intentionally as a 'cemetery'. Carroll is correct in her assertion that Roman 'cemeteries' looked quite different from modern ones, yet the rural cemetery at Vagnari near Gravina in Puglia deviates considerably from the conventional notion of a 'street of the tombs,' and therefore provides an exemplary avenue through

[1] Carroll 2006: 2-3.

which mortuary archaeology can be studied in a rural context and can contribute to our larger understanding of Roman burial practices.

Instead of a collection of large tombs on the outskirts of town, the Vagnari cemetery provides unique insight into rural funerary practices, where words like *monumentum*, *bustum*, and *titulus* that are traditionally part of any Roman funerary study, are not found, simply because the tombs differ in superstructure and materials from those found at Pompeii, Isola Sacra, and Rome.[2] The collection of burials in the Vagnari cemetery are located, as they were in antiquity, beneath ground level, most with roof tiles over the deceased, and collectively, the tombs form a cemetery that was integrated into the world of the living, despite the fact that it did not line a major road leaving the town, as in the manner of urban counterparts. Admittedly, the exploration of graves without Latin epitaphs, sculptural relief, or any type of above-ground structure moves this study away from the usual direction of Roman funerary practices, yet it relies heavily on archaeological, historical, and anthropological evidence in order to integrate rural practices from the Vagnari cemetery into our current understanding of Roman funerary, burial and commemorative practices.

[2]Although *cappuccina* tombs, the type commonly employed for ordinary individuals in the late Republic and early Empire, are found at Isola Sacra, Pompeii, and Rome, there is a great deal of evidence for monumental tombs and funerary inscriptions at these sites, whereas there is no such evidence at Vagnari.

Map 1. The location of Vagnari in Southeast Italy.

Vagnari: the Site

Located near the modern border of Puglia and Basilicata in southern Italy, the Roman settlement at Vagnari was discovered through a surface survey project under the direction of Alastair Small in the Basentello valley (Map 1). Excavation since 2000 has revealed a Roman settlement, which covered approximately 3.5 ha, situated near the ancient Via Appia between Venusium and Tarentum.[3] Preliminary investigations have revealed a site whose occupation extended from the fourth century BC until the sixth century AD and reached its greatest extent during the Middle Empire. The site was likely arranged as a *vicus* and it has been identified as part of an Imperial estate, based on the presence of tiles stamped by an Imperial slave, Gratus, as well as the nearby villa at San Felice, which was perhaps occupied by an Imperial procurator.[4] As an industrial center of

[3] Publications on Vagnari that outline its excavation history include Small, Volterra, and Hancock 2003; Small 2005; Small and Small 2005; Favia *et al*. 2005; Small *et al.* 2007; Prowse and Small 2009; and Prowse *et al*. 2010.

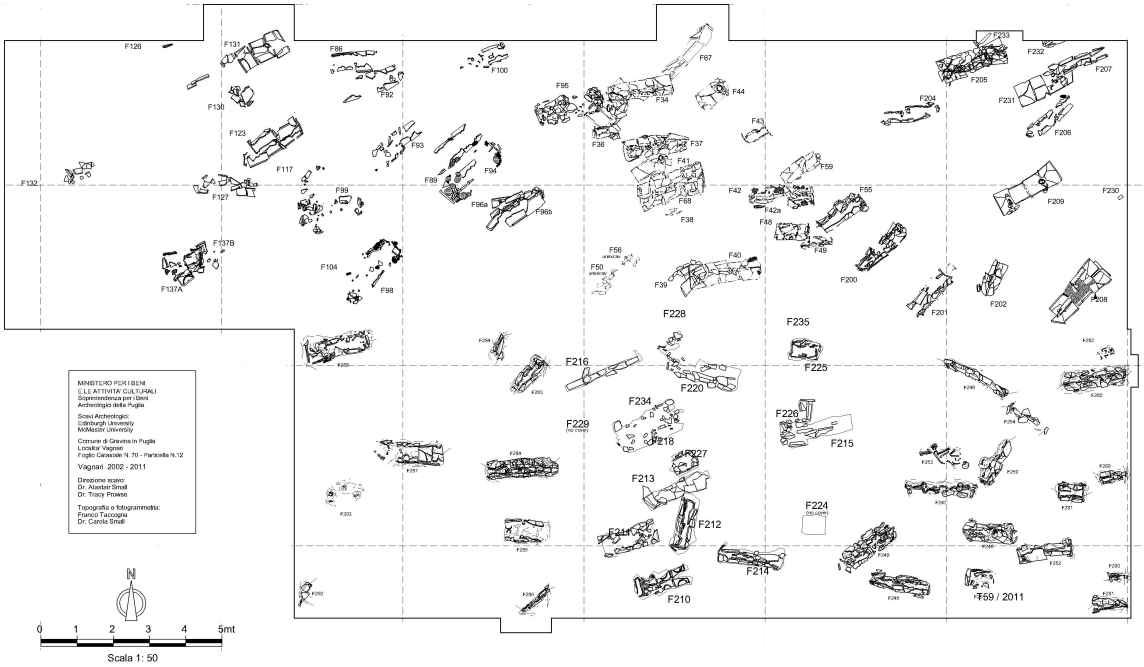
[4] Small, Volterra, and Hancock 2003: 179.

iron-working and tile-making, Vagnari provides an opportunity to study an Imperial estate, development of the industrial area, as well as rural funerary practices.

Cemetery Excavations

After the initial discovery of the Vagnari cemetery in 2002, seven contiguous trenches have been opened to reveal a tentative plan of the cemetery, indicating that burials extend in all cardinal directions with great potential for future excavation. Between 2002 and 2011, a total of 100 burials have been identified, 88 of which have been excavated (Plan 1).[5] Since the cemetery was discovered while excavating the nearby village, and both were initially under the overall direction of Alastair Small, burials are assigned ascending feature numbers that alternate between the cemetery and the village. In this study, burials will be referred to by their feature numbers, which range between F34 and F295. Artifacts are given a Small Find (SF) number as they are excavated and diagnostic ones receive a Special Piece (P) number after they have been cleaned; materials are identified by their P number in this study. Since 2003, excavation of the Vagnari cemetery has been under the direction of Tracy Prowse, whose bioarchaeological interests promote equal attention to human osteology, historical context, and archaeological evidence.

[5] A total of 14 burials were excavated in 2002; 16 in 2003; 10 in 2004; 5 in 2006; 13 in 2007; 12 in 2008; 6 in 2009, and 12 in 2011.



Plan 1. The Vagnari cemetery 2002-2011. Reproduced with permission from Tracy Prowse.

The Vagnari cemetery is among the largest collection of skeletal remains for any Roman cemetery in southern Italy, and while the collection has been studied for its skeletal material and artifact assemblages, many aspects of the funerary rites and ceremonial practices have not yet been studied comprehensively. By approaching the cemetery thematically rather than as a catalogue of burials, patterns of artifact use and distribution emerge, which convey information about Roman funerals, family units, and belief systems about the afterlife. This study will highlight prominent features, demographic profiles and artifact types in an effort to elucidate funerary practices from a rural cemetery in a previously understudied area of Italy.[6]

[6] Other cemetery excavations in the area include Otranto (Becker *et al*. 1992); Brindisium (Cocchiaro and Andreassi 1988). For an imperial property in Apulia, see Chelotti 1992; De Siena and Giardino 2001; Favia *et al*. 2005. Outside the region, other Roman cemeteries in Italy include Foligno

Chronology and Dating of the Cemetery

Several large structures from the nearby *vicus* of Vagnari have been excavated extensively, and when combined with evidence from the cemetery, they provide a chronology for understanding the history and development of the site. The village was situated near a road that has been identified as a section of the Via Appia and may have facilitated trade and transport, since the Imperial estate had a considerable industrial phase.[7] In spite of more than one thousand years of occupation at Vagnari, the excavated area of the cemetery has a more limited date range, primarily dating to the Middle Empire.

Chronological dating of the burials is based primarily on coins and pottery and, to a lesser extent, lamps. In the absence of other datable categories of evidence, namely sculpture, funerary inscriptions or any architectural elements, the cemetery is dated from the late first to the third century AD, although a considerable amount of fourth century material has been found.[8] While some individual burials can be approximately dated based on the inclusion of coins, lamps, and pottery forms, others cannot be dated more precisely than to a particular century on account of regional pottery, for which there is little comparanda.[9]

A total of 18 coins have been found in the Vagnari cemetery, ranging from the reigns of Trajan to Constantine. One Trajanic coin dates between 98-102 AD, while the later of two Constantinian coins ranges from AD 330-335; both provide a *terminus post*

(Bergamini 1988), Gubbio (Cipollone 2000-1) and Luzzi (Guzzo 1974); Canosa (Campese Simone 1996); Portorecanati (Mercando 1974); Musarna (Rebillard 2009); Ravenna (Leoni *et al*. 2008); etc.

[7] Small and Small 2005: 896.

[8] Prowse and Small 2009: 1.

[9] For a further discussion of artifact types and specific burials, see Chapter 1.

quem for their respective burials since the coins were fairly worn and likely circulated for some time before deposition into the grave.[10] Beyond numismatic evidence, a significant corpus of at least 34 lamps from the cemetery is dated to the second century AD, and a variety of ceramic vessels range broadly from the late first through the early fourth centuries AD. Although fourth century material has heretofore been treated as a later intrusion, its presence is nevertheless indicative of continuing funerary traditions and burial customs for almost three centuries. These grave goods and their various roles in funerary practices will be addressed more fully in Chapter 1, but at present, it is sufficient to state that the body of artifacts falls collectively within the Middle Empire.

After Romanization, cremation was the dominant trend in central Italy until the time of Hadrian, but some indigenous populations continued to practice their native rite of inhumation.[11] The use of cremation and inhumation burial rites are discussed by various ancient authors, including Lucretius, Cicero, Pliny, and Tacitus, who indicate that cremation was prevalent in the Late Republic and into the Early Empire.[12] Although other parts of Italy may have practiced cremation until the mid-second century, inhumation was the preferred method of deposition at Vagnari, even as early as the late first century AD. Supporting evidence for early adoption of inhumation is also found at the nearby

[10] Small *et al*. 2007: 149. The coins are P5030 from F202 and P808 from F42 respectively.
[11] Morris 1992: 54-6 and Carroll 2006, 4-8.
[12] Cf. Cicero *De Legibus* 2.22.56; Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 7.187; Lucretius *De Rerum Natura*; Tacitus *Annales* 16.6.

cemetery of ancient Brindisium, where cremation and inhumation were practiced simultaneously in the early Empire.[13]

Cremation, however, is represented at Vagnari in only 2 of 88 or 2.27% of excavated burials, both of which have been dated to the second century AD, based on the presence of a coin of Hadrian as well as a globule lamp.[14] To what extent can these burial practices be interpreted as a site-specific deviation, separate from burial practices elsewhere in Italy? Small has argued that the preference for inhumation began earlier than the 140s AD, towards the end of the first century, but the widespread change from inhumation to cremation at Portus and Ostia at a later date has become indicative for the change throughout Italy.[15] Either inhumation should be interpreted as a lingering indigenous preference of the region or there was a shift that occurred earlier than is usually discussed. No evidence for an *ustrinum* has been found thus far in the cemetery excavations, but evidence for debris and ash in F104 and F201 indicate that these two burials were *in situ* cremations, which are outliers in a cemetery of otherwise ubiquitous inhumation burials, at least until further evidence comes to light.

Cemetery Organization

[13] Cocchiaro and Andreassi 1988: 187. Conversely, cremation continued to be the preferred method of interment at Otranto, where cremation continued into the Hadrianic period with no evidence for inhumation.

[14] P967 and P5024 for the coin and lamp in burials F104 and F201 respectively.

[15] Small *et al.* 2007: 132. Greek colonization in the eighth century BC brought cremation burial to this region of Italy, where it had only rarely been employed in the Iron Age by proto-Villanovans. Greek presence on the Adriatic coast of Italy was conspicuously absent in comparison to other regions in Italy, and especially the Tyrrhenian seaboard, which may explain the dominant rite of inhumation at Vagnari.

The level of skeletal and grave preservation throughout the cemetery is for the most part excellent, owing to the fact the burials are concealed underground, and their presence is otherwise inconspicuous in the absence of large-scale tomb architecture. Burials have not been subject to grave robbing in modernity, though two burials appear to have been robbed in antiquity.[16] Agricultural land use over the past few centuries has contributed to the deterioration of grave coverings, since the burials are situated immediately beneath the topsoil and are frequent victims of plough damage. When a significant proportion of the grave cover has survived, skeletal preservation often exceeds 75%, and grave goods have remained largely intact in the sealed contexts.[17]

Most burials within the cemetery are aligned on a northeast-southwest axis, with a few oriented east-west, and even fewer arranged on a north-south alignment.[18] While the individual was often positioned with the head to the northeast or east, 17 of the 88 individuals were oriented to the western end of the burial.[19] Among these 17 burials, there is a nearly equal representation of adult males, females and indeterminately sexed children, who are clustered closely together in Trenches 09, 49, and 59, with one outlier in 69. Nine of the 17 burials in Trench 09 are oriented to the west, and although 5 coins were recovered from this trench, none were found in burials with the head at the west.

[16] Small *et al*. 2007: 133. I owe the latter point to Tracy Prowse, who has pointed out that F130 and F98 appear to have been robbed in antiquity. Both examples are disturbed *cappuccina* burials without associated grave goods other than scattered pottery fragments, which suggest robbery in antiquity to the principal investigator.

[17] Prowse in Small *et al*. 2007: 150.

[18] See Plan 1.

[19] F34, F37, F39, F40, F43, F44, F48, F62, F68, F207, F216, F225, F234, F249, F250, F251 and F288.

Coins have only been found in two such burials, but both are badly worn and could not be identified.[20]

In addition to the lack of a consistent burial orientation, there is no standard amount of space between burials, suggesting that no strict rules governed the position and orientation of graves. When contrasted with the neatly arranged tombs along the streets outside the Porta Ercolano or Porta Nocera at Pompeii, the overall plan of the Vagnari cemetery indicates a lack of urban planning in this distinctly extra-urban space. Furthermore, the number of contiguous and overlapping graves may suggest kinship in some instances, but it is more likely that the location of earlier graves had been forgotten by the time of the later burial, which has implications for the idea that grave markers may not have been used in this cemetery.[21] Burials F96A and B, and F215 and F226 were indeed constructed on top of each other, in an arrangement where F96B and F215 disturbed the grave structure, human remains, and funerary assemblages of an earlier grave.

Tomb Types

In contrast to monumental family tombs of wealthy freedmen and elites on the outskirts of large towns, the graves of individuals from the Vagnari cemetery were comparatively simple constructions, for which the predominant building material was not brick or marble. *Tegulae*, or tiles, that may have been produced at one of the nearby tile

[20] SF 49-119 in F216 and P5177 in F234.

[21] Small *et al*. 2007: 133. In the cases of F35, F42, F48, F96, and F137, an earlier burial disturbed a later one, while in the cases of F34, F36, F39, F40, F41, F59, F67, F68, F95, F215 and F226, there is slight overlapping.

kilns on the Imperial estate, were employed in nearly all burials that made use of grave coverings.[22] Within the cemetery, there is a considerable amount of variety among the types of grave coverings, however four main types emerge: *alla cappuccina*, libation, simple pit, and cremation burials.

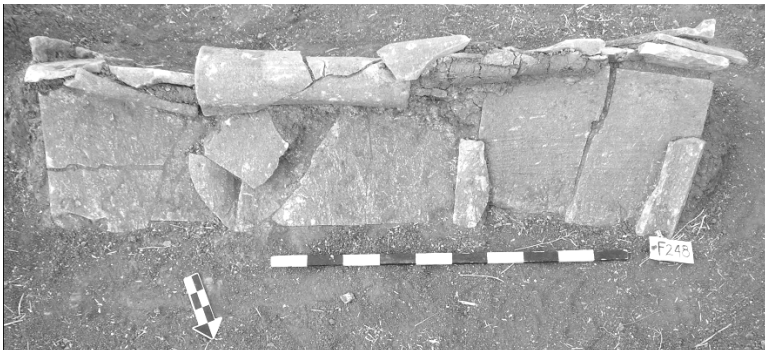


Figure I.1. *Cappuccina* burial F248, excavated in 2011. Photo by author.

Alla cappuccina burials are the most prominent type at Vagnari, where a shallow pit was dug for the corpse, which was either laid directly in the pit or placed on top of flat *tegulae* (Figure I.1).[23] Large terracotta tiles were then positioned in an inverted V-shape above the body, sometimes with curved *imbrex* tiles along the ridge. In the longer graves of adults, three or four tiles were often used on each side of the grave covering, while fewer tiles were needed for smaller graves of children. Variation in *cappuccina* burials takes the form of rock and mortar conglomerates at the base of the grave coverings, which are found occasionally as a reinforcing support (Figure I.2). Numerous *tegulae* from these

[22] For the manufacture of tiles and kilns at Vagnari, see Small, Volterra, and Hancock 2003; Small 2005; Small and Small 2005.

[23] Prowse *et al*. 2010: 178; Small *et al*. 2007: 128.

burials bear some form of simple decoration, often large arcs, semi-circles or circles made from finger imprints. [24]

Figure I.2. *Cappuccina* and stone burial F247, excavated in 2011. Photo by Tracy Prowse.

In addition to the dominant *cappuccina* grave type, at least 10 libation or funnel graves have been identified to date (Figure I.3).[25] After the individual was interred in an unlined pit, the grave was covered with a row of flat *tegulae*, and two *imbrex* tiles were arranged vertically to form a funnel.[26] Nearly all of the libation or funnel graves that have been excavated so far are situated in the northeastern section of the cemetery, and while more may be located further north, only two have been found outside the cluster of Trenches 09 and 39. In one example, F282, a child appears to have been buried without the characteristic horizontal *tegulae* cover, but the remains of two vertical *imbrices* were found immediately above the skeleton. Funnel graves do not appear to have been the preferred grave covering for any particular demographic group, since they were chosen

[24] Some of the most complete *tegulae* measure 66 x 36 x 3 cm, many of which have simple arcs or impressed decorations. A fish motif was found on a tile from F220, while an 'M' in a circle was impressed on a tile from F252.

[25] F35, F41, F44, F59, F131, F137B, F209, F230, F231 and F282.

[26] Prowse *et al.* 2010: 178.

for adult males (F35, F131 and F231), females (F209), as well as children (F41 and F51/59).

Figure I.3. Funnel Burial F209. Photo by Tracy Prowse.

To date only two cremation burials have been identified in the Vagnari cemetery, F104 and F201, both of which were accompanied by a significant number of grave goods. The cremated remains of F201 were covered with a *cappuccina* grave covering (Figure I.4), and there was a significant amount of tile debris around F104, which may indicate a grave covering as well. If other individuals were cremated at the site, it is possible that this activity left no traces in the archaeological record, since there is precedent at Vagnari for interring cremated remains in a similar manner as inhumed individuals with grave goods and a covering.[27] It is interesting to note that neither of the cremated individuals

[27] The *cappuccina* grave of F201 was constructed above the ashes and debris of an *in situ* cremation on a *bustum*, based on the presence of ashes, charcoal, and iron nails that may have been used as a funerary bier.

were placed in any kind of cinerary urn, but both individuals were cremated *in situ*, and *cappuccina* grave coverings were constructed above the remaining ashes and debris.[28]

Figure I.4a. F201 *Cappuccina* cover on top of a cremation burial. Photo by Tracy Prowse.

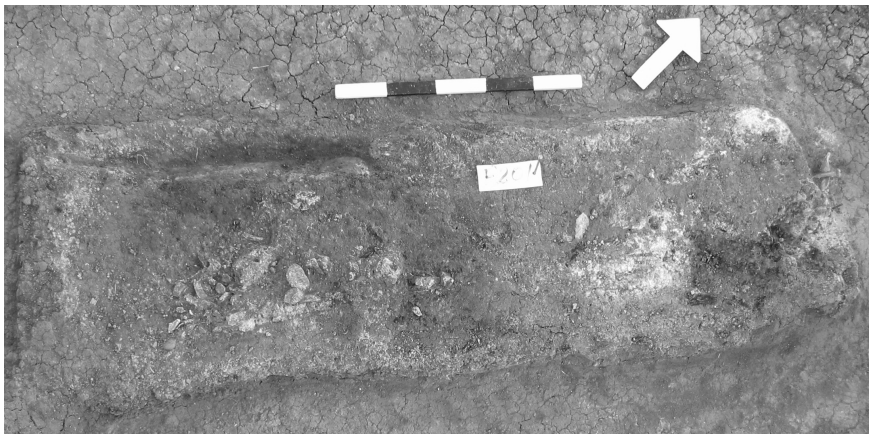


Figure I.4b. F201 cremation *bustum* burial. Photo by Tracy Prowse.

Finally, a number of individuals, several of whom were young children, were laid directly in unlined pits, with or without any type of *tegulae* covering.[29] This phenomenon is not restricted to children, since a small number of adults were also buried in this manner, including the individuals in F235 and F253. However simple pit burials may be, the individuals were not buried hastily and without ceremony, since they too were

[28] Individuals at Brindisium and Otranto were interred in glass or ceramic cinerary urns, unlike at Vagnari.

[29] F38, F62, F106, F221, F224, F227, F229, F235, F253 and F293.

interred with a small number of grave goods. Despite the dominant preference for *cappuccina* grave covers, there was the possibility for variety among different tomb types as burials employ different combinations of features, including *tegulae* above or beneath deceased individuals, *imbrex* pillows, and varying grave orientations.

Body positions

Compared to the different types of grave covers, there is a more limited range among the final resting positions of the deceased, who were usually interred in an extended position with their hands at the sides, resting on the pelvis or crossed over the stomach. Although the evidence for the hands is not always well preserved, at least one individual, F92, was interred with hands folded over the chest, even though no artifacts were found clasped between the hands (Figure I.5). Two notable individuals, F235 and F253, were both arranged in a semi-flexed position lying on the right side in simple pit burials, which is not otherwise found among any of the *cappuccina* or funnel graves (Figure I.6). *Imbrex* tiles were common features that were placed in graves as pillows upon which 14 of the deceased rested.[30]

[30] Imbrex pillows were found in the following burials: F40, F126, F205, F213, F215, F216, F245, F246, F247, F248, F251, F254, F281 and F284. For further themes of the 'sleep of death,' see Chapter 2.

Figure I.5. Burial F92 in extended position with hands cross over chest. Photo by Tracy Prowse.

Figure I.6. Soil burial F235 in semi-flexed position. Photo by Tracy Prowse.

While impossible in cremation burials, it is also difficult to determine the body position of infants, whose skeleton preservation is often less than 50% complete. Several neonates and young children were laid in a wooden box or coffin that was placed in a shallow pit and covered subsequently with a *cappuccina* cover.[31] Four iron nails that were found pointing in towards the center of burial F285 indicate that the infant was placed in a coffin (Figure I.7), a practice that was not used for older children or adults from the cemetery.

[31] The ages of these individuals range up to 3 years old, and include burials F202, F228 and F285. See Prowse and Small 2009: 5 on traces of organic material surrounding infant coffins.

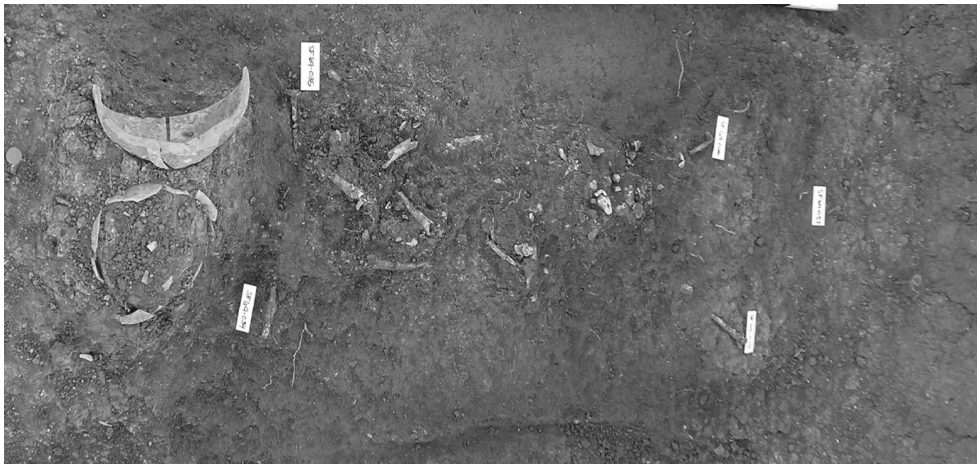


Figure I.7. Child burial F285 in a wooden box, indicated by nails in a regular arrangement. Photo by author.

Demography

Examination of skeletal remains has been carried out by Tracy Prowse, and although the excavation and study of skeletal material is ongoing, preliminary demographic information reveals particular trends within the cemetery. Of the skeletons studied thus far, nearly equal numbers of male and female individuals have been found in the cemetery. At least 20 skeletons of the male sex and 24 females have been identified, whereas the sex of 32 individuals cannot be determined. Demographic information is not yet available for individuals excavated in 2011, but the cemetery sample of 76 studied individuals is nevertheless a considerable size. Since nearly one quarter of all those interred within the cemetery are children, premature death was indeed a reality for those who lived at Vagnari and its environs. Further information on the demography of individuals in the cemetery is considered in Chapter 1.

Vagnari, the Village, and the Villa

Evidence from four tiles stamped by a slave of the emperor has promoted the idea that Vagnari was a large *saltus*, or grazing area, on an Imperial property.[32] The inscription GRATI / CAESARIS appears in various states of preservation on four tiles that were likely produced locally at tile kilns owned by the emperor, and since stamped tiles have been found so infrequently at the site, they were likely intended for export.[33] The inscription on these stamped tiles conforms to early first century conventions, but can it be assumed that the population of Vagnari consisted of freedmen and slaves throughout the period in which the cemetery was in use? Evidence from later phases indicates that tile production and iron works continued into the fifth century AD, and the estate continued to be used for transhumance grazing.[34] The absence of any funerary inscriptions severely limits a discussion of the identity of the individuals who were buried at Vagnari, and while it cannot be assumed that the entire population consisted of slaves and freedmen, their presence at Vagnari was probably significant, given the context of the cemetery on an Imperial estate.[35] Graham's assertion that it is not difficult to determine free individuals and slaves relies heavily on the epigraphic record and the context of family tombs that housed slaves and freedmen in urban centers.[36] In contrast, Prowse has demonstrated that, while slaves, freedmen, and tenants cannot be distinguished based on archaeological evidence from the burials at Vagnari, skeletal remains demonstrate degenerative changes that support the idea of physical labour at a site of industrial and

[32] Small *et al*. 2007: 124.
[33] Small, Volterra, and Hancock 2003: 179.
[34] *Ibid*.: 193.
[35] See Discussion: Life on an Imperial Estate in the Conclusion section.
[36] Graham 2006b: 3-4.

agricultural activity.[37] This theme of freeborn, freedman and slave status will be explored throughout this study, in order to determine whether there are, in fact, any archaeological indicators that may suggest slave status, now that a substantial number of burials have been uncovered.

Archaeological Comparanda

Unlike the Roman cemeteries in major urban centers, there appears to be no standard arrangement for burials in the Vagnari cemetery. Whereas tomb structures in the Vatican *necropolis*, among numerous other examples, exhibit attention to orientation and regularity, the Vagnari burials present a distinctly non-standardized approach. From the end of the late Republic, *cappuccina* burials were common for ordinary individuals throughout Italy, as well as other parts of the Empire, yet there appears to be a great deal of variation within tombs of this type.[38] A semi-*cappuccina* burial was discovered in the garden of the American Academy in Rome, where an individual was covered by *tegulae* only on the right side.[39] While this tomb was lined with lime plaster, no such evidence has been found at Vagnari, where individuals were either interred in unlined pits, on top of *tegulae* or on square *pedales* tiles[40]. Furthermore, the semi-*cappuccina* example from Rome is unique for the body position of the adult male, whose hands were placed beneath

[37] Prowse *et al*. 2010: 191; see also Prowse in Small *et al*. 2007: 161.
[38] Small *et al.* 2007: 128.
[39] Leigh 2000: 285. The four *tegulae* from this burial were uniform in size: 40 x 34 x 2 cm, light pink in colour, and considerably smaller than the tiles produced at the Vagnari tile works.
[40] Burials on top of *tegulae* include F34, F39, F40, F42, F68, F89, F98, F117, F126, F216, F224, F225, F249, F251 and F281, while only F48 was found above square *pedales*.

the back.[41] This body position is indeed unusual, since it suggests that their hands had been tied behind the back with a perishable material, yet the individual was accorded proper burial rites, despite their apparently denigrated status. Grave goods are absent from the burial, but pottery fragments from above the tomb provide a *terminus post quem* of the late first century AD, like many of the Vagnari burials themselves.

At the Roman cemetery at Otranto, a second phase of burials from the Flavian to early Hadrianic periods, from AD 69-138, corresponds to the same time as the earliest Vagnari burials, yet the evidence from this site at the tip of the Salento Peninsula differs greatly. Cremation continued to be the dominant practice into the second century AD at Otranto, where bodies were burned on a pyre in rectangular pits that also served as the grave, not unlike cremation burials F104 and F201 at Vagnari.[42] The 22 stratified burials from Otranto were all aligned on the same orientation, and although they represent only a small sample of the cemetery that was excavated as a salvage project, this body of evidence confirms that burial practices varied regionally. At least four funerary inscriptions from Otranto attest that ex-slaves were buried in this cemetery, which has led to the suggestion that the population included a significant number of slaves and freedmen.[43] Evidently children received special treatment at Otranto, since two

[41] *Ibid*.: 286.
[42] Becker *et al*. 1992: 45.
[43] Wilkinson in Becker *et al*. 1992: 44. Cf. inscriptions on Burials 9, 12, 14 and 17. In addition to the *l(ibertus)*, there is also reference to a *collegiums funeraticium* or burial club at Otranto (Burial 14, No. 11), which supports the evidence for a lower class population at Otranto.

individuals, ages 5 ½ and 6 years old, were the only inhumed individuals in this cemetery.[44]

Closer to Vagnari, 283 burials that span from the early third century BC until the end of the fourth century AD were excavated in the Via Cappuccini *necropolis* at Brindisi. Although its earliest phases predate the Vagnari cemetery, the longevity corresponds to the general period of occupation at Vagnari, and accordingly, the Brindisi *necropolis* provides appropriate comparanda for a regional study of Roman funerary practices, as well as insight into changing practices over an extended period of time. After Brindisium became a Latin *colonia* in 244 BC, Republican inhumation burials were characterized by the following features: NW-SE orientation, some combination of unlined pit graves or wooden coffins, and tile or limestone coverings.[45] Concomitant to early inhumation burials at Brindisi are infant *enchytrismos* and cremation burials; the former practice does not continue into the Imperial period, while the latter becomes quite common in the early first century AD.[46] Simultaneous cremation and inhumation burial practices are documented at Brindisium from the early Empire until the end of the second century AD, while *cappuccina* burials were used in the late first century AD. [47] The large sample from Brindisi present radically different trends than the rural cemetery at Vagnari, which strengthens the claim that burial and funerary practices varied considerably at the regional level.

[44] Evidence from Burials 13 and 17 have been used to support Pliny's statement that children were not cremated before they cut their teeth (*Historia Naturalis* 7.16.72), although this passage has been interpreted differently by various scholars, it will be further addressed in Chapter 3.

[45] Cocchiaro and Andreassi 1988: 66-67.

[46] Tombs 81 and 262 are *enchytrismos* burials, while tombs 37, 209 and 270 were Republican era cremation burials.

[47] Cocchiaro and Andreassi 1988: 127.

Vagnari Tombs: Form and Function as 'Houses' for the Dead?

The concept of the tomb as a 'house' for the dead has been explored in both literary, art historical and archaeological media, yet the *cappuccina* and funnel graves at Vagnari share seemingly little with the large tomb structures of freedmen and freeborn individuals along the Via Appia in Rome, outside the city gates at Pompeii and Ostia, or at Isola Sacra. Wallace-Hadrill has theorized that this analogy is not dependent on the physical attributes of the tomb architecture as much as the relationship between internally defined space and external presentation.[48] In the absence of funerary couches, gardens and portrait busts in the 'windows' of house-tombs, can the Vagnari burials still be conceptualized as houses for the dead? While brick-built 'house-tombs" from the Vatican necropolis and Isola Sacra exemplify clearly this architecture of metaphor, *cappuccina* tombs from the rural cemetery at Vagnari require a different approach to integrating the archaeological remains to the metaphor of the tomb as a house for the deceased.

Though the Vagnari cemetery lies in close proximity to a southern section of the Via Appia, its tombs do not front a major thoroughfare in the manner of those outside the Porta Nocera and Porta Ercolano at Pompeii, nor is it likely that they would have been visible above ground. If these graves did not have an outward-looking function of engaging the passing visitor, as so many epitaphs attest, and without inscriptions, benches for visitors, or architectural provisions for funerary banqueting, it seems unlikely that such modest tombs conform to the usual criteria of so-called 'house-tombs.' The apex created by the *tegulae* in an inverse V-shape does, in fact, emulate the pitched roof seen

[48] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 76.

more commonly in brick-built 'house-tombs.' It is possible that the forms of these *cappuccina* burials are evocative of a roof over the deceased in the same way that Pompeian *columellae* conjure the idea of portraiture without attempting to portray features accurately.

More problematic is the relationship between the external and internal elements of these graves, since simple *cappuccina* burials lack space in which family members could convene.[49] At present we are not so fortunate as to understand domestic housing at Vagnari, indeed, mainly industrial and large-scale public buildings have been excavated outside the cemetery, but the analogy of the tomb as a house for the dead does not need to be so complicated. A variety of objects were interred with the deceased, likely intended for use in the afterlife, much in the same way that the *tegulae* grave covers house individuals symbolically. The physical forms of the graves at Vagnari differ considerably from brick 'house-tombs,' yet the manner of burials is consistent with the pervasive idea in Roman burials that the tomb was the eternal house of the deceased.

Methods and Approach

There have been many recent attempts to redress the imbalance in scholarship that formerly gave preference to the tombs of the wealthy elite.[50] On the topic of this disparity, Wallace-Hadrill says nothing other than, "equally, the poor are under-

[49] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 64. The funerary *triclinia* at Isola Sacra were, in fact, located outside the monumental tombs, nevertheless, they provided space for groups to convene and celebrate the memory of the deceased, whereas there is no known formal provision for such a space at Vagnari.

[50] For example Carroll 2006; Graham 2005; Graham 2006a and b; Hope 2009; Lindsay 2000; and Morris 1992.

represented."[51] Similarly, Purcell's invocation of Strabo to describe a suburban *necropolis* is followed by the claim, "and archaeology confirms this picture," without providing any actual details.[52] One of the aims of this study is to challenge the existing approaches to Roman death and commemoration by integrating archaeological and biological evidence to present a contribution to the study of Roman death and funerary practices, since rural cemeteries are poorly understood in comparison to their urban counterparts.

Rural freeborn, freedmen or slaves are commonly overlooked in discussions of Roman funerary practices; they are not the destitute paupers from Lanciani's Esquiline mass graves, nor are they among the wealthy freedmen who built tombs of brick or marble. Though *cappuccina* burials are fairly common for ordinary individuals in the early Empire, they have been overlooked consistently as a major category of funerary evidence. The Vagnari necropolis provides important information about quotidian life and death in the Roman Empire, and by integrating archaeological and biological evidence into the analysis of Roman funerary practices, this study aims to address the evidence in an interdisciplinary manner.

This study is primarily concerned with the reconstruction of funerary practices from the archaeological record, and such a focus necessitates that the artifacts should be examined early on to identify the range and types of artifacts found in the Vagnari cemetery. Chapter 1 will examine the types of grave goods at Vagnari, which have been loosely separated by Small into items of personal dress or adornment and those objects

[51] Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 66.
[52] Purcell 1987: 30.

that were intended for use in the afterlife.[53] The latter category is of greater interest for this study since ceramic vessels, coins, lamps and various other grave goods were thought to be important for the journey into the afterlife, and their intentional placement within the grave is indicative of contemporary belief systems about funerary practices, as well as larger considerations about the afterlife. This chapter is largely concerned with patterns of distribution of grave goods among various age and sex categories. Demographic profiles of individuals will be explored further in this chapter, as well as recurring patterns among types and prevalence of grave goods.

Chapter 2 aims to reconstruct specific rituals linked to the funeral by employing archaeological and literary evidence, both from Vagnari itself and elsewhere in the Roman world, in order to better understand how rituals would have differed in a rural context. The use of the artifacts in their greater funerary context will be the focus of this chapter. Bent and broken nails, weapons, *imbrex* 'pillows,' and evidence for funerary banqueting are among the topics that will be considered in an effort to integrate archaeological evidence from Vagnari into our current understanding of Roman funerals, burial practices and post-mortem commemoration. Too often, these aspects of death in the Roman world are separated into literary, archaeological or art historical pursuits; however, in this study, these approaches are integrated with an anthropological focus on individuality to access Roman funerary practices at Vagnari.

Chapter 3 is an investigation of infants and children, both in the context of Roman social history and in the archaeological record at Vagnari. The high mortality rates of

[53] Small *et al.* 2007: 138-49.

children provide an interesting avenue for exploration among various fields of scholarship, most commonly epigraphy, population demography, the art of commemoration and social histories of the Roman family.[54] Infant exposure and Stoic reactions to death may have been fashionable or prevalent in Rome; however, the rural population at Vagnari buried children with considerable attention to funerary rituals. Children were not overlooked in funerary activities, and their burials were accompanied by grave goods, including coins, glass vessels, lamps, gold earrings and ceramic vessels, albeit at lower quantities than adults. In the past twenty years, children have become an increasingly important topic in scholarship, which challenges the previously held generalization that children were not mourned to the same degree as adults.[55]

High infant mortality rates and the relatively frequent deaths of children before the age of ten years old have contributed to the large number of infants and children interred in the Vagnari cemetery. While literary sources offer a wide range of anecdotes pertaining to infant mortality and appropriate reactions to this common occurrence, the archaeological record likewise indicates that children were accorded special burial rites, although they differ considerable from literary exempla. Instead of finding children buried in storage vessels within the house or burials of children that were filled with toys from their childhood, the evidence from Vagnari suggests an atypical treatment of infants and children, whose funerary assemblages did not include toys or any items to indicate their lower status as children or as invaluable members of the community. Using

[54] Eg. Golden 1988; Grubbs 2011; Hope 2009; George 2005; Laes 2011; Rawson 2003; Scott 1999; Shaw 1991, 1996.

[55] For examples of children in modern scholarship, see: Becker 1983; Carroll 2011b; Derevenski 2000; George 2005; Grubbs 2011; Laes 2011; Lewis 2007; Rawson 2003; and Scott 1999.

comparative evidence from the burials of adults and children, Chapter 3 will examine the treatment of those who died prematurely, both in the funerary record and in the context of life on an Imperial estate.

Chapter 1: Artifacts in the Vagnari Cemetery

Funerary Assemblages at Vagnari

Grave goods are an important aspect of burials in cemeteries throughout the Roman Empire, figuring prominently in both inhumation and cremation burials. The types of objects that were available for use in the Roman funeral and for deposition into the grave differ regionally throughout the Empire, and compared to areas of northern Italy, grave goods in central and southern Italy were used in lower quantities than in the north.[56] Exceptions to these generalizations are to be expected; grave goods are relatively scarce at Isola Sacra, the Vatican Necropolis, and the Via Triumphalis cemeteries near Rome, where brick-built tombs as well as simple inhumation burials co-exist, but in contrast, the striking majority of the modest inhumation burials at Vagnari contain numerous grave goods. Many individuals at Vagnari were interred with a higher number of grave goods than individuals at the nearby Roman cemeteries at Otranto, and to a lesser extent, Brindisium.[57]

Toynbee has demonstrated the continuous relationship between Etruscan and Roman funerary practices and the metaphor of tombs as houses for the dead, where the inclusion of grave goods was intended to make the dead feel at home.[58] Within the context of Roman burials, funerary objects provide the opportunity to examine cultural practices in response to death; however, the objects themselves can be the lens through

[56] Pearce 2010: 83. For further study of grave goods by region in Italy, see Fasold *et al*. 1998.
[57] Cf. Becker *et al*. 1992; Cocchiaro and Andreassi 1988 for these cemeteries respectively.
[58] Toynbee 1971: 38 and Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

which aspects of industry, organization, and trade are explored. Lamps and pottery are particularly important categories of evidence for this type of investigation, since many examples from the Vagnari cemetery were either manufactured in North Africa or were local imitation of African production. Grave goods have been found in approximately 90% of all graves at Vagnari, and although several burials yielded nothing other than a few pottery fragments, there is evidence to believe that some of these were robbed or disturbed in antiquity. *Cappuccina* burials F40 and F68 evidently contained no grave goods at all, and F49 may have contained them at one point, but the burial was disturbed in antiquity.[59]

Most of the burials contained a significant assemblage of items, including ceramic, glass, and bronze vessels, lamps, coins, nails and other items of personal dress, which were either used in the funerary process, intended for use in the afterlife, or were worn by the individual at the time of deposition. Grave goods were placed in the burials along with the deceased in a number of places; most commonly, funerary assemblages are found outside the feet or lower legs, between the legs, by the hands, and even by the head in a few cases. Instead of even distribution throughout the burial, most grave goods were clustered together in one area, while items that were worn by the deceased tended to retain their original position. A catalogue of burials, skeletal remains, and grave goods that were excavated in Trench 09 has already been published in 2007, and those burials

[59] Small *et al*. 2007: 138. The other burials that lack grave goods were simple soil or pit burials. While soil burials were most likely cheaper than *cappuccina* or libation graves, the number of soil burials that contained grave goods precludes the assumption that individuals who were buried in pits with no grave covers did not have the means for grave goods (see Table 1.5 below). Factors such as grave robbing, exposure to the elements, and modern agricultural activity provide alternative explanations for the absence of funerary objects in these burials. To date, grave goods have been found in all burials where the grave covering survives reasonably intact, and in many soil burials where the skeletal preservation exceeds 40%.

excavated between 2003-6 will appear in a forthcoming publication.[60] In keeping with the aim of this study, namely to improve our understanding of rural funerary practices, this chapter includes select examples of common or extremely unusual grave goods instead of a comprehensive examination of all artifacts from the cemetery.

Figure 1.1. Child burial F283 showing funerary assemblage near the lower limbs with unbent iron nail P6643 inside shallow ceramic dish P6603, above vessel P6604, and lamp P6608 (above left leg). Other grave goods include a bronze coin P6638 on the right side of the ribs, a bronze pendant P6641 in the chest cavity, and various amphora or coarse ware fragments from incomplete vessels near the cranium. Photo by Tracy Prowse.

The Vagnari cemetery has remained largely undisturbed since antiquity; after it went out of use in the fourth century, the land was not re-used for subsequent building projects, but it developed into modern agricultural fields. Directly beneath the topsoil, graves are found at a surprisingly shallow level, often between 20-45 cm beneath the current ground level. Although excavation of the cemetery is by no means complete, the current body of evidence affords excellent insight into the lives and deaths of individuals in a rural setting. The following table shows the current number of individuals who died within various age brackets, and these age categories, although they reflect a modern

[60] Authors and contributors include Tracy Prowse, Alastair Small and Philip Kenrick. Material from the 2008, 2009 and 2011 excavation seasons has not been published yet.

approach to ancient demography, have been designated with attention to the life course approach to ancient demography, reflecting both biological and social transitions in the Roman world.[61]

Category	Age	Number of Individuals at Vagnari	Burials
Infantia	0-7 years	24	F36, F38, F39, F41, F43, F44, F48, F51/59, F55, F106, F123, F202, F211b, F218, F221, F224, F225, F227, F228, F251, F281, F282, F283, F285
Pueritia	7-14 years	4	F49, F208, F210, F226
Adulescentia	15-30 years	14	F40, F42, F67, F99, F117, F126, F127, F130, F137A, F200, F209, F211, F245, F252
Juventus	30-49 years	11	F37, F42a, F68, F94, F131, F204, F215, F216, F220, F234, F250
Gravitas / Senectus	50-69 years 70 + years	2	F206, F235
Unknown / Adult (18-70+)	(cremation burials)	25	F34, F35, F62, F86, F89, F92, F93, F95, F96A, F96B, F98, F100, F104, F132, F137B, F201, F205, F207, F212, F213, F214, F229, F231, F249, F253
Unstudied		8	F246, F247, F248, F254, F284, F287, F288, F293

Table 1.1. Age Categories for 88 individuals at Vagnari.

Grave Goods
Coins

The practice of using coins as grave goods was in use at least from the fifth century BC in Greece, and it was widely employed in various regions of Roman Italy.[62] Known as 'Charon's *obol*', the concept of a fee for the ferryman to cross the river Styx into the underworld has been discussed by ancient and modern authors alike, in both

[61] Age categories employed in this study reflect those identified in Prowse 2011: 411-12. For more on the life course approach in both ancient and modern writing, see Chapter 3.

[62] Ceci 2001: 87.

literary and archaeological contexts.[63] Literary references survive through various authors including Aristophanes, Antiphanes, Lucian, Propertius, Juvenal, and Apuleius, who indicate that it consisted of a low-denomination coin that was placed in the mouth at the time of death in order to pay Charon's fee.[64] In an archaeological context, early Greek examples of coins in burials were found at Corinth, Olynthus, and Poseidonia in the fifth century BC.[65]

Elsewhere in Italy, the archaeological record supports literary attestations of placing a coin in the mouth of the deceased; this phenomenon has been recorded in various *necropoleis*, including those inhumation burials found near Rome at the Via Nomentana cemetery (tomb 3), Via San Gennaro (tombs 4, 5, 11), Vila Sovicille (tomb A), Via delle Vigne Nuove (tomb 11), Via U. Fracchia (tomb 69), Via Camerini (tomb 13), and on the Via G. Antamoro (tomb 2) throughout the first-fourth centuries AD.[66] This practice was by no means ubiquitous since *asses* were also found placed in ceramic vessels, with a late Republican example from 1119 Via Nomentana (tomb 7), not unlike burial F247 at Vagnari, where a coin was found with a lamp in a ceramic vessel near the individual's feet.[67] In inhumation graves at Isola Sacra, where a general absence of grave

[63] For modern scholarship on coins in burials, see Becker *et al.* 1992: 243; Cantilena 1995: 167; Ceci 2001: 87-97; Cocchiaro and Andreassi 1988: 241-245; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 163- 166; 211; Morris 1992: 105-106; Rebillard 2009a: 105-7; Small *et al*. 2007: 147-9; Stevens 1991: 215-29; Toynbee 1971: 44; 119; etc.

[64] Stevens 1991: 216. For ancient sources: Aristophanes' *Frogs* 140-141; Antiphanes' *Anthologia Palatina* 7.67-8; Lucian's *Charon* 11 and *On Funerals* 10; Propertius 4.11.7-8; Juvenal's *Satires* 3.265-8; and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 6.18.4-5 as part of the Cupid and Psyche story.

[65] Stevens 1991: 223-4.

[66] Ceci 2001: 92-95.

[67] Although none of the 18 coins found thus far at Vagnari were placed in the mouth of the deceased, this category of evidence is nevertheless important for understanding beliefs about the afterlife, which will be discussed in Chapter 2.

goods has already been noted, coins in the mouths of the deceased were the most commonly attested grave goods, followed by lamps.[68]

At Vagnari, coins have been found in 18 burials or 20% of excavated graves, 13 of which also contained lamps. After excavation of the first 17 burials, Small's initial interpretation that the percentage of graves with coins was probably higher than average for Roman Italy has withstood evidence from subsequent excavation seasons, despite the fact that the percentage is slightly lower at present.[69] The condition of many coins is between moderately and heavily worn, indicating that they were in circulation for a fair amount of time before being placed in the burial. Since much of the pottery cannot be dated precisely, coins and lamps provide the best indicators of chronology for the cemetery. Several coins are illegible or have not yet been restored; however, ten datable coins have legends and busts of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina I, Faustina II and Constantine, ranging from AD 98-335, and accordingly, a date range for the Middle Empire is assigned to the cemetery (Table 1.2).

The evidence for distribution of coins across age categories at Vagnari is consistent with lamps, pottery, and glass vessels, since coins appear across all age categories.[70] Nearly all the coins were found in the chest region or by the pelvis or legs, which suggests that they were worn in pouches around the neck or waist by the deceased at the time of burial.[71] Two notable exceptions to these common find spots include coins

[68] Graham 2006b: 94.
[69] Small *et al*. 2007: 146.
[70] The significance of these patterns and their implications for funerals and burial rituals at Vagnari will be explored further in Chapter 2.
[71] Small *et al*. 2007: 149.

P5185 and P6040 that were placed inside ceramic vessels or near a lamp, as well as P5177, which was found on the left cheekbone of the deceased individual.

Burial	Coin	Excavated	Age of Deceased	Sex	Coin Identification	Placement
F41	P807	2002	Infant ~ 3 years	Unknown	Antoninus Pius AD 140-144	On chest
F42	P808	2002	Adult ~28.7 ± 6.5 years	Male	Constantine AD 330-335	By right knee
F59	P809	2003	Child ~5 years ± 16 months	Unknown	Hadrian AD 117-138	Left chest region
F67	P1294	2004	Young Adult ~19-21 years	Male	Faustina I AD 141-161	By left pelvis / wrist
F95	P966	2003	Young Adult (?)	Female (?)	Constantine AD 327	In burial fill near tile
F104	P967	2003	Unknown (cremation burial)	Unknown	Hadrian AD 117-138	Next to bronze vessel, among grave goods
F117	P1204	2004	Adult ~20-25 years	Female	Hadrian AD 117-138	Right side of chest, between clavicle and ribs
F132	P1350	2004	Old Adult	Female	Faustina II AD 161-176	Between ribs and right humerus
F137B	P1351	2004	Adult	Unknown	Faustina II AD 141-161	Resting on pelvis
F202	P5030	2006	Infant ~9 months ± 3 months	Unknown	Trajan AD 98-102	Center of chest, over vertebrae
F208	P5185	2008	Adult	Female?	Awaiting identification	Above left foot, under nozzle of lamp P5204
F209	P5184	2008	Subadult ~13-20	Female	Awaiting identification	Right of chest region
F216	P5175	2008	Adult ~35.2 years	Male	Awaiting identification	South of right pelvis
F231	P5166	2008	Adult	Male	Awaiting identification	Above right humerus
F234	P5177	2008	Adult	Female	Awaiting identification	On left cheek, below left orbit
F247	P6040	2011	To Be Determined	To Be Determined	Awaiting restoration	Inside pot P6626 near left foot
F282	P6039	2011	Child	Unknown	Awaiting restoration	South of rib cage
F283	P6038	2011	Child	Unknown	Awaiting restoration	Right rib cage

Table 1.2. Vagnari coins 2002-2011.

Lamps

Lamps do not provide as precise a chronology as coins, yet they are interesting for the variety and range of types found at Vagnari. To date, a total of 36 lamps inside or associated with 34 burials have been found; three lamps were found outside graves F67, F230 and F280, and burials F67 and F95 each contained two lamps. Many are preserved either fully intact or reconstructed from several pieces, and despite their frequent appearance in Vagnari graves, only a limited type of lamps were deposited as grave goods during the Middle Empire when the Vagnari cemetery was in use. Burning around the nozzle on many examples denotes that some of these lamps were in use before being deposited in the grave; further evidence for this practice is found in the form of iron pins that have been found inside or in close proximity to numerous lamps, which likely functioned as pins around which a wick was wrapped and then inserted into the lamp.[72] A pair of tweezers or snuffers would have adjusted the wick, and one such pair of bronze tweezers, P6635 from F288, was found in a grave that also contained a lamp.[73] Those lamps that have been found outside grave coverings attest to graveside activity after the

[72] Walters 1914: xiii: the end of the nozzle with the hole for the wick was variously referred to in antiquity as a *rostrum*, *nasus*, or *myxus*, while the wick itself was the *ellychnium*. On the topic of Roman lamps found in tombs, Walters states that the majority were unused and placed in the tomb for use in the afterlife, as in the manner of other grave goods; however, the evidence at Vagnari is drastically different. Many of the lamps demonstrate clear signs of combustion around the nozzle, indicating that they were either used in the funeral, or used items were designated as grave goods on account of economic or sentimental considerations.

[73] *Ibid.* While the function of these tweezers may have been cosmetic, they were probably used for adjusting the wick of a lamp. Such a reference is found in Virgil's *Moretum* (10-12), one of his lesser known poems that has also been attributed to Columella and Ovid by Steele. "*Admovet his pronam submissa fronte lucernam / et producit acu stuppas humore carentes / excitat et crebris languentem flatibus ignem*: With his face lowered to these things, he places the shaped lamp close / and he draws out with a pin a wick without moisture / and a listless flame he raises with constant blowing" (author's translation).

funeral since they were likely placed as offerings to the deceased or during a visit to the grave, perhaps as part of a festival to honour the dead.

Lamps are distributed across the different age categories in a similar pattern as coins, even though there are twice as many lamps (36) as coins (18). Lamps were found in nearly twice as many female burials (11) as male (6), while the sex of 17 individuals whose burials contained lamps is unknown, either because they were children, the skeleton was too poorly preserved to identify, or they have not yet been studied (Table 1.3a). Lamps were distributed in the following way: 7 among *infantiae* burials, 2 with *pueritiae*, 5 with *adulescentiae*, 6 with *juventi*, 6 with imprecisely aged adults, and 8 lamps were found in the burials of individuals whose age is unknown, whether they were cremated, unstudied, or in unexcavated burials (Table 1.3b). A significant number of lamps was placed by the lower limbs, with 17 between the legs or by the tibiae, 10 by the feet, and only 2 by the head. Three lamps were found outside the grave coverings, and the positions of the final 4 lamps could not be reconstructed in relation to the body because one was found in a cremation burial, while the others were disturbed.

Sex	Burials	Total
Male	F42a, F67 (2), F131, F213, F214, F216	6
Female	F93, F94, F95 (2), F117, F127, F132, F204, F208, F209, F245, F284	11
Unknown (adult)	F96B, F137B, F201, F287, F288	5
Unknown (child)	F41, F43, F44, F55, F59, F202, F226, F283	8
Unknown (excavated / TBD)	F230, F247, F248, F280	4

Table 1.3a. Vagnari lamps by sex among 34 individuals.

Age	Burials	Total
Infantia 0-7 years	F41, F43, F44, F55, F59, F202, F283	7
Pueritia 8-14 years	F208, F226	2
15-30	F67 (2), F117, F127, F209, F245	5

30-50	F42a, F94, F131, F204, F213, F216	6
50+		0
Adult	F93, F95 (2), F96B, F132, F137B, F214	6
Unknown	F201, F230 (unexcavated), F247, F248, F280, F284, F287, F288	8

Table 1.3b. Vagnari lamps by age category among 34 individuals.

All lamps can be dated to the second century AD, with more precision only in rare cases. Among the current body of evidence, there is very little range in typology, since the lamps fall almost exclusively into figural, globular or decorative types with little variation. The two most prominent types of lamp are Fabbricotti (1974b) type II B globular lamps, also known as *lucerne a perline*, and Deneauve (1969) type VII A lamps with figures in a recessed discus. At least 15 globular lamps of the Fabbricotti (1974b) type II B have been found at Vagnari, and although they are not all identical to each other, there is considerably less variation than among other types. Four rows of globules fill the shoulder, culminating in pseudo-volutes at the nozzle, and one or two impressed circles often delineate the discus (Figure 1.2, left).[74] Eleven figural lamps in the Deneauve (1969) type VII A form date to the second century AD and were likely mould made in North Africa before being transported to Apulia.[75] These types have round bodies, vertical handles with incised ribs, concentric grooves delineating the discus and a rounded nozzle with impressed circles on either side (Figure 1.2, center). In several examples, the filling hole does not fall in line with the axis from the handle to the wick hole, but it was intentionally asymmetrical in order to accommodate the scene on the discus. Figures on

[74] Examples of this type include P769, P1047, P1048, P1234, P1322, P1334, P5024, P5031, P5070, P5148, P5182, P5205, P6612, P6627 and SF 59-022.

[75] On the origin of lamps, see Bailey 1993: 373; Deneauve 1969: 85; Haley 1990: 2; Harris 1980: 132. Also see below on specific manufacturers and their workshops.

these lamps include the busts of males and females, two examples of gladiators, Selene, a scorpion, a canine, and a rosette pattern.[76] Examples of Deneauve (1969) type VIII B lamps have been found in F94 and F117, where the discus is plain and *ovuli* decorate the shoulder of the lamp (Figure 1.2, right). Finally, a small number of lamps do not fit within these typologies and remain open to identification and further classification.[77]

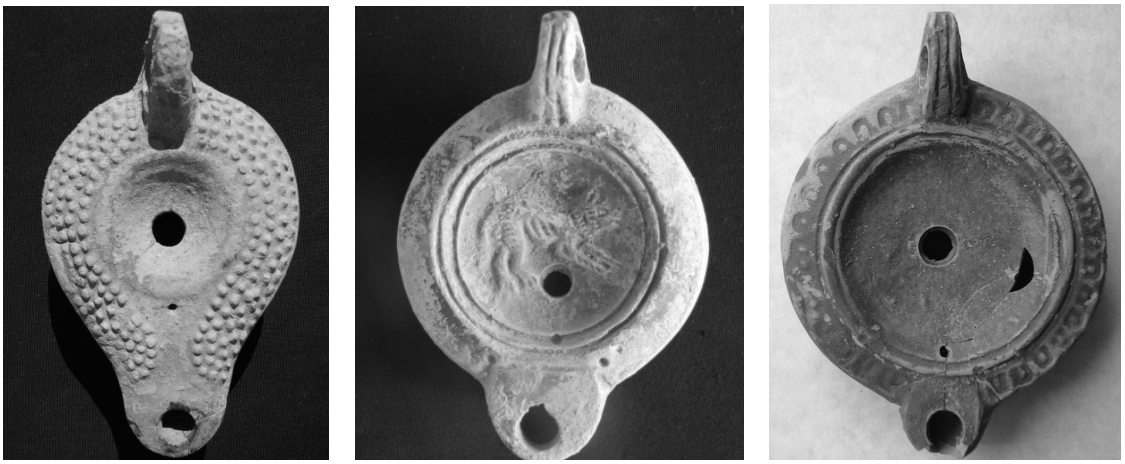


Figure 1.2. Left: P6627 Fabbricotti (1974b) type II B globular lamp (photo by author). Center: P6608 Deneauve (1969) type VII A lamp (photo by author). Right: 1303 Deneauve (1969) type VIII B lamp (photo by Philip Kenrick).

The current body of evidence, while important for understanding the use of lamps in the funerary process, also attests to commercial relations since 9 of 36 lamps were signed by potters whose workshops were located in North Africa. The names of five different workshops are found on the lamps from the Vagnari cemetery, representing C. Iunius Draco, Iunius Alexius, Aufidius Fronimus, Lucius Hortensius, and one barely legible 'ATTINI'. Signed lamps were increasingly common in the late first and second centuries AD, and although their chronology has not been firmly established, their

[76] P5028, P898, P766, P818, P757, P6629, P6608 and P6619 respectively.
[77] These include P1325, P5003, P5031, P5118, P5024, P5069, P6618 and P6625.

presence at Vagnari confirms the various dates proposed by different scholars.[78] The percentage of lamps with potters' signatures is consistent, if not slightly lower, than the 30-40 percent of signed lamps that has been estimated for burials in Rome until the mid-second century AD.[79]

The stamp of the manufacturer C. Iunius Draco[80] is represented on three lamps, two of which are Deneauve (1969) type VII A figured lamps, as well as one globular lamp of Fabbricotti (1974) type I A.[81] The first, P766, features a gladiator figure in a recessed discus, P1010 has an eight-leafed plant and bosses alternating between the leaves, and the third is a globular lamp unlike the common Fabbricotti (1974) type II B forms found commonly at Vagnari. The signature on these last two lamps has an incuse letter N, and the globular lamp with this name has no frame around the stamp. C. Iunius Draco's workshop was active in the second century AD, likely operating in the province of Africa Proconsularis at Tunisia, instead of having a branch in Italy run by *institores*, or managers.[82] Lamps with this signature have been found nearby in Puglia at Lucera, Ordona, Taranto, and Egnazia, probably because of the close proximity to North Africa.[83]

[78] Cf. Bailey 1980, 1988; Balil 1968; Deneauve 1969; Fabbricotti 1974b; Haley 1990; Harris 1980; Stefano 2007; Walters 1914, etc.

[79] Harris 1980: 128.

[80] *CIL* VIII, no. 10478-19 and *CIL* VIII, no. 22644-162.

[81] P766, P1010 and P5003 respectively.

[82] Cf. Haley 1990 and Bailey 1993 for the origins of C. Iunius Draco. Harris' (1980) argument against long-distance transportation of lamps is unconvincing. Harris estimates cost of production, shipping, and wages to reach the conclusion that it was more economically viable for lamps to be manufactured in branch workshops, managed by *institores*, instead of shipped from North Africa. In contrast, Haley supports the more popular idea that they were manufactured in North Africa before transport. While it is possible that branches of these workshops operated in Italy, in all probability, these lamps were exported from North Africa.

[83] De Stefano 2007: 213.

Two lamps, P757 and P818, both bear the signature of Iunius Alexius[84], whose products have also been found at Lucera, Ordona, Canosa, Bari, Egnazia, Taranto, and Rudiae, as well as in Campania and Calabria.[85] The first lamp is embellished with the bust of a female figure under a crescent shape, possibly Selene, while the second has a gladiator advancing to the right in a recessed discus that is nearly identical to the same theme P766. The repetition of gladiator motifs on lamps P766 and P818 with different signatures, C. Iunius Draco and Iunius Alexius, is probably not all that surprising in light of the possibility that the signature could have occurred without the authorization of the original manufacturer.[86] Significant numbers of lamps signed by these two workshops appear in the Roman west, in southern Italy, Spain, Sardinia, and overwhelmingly in North Africa at Carthage, Sabratha and Mauretania Tingitana.[87]

The name of an Aufidius Fronimus[88] appears on two lamps with very different forms; P1043 is a rare example of a Deneauve (1969) type VIII B lamp at Vagnari that has a recessed discus with no decoration other than ovuli around the shoulder. The stamp appears in the form AVFF[RON], whereas the same name was stamped AVFFRON on P6608, a Deneauve (1969) type VII A lamp with a canine motif in the discus. Lamps manufactured by the workshop of Aufidius Fronimus are not as well known as the larger producer C. Iunius Draco or Iunius Alexius, but future excavation at Vagnari may shed new light on lamps by this manufacturer. The remaining two signatures represent the

[84] *CIL* VII, no.10478-18.
[85] De Stefano 2007: 213.
[86] Harris 1980: 128, 137.
[87] Harris 1980: 130, Table 1. Cf. note 28 (above) on transport and manufacture.
[88] *CIL* VIII, no. 10478-4 and *CIL* VIII, no. 22644-42.

workshops of one Lucius Hortensius[89] and one otherwise unknown manufacturer, ATTINI. P5028 with the stamp LHOR is another Deneauve (1969) type VII A figural lamp with a bearded male inside a poorly preserved discus. The final signed example is P898, also a Deneauve (1969) type VII A lamp with the worn figure of a female wearing a diadem in the discus. An incuse signature reads ATTINI, although only A---NI is clearly legible; no references to this manufacturer have been found to date.

Coins were found in 4 burials that also contained signed lamps, and although P6638 from the child burial F283 has not yet undergone restoration, the remaining three coins of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius range between AD 98-144.[90] Bailey dates Deneauve (1969) type VII A lamps to AD 150-180, and although the numismatic evidence from these burials is considerably earlier, two leading factors contribute to the discrepancy between the dates of grave goods. First, the disparate dates between coins and lamps in these three burials supports the notion that coins were in circulation for a fair amount of time before being placed in the grave. Two coins, P809 and P5030, from burials with stamped lamps were heavily worn at the time of deposition into the grave while the third showed signs of moderate wear. Second, the chronology of Deneauve (1969) type VII A lamps should be reconsidered and possibly lowered to the first half of the second century.[91] In the instance of F59, the burial must postdate the worn coin of Hadrian (AD 117-138), so an earlier date for the lamp would not be unlikely.

[89] *CIL* VIII, no. 22644-140.

[90] P807 from F41: an *as* of Antoninus Pius AD 140-144 (*RIC* III, no. 696); P809 from F59: an *as* of Hadrian from AD 117-138 (too worn for further identification), and P5030 from F202: an *as* of Trajan from AD 98-102 (further identification prohibited because the reverse side is illegible).

[91] Bailey (1980) dates this type of lamp more generally to AD 120-180, whereas Pavolini (1995) favours a more specific period from AD 150-180.

One particularly interesting trend is the frequent pairing of lamps with iron nails. It is significant that nails were often placed inside vessels within burials that also contained lamps. A total of 36 lamps have been found in or associated with 34 burials, four of which were either placed outside graves or were found among the remains of disturbed burials, which means that lamps have been found inside 30 sealed, excavated graves. Of these graves, 26 also contained bent or straight iron nails, which were frequently placed inside, upon, or underneath ceramic vessels. This pairing of lamps in graves with iron nails occurs in 86.7% of sealed and excavated burials at Vagnari, which suggests that their function in the funeral could be interrelated. Since grave goods were intended for use in the afterlife, the presence of lamps is not unexpected, but the recurrent pairing of lamps and nails suggests that illumination was requisite and inextricably linked to the sinister, magico-religious, or apotropaic associations with the nails.[92]

The strong evidence for North African lamps, and to a lesser extent, pottery, raises questions about the individuals who lived at Vagnari and their level of contact with foreigners. Since it is likely that many of the North African lamps were made in Tunisia rather than at a workshop branch in Italy, it is reasonable to ask how they arrived at Vagnari, an inland *vicus*. Were these items brought to ports at Tarentum or Brindisium and then sold to smaller towns, or was there direct contact between the manufacturers and the inhabitants of Vagnari? An examination of the connection between the origin of certain grave goods and points of contact is made possible by ongoing studies in ancient

[92] This theme will be explored further in Chapter 2.

DNA and stable isotopes by Tracy Prowse to determine geographic origins and kinship relations.

While the majority of individuals whose DNA has been studied originated from western Eurasian locales, two individuals deviate from this pattern: one with an East Asian haplotype and another with an African haplotype.[93] The former, F37, is an adult female who represents the first known East Asian haplogroup, not only at Vagnari, but also in any Roman sample analyzed to date.[94] The latter individual, F96a, is an adult male, whose ancient DNA points to a very different region, sub-Saharan Africa, which has led investigators to propose that he was of African descent maternally, and he either migrated or was forcibly brought to Vagnari.[95] Although the sample of analyzed DNA indicates that many of the individuals in the cemetery were born locally, evidence from two individuals, F37 and F96a, suggests otherwise.[96] The case study of the adult male with the African haplotype is particularly interesting since his burial was disturbed by a later one, F96b, that included a Deneauve type VIIA lamp with a floral pattern that was signed by the North African manufacturer, C. Iunius Draco. Ongoing research is examining the possibility of a genetic relationship or common geographical origin between these two individuals, and while the status of F96a as a slave, freedman or freeborn individual cannot be addressed, this disturbed burial provides research potential for the connection between the origins of individuals and artifacts manufactured outside of Italy.

[93] Prowse *et al*. 2010: 187.
[94] Prowse *et al.* 2010: 189. No other individuals of Haplogroup D (East Asia) have been identified at Vagnari, although aDNA analysis is ongoing.
[95] Prowse *et al*. 2010: 191.
[96] *Ibid*.

Pottery

Pottery is the most common type of artifact found in the cemetery, but these ceramic grave goods are not as precise indicators of chronology as coins or lamps because most of the regionally produced examples fall generally within the second and third centuries of the Middle Empire. The most common vessel types have been identified as fine wares in Regional Red Slip, African Red Slip, or unslipped Plain wares, as well as Sandy ware cooking and coarse ware vessels, with a limited number of Eastern Sigillata B vessels.[97] Collectively, the ceramic grave goods provide a very general chronology for the cemetery, ranging from the late first to early fourth century AD.[98] Vessel forms include globular or ovoid jars, pouring jugs, large cooking pots, bowls of various depths, and a number of blackened cooking vessels that had been used before placement inside the burials.

Pottery fragments, if not intact ceramic vessels, are found in nearly every grave at Vagnari. Even when no other grave goods were found, a few pottery sherds were found in F227 and F228, indicating that ceramic vessels, in any state of completion, would have been part of the original funerary assemblage. The placement of ceramic vessels inside the burials is consistent with other categories of evidence, since the majority of them were found near the feet and lower limbs, between the legs, near the hands or occasionally by the head of the deceased.

[97] Small *et al*. 2007: 162. See Catalogue for examples of pottery types at Vagnari.

[98] Although the chronology of Regional Red Slip and local coarse wares is poorly documented for this region, excavation of the *vicus* at Vagnari (by Alastair Small) and the Imperial villa at San Felice (under the direction of Hans vanderLeest and Myles McCallum) seeks to provide further insight into local pottery production and consumption.

Small has drawn attention to the patterns of intentional breakage among ceramic vessels, but it appears that this practice was neither standardized nor ubiquitous at Vagnari.[99] While many vessels were found in one piece or have been restored to a state of completion, a number of broken vessels were included intentionally among the funerary assemblages. It is not clear whether the vessels were broken for the purpose of deposition into the grave or whether vessels that broke accidentally were re-used for practical reasons. Small's hypothesis that it was common to leave a part of the pot unburied or buried separately does not address whether these pots were broken intentionally to remove them from everyday use or whether broken vessels were readily available and their presence in the cemetery was therefore more pragmatic than ceremonial.[100]

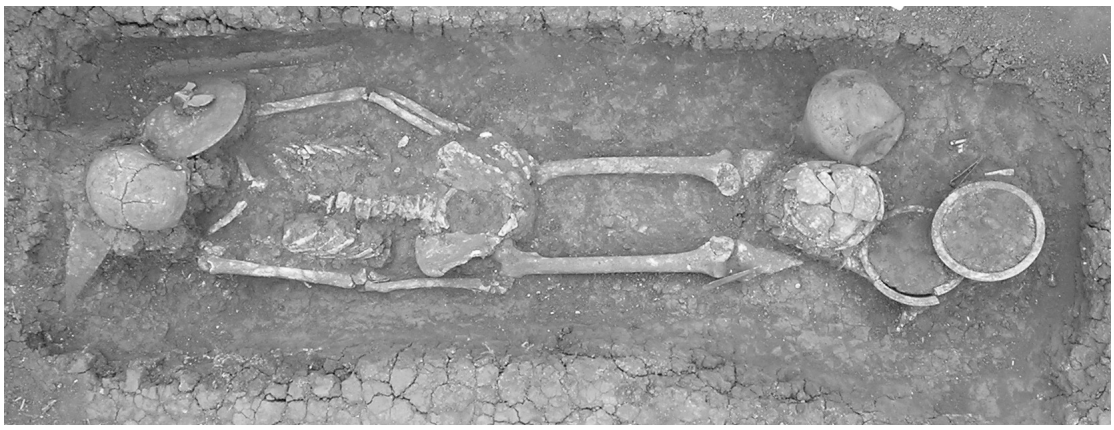


Figure 1.3. F288 with funerary assemblage above tibiae and feet, including bronze vessel P6651, ceramic vessels P6606, P6607 and P6609. Items near cranium include base of cooking vessel P6611, fragmentary lamp P6619 and iron pruning tool P6642. Photo by author.

Burial F288, which was excavated in 2011, provides unique insight into the phenomenon of the intentional destruction of grave goods since it contains a mixture of complete and partial ceramic vessels as well as a bronze vessel that was likely dented in

[99] Small *et al*. 2007: 140.
[100] Small *et al.* 2007: 139-142.

antiquity. Although the *cappuccina* grave cover of F288 was damaged considerably by modern agricultural activity, the burial itself was well preserved, since the corpse and grave goods were placed into a pit beneath the cover. This individual was buried with a substantial number of grave goods, including three intact ceramic vessels and a heavily dented bronze one by the lower legs, as well as the base of a large cooking pot and fragmentary lamp by the head at the western end of the burial. Two of the three ceramic vessels, P6606 (Figure 1.4) and P6607, were 100% complete, and while P6609 has not yet been restored, it appears that most, if not all, of the vessel was interred in the burial. The base of a bronze *olla*, P6651 (Figure 1.5) may have been deformed deliberately, perhaps for the practical purpose of preventing it from being plundered and reused, or perhaps so that a ritual killing of the object might mirror the death of the individual. It is also worth suggesting that the vessel was damaged unintentionally by farming activity or the weight of the soil after deposition; however, there are two large impressions that suggest to the author that the vessel was intentionally struck instead of damaged over time.[101] North of the cranium, two items leave no doubt that fragmentary objects were included in this burial as part of the funerary assemblage. The base of a very large cooking pot, P6611 (Figure 1.6), shows evidence of burning and earlier use, but no other fragments of this vessel were found inside the grave. Fragments of lamp P6619 (Figure 1.7) were found resting on the cook pot base by the cranium, indicating that at least two broken items were deposited into the grave.

[101] Prowse, pers. comm.

The abundance of grave goods in F288, including a large bronze *olla*, two bronze rings, a bronze spearhead, bronze tweezers, an iron pruning tool, at least four ceramic and two glass vessels, an animal claw and a shell, suggests that damaged items were not employed out of economic necessity, but there was, in fact, a meaningful association for these items. Small's interpretation that Vagnari presents "an extreme example of the ritual breakage of pottery and glass vessels destined for burials"[102] may exaggerate the extremity of destruction among grave goods, since a number of complete vessels have been found at the site.

Figure 1.4. P6606 from F288.
Intact Plain Ware bowl with horizontal rim.
Base diameter = 6.57 cm. Photo by author.

Figure 1.5. P6651 from F288.
Bronze *olla* vessel showing dents.
Photo by author.

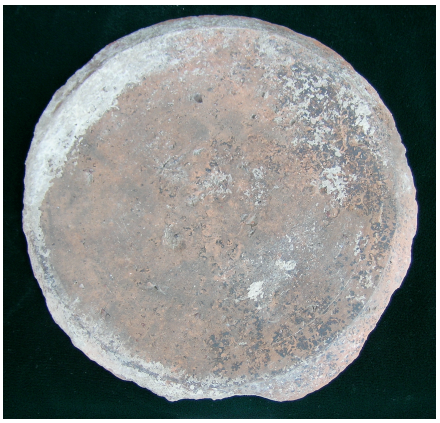


Figure 1.6. P6611 from F288.
Base of a large, burnt cooking vessel
Diameter = 18 cm. Photo by author.

Figure 1.7. P6619 from F288.
Fragment of a Deneauve (1969) type VII A lamp with rosette pattern. Photo by author.

[102] Small *et al*. 2007: 140.

Bronze and Glass Vessels

A small number of bronze and glass vessels has been found within the burials; these prestige items indicate that the individuals who lived at Vagnari may have attained a certain level of financial security since they were able to deposit valuable items into their graves.[103] Bronze vessels have been found in six burials: F35, F93, F104, F213, F216 and F288, which take the forms of a cylindrical canister, pouring flagons with moulded adornment, and a large, open *olla* vessel. These particular burials contain some of the most noteworthy funerary assemblages at Vagnari; four of them contained between one and three bronze rings, while the male burials F213, F216 and F288 all included bronze or iron spearheads as well as iron tools. The individual buried in F93 was an adult female, and while F104 was a cremation burial, the other four graves that contained bronze vessels were burials of adult males, indicating that bronze vessels were more commonly male grave goods.[104]

Glass vessels were common in the ancient world and they were likely used to contain oil, perfume or precious liquids. Glass vessels, almost unanimously in the form of *unguentaria* and small pouring vessels are most common, most of which have a circular rim, an elongated neck, and a bulbous base. It is interesting to note that only glass *unguentaria* have been found at Vagnari, whereas the Brindisium *necropolis* contained a

[103] See section on Patterns of Distribution (below) for a further discussion of bronze vessels and their inclusion in burials that contained the highest numbers of grave goods.

[104] Although the skeleton found in F288 has not been fully studied, the individual is likely male, and while cremation burial F104 cannot be definitively identified, it was likely a male burial (Prowse, pers. comm.)

number of ceramic and glass examples of this vessel type.[105] Complete or partial glass vessels have been found in 12 burials, with multiple vessels in F41, F132 and F288, while singular or clear glass fragments have been found in an additional 7 burials.[106] It appears that there was no distinction among age or sex for the use of glass vessels, since they were found in 4 adult male burials (F35, F213, F231, F288), 3 adult female burials (F117, F132, F208), 4 child burials (F41, F228, F282, F283), and one adult burial of unknown sex (F137B).

Iron Nails

A significant number of burials have iron nails included as grave goods, which range considerably in shape, size, treatment, and their manner of deposition (Table 1.4). Aside from the burials that probably used nails in coffins or funerary biers,[107] iron nails as grave goods have been found in 38 of 88 (43%) burials excavated thus far. This type of grave good was not restricted to any demographic group, as nails appear in the burials of men, women, and indeterminately sexed children. Of these 38 burials, 32 contained nails that were found inside a ceramic vessel or in immediate association with one, which suggests ritual activity; nails were not simply placed inside burials in the manner of other

[105] Cocchiaro and Andreassi 1988. From the Imperial period, cremation burials found in tombs 30, 31, 39, 40, 42, 79, 166, 215, and 275 all contained glass vessels referred to as the *balsamario* vessel type. Tomb 31 contained 5 glass vessels, while tomb 79 included 8. Tomb 121 provides a good example of the ceramic *balsamario* vessel type at this cemetery (page 180). Inhumation burials from this cemetery with glass vessels include tombs 123, 167, 168, 207, and 248.

[106] Burials with glass vessels: F35, F41 (3), F117, F132 (3), F137B, F208, F213, F228, F231, F282, F283 and F288 (2). Burials with singular or clear, glass fragments (possibly modern fragments): F55, F131, F200, F205, F206, F209 (above burial and inside) and F216.

[107] Three infant burials (F202, F228, and F285) contained nails that have been reconstructed as fixtures for small wooden coffins, while adult burial F41 contained 13 nails that were likely used as a bier or litter. (For the latter point, see Small *et al*. 2007: 147-8, Table 5.)

grave goods that were intended for use in the afterlife.[108] At least 12 of the nails were bent, only 4 were found complete, and the rest were either broken or missing the head or tip, which makes it difficult to assess that ratio of bent to unbent nails. The majority of nails have been found in the burials of adult males and females, with only 5 in the burials of *infantia* and 1 in a *pueritia* burial. There does not appear to be any obvious relationship between the age or sex of the individual and the location or condition of the nail. Both bent and straight nails were found in the burials of children (F55 and F59 for the former, F283 for the latter), at least 14 bent and 9 unbent nails have been found, while the condition of the rest could not be determined.

Burial	Male / Female / Unknown/ Child	Age of Individual	Nail found in association with a pot	Placement of Nail	Condition of Nail
F34	M	Adult	X	Under pot, at feet	Slightly bent
F35	M	Old adult		Beneath pelvis	Broken
F36	C	Infant	X	Under pot at edge of grave	Probably intact
F37	F	Adult 45-49	X	Under pot at feet	Probably intact
F42a	M	Adult ~39	(disturbed)	(disturbed)	Broken
F44	C	Child ~2	X	Inside pot, near waist	Broken
F55	C	Child 5-6	X	Inside pot, near feet	Bent
F59	C	Child ~5 years	X	Inside pot, at feet	Bent and broken
F67	M	Adult 19-20	X	Near pot at lower right leg	Broken at tip
F89	F	Adult	X	Above pot, between legs	Missing tip
F94	F (?)	Old adult 45-49	X	Inside pot at feet	Slightly bent
F95	F (?)	Adult (young?)		Pelvic region	Missing tip
F96	M/ U (2 adults)	Adults (2)	X	Inside pot (2 nails), over lower legs	One intact One bent (curled)
F98	F	Adult	X	Disturbed (SW end of burial)	Bent at top
F100	U	Adult	X	Inside pot, near right leg	Complete
F104	U	Cremation burial		South of bronze vessel	Broken
F117	F	Adult 20-25	X	Inside pot, near left foot	Bent at tip
F126	M	Adult 20-25	X	Inside pot, between feet	Unknown
F131	M	Old Adult ~35		Between feet	Missing tip
F137B	U	Adult	X	Inside pot, near right knee Second nail near right arm	Bent Missing tip
F200	F	Old adult > 35	X	Inside pot, near feet	Broken into fragments

[108] Their intentional association with ceramic vessels signifies a magico-religious significance that will be explored in Chapter 2 as an exploration of the Roman funeral and belief in the afterlife.

F201	U	Cremation burial (many nail fragments)	X X	On top of pot P5019 Associated with P5019	Complete Complete
F202	U	Infant	X	Underneath pot	Unbent
F204	F	Old adult ~40	X	Inside pot (oriented vertically)	Unbent
F206	F (?)	Older adult	X	Underneath shallow bowl	Broken at end, no head
F208	?	Adult		Near left foot	Complete (missing head)
F209	C	Subadult 13-20	X	Inside pot, at feet	Found in 3 pieces
F213	M	Older adult 35+	X	Inside pot, near right arm	Bent
F214	M	Adult	X	South side of burial, near pottery	Bent
F216	M	Adult ~35	X	Inside pot, near feet	Missing shaft / tip
F220	M	Adult	X	Near pot fragments	Bent at head
F231	M	Adult	X	Inside pot, near left foot	Bent tip
F235	M	Older adult	X	Inside pot, near right foot	Unknown
F247	?	Not yet studied	X	Inside pot, near left foot	Straight (missing head)
F248	?	Not yet studied	X	Inside pot, between legs	Bent head type
F254	?	Not yet studied	X	Inside pot, between knees	Missing shaft / tip
F283	C	Child	X	Inside pot, near left foot	Complete, unbent
F287	?	Not yet studied	X	Inside pot, near right knee	Bent and missing head

Table 1.4. Nails found in 38 Vagnari Burials.[109]

Jewellery and Items Worn by the Deceased

Items that were worn by the individuals at the time of deposition include rings, earrings, bracelets or necklaces, shoes with hobnails and bone pins. Finger rings have been found in 12 burials, often in pairs of bronze rings, but two silver and two gold rings have been found to date.[110] Of these burials, four belonged to adult males, two to adult females, four to unsexed children or subadults, one is presently unstudied, and the remaining grave was a cremation burial. Gold wire earrings have been found in burials

[109] Nail have been found in other burials: F99 (possibly debris from cremation burial F104); F202 (at least 9 nails found complete but in fill of burial; also in F228 (at least 12), and F285 (at least 8). These nails were not included in the chart above since they do not appear to have been deposited as grave goods, but their positions and quantities suggest functional uses.

[110] Bronze finger rings were found in F59 (2), F104, F205, F209, F210 (3), F213 (4), F216 (5 bronze rings and 1 silver ring), F218 (1), F220 (2), F245 (2 gold, 1 silver), F254 (2) and F288 (2). One of the gold rings found in the adult female burial F245 has a palm motif, while the other has the initials 'V R'

F48 and F281, which both belonged to young children who may have been young girls.[111] Additional jewellery items include bracelets or necklaces with glass paste beads,[112] hobnails that provide evidence for shoes, and bone pins.[113] Bone pins have been found in the burials of both males and females, indicating that they were probably used to hold clothing or a shroud in place, while one bone needle was found in the grave of an adult female. Hobnails were found in 22 burials, 12 of which were male, while only 5 were female, 5 were found in burials of unsexed individuals, indicating that males were more likely to be buried with shoes or sandals that were made with hobnails.[114]

Other Items

In addition to ceramic, glass and bronze vessels, lamps, coins, iron nails and items that were worn by the individual at the time of deposition, there are a number of infrequently occurring or singular items.[115] A small number of weapons and tools have been found, including bronze or iron spearheads P5068, P6636, as well as iron bill and pruning hooks P824, P5133, P5134 and P6124 from adult male burials F34, F35, F213, F216 and F288, four of which also contained bronze vessels.

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[111] Catalogue entry 7.2. An exact parallel of this type was found at Musarna. Cf. Rebillard 2009a: 147-8.

[112] Bracelet or beads have been found in burials F43, F48, F55, F93, F210, F220, F251, F281, F282, F283 and F285.

[113] Bone pins have been found in F89, F96, F104, F117 (13), F209, F210, F245, F249, F284, as well as a bone needle in F200, a bronze pin in F201 (cremation burial), and in F213.

[114] Individuals who were buried with hobnails: F34, F35, F42, F42a, F67, F92, F131, F214, F216, F220, F231 and F288 (males); F94, F95, F205, F215, F245 (females); F218 (subadult), F201 (cremation), and F247, F48, F54 (not yet studied).

[115] The most noteworthy of these items have been included in the Catalogue, and although further examination of these items would be interesting, some have already been examined and published by Small *et al*. in 2007, including a bone spatula (P1060), an iron scraper (P1061), and an iron punch (P1062, all from F35; Small *et al.* 2007:168), as well as a glass amulet in the form of male genitalia found in an infant burial (P716, pg. 175-6).

Patterns of Distribution

Quantification of grave goods in the cemetery allows for an examination of various factors that may have affected the numbers and types of grave goods that were placed in individual burials. This tool provides a statistical basis for claims about the prevalence and hierarchy of grave goods, in order to better understand which practices and factors may have been important to the Romans themselves.[116] Admittedly, it is not always possible to determine the precise number of grave goods from each burial and various problems arise in trying to quantify materials that survive in fragmentary condition. To circumvent inflated estimates, overall tallies of grave goods are conservative reconstructions for the minimum number of grave goods that can be identified with certainty in each burial.[117] For example, pottery sherds that were found scattered throughout the burial may have belonged to multiple vessels, but unless separate vessels could be identified definitively, pottery sherds were treated as one item. In keeping with this philosophy, when iron nails that were used as grave goods were found in the same grave, they were counted as separate artifacts, but the presence of multiple nails for a coffin, funerary bier, cremation pyre, and hobnails were treated as one item. Any fragments or items that were found outside the grave structure were not counted in this study, since they were not necessarily deposited at the time of burial.

[116] Morris 1992: 24. However imprecise quantification may be in respect to total numbers of grave goods in a cemetery that have suffered from modern agricultural activities, it nevertheless provides a method of clarifying ritual activity from the initial excavations. This should not, as Bridenbaugh suggested (1963: 326), be considered worshipping "at the shrine of that Bitch-goddess QUANTIFICATION," but instead, help justify claims about ritual through grave goods.

[117] See Appendix 1.

Certain trends in the distribution of artifacts emerge after quantification and the examination of various factors that may have affected the number of grave goods per burial. The average number of grave goods for all burials at Vagnari is 4.8, and when each type of grave cover is examined (Table 1.5), *cappuccina* burials fall closest to this number with an average of 5 grave goods per burial. *Cappuccina* burials also demonstrated the widest range of grave goods, with anywhere from 0 grave goods in F40 and F68 all the way up to 20+ in F213. The 8 funnel burials demonstrate consistently high numbers of grave goods, averaging 8.5 items per burial. Of the 2 cremation burials that have been discovered thus far, both contained numbers of grave goods that were above the norm for Vagnari, with an average of 7.5. Among these cremation burials, there was a considerable number of bronze items, including a bronze vessel, coin, nails, attachments, and ornamental pieces from jewellery. The higher numbers of grave goods in cremation and libation burials, when contrasted to the lower average number of grave goods in the majority of *cappuccina* burials, may represent an internal hierarchy of burial types at Vagnari account of their infrequency and the types of grave goods that were deposited in these burials. Finally, the lowest numbers of grave goods were found in soil burials without grave covers, where there is an average of 1.2 items per burial. An additional category of disturbed tile and other burials was created, which includes those burials where the grave cover was too poorly preserved to determine the original structure or those that were affected by the construction of a later grave. This category of grave cover

had an average of 2.4 graves goods, which, along with the soil burials, was well below the average number of grave goods at Vagnari.[118]

Type of Burial	Number of Burials	Minimum Number of Artifacts in Burial	Average Number of Grave Goods
Cappuccina	59	(Total = 294)	5
Cremation	2	(Total = 15)	7.5
Funnel	8	(Total= 68)	8.5
Soil	7	(Total =9)	1.2
Disturbed tile / Other	10	(Total=24)	2.4
Total	86	410	4.8

Table 1.5. Average number of grave goods by grave type at Vagnari.[119]

When the average number of grave goods was examined by age, there were considerably more difficulties. While the majority of individuals could be aged fairly specifically, there were a number whose skeletal preservation was too poor to be identified more precisely than 'adults.' Quantities of grave goods were examined twice by age (Table 1.6); the first data set used specific age categories, while the second grouped all adults together, since many could not be assigned to their respective age categories. The overall pattern is that the number of grave goods was the least for infants with 3.5 per burial, and it increased in relation to age, where children had an average of 4.5 items, and adults in general had 5.3 items.

Age Category	Age	Burials	Number of Artifacts	Average per Burial
Infantia	0-7 years	24	84	3.5

[118] This last category, "disturbed tile / other burials," includes burials F42a, F96a, F98, F127, F130, F132, F137a, F137b, F224, and F226, which, although they may have had recognizable grave coverings, they were no longer sealed, whether on account of ancient or modern activity.

[119] Burials F62 and F99 were not counted towards these figures, since there was not adequate information for F62, and while F99 included subadult bones, the burial likely represents debris from cremation burial F104.

Pueritia	7-14 years	4	18	4.5
Adulescentia	15-30 years	13	63	4.8
Juventus	30-49 years	12	62	5.2
Gravitas / Senectus 70 + years	50-69 years	2	5	2.5
Unknown / Adult	(18-70+)	23	134	5.8
Unstudied	N/A	8	51	6.4

Table 1.6a. Average number of grave goods by age for 86 individuals.

Age Category	Age	Burials	Number of Artifacts	Average per Burial
Infantia	0-7 years	24	84	3.5
Pueritia	7-14 years	4	18	4.5
All Adults	15+	50	264	5.3
Unstudied	N/A	8	51	6.4

Table 1.6b. Average number of grave goods by age for 86 individuals.

After examining patterns of distribution by age, the next category of evidence is sex (Table 1.7), which provided clearer patterns. The average number of grave goods for males at Vagnari is 7.4, which is well above the average number of grave goods for all burials in the cemetery. Since females fall below the site-wide average with 4.4 items per burial, it suggests an internal hierarchy of sex based on the presence of higher numbers of grave goods for males. When the sex of an adult could not be determined, the average was 4.5 items, and indeterminately sexed infants, children, and subadults had an average of 3.6 items. Since children and subadults cannot be identified by sex, they were not further examined to see if there were patterns in the number of grave goods for young boys or girls. While certain types of grave goods may be more prominent in male or female burials, for example, weapons and bronze vessels in male burials, and earrings or bone pins in female burials, it would be incorrect to try to sex unknown individuals by the types of grave goods present without adequate evidence from the skeletal record.

Sex	Number of Burials	Total Grave Goods	Average per Burial
Adult males	20	147	7.4
Adult females	25	110	4.4
Unknown (adults)	12	54	4.5
Unknown (children)	27	97	3.6

Table 1.7. Average number of grave goods by sex.

From the results of artifact quantification, a number of other patterns are evident in the types of grave goods and the overall number of items in a burial. Coins, lamps and bronze or glass vessels were deposited in less than half of the Vagnari burials, yet many of these are well above the average number of grave goods for the site. Lower numbers of items in specific materials that were found in burials with high numbers of grave goods indicates that they were high status or prestige items. The variable that has the greatest impact on the overall number of grave goods is bronze vessels, which were found in 6 burials, where the average number of grave goods of 13.8.[120] All burials with more than 13 artifacts include a bronze vessel, and if overall quantity or type of item is any indication of status, then these burials are among the highest at Vagnari.

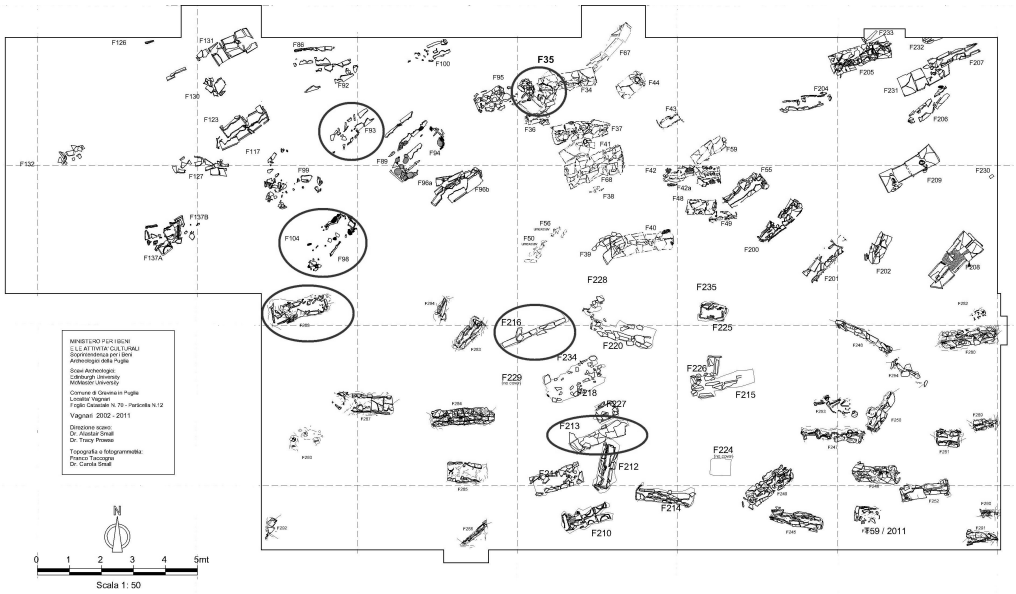
Graves with finger rings had an average of 10.5 grave goods; in burials with glass vessels, there was an average of 10 grave goods; those with coins had an average of 7.6; and when a lamp is present, there was an average of 7.3 items per burial. From these numbers, it appears that certain items that occur less frequently in the cemetery correspond to burials with higher numbers of grave goods; bronze vessels are found in only 6 burials, but these have the highest average number of grave goods in the cemetery; rings were found in 13, glass vessels in 12, coins in 18, and lamps inside 31 burials.

[120] Burials with bronze vessels include F35, F93, F104, F213, F216 and F288.

Pottery is the most commonly occurring type of grave good that was found in 70 burials, and those burials without a ceramic vessel or a few pottery fragments were in the minority.

Conclusions

A discussion of wealth, status, and hierarchy among individuals in the cemetery is a difficult topic, yet there is a strong correlation between the number of burials with large assemblages of grave goods and those that contained luxury items in metal. Individuals with multiple bronze rings, F104, F213, F216 and F288 also had bronze vessels, as well as bronze or iron spearheads, all of whom were adult males. Rather than being closely grouped together, many of the burials with luxury metal items are spaced throughout the cemetery with little, if any, connection between the type of grave covering, location of the grave, and type of grave goods inside (Plan 2).



Plan 2. Vagnari cemetery showing location of the burials containing bronze vessels (F35, F93, F104, F213, F216 and F288).

While grave goods are scarce in southern Italy in comparison to cemeteries in central and northern Italy,[121] the high frequency of grave goods in the Vagnari cemetery could be attributed to disparities in wealth or status, but it is also possible that the use of grave goods is indicative of beliefs about the afterlife. Those individuals and families who built tomb structures in the *necropoleis* at Isola Sacra, the Vatican, and the Via Triumphalis, were not likely without the means to include ceramic vessels, lamps, coins or weapons with the deceased. Such a paucity of grave goods in the monumental tombs near Rome and the contrasting presence at Vagnari cemetery suggests the possibility of differing belief systems about the afterlife, which were neither standardized nor moderated by Roman law.[122] Evidence from the archaeological record that provides insight into the funeral and belief systems in the afterlife will now be explored in Chapter 2.

[121] Pearce 2010: 83.
[122] Carroll 2006: 70; Graham 2006b: 35.

Chapter 2: Interpretations of Vagnari Funerary Rituals

Modern scholarship that addresses Roman funerary practices often relies on textual evidence to reconstruct Roman funerals, and when a cemetery is systematically explored, it is often the focus of a catalogued study that is largely descriptive in nature. These two approaches, if combined, would provide the opportunity to integrate material from the archaeological record into the broader social context, instead of using archaeological evidence to establish artifact typologies.[123] In contrast, some social historians who address Roman death often do so with attention to historical sources that privilege elite, male Roman citizens, which provides limited insight into responses to death, funerary rituals and burial.[124] While a small number of studies have attempted to interpret the archaeological evidence by integrating it into the historical and social framework, there remains the need for further studies of this type.[125]

Ancient funerals have been reconstructed by various modern authors, and certain aspects of which will be examined briefly below, but these accounts demonstrate some of the particular biases of modern scholarship. We can reconstruct the funerals of the most disparate members of society, namely those of the elite: emperors, senators, the *Equites Romani*, and their family members, and on the opposite end of the spectrum, the destitute have received a considerable amount of attention, since literary accounts suggest that the

[123] For examples of catalogued or descriptive cemetery studies, see Becker *et al*. 1992 on Otranto; Bergamini 1988 on Foligno; Cipollone 2000-1 on Gubbio in Umbria; Cocchiaro and Andreassi 1988 on Brindisi; Guzzo 1974 on Luzzi; Leigh 2000; and Leoni *et al*. 2008 for Ravenna.

[124] For example, Bodel 2000; Patterson 2000; Hope 2000; Hope 2009; Hopkins 1083; and Lindsay 2000.

[125] These include Black 1986; Ceci 2001; Carroll 2006; Carroll 2011b; Dungworth 1997; Graham 2006b; Graham 2001b; Morris 1992; Rebillard 2009a; Small *et al*. 2007; Toynbee 1971; Wallace-Hadrill 2008; etc.

poorest urban dwellers were disposed in *puticuli*, a manner of burial that precluded any form of funerary commemoration.[126]

Since the literary sources present evidence for burial practices at the extreme ends of Roman society, usually the wealthiest and the poorest inhabitants of the *urbs Romana*, one of the questions that remains to be answered is how funerals of ordinary individuals may have differed from those of the elite, both in Rome and throughout Italy. The absence of textual sources from Apulia provides a convenient opportunity to approach this question through the lens of archaeological evidence at Vagnari. Like ethnographic sources, evidence from cemeteries is not entirely free from bias, and the available material in many cases represents only a portion of the original corpus; however, this type of study affords the opportunity to consider all aspects of the funerary process, including the funeral, burial rites, types of tomb monuments, grave goods, as well as post-funerary visitation and commemoration of the deceased, both at the level of the individual and as a society. The Vagnari cemetery provides one such opportunity to examine individual burials, in order to better situate our understanding of rural funerary practices within the larger framework of Roman death and commemoration.

The main purpose of this chapter is to reconstruct funerary practices at Vagnari, including those that are invisible in the archaeological record, as well as those that can be accessed through material remains inside burials and through funerary processes. While literary and legal sources provide the largest body of evidence for funerals at Rome, it will be argued that several known funerary practices or laws would not have applied or

[126] Ancient sources: Varro *De Lingua Latina*, 5.25; Horace *Satires* 1.8.8-13; quoted by Carroll 2006: 75; Graham 2006b: 63; Morris 1992: 42; etc.

been performed by individuals at Vagnari, and that archaeological evidence, therefore, provides the most direct method of understanding these practices, as well as the best way of modifying existing notions of the Roman funeral for non-elites.

Roman funerals

The primary elements of Roman funerals have been reconstructed from literary sources, and although these sources largely describe elite, male funerals, the underlying principles were grounded in religious beliefs, which governed the treatment of the dead, even for the more humble inhabitants of the Roman Empire. Some of the best surviving sources for attitudes and responses to Roman death are personal letters and memoirs, Roman civil and religious law, and excerpts from satire.[127] For ordinary individuals, four different phases of the *funus translaticum* have been identified by Toynbee: the final rites and treatment of the body; the funeral procession or *pompa*; disposal of the corpse; and the post-funeral activities for the dead.[128] In large urban centers, there was a need for professionals in the funerary industry, where various occupations associated with the funerals are known, including *libitinarii*, who were undertakers or funeral contractors, later called *funerarii*, or suppliers of workmen.[129] Other individuals include *pollinctores* (morticians), *vespillones* (corpse-carriers), *fossores* (grave-diggers), *ustores* (corpse-

[127] These include, but are not limited to: Cicero *Epistulae ad Atticum*, Lucian *De Luctu*, Ovid *Fasti*, Seneca *De Consolatione ad Marciam*, and Ulpian *Digesta*.

[128] Toynbee 1971: 43-55.

[129] Bodel 2000: 136; Graham 2006b: 29; Graham 2011a: 32; Toynbee 1971: 44-6.

burners), *siticines*, *tubicines*, and *tibicines* (horn-players and flautists), as well as a *dissignator*, or funeral director.[130]

Further rites associated with the Roman funeral are too complicated and too numerous to examine in this context, yet the evidence from cemeteries provides direct access to the latter two stages of the funeral: disposal and post-funerary activity. Once the funerary *pompa* arrived at the site of burial, at least for inhumation burials, it was customary to inter the deceased directly in the ground. At this point, grave goods would have been placed inside the burial, which was then sealed or covered. A funerary banquet was consumed on the same day, the *silicernium*, at the grave, and the *cena novendialis* meal occurred on the ninth day to signify the end of formal mourning.[131] Throughout the year, there were various festivals to honour the dead, including the *Parentalia* festival of deceased family members, the *Rosalia* that was associated with roses, and the *Lemuria*, a time when restless spirits needed to be appeased.[132]

The Responsibility of Burial

One question that arises is who was responsible for burial in a rural setting, and whether the responsibility fell to family members, collective burial clubs, or patrons of the *familia*, if a segment of the population consisted of slaves or freedmen. A lengthy funerary epitaph can provide useful insight into the dedicators of a tomb, the amount paid for it, which family members could or could not be included inside, and even the amount

[130] Graham 2006b: 29, from the ancient source: Plautus *Poenulus*. 63. For more on funerals and funerary works, see Bodel 2000; Graham 2006b; Graham 2011a; Hope 2000; Lindsay 2000; Toynbee 1971.
[131] Graham 2006b: 37; Lindsay 2000: 167; Toynbee 1971: 50-1.
[132] Carroll 2006: 42; Graham 2006b: 37-9; Hopkins 1983: 233.

of space the monument was intended to occupy.[133] In the absence of commemorative inscriptions, it is difficult to know who would have been responsible for burial at Vagnari. According to tradition, women were heavily involved in funerary activities, which included the responsibility to wash, anoint and prepare the body for burial,[134] but this is not necessarily the case for burial and the construction of tomb monuments.

Funerary *collegia*, or burial clubs, were formed to accommodate merchants, artisans, and traders, from among the ranks of freeborn, freed, and slaves, and are known epigraphically from various Roman cities, including Antinum, Venafrum, and Lanuvium.[135] Membership in burial clubs indicates an anxiety or concern for proper burial and final funerary rites, but moreover, *collegia* themselves also represent an urban phenomenon for individuals who may have been far from their family members, as well as a response to the increasing prices of land.[136] There is no evidence for a formal *collegium* in the rural setting of Vagnari, yet certain standards for burial rites suggest there was a type of authority or tradition that governed funerary practices at this site. It is possible that the overall similarity and preferences for grave covers and types of grave goods are indicative of a consensus regarding funerary practices, rather than being representative of practices that were imposed on members of the community, either through the patronage of patrons or in the form of burial clubs that moderated and directed funerary activities. Another possibility is that burial, as a '*negotium*

[133] For example, *CIL* X 997 at Pompeii, which records the precinct of the tomb as 25 feet in the front, and 25 in the back.

[134] Graham 2011a.

[135] *CIL* IX 3837; *CIL* X 4855; *CIL* XIV 2112 for inscriptions from Antinum, Venafrum, and Lanuvium respectively.

[136] Hopkins 1983: 212-3.

humanitatis,'[137] was the collective responsibility of a community, where professionals in the funerary business were not required, but their roles were fulfilled by family members or the community, if necessary.

Legal Perspectives on Funerals, Burials, and Loci Religiosi

Before exploring how the funeral might have been manifested at Vagnari, it is useful to look at surviving legislation that governed funerary behaviour. In the Twelve Tables, or *Leges Duodecim Tabularum*, dated to 451 BC during the early Republican period, a series of laws are recorded that governed religious behaviour. Even at this early date, it is apparent that funerals and treatment of the dead were legal and religious concerns simultaneously. The following provisions of the Twelve Tables are relevant to this study of burial practices:

> X.3 No burial or cremation of a corpse shall take place in a city.
> X.8 Women shall not during a funeral lacerate their faces or tear their cheeks with their nails; nor shall they utter loud cries bewailing the dead.
> X.10 The body of no dead slave shall be anointed; nor shall any drinking take place at his funeral, nor a banquet of any kind be instituted in his honour.
> X.15 Gold, no matter in what form it may be present, shall, by all means, be removed from the corpse at the time of the funeral; but if anyone's teeth should be fastened with gold, it shall be lawful either to burn, or to bury it with the body.[138]

The *Corpus Iuris Civilis* is a body of Roman civil law that was compiled between 529-534 AD early in the reign of the emperor Justinian, which included a number of laws or legal opinions by private jurists and scholars from the second and third centuries AD, contemporary to the time when individuals were buried in the Vagnari cemetery. The

[137] Ulpian *Digesta,* 11.7.14.7.
[138] Translation: Scott 1973, vol. 1.

Corpus was divided into several sections, one of which, the *Digesta* or *Pandectae*, likewise addresses religious laws, expenses, transport of a dead body and the construction of funerary monuments. The following statements are of interest for this chapter on the nature of funerary and burial practices at Vagnari:

> 11.7.2.1 Aristo says that a place in which a slave has been buried is religious. (Ulpian).
> 11.7.2.5 A burial-place is a spot where human bodies or bones are deposited. Celsus, however, says that a place which is destined for burial does not become religious entirely, but only that portion of it where the body is laid. (Ulpian).
> 11.7.12.1 It is provided by a decree of the Senate that the use of a burial place is not to be contaminated by alterations, that is to say, it must not be used for other purposes.
> 11.7.12.5 The funeral expenses are to be regulated in accordance with the means or dignity and rank of the deceased. (Ulpian).
> 11.7.14.5 It is not proper, however, that any ornaments nor other articles of this kind should be buried with the body, as persons of the lower class are accustomed to do. (Ulpian).
> 11.7.37.0 Under the head of "funeral expenses" must be understood whatever is disbursed on account of the body; for instance, in the purchase of ointments, as well as the price of the place where the deceased is buried, and where any rent that is to be paid, together with the cost of the sarcophagus, the hire of vehicles, and anything else which is consumed on account of the body before it is buried; I think should be included in the funeral expenses. (Macer).
> 11.7.45 Funeral expenses are always charged to the estate, and it is customary for them to take precedence of all other debts, when the estate is insolvent. (Marcianus).[139]

These selected passages from the Twelve Tables and the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* are by no means exhaustive, but they establish some of the basic parameters for approaching funerary and burial practices. We can reconstruct that a burial ground was sacred, or a *locus religiosus*, but that burial or cremation could not take place within the boundaries of the city, which suggests something sinister, unclean, or impure about the activity.[140] Literary accounts suggest that funerals in early Rome took place at night under torchlight to protect priests from the danger of pollution, but the modern opinion is that funerals

[139] Translation: Scott 1973, vol. 2.
[140] Lindsay 2000: 154; Toynbee 1971: 48.

were unlikely to have taken place at night.[141] While the *Twelve Tables* prohibit anointment of dead slaves and feasting at their funeral, over six centuries later, Ulpian wrote that the burial place of a slave is, indeed, sacred ground. It was mandated in the *Twelve Tables* that gold was to be removed from the deceased before burial, but burials F48, F245 and F281 at Vagnari all contained gold ornaments, which indicates that at least one of the early Republican laws had either been modified or was deliberately ignored in this particular cemetery. Gold is not commonly found in other Roman cemeteries; at Otranto only a ring and earring were found in one burial, and at Musarna three different types of gold earrings and a gold ring were found among 209 burials, while no gold was found at Foligno, Grottaperfetta or Gubbio.[142] Perhaps this discrepancy between the *Twelve Tables* and the archaeological evidence is reconciled several centuries later by Ulpian, who wrote that burial with ornaments was merely the behaviour of *simpliciores*, or more humble individuals, rather than an illegal practice. From these selected passages, it is evident that the law did have an influence over funerary and burial practices; however, this is neither the only, nor the most unproblematic way to understand the funerals of ordinary individuals in the Roman world. With the legal framework in place from these excerpts of Roman law, it is possible to approach the evidence at Vagnari to determine whether funerary practices in a particular locale were subject to these codifications.

[141] Servius *Ad Aeneid*, 1.727, quoted in Graham 2006b: 30. See also Lindsay 2000: 155.

[142] Becker *et al*. 1992: 64-5. Otranto: burial 1, items 6 and 7: a gold ring and earring of a late adolescent or young adult. Musarna: Rebillard 2009: 147-50.

Funerary evidence in a rural context

It has been argued that significant numbers of burials with modest funerary assemblages and an absence of tomb architecture in villa populations are indicative of lower status individuals.[143] The presence of the nearby villa at San Felice suggests that individuals in the Vagnari cemetery were slaves, freedmen or free tenants who were economically connected to the villa.[144] These people may have been involved in various capacities with the villa, whether as agricultural or industrial labourers, as domestic servants or *vilicus* estate managers. Their status would be fitting with the *simpliciores*, or more humble sort who were mentioned by Ulpian, since they did bury their deceased with ornaments (11.7.14.5).

It is likely that the funerals of those individuals buried at Vagnari cemetery included many of the same elements as those from literary sources, albeit on a smaller and more humble scale. Whereas elite funerals were vehicles for self-promotion, rhetoric and public spectacles, the funerals at Vagnari probably incorporated some of the same practices, such as preparation of the corpse for burial, a gathering of community members and a graveside ceremony. There is nothing to suggest that family members would not have gathered around the corpse if they had a period of lying in on a *lectus funebris*, or funerary bed, and a eulogy by a family member or close friend at the time of burial could easily serve as the humble man's version of a public speech on the *rostra* in the forum at Rome. While there is no architectural provision for funerary banqueting at Vagnari, as is the case in tombs at Pompeii, Ostia, and Isola Sacra, it is entirely possible that these rites

[143] Pearce 2000: 7.
[144] Prowse *et al*. 2010: 178; Small and Small 2005: 898.

were observed graveside without architectural provision for banquets or they may have taken place elsewhere in the village. Ceramic vessels, pottery fragments and lamps have been found outside numerous burials, which items may be interpreted as evidence of graveside meals.

Where rural funerals likely differed from urban ones is in the level of accompanying spectacle. It seems that the inhabitants of Vagnari were not as concerned with self-promotion, ancestry or overt demonstrations of wealth and status as elite citizens in Rome may have been. It is difficult to imagine the use of *imagines*, or ancestor masks, as an important tradition in these rural funerals, but rather, the emphasis seems to be on spiritual or religious matters. Archaeological evidence only provides insight into the final stages of funerary rituals; consequently, much of the reconstructed funerary activity is conjectural, yet there are certain underlying tenets that govern funerary and burial practices at Vagnari. Individuals were treated with care and respect, and a belief in an afterlife seems prominent.

The tombs at Vagnari cannot compete with the scale of monumental tombs found outside other Roman towns, yet the presence of luxury items like metal rings, bronze vessels and gold earrings suggests that these individuals did, in fact, have disposable income to spend on a funeral, such as the customary banquet and grave goods. It is also possible that, in a rural context, these funerary activities were performed by family members, rather than professionals, and that religious beliefs were more prominent aspects of the funerals at Vagnari than pubic spectacle or displays of wealth. Bodel has suggested that during the Imperial period the prominence of the funerary procession, or

pompa, decreased, in favour of more subdued reflection and mourning, which may reflect the nature of these rituals at Vagnari, where funerals would have involved members of the community, rather than externalized demonstrations of wealth and status.[145]

Although it is difficult to know the extent to which typical funerary practices occurred in the post-mortem rituals that preceded burial at Vagnari, the same central tenet of respect underlies treatment of the dead, with one notable exception. In the case of F137 A and B (Figure 2.1), a female aged 20-25 years of age was interred in an extended position on her back, with her hands folded across her stomach. This individual received the standard burial treatment, and associated grave goods included a ceramic pot, coin, lamp, two iron nails and a glass vessel. However, another individual was buried in the same spot, where an adult of indeterminate sex was interred face-down on top of F137A. This type of treatment is otherwise unparalleled at Vagnari, and the dichotomy between disrespectful treatment of one individual on top of an otherwise regular and respectful burial is difficult to reconcile.

Figure 2.1. F137A and F137B at Vagnari, where one individual was interred face-down on top of another. Photo by Tracy Prowse.

[145] Bodel 2000: 267.

The two cremation burials at the site, F104 and F201, were both *in situ* cremations, rather than cremations that occurred elsewhere at an *ustrinum*, where ashes were subsequently collected and transferred into a container. At Otranto, cremation burials were placed in stone cists or urns, and the nearby structures 1 and 2 have been identified as funeral enclosures, where cremation may have taken place.[146] F201, and possibly even F104, had a *cappuccina* cover on top of the burnt bones and grave goods, which raises a number of questions about the funeral of these particular individuals.[147] Incineration in a cemetery that is otherwise full of inhumation burials represents a conscious deviation from the standard funerary practices of the site, and although mixed burial rites are not unknown in Roman cemeteries, the funeral itself and the method of commemoration differed in this instance.[148] After the *pompa* culminated with deposition into the grave, the process of burning the corpse and then constructing a grave cover could have meant a lengthier funeral, or perhaps two separate events. The two cremation burials, despite the fact that they are in the extreme minority, have an average of 7.5 grave goods each, which do not deviate from the customary types of grave goods at Vagnari, since they include a bronze vessel, iron nail, coin, bronze disc, bronze nail, lead fragment and pottery fragments in F104, and a ceramic vessel, iron nails, bronze attachments, bronze nails, bronze ornamental pieces, and hobnails in F201, but these burials are, however, noteworthy for their high quantities of metal. Since the method of these two burials differs greatly from the rest of the inhumation burials at Vagnari, it is

[146] Becker *et al*. 1992: 63.

[147] There was a large amount of tile and debris associated with F104, which may have led to the identification of another burial, F99.

[148] Graham 2006b: 105: the co-existence of cremation and inhumation burials is without apparent ethnic or religious associations.

possible that these two burials represent higher status individuals, perhaps a *colonus* tenant or *vilicus* overseer.

Concerns of Tomb Violation

By the *Twelve Tables* as well as the *Digesta*, the location of a burial was sacred, and could therefore not be defaced, contaminated by alterations, or used for other purposes.[149] In some cases, there was a fear of no longer having agency or the power to control affairs, such as the notorious Trimalchio, a freedman in Petronius' *Satyricon*, who intends to make provisions in his will that no injury or damage will be done to his tomb by having a freedman guard over the tomb.[150] While it seems unreasonable that anyone would run up to a monument and defecate on it, as the text suggests, this was evidently a concern. The fear of *violatio sepulcri* is echoed in funerary inscriptions, such as *CIL* VI 7579 and *CIL* VI 36467, where the punishment for tomb violation is an invocation to the gods below not to receive the violator, and that the earth may rest heavily on him. The tomb, as the eternal resting place of the individual and as a *locus religiosus*, was theoretically inviolable; however, graffiti on the sepulchral monuments at Pompeii also suggests otherwise. On one tomb outside the Porta Nocera, "*Serena Isidorum fastidit*" was scrawled in red, a notation that is disrespectful both in content and in action.[151]

At Vagnari, there is evidence for a different kind of violation, where some graves were disturbed or built on top of each other. In the case of F226, the east-west *cappuccina*

[149] Ulpian *Digesta*, 11.7.25.
[150] Petronius *Satyricon*, 71.
[151] *CIL* IV 3117. "Serena hates Isodorus."

burial was damaged by the subsequent construction of F215, a north-south *cappuccina* grave that intersected the earlier burial (Figure 2.2). Since the northern and southern extents of F226 were preserved, it seems that, while digging the pit for F215, the *fossores* came down on *tegulae*, and rather than pick a new spot for the burial, they continued to dig through the burial covering and lower body of a child around 8 years old in F226. No evidence of reinterred remains or of a secondary burial was discovered in the area, so what happened to the rest of the individual in F226 is a unknown. Despite the fact that this is an exceptional case of grave violation, there are disparate and irreconcilable attitudes present in the care and treatment for the dead. On the one hand, the individual in F215, an adult female, received proper burial with grave goods and a *tegula* covering, but in the process of preparing this burial, another grave was destroyed. The body of F215 was not disposed of unceremoniously, and the presence of a lamp and ceramic vessel outside the grave indicates that it was visited as part of post-funerary commemoration. One possible explanation for the blatant disregard for the treatment of the earlier grave is that the *fossore*, upon discovering F226, ignored it deliberately, rather than expending additional energy to dig a new grave. Whether or not that particular grave-digger was a hired labourer, the disrespectful act of digging through a pre-existing grave is a rare occurrence at Vagnari.

Figure 2.2. Left: *cappuccina* grave cover F226 (running N-S) with F215 intersecting (running E-W). Right: Skeletal remains of F226 that was damaged by F215. Photos by Tracy Prowse.

Beliefs about the afterlife

There is little consensus about the nature of the Roman afterlife in eschatological thought, since no such belief adhered to strict codifications. There was a spectrum of views that ranged from nihilism to continuity of the soul in a variety of forms.[152] Stoic and Epicurean philosophy taught that the soul, which lost individuality and conscientiousness at the time of death, was dispersed, and immediately upon death, the "nearest relative present gave the last kiss, to catch the soul, which, as it was believed, left the body with the final breath."[153] Would Stoic or Epicurean beliefs have penetrated this region of Apulia and influenced the funerary practices of those working on an Imperial estate? The thought that the living and the dead could mutually affect each other seems evident from certain practices in the burial record, and it is likely that the inhabitants of Vagnari believed in a type of afterlife that required corporeal and spiritual considerations.

[152] Hopkins 1983: 227.
[153] Toynbee 1971: 34, 43.

Ostensibly, grave goods were included for use in the afterlife or for the journey to the underworld, but before the items themselves can be addressed, the location of this underworld should be examined. Portrayal of the underworld in the epic tradition of Homer and Vergil with complicated topographical features is, for the most part, a literary portrayal that does not appear to have permeated the belief systems of ordinary individuals.[154] The more common view is that the spirits of the dead, or *manes*, resided inside or in the vicinity of the tomb, possibly underground.[155] The belief that the living and the dead could interact, and, moreover, that they could influence each other, is manifested in the way the dead were revered and commemorated. Furthermore, there is a somewhat threatening or haunting aspect to the *manes*, since they are often portrayed as potentially harmful spirits that needed appeasement.[156] The location of cemeteries outside the town or settlement, the sacred nature of burial grounds, and the repeated metaphor of tombs as houses suggest that the spirits of deceased resided in the tomb after death, rather than journey to the underworld from literature.

Sleep of death

Within the world of epic poetry, the "sleep of death" is a familiar *topos* among authors from Homer to Vergil, where sleep and death are conveyed through personifications, or deceased individuals are sleeping eternally.[157] A passage from Lucan provides an account of death, whereby a fallen soldier "*socias somno descendis ad*

[154] Toynbee 1971: 36-7. Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* XI and Vergil *Aeneid*, VI.
[155] Cumont 1922: 47.
[156] Hopkins 1983: 227.
[157] Ogle 1933: 81.

umbras."[158] Early Christian cemeteries at this time were referred to as *coemeteria* or *dormitoria*, in reference to their function as sleeping places of the dead.[159] In Latin funerary inscriptions, common formulae include *hic cubat* or *hic situs/a est* (here lies), *hic est sepultus* (is buried here), or *hic adquiescit* (here lies).[160]

The use of metaphors relating to sleep and death appears in inscriptions from the time of Augustus onwards; at Rome and Portus, *hic dormit* is used in a number of inscriptions to convey the fact that an individual was interred at that location in perpetual sleep.[161] In funerary art, the "sleep of death" was first represented in the Greek Hellenistic period, where individuals recline on lids of sarcophagi in a dreamless sleep.[162] Among Roman funerary commemoration, a number of sarcophagi depict scenes of children asleep on a deathbed, a metaphor that is also repeated in Endymion and Ariadne scenes, and one for which Huskinson has offered the suggestion that sleep is employed as a metaphor for death to mitigate the permanent loss.[163] Archaeologically, this phenomenon is recorded at the Via Nomentana cemetery in Rome, where two examples of *tufa* 'pillows' were included in the burials and 15 instances where the grave was cut in order to accommodate the head of the deceased.[164]

At Vagnari, 14 individuals, many of whom are clustered in the southeast section of the cemetery, ranging from an 18 month old infant to several older adults, were

[158] Lucan *Bellum Civile*, 9.818. "… and in this sleep, you descend to the shades of your comrades."
[159] Tertullian *De Anima*, 51.
[160] Eg. *CIL* I 1429, *CIL* VI 13996, and *CIL* VI 2052 respectively.
[161] Ogle 1933: 85; Carroll 2006: 273. While the earliest of these inscriptions were erected for pagans, the metaphor of the "sleep of death" becomes common in Christian epitaphs in the third and fourth centuries with *hic dormit*. Inscriptions with references to sleeping include *CIL* VI 1886, 1897, 1908, 1918, 1954, 3604; *CIL* VIII 23012b, 21555; *CIL* XII 5102; *CIL* XIV 1954, and 1960.
[162] Ogle 1933: 87.
[163] Huskinson 2007: 335.
[164] Graham 2006b: 102.

positioned with their heads on *imbrex* tiles that were reused as 'pillows.' These individuals demonstrate that there was careful consideration for the positioning of the deceased, who were respectfully laid to rest on 'pillows.' At the same time, the 'sleep of death' not only applied to literature or funerary monuments from the capital of the empire, but it was a concern for the rural inhabitants of the Imperial estate at Vagnari. The physical manifestation of this concept served perhaps the twofold function of ensuring that the deceased would be comfortable in the afterlife, as well as providing comfort to the living, who saw their relatives or friends laid out during the funerary rituals.

Grave Goods and the Afterlife

In the absence of known doctrines or philosophical texts, grave goods provide insight into belief systems about the afterlife at Vagnari.[165] Corpse disposal was not the sole aim of burial in this cemetery, since grave covers were erected, individuals were interred with grave goods and there is evidence for post-funerary grave-side visits. Instead, the treatment of the dead demonstrates careful attention to social customs and spiritual, if not religious, beliefs. In some instances, the deceased were dressed with items of jewellery or personal adornment during preparation for burial, but in other cases, the inclusion of grave goods represents conscious decisions by commemorators and mourners as to what items would be useful in the afterlife. Despite the claim by Ulpian that ornaments should not be buried with corpses, this was not the case at Vagnari, where

[165] Hopkins 1983: 229.

rings, necklaces, earrings, hair pins and belt buckles have been found in quantities that preclude them from being considered exceptional.[166]

The inclusion of grave goods in Roman burials serves a number of purposes; on a spiritual level, individuals would presumably be more comfortable in the afterlife with everyday items to use in their new home. As a symbol of status, it indicates a certain level of prosperity that these individuals could afford to remove particular items from daily use, and within the cemetery itself, fewer items in luxury materials establish a relative hierarchy of grave goods. These practices speak to the fact that the community at Vagnari was concerned with commemoration on the spiritual and private levels, but additionally, they were conscious of practices that occurred in other regions of Roman Italy that helped create identity through burial and commemoration. Furthermore, the nearly ubiquitous inclusion of grave goods at Vagnari reflects a strong belief in the afterlife that has been de-emphasized in cemeteries where grave goods are largely absent.[167]

The presence of nails in Roman burials has been noted at several cemeteries, but never fully studied.[168] Near Ostia, the 30 graves at Malafede-Fralana contained only 13 objects in total, but these included lamps and small ceramic vessels with coins or nails, often at the feet of the deceased.[169] Nails were also found in burials at the Via Nomentana and Via Fracchia cemeteries in Rome,[170] as well as Nave, Ostia, Via di Grottaperfetta

[166] Ulpian *Digesta*, 11.7.14.5.

[167] Graham 2006b: 94. The paucity of grave goods at Isola Sacra in the large house tombs, simpler *cassone* constructions, and inhumation burials, has been "attributed to a general indifference toward the individual in the afterlife."

[168] For this area of investigation, I am grateful to A.M. Small, who first mentioned the subject to me.

[169] Falzone *et al*. 2001: 131.

[170] Ceci 2001: 89.

near Rome, Isernia, Pontecagnano, and Sant'Agata dei Goti.[171] Other examples have also been included among the catalogues for burials at Brindisi, Foligno, Gubbio, Luzzi and Otranto.[172] While the traditional approach to nails in archaeological contexts has been to note their presence, catalogue their typologies, or perhaps comment on their mode of manufacture, there is a need for further studies on the magico-religious or ritual use of nails.[173] At Musarna near Viterbo, 101 fully preserved nails and 169 fragments were recorded, many of which had functional uses for coffins and biers, but the appearance of singular nails in 17 inhumation burials signifies a ritual function.[174]

Nails can have different connotations, since they were used to join items together, but the act of nailing can be destructive and potentially ominous.[175] It has been suggested that nails were used in Roman burials to "pin down a potentially dangerous force," and to "prevent the shade from returning to the world above.[176] An alternative explanation has been suggested, whereby singular nails were used functionally to help items maintain their position in the grave.[177] At Vagnari, the presence of nails is functional in some burials, where they were used for funerary biers, coffins of infants, or cremation pyres, but nails were deposited as grave goods in 38 burials (Chapter 1, Table 4). All but 6 of these nails were found in association with a ceramic vessel, either inside one or in close

[171] Small *et al*. 2007: 145, note 23.
[172] Cocchiaro and Andreassi 1988; Bergamini 1988; Cipollone 2000-1; Guzzo 1974; and Becker *et al*. 1992 respectively.
[173] Dungworth 1997: 152-3.
[174] Brives 2009: 178-9.
[175] Dungworth 1997: 156.
[176] Small *et al*. 2007: 146. These ideas are also explored by Black 1986: 223, Dungworth 1997: 153, and Brives 2009: 178.
[177] Brives 2009: 179, proposed by G. Sena Chiesa. Although nails may have been employed along with a perishable material like wood, this would not explain the bent nails at Vagnari. See Catalogue 5.1, 5.2, 5.4, 5.6.

proximity to the broken remains. Since there does not appear to be any relationship between the age and sex of the individual and the condition or location of the nail, it is unlikely that this type of grave good was used as an indicator of status, but rather, they speak to the religious or superstitious beliefs of the commemorators.

Most explanations for nails in Roman burials are inward-looking and concerned with nailing down a hostile force or they were intended to prevent the *manes* from harming the living, since the living and the dead could have a mutual influence on each other.[178] One possibility that has not, to my knowledge, been explored is that nails were deposited as grave goods in burials in order to protect the deceased from potentially harmful living forces. The fear of tomb violation, and to a lesser extent, grave robbing, was a legitimate concern for the Romans, and although nails are viewed traditionally by modern scholars as something to keep liminal spirits from harming the living, it is also possible that nails protected the dead from hostile forces in the world of the living.

There is a noteworthy correlation between burials that contained lamps and metal grave goods, since iron nails were found in 24 of 34 burials that also contained lamps, and among the remaining burials, 2 included curved iron rings, 2 were not excavated, the covers of 3 burials were disturbed. F245 contained a lamp with no metal item, although there were hobnails found in the burial. It has already been noted that lamps with evidence of burning on the nozzle may have been used during the funeral, but the high number of burials with both lamps and nails or metal items suggests that they were part of an associated ritual. One possibility is that nails were placed in burials as an apotropaic

[178] Hope 2000: 105.

charm to protect the deceased on the journey to the afterlife, while lamps were intended to illuminate that transition.

Other types of grave goods may provide insight into views of the afterlife; after the initial 17 burials were excavated and published, Small concluded that coins in the Vagnari burials do not solve the question of their function.[179] Explanations for coins in burials include that they were used as Charon's fee, coins were indicators of status, they were symbolic endowments to the dead, or they provided protection for the deceased against evil spirits.[180] However, between the number of coins, their condition, and position within the burials, there is enough evidence to argue that they too were intended to be used as protection for the deceased. The majority of coins were found in a manner that suggests they were worn in a pouch around the neck or at the waist, while only 3 coins were positioned differently. In F208, a coin was found by the left foot, under the nozzle of a lamp; in F234 one was found on the left cheek of the individual; finally in F247, a coin was found inside a ceramic vessel by the left foot.

Coins may have been a symbolic talisman for protection against evil spirits like nails, or it is possible that they were for use in the afterlife to purchase additional goods to make their new homes more comfortable. If the deceased had the need for the material goods that were interred as grave goods, then presumably they could have needed money coins for purchasing goods, bribing individuals or paying for services in the afterlife. Although unlikely, it is also possible that coins represent indicators of status; they were

[179] Small *et al*. 2007: 149.

[180] These 4 theories, enumerated in Small *et al*. 2007: 149, have been proposed by Stevens 1991; Bolla 1998; Pellegrino 1999; and Ceci 2001 respectively.

found in burials that contained an average of 7.6 grave goods, which is above the site-wide average of 4.8 items per burial. From the patterns of distribution in Chapter 1, it was revealed that the high status burials included high numbers of grave goods with items in valuable materials, such as bronze vessels. Of the 6 burials with bronze vessels, only F104, a cremation burial, and F216 contained coins. If coins were intended to be indicators of status, then their absence in F35, F93, F213 and F288 is notable. None of the coins have been found in the mouths of the deceased, which is the typical literary convention for Charon's fee, and therefore it seems most likely that coins provided some sort of security for the deceased in the afterlife, either symbolically to ward off spirits or to purchase additional goods in the afterlife.

Activity outside the grave

Various festivals and celebrations of the dead are recorded by Ovid, which included the *Parentalia* and the *Lemuria*.[181] During these religious festivals, no public business was conducted, there were cemetery visits by relatives, as well as grave-side meals.[182] Pouring libations or making offerings to the deceased served a three-fold purpose, where the memory of the deceased was mourned and celebrated, and the living could express their grief in a socially prescribed manner, and the spirits of the dead could be placated, if necessary. In addition to religious festivals, the living could interact with the dead in other ways, namely by visiting the graves and leaving offerings. Items that

[181] Ovid *Fasti*, 2.533 and 5.41.
[182] Hopkins 1983: 233.

have been found outside burials include many ceramic vessels or pottery sherds,[183] a bronze fibula outside F49, several lamps,[184] an iron nail outside F68, iron spearheads that were resting on the *tegulae* of F213 and F216, and hobnails outside F218.

These items are indicative of post-funerary visits to the grave, which are likely associated with banquets, festivals or regular visits to the Vagnari cemetery. Furthermore, grave-side offerings indicate that construction of the grave covering did not represent the end of the funerary ritual, since visits to the cemetery were an important part of post-mortem commemoration. Items may have been left graveside to honour the memory of the deceased, in the way that flowers are brought to North American and European cemeteries today. Alternatively, they may have been intended for use in the afterlife, in the manner of other grave goods. The close proximity of the cemetery to other parts of the settlement and the evidence for activity outside the graves reveals an arrangement where the living interacted with the dead at certain times of the year. Furthermore, evidence for visiting the cemetery indicates that the graves would have been visible or they were marked in a way that has not survived in the archaeological record.[185]

Spatial Organization

At present, the Vagnari cemetery appears to be situated near the industrial area of the town, near where several tile kilns and late antique buildings were located. Further excavation may help to clarify the relationship between the inhabited or industrial areas

[183] Ceramic vessels or large quantities of pottery sherds have been found outside F41, F49, F104, F117, F209, F213, F215/F226, F218, F220, F230, F231, F287, and F292.

[184] Lamps have been found outside F67, F215/F226, F216, F230, F280, and one fragment of a lamp was found outside F283.

[185] Prowse, pers. comm.

of the *vicus* and the cemetery; however, there is no evidence to suggest that these individuals did not adhere to the tenth rule in the Twelve Tables of Roman law, which stated that no individual should be buried within the city. The absence of a known *pomerium*, or sacred boundary, of the town raises the question of spatial organization and hierarchy among burial plots. It was initially suggested that there appears to be a road on the northwest side of the cemetery, which was revealed from magnetometer survey of the site.[186] Such a road could provide confirmation of the southern extent of the settlement, if these individuals were, in fact, buried outside the limits of the *vicus*.

In the case of spatial organization, epigraphic evidences provides direct testimony regarding tomb location, size, and expense, since the Romans were hierarchical in many aspects of both life and death. At Pompeii, Ostia and Aquileia, tombs were situated competitively outside the principal gates that connected to the major roads and thoroughfares of Italy. In particular, the Via dei Sepolcri outside the Porta Ercolano at Pompeii bears witness to impressive tombs in a provincial context, but it is not necessarily the case that the tombs in closest proximity to the gates were earliest in date, but rather that there appears to be a certain level of competition for visibility and desirable land.

There is some evidence to suggest that the northern section of the Vagnari cemetery was an especially desirable location for burial, and it remained so over time. Graves are more densely packed in the northern half of the cemetery, and there is a considerable amount of overlapping between them. Coins of Constantine (F95 and F42)

[186] Small *et al*. 2007: 126.

were found in close proximity to coins of Hadrian (F59), Antoninus Pius (F41), and Faustina II (F67), in an area with a fair amount of overlapping between graves. This suggests that the locations of earlier graves had been forgotten by the fourth century, and, that over two centuries this space remained a preferred location for graves.[187] Unlike the streets of tombs that are frequently associated with Roman funerary monuments, this cemetery was not affected to the same extent by extra-urban planning, conformity to grave orientation, or competition for visibility, which suggests that there was no central body or *collegium* to oversee such operations.

Conclusions

From the archaeological record, it is evident that burial at Vagnari was not simply a manner of disposal of the deceased, but rather, that the patterns reflected in the manner of burial, and the numbers and types of grave goods indicate particular funerary rituals. Since written accounts are largely limited to a particular demographic group that was not present in this part of the Roman world, responses to death by living members of the community are not always accessible through the literary record. The presence of items outside the grave suggests that the tombs were visited after the celebration of funerary rites, but, over time, the locations of tombs may have been forgotten, as some burials were constructed in a manner that disturbed earlier ones. Evidence from legal sources suggests that these individuals did, for the most part, adhere to standard beliefs or

[187] Small *et al*. 2007: 133. Grave goods are less helpful at answering this question, since some of the largest funerary assemblages, in F104, F213, F216, and F288, were found in the south and western sections of the cemetery. For the most part, coins are found more commonly in the northern half of the cemetery, with only 5/18 coins found in the southern half.

legislation that governed funerary and burial practices; however, the presence of gold ornaments in several burials suggests that certain aspects of the Twelve Tables were not enforced by time of the Middle Empire. While the exact attitudes to the Roman afterlife continue to be elusive, evidence from the burials signifies that grave goods and particular rituals were required, in order to ensure a safe transition to the afterlife. Several rituals appear to have been applied to all those who were buried in the cemetery, but the conventional belief that adults and children were buried in different manners deserves further attention to determine if this was the dominant practice at Vagnari. The funerary rituals and burial practices of infants and children will be examined in Chapter 3 to determine how different members of society were treated in this rural context.

Chapter 3: Infant and Children's Burials at Vagnari

Ancient Sources and Attitudes to the Death of Children

In the past fifty years, the study of infants and children in the ancient world has gained momentum, as scholarly attention has shifted away from elite, male citizenry towards more marginalized members of Roman society. The idea of indifference to the death of infants and children has been challenged in favour of a family-based approach that considers a variety of socio-economic factors.[188] Emphasis on the family, slavery, the elderly and children provides insight into different sectors of the population who are integral for understanding many aspects of antiquity.[189] The study of children and childhood in literary and archaeological contexts is predicated on adult attitudes to children since the latter did not leave written accounts, yet these sources are important for understanding how children were treated in early life, and in many cases, at the time of an early death. A discussion of children's burials requires an interdisciplinary approach to consider evidence from the literary, epigraphic and historical record, in order to put the burials from Vagnari into focus.

Ancient sources that address children fall frequently into the genres of medical and technical writing or consolation literature in the form of letters. Attention has been called to the fact that many literary sources reflect Stoic attitudes of the elite in response

[188] Pearce 2001: 125.

[189] Eg. Derevenski 2000; Dixon 1992 and 2001; Duday 2009; George 2005; Golden 1988, 2004; Harlow and Laurence 2002; Huskinson 2007; Laes 2011; Laubenheimer 2004; Lewis 2007; Martin-Kilcher 2000; McWilliam 2001; Rawson 2003; Rawson and Weaver 1997; Saller and Shaw 1984; Scott 1999; and Shaw 1991 and 1996.

to death and mourning, which were not characteristic of homogenous Roman beliefs.[190] Cicero, for example, wrote, "*idem, si puer parvus occidit, aequo animo ferendum putant, si vero in cunis ne querendum quidem*."[191] Later, upon the death of his own adult daughter Tullia in 45 BC, Cicero's grief was so great that he wrote, "*sed omnem consolationem vincit dolor*."[192] The former statement evokes the prescriptive and general tone of several Latin sources, whereas the latter captures intense grief and a real response to death, emphasizing the paradox between public and private grief.

Plutarch, who lost a daughter of his own, wrote to his wife in praise of her restraint and self-control after their loss.[193] The following information emerges from such a letter: her death was considered a loss, affection was bestowed on young children, and it was expected that a funeral would be held for the young girl. Despite any assumptions that the Romans were indifferent to the deaths of children, none of these tenets is suggestive of apathy to young children, nor should limited displays of public grief or the absence of a funerary banquet for Plutarch's daughter be interpreted as a sign that children did not receive proper burial rites. At the end of the letter, Plutarch discusses the funerals and burial of children, stating that people do not pour libations over dead infants, linger beside their bodies, at their wakes, by their tombs, and that the law forbids mourning for infants.[194]

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[190] Carroll 2011b: 99.

[191] Cicero *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.39.93. "Similarly, if a young child dies, they (the parents) ought to bear it with equanimity, however if the infant dies in the cradle, one does not even complain."

[192] Cicero *Ad Atticum* 12.14.3. "But grief overcomes all consolation."

[193] Plutarch *Consolatio Ad Uxorem* 608B-612B.

[194] *Ibid*. section 612B.

Whereas certain literature advised against excessive grief for young lives, funerary monuments offer different insight into the death of children, where tender scenes suggest fondness and love for children.[195] On funerary reliefs, children are depicted in a variety of pursuits, including playing with toys or animals and interacting with their parents. The fact that their journey was cut short does not suggest that children were lesser-valued members of society, but that they did not have time to develop into their potential. One funerary relief, in the Museo Nazionale Romano, depicts scenes of a young boy playing, flanked between two chariot scenes that appear to progress from right to left. This Trajanic relief is contemporary to some of the burials at Vagnari, but it was likely commissioned by wealthy freedmen who lived in an urban context. Also from the early second century AD, the funerary altar of Hateria Superba commemorates a young girl who lived 1 year, 6 months and 25 days, whose parents described themselves as *infelicissimi* after her death.[196] Despite legal provisions against mourning for infants, there are a range of attitudes and responses to the death of children preserved in written, visual and epigraphic sources.

[195] Golden 2004: 154. The reading of images and messages on tomb monuments is also highly subject to social class and status, as is the case with consolation literature.

[196] *CIL* VI 19159 in the Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 942.

Figure 3.1. Child's Sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 65199. Photo: author.

The Life Course Approach and Burial

Through the life course approach to Roman society, various age groups and stages of life can be defined by social and biological markers. Discussions of the earliest phases of life appear in the work of ancient authors, including Varro, Horace, Cicero, Quintilian, Pliny and Juvenal, among others.[197] In these contexts, various stages of life were outlined, based on biological, social and psychological development, as well as numeric symbolism.[198] While the terms for each stage and their respective durations differ from author to author, there is a general consensus that the stages passed from infancy to childhood, then youth to adulthood and old age, but paradoxically the first stage of life, in which the most growth occurs, is the most defined broadly and includes anywhere from the first 7 to 15 years of life. To Varro, a child remained a *puer* until 15, but by late

[197] Eg. Varro *De Lingua Latina* 6.52 on *infantia*; Horace *Ars Poetica* 156-78; Cicero *De Senectute* 33, 76 and *De Finibus* 5.15.42; Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 1.1.18; Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 7.16.69-72; and Juvenal *Saturae* 15.140.

[198] Rawson 2003: 136.

antiquity, 7 was the end of *infantia* when a child traditionally lost its milk teeth.[199] Thus the picture from Varro is that numeric symbolism and symmetry governed the various stages of life, which were split into five periods of fifteen years each.[200]

Such a discussion of ages and stages of childhood is important for understanding Roman attitudes towards funerary commemoration. The concept of *mors immatura* applied broadly to those who died prematurely, including infants, children and juveniles before the age of marriage, women who died in childbirth, and those who died in unfortunate circumstances.[201] Literary evidence suggests that infants who died before they reached 40 days old were not buried in the manner of adults and older children, but they were buried in niches of walls or under the house.[202] In the first and second centuries AD, when most of the Roman Empire practiced cremation as the dominant burial rite, children who had not cut their teeth were not cremated, according to Pliny.[203] This evidence is often interpreted to mean that children beneath the age of 7 months who had not yet developed their first set of teeth were inhumed.[204] Conversely, the same passage from Pliny has been used to explain the presence of two inhumation burials of 5-6 year olds at Otranto, an otherwise cremation cemetery, since individuals under the age of 7 had

[199] Carroll 2011b: 102; Harlow and Laurence 2002: 37; Prowse 2011: 411; Rawson 2003: 136-7.

[200] Varro *De Lingua Latina* 6.52. These stages included *puer* (0-15 years), *adulescens* (15-30), *iuvenis* (30-45), *senior* (45-60), and *senex* (60+). Cited in Rawson 2003: 136.

[201] Martin-Kilcher 2000: 63.

[202] Wiedemann 1989: 179; Shaw 1991: 77; McWilliam 2001: 75-6; Rawson 2003: 343. Ancient sources for this discussion: Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 7.16.72 and Juvenal *Saturae* 15.139-40.

[203] Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 7.16.72. It is important to note that Pliny wrote in the first century AD when cremation was the dominant burial practice in Italy. Regardless of age, all children's burials at Vagnari are inhumation.

[204] Pearce 2001: 126-7.

not developed their second set of teeth.[205] The question emerges whether Pliny meant all *infantiae* up to 7 years were not cremated or only infants up to 7 months of age.

The period of mourning for a child was formally limited for children between the ages of 1 and 3 years, while there was no ritual grieving for those who died within the first year of life.[206] In contrast women mourned for a year and men for few days when an adult died.[207] The fact that children did not receive the same period of mourning as adults raises the issue of the place of mourning within the funerary process. McWilliam asserts that children who died after the *dies lustricus* "were not guaranteed proper burial rites," and cites limited periods of mourning as evidence of this.[208] Along these lines, it has been said that, "infants rarely received proper burial in Roman times,"[209] but these types of statements about *proper burial* project the practices of adults as the norm and anyone who received different treatment was, by contrast, *improperly* buried. While post-funerary activity was an important part of Roman funerary rituals, it is not sufficient to say that infants may not have received proper burial without a period of mourning that was equal to adults, since as Toynbee noted, burial and mourning comprise different elements of the funerary process.[210]

Based on McWilliam's line of reasoning it would, however, be reasonable to question whether there would have been the same concern for post-funerary banqueting or inclusion in festivals of the dead as there was for adults. Rather than apply the same

[205] Becker *et al*. 1992: 45.
[206] McWilliam 2001: 78.
[207] Harlow and Laurence 2002: 140, from Dio *Historiae Romanae* 56.34-42.
[208] McWilliam 2001: 78, 87.
[209] Sallares *et al*. 2004: 319.
[210] Toynbee 1971: 48-51.

standard of burial, funerary, and post-funerary practices to infants and children, it is worthwhile to examine the evidence for rituals that concerned children specifically to determine if there were normative practices that differed from those of adults. Despite the fact that they were not always buried in the same manner or location as adults, children nevertheless received their own types of funerary rites in various parts of the Empire, which demonstrates that they were valued, mourned, and buried in a manner appropriate to their particular station in life.

Preservation, Demography, and Under-representation

In general, Greek and Roman communal cemeteries demonstrate a marked under-representation of neonates and infants. Sites with large quantities of infant skeletal remains indicate that their bones do survive in the archaeological record; however, some of these sites represent cemeteries that were particular to infants, whereas others denote extraordinary and devastating circumstances, such as malaria or the plague.[211] Infant bones are smaller, less dense, more porous and they have a lower mineral and higher collagen content than the bones of adults.[212] Poor preservation of skeletal remains is just one of several barriers to a full discussion of demography in any ancient cemetery, and although a number of infants and young children have been found at Vagnari, the possibility of under-representation remains. Infants burials are characterized generally by a scarcity of grave goods, relatively shallow depths and in many cases the absence of a

[211] For example Soren and Soren 1999 on Poggio Gramignano. The general lack of infants and neonates in communal cemeteries where adults, subadults and children are all represented suggests the possibility of differential burial practices or that infant mortality rates were not necessarily as high as some estimates indicate (see below).

[212] Pearce 2001: 130, from Gordon and Buikstra 1981 and Walker *et al.* 1988.

grave container or covering, which can make them difficult to identify upon initial discovery, especially when the burial ground is subject to plowing or farm activity after it ceases to be used as a cemetery.[213]

Life tables from modern developing countries have been used to estimate that infant mortality rates in pre-industrial populations ranged between 15-30%.[214] Roman cemeteries display fairly wide ranges of the number of infant burials under the age of 1; at Musarna in central Italy, a cemetery that has been excavated completely, no individual under the age of 1 has been discovered among the 209 burials.[215] Carroll found that children under the age of 1 comprised the following percentages in Roman cemeteries: 2.5% near Urbino, 5.8% at Osteria del Curato / via Lucrezia Romana near Rome, 11% on the via Collatina in the *suburbium* of Rome, 12.5% on the viale Serenissima nearby, 8% on the via Aldini to the southeast of Rome, 13.9% at Quadraro, 10% at Isola Sacra, 31% outside the Porta Marina Sud at Velia, and 2.2% at Portorecanati.[216] At the time of her publication, Carroll counted 2 of 69 individuals who were less than 1 year of age at Vagnari (2.8%), which does not seem accurate, as the current evidence is closer to 10.5%, since 9 individuals who died at the age of 12 months or less have been identified, with the possibility that an additional two unstudied skeletons (F281, F285) may also fit into this age category. High infant mortality rates in ancient populations, when combined with low

[213] Duday 2009: 58; Golden 2004: 153; Pearce 2001: 130; Scott 1999: 109.

[214] Scott 1999: 90. In contrast, Carroll (2011b: 104) speculates that infant mortality was closer to c. 30%, whereas Golden (2004: 147) uses the Coale-Demeny Model life table to suggest a mortality rate of 33.4% in the first year of life and 49.2% between birth and age 5. Pearce (2001: 129) also cites the Coale-Demeny life table, but he suggests a 20-35% infant mortality rate for Roman populations. These estimates are included for the purpose of providing relative ranges against which the evidence at Vagnari may be compared, although they remain speculative for past populations.

[215] Rebillard 2009. Of these 209 burials, 9 individuals fall in the age categories of between 1-5 years old.

[216] Carroll 2011b: 104.

percentages in archaeological samples, suggest the possibility of differential preservation or burial rites for children, which may account for the low percentage of infants at Vagnari. At present, no human skeletal remains have been identified in the nearby villa excavations at San Felice.[217]

The issue of under-representation of infants and children in funerary monuments has been reconsidered in past years. Studies have attempted to draw comparisons between urban and rural forms of funerary commemoration, but by examining the epigraphic habit of funerary commemoration across Italy, more is revealed about regional funerary practices than those of particular age groups.[218] It is unsurprising that greater numbers of funerary inscriptions for young children were found near Ostia and Rome, where the population was higher and economic status differed considerably than Apulia. What is worth noting, however, is that children over the age of 5 in Apulia were more likely to be commemorated than younger children in the same region.[219] Although there is no comparable epigraphic evidence from Vagnari, patterns in grave goods will be examined to determine if infants and children received differential treatment in burial practices.

Different Burial Practices

There are a number of literary and epigraphic sources for the death, burial, and commemoration of infants and children, yet burials provide evidence that is often

[217] Prowse, pers. comm. Fulgentius, in an explanation of obsolete words, describes the burial place of infants who died before 40 days as *suggrundaria*, beneath the eaves of houses. These types of burials are known in France and Gaul, and they are said by some scholars to have been the mode of burial for babies in Italy too (Scott 1999: 115), although most examples come from the late antique or post-Roman period. At Poggio Gramignano in Umbria, the remains of 47 infants from the mid-fifth century AD were found in an abandoned villa, whose deaths are attributed to Malaria (Soren and Soren 1999).

[218] Eg. McWilliam 2001 and Shaw 1984.

[219] McWilliam 2001: 81.

overlooked in the absence of text. When there is evidence for differential treatment of infants and children, it can manifested in the grave type, location and covering, body position, as well as the types, quantities, and numbers of grave goods.[220] Archaeological evidence from Sallèles-d'Aude in France demonstrates that infants received different burial treatment than adults, who were usually cremated during the first century AD. Excavation of a potter's workshop uncovered 13 infant burials between the ages of 0-6 months, whose burial types were related to the age at death.[221] The youngest children were interred in simple pits with a roof tile above to mark the burial, and no evidence of grave goods was found, whereas a six-month old baby was buried in a roof tile coffin with grave goods similar to those at Vagnari: oil lamps, ceramic and glass vessels, a bead, and a bronze needle.[222]

In Roman Britain at the Hambleden villa, the bodies of 97 infants were found without grave markers, which have been interpreted variously as examples of infanticide, illegitimate births, and poverty; however, the most compelling interpretation is differential burial practices for newborn babies in infant cemeteries within a domestic setting.[223] Similar evidence has been found at the Roman villa at Barton Court Farm in Oxfordshire, where 47 infant burials were discovered in an agricultural area in the outer yard of the villa. Both of these infant cemeteries are associated with centers of agricultural processing within the villa enclosure, a phenomenon that occurs in the fourth

[220] Martin-Kilcher 2000: 63.
[221] Duday 2009: 68.
[222] Duday 2009: 69.
[223] Scott 1999: 110, 113.

century in Roman Britain, as the landscape of the villa was changing.[224] Thus in the later Roman period, the presence of large numbers of infants in communal burial grounds dispels the notion that this particular age group is under-represented in cemeteries on account of poor skeletal preservation, and it supports the idea of differential burial practices.

Infants and Children at Vagnari

A significant number of infants and young children have been found buried in the communal cemetery at Vagnari, which provides the opportunity to contrast the burial practices of the youngest members of society with those who reached biological and social maturity. The evidence from this rural site is particularly important for understanding how attitudes to burial and commemoration differed in various regions throughout Italy. Furthermore most funerary evidence is for the upper and middle classes of urban society, whereas Vagnari provides insight into rural tenants, freedmen and slaves on an Imperial estate, in an area of Italy where grave goods were thought to be particularly sparse compared to the northern and central areas of Italy.[225] While literary evidence has shaped many views of the burial and commemoration of infants and

[224] Scott 1999: 113. The evidence for the villa at San Felice, where the primary period of occupation was the first and second centuries AD with some third and fourth century material (McCallum and vanderLeest 2008: 333) predates the majority of fourth and fifth century villa sites in Britain or Italy with known infant cemeteries.

[225] Pearce 2010: 2010. The evidence at Vagnari, Brindisium and Otranto suggests that this statement may be a generalization.

children, the focus here is on archaeological evidence for burials of both infants and children in the first two stages of life, from *infantia* to *pueritia* at Vagnari.[226]

Archaeological publications that address human skeletal remains do not use standardized age categories or even the same terms, such as adults, non-adults, sub-adults, infants, children, juveniles, adolescents or youths, which makes it difficult to compare evidence from different sites.[227] To determine the parameters of 'infant' and 'child' is a difficult task, since both biological and social considerations affect the relative definitions, which have been considered by various modern scholars above.[228] When the first 17 burials from Vagnari were published, Small used the following age divisions: infants (0-3 years), children (3-10 years), and youth (11-20 years old).[229] In contrast, this study follows the life course divisions of *infantia*, *pueritia*, *adulescentia*, *juventus*, *gravitas*, and *senectus*,[230] in order to determine if there were differential burial practices at Vagnari for *infantiae* and, to a lesser extent, *pueritiae*.

The graves of 28 children under the age of fourteen years old have been identified thus far, and among this number, 22 fall in the age category of *infantiae* under the age of 7, while 16 of these individuals were 2 years of age or younger. The types of grave covers reflect similar patterns for adults, with 19 *cappuccina*, 3 funnel, 6 soil and no cremation burials. Just as there is no consistency between the type of grave and the orientation of the burials, so too there also appears to be no section of the cemetery where infants or children were buried specifically. While Trench 09 was postulated originally to be a

[226] *Infantiae*: 0-7 years and *Pueritiae* 7-14 years old.
[227] Pearce 2001: 131.
[228] Eg. Harlow and Laurence 2002; Rawson 2002; Scott 1999, etc.
[229] Small *et al.* 2007: 132.
[230] Based on Prowse 2011: 411-2 from a study at Isola Sacra.

preferred location for children's burials, the distribution of infants and children throughout the cemetery has proved to be less clustered than originally thought, yet there are still curiously few infants or children at the extreme northeast (Trench 39) and northwest (Trench 19, 29) ends of the excavated part of the cemetery.[231]

Grave Goods of Children at Vagnari

Throughout the site, the average number of grave goods contained within each burial is 4.8 based on conservative reconstructions. The graves of 5 *infantiae* and 1 *pueritia* contained 0 grave goods, while 4 graves of individuals over the age of 14 had no grave goods. Children between the ages of 0-14 had a combined average of 3.5 grave goods, while the 23 *infantiae* had an average of 3.4, and the 5 *pueritiae* had an average of 4.4. Significantly, in the 7 burials of infants who had yet not reached their first birthday, only 2 of the burials contained grave goods.[232] Children under the age of 2 also had low numbers of grave goods with an average of 2.6 items among the 5 burials, although F48 did contain a pair of gold earrings. The lowest numbers of grave goods were deposited in the burials of neonates, infants and babies, which suggests that the number of grave goods was tied to a certain degree to the age and status of the deceased.

Infants and one 3-year old child (F202, F228 and F285) were likely buried in wooden boxes or coffins, based on the presence of small iron nails found distributed in a regular manner around the periphery of the burial, suggesting that these nails were used

[231] Small *et al*. 2007: 132.

[232] F224, F225, F227, and F221 were all lacking grave goods, while F211b was a neonate that was buried alongside an adult female, possibly its mother, and the grave goods of these two individuals cannot be distinguished. F36 and F202 contained 2 and 4 grave goods respectively.

for a functional purpose rather than as grave goods.[233] This evidence has been used by Carroll to infer that infants between 9 and 12 months were buried under *cappuccina* tiles, while children over the age of 1 were buried in wooden coffins with additional tile grave coverings, but her claim appears to generalize the evidence in a way that is not consistent across all infant burials in the cemetery.[234] While wooden coffins have not been found with any adolescent or adult burials, they are not widespread enough across infant burials to confirm Carroll's hypothesis about age-related burial rites with coffins for those over or under the age of 12 months. The evidence for wooden boxes in 3 of 22 *infantiae* burials allows us to conclude that they were employed for some children up to three years of age, but no further patterns can be discerned at this time. Since no wooden boxes or containers were found among adult burials, it suggests that this practice was particular to infants and children, perhaps as a means of keeping the deceased child out of sight during the *pompa* because the death of a child was considered unbearable to some parents or family members.

There is much room for the study of children and grave goods, both at Vagnari and in Roman Italy. Children are thought to have been buried with grave goods that denoted their childhood status such as dolls, toys, or miniature glass and ceramic vessels.[235] In cremation burials where age cannot be determined, toys and animal figurines "would appear to indicate children's burials […] since the purpose of these grave-goods was partly to honour the dead, but mainly to serve them and help them to

[233] Other examples of children's coffins include Mercando *et al*. 1974: 252-4, and Cipollone 2000: 202 at Portorecanati and Gubbio in Umbria respectively.

[234] Carroll 2011b: 106.

[235] Toynbee 1971: 53.

feel at home in the afterlife."[236] No distinctly miniature items or toys have been found in association with children's graves at Vagnari, and although wooden toys or cloth dolls may have been included as grave goods, the complete absence of any grave goods that resemble toys is significant.

The most commonly occurring grave good for both adults and children is pottery, either in the form of complete vessels, partial containers, or a few sherds. Of the *infantiae* or *pueritiae* with grave goods inside the burial, all but three contained pottery fragments or vessels.[237] In Chapter 2, it was noted that coins, lamps, glass and ceramic vessels were found in burials across all age categories, though they are found most frequently in adult burials. Children under the age of 1 year have very few grave goods in general, and there is a demonstrable absence of prestige items in these burials (Table 3.1). All six bronze vessels are associated with adult burials, and the youngest individuals to be buried with bronze rings were F59, who was 5 years of age, and F218, who was a child under the age of 10. One exception to this trend is gold earrings, which appear in F48 and F281, along with glass paste beads and remnants of bronze wire, which were found in F281, F283 and F285, among other burials. In addition to certain items of value, infant and children's burials at Vagnari are also lacking metal tools and weapons, which are found predominantly among adult male burials. Nails as grave goods were found in 7 children's burials, all of which are iron, except for a single bronze hobnail in F38 that was bent double. Each of the remaining 6 nails were found inside or directly in association with a

[236] Toynbee 1971: 53.
[237] F38, F43, and F123 contained no ceramic grave goods.

ceramic vessel, and two of these nails were bent or broken, which demonstrates that this practice was not limited to adults.[238]

Burial	Age	Burial Type	Grave Goods	Total # of Grave Goods
36	9 m ± 3 m	Cappuccina	Ceramic vessel, iron nail	2
38	9-12m ± 4m	Soil	Glass amulet of male reproductive organs, single hobnail bent double	2
39	3 y ± 12 m	Cappuccina	Ceramic vessel, 5 amphora sherds	2
41	3 y ± 12 m	Funnel	Pottery fragments, lamp, coin, glass vessels (3), iron nails from coffin / litter (13+) Outside: ceramic bowl, pottery sherds	7 2
43	2 y ± 8m	Cappuccina	Lamp, bone pin, bead	3
44	2 y± 8m	Funnel	Ceramic vessels (3), iron nail inside vessel, lamp with iron pin	5
48	1.5-2 y ± 8 m	Cappuccina	Ceramic vessel, gold earrings, many glass beads, bronze bracelet fragments	4
49	8 y ± 2 y	Cappuccina	None. Outside burial: ceramic vessel, bronze fibula	0 2
51/59	5 y ± 16 m	Funnel	Ceramic vessels (2), coin, iron nail inside vessel, bronze rings (2), lamp with pin	7
55	5-6	Cappuccina	Ceramic cup, pottery sherds, lamp, bent iron nail, glass fragment, silver alloy piece, bronze armlet, bead	8+
106	1 y ± 4 m	Soil	None	0
123	1.5 y ± 6 m	Cappuccina	Glass fragment, ceramic vessel outside	1/1
202	9 m ± 3 m	Cappuccina	Ceramic vessel, lamp, coin, iron ring, iron coffin nails (13)	5 ‡
210	9y ± 24 m	Cappuccina	Ceramic vessels (2), pottery sherds, glass rim fragment, rings (3), bone pins (2), beads	10
211b	Neonate	Cappuccina	None	0
218	<10 y	Cappuccina	Pottery sherds, iron prong, bronze ring, hobnails	4
221	9 m ± 3 m	Soil	None	0
224	6 m ± 3 m	No cover	None	0
225	Infant	Cappuccina	None	0
226	8 y	Cappuccina	Ceramic bowl, pottery sherds, lamp	3+
227	0-6m	Pit	Pottery fragment (1)	1

[238] F55 and F59.

228	1 y ± 4 m	Cappuccina	Ceramic vessel, pottery sherds (at least 3 vessels), iron nails from coffin (12), glass vessel, animal tooth	7+ ‡
251	18 m± 6 m	Cappuccina	Pottery sherds, glass bead	2
281	Infant	Cappuccina	Pottery sherds, gold earrings, beads	3
282	TBD (child)	Soil	Pottery sherds, glass vessel, coin, worked bone and metal, animal tooth and bronze wire, silver alloy wire and bead	6
283	TBD (child)	Cappuccina	Ceramic vessels (2 complete), pottery sherds, bronze wire bracelet, iron nail in vessel, coin, lamp, glass vessel, bronze pendant, ornamental bronze charm	10+
285	TBD (infant)	Cappuccina	Ceramic vessels (2), iron coffin nails (8), worked quartz piece, beads and silver alloy wire	5 ‡

Table 3.1 Infants and Children's burials in the Vagnari cemetery.

Jewellery and the Young

Although relatively rare, earrings, bracelets and beaded necklaces are the usual types of jewellery found among women's burials, and the inclusion of gold in Roman burials is even more scarce.[239] While the sex of infants, children, and young subadults cannot be determined from skeletal remains, the presence of certain types of jewellery may be indicative gender, if not sex, for example, amulet necklaces for boys, and earrings or bead necklaces for girls. Rings, however, are found indeterminately in the burials of men, women and children. Generally the burials of Roman girls have higher numbers of jewellery than women of marriageable age.[240] At Vagnari this is likely the case, since the only examples of gold earrings have been found in the burials of infants, and burials F43, F48, F55, F210 and F283 included high amounts of jewellery. The fact that this precious

[239] Oliver 2000: 116-7.

[240] Golden 2004: 153. However one problem with Golden's argument is that he does not differentiate between married women and girls of marriageable age at the time of death, since these two concepts are not necessarily synonymous.

material is found in infant burials at Vagnari is important for recognizing the fact that young children were valued in their own way.

Interpretations for higher quantities of jewellery in the burials of infants and children include the possibility that these individuals were dressed ceremoniously as brides at the time of death, in place of the marriage they never attained.[241] Alternatively luxury items could be part of a dowry for young girls, as the absence of jewellery in the burials of older, and possibly married women, may indicate that these items were bequeathed to daughters of their own.[242] Elsewhere in the Roman Empire, grave goods in the burials of girls and young women, or *immaturae* and *innuptae*, have included dolls and *crepundia* that were made from ivory, amber, and rock-crystal.[243] When miniature items, dolls, and certain jewellery items have been found in a funerary context, they may represent the non-attained marriage status of the young girl, since these items would have been dedicated to the gods before marriage.[244] It should be noted that typically 'feminine' items, such as mirrors and dolls, are lacking from the Vagnari cemetery. Inasmuch as these items pertain to wealth and status, individuals at Vagnari attained some level of wealth, since they could afford to be buried with personal items of adornment.

One of the most interesting grave goods found at Vagnari is a blue glass amulet in the shape of male reproductive organs, which was worn around the neck of an infant who died between 9 and 12 months of age (Figure 3.2). The amulet itself has been interpreted

[241] Martin-Kilcher 2000: 69.
[242] Oliver 2000: 118.
[243] Martin-Kilcher 2000: 69. Several examples of these dolls have been found in burials of girls who belonged to wealthy families, and who were often buried in a villa context. One example is known from a tile grave in Puglia from the early Julio-Claudian period, but these burials represent girls whose families were of a particularly high social status.
[244] *Ibid*.

as a *scaevolae* that was employed as protection against the Evil Eye for boys.[245] In the case of phallic amulets protection was sought from the god Fascinus, who warded off the Evil Eye, and further apotropaic functions of amulets included protection against sickness such as stomach disorders, fever and consumption, among other ailments, especially among infants and young children.[246] Infants wore this type of item while living, and perhaps the apotropaic and protective functions were believed to continue after death and burial.[247] This amulet is the only known example from Vagnari, but it is unlikely that it represents the only infant male burial.

Figure 3.2. P716 Glass amulet of male reproductive organs from F38. Photo by Alastair Small.

[245] Small *et al*. 2007: 176, citing Varro *De Lingua Latina* 7.97. The amulet, P716, measures 1.8 cm high, 0.9 cm wide, and 0.7 cm thick. A suspension loop and its find place near the neck of the infant suggest that it was worn around the neck of the deceased.

[246] Bradley 2005: 89-90. In contrast to the phallic type of amulet, *bullae* golden lockets were worn by young boys until the end of *pueritia* as a symbol of free birth. Whether this particular amulet, P716 at Vagnari, can be used to determine the status of the individual is unclear.

[247] Carroll 2011b: 107.

Conclusions

The burial practices of infants and children vary greatly across different regions throughout the Roman Empire, and while literary sources allude to differential treatment for infants and children on account of marginalized status, this was not the case at Vagnari, where the youngest members of society were included in the communal cemetery. When children are buried within the settlement rather than in cemeteries, the reason frequently cited is that there is a lesser degree of pollution from a child.[248] Death pollution, which has not been considered heretofore in this study, does not delineate children as separate from adults, since infants and children were buried in the Vagnari cemetery, indicating at one significant way in which children received the same burial considerations as adults. The number of neonates and infants is considerably lower than projected infant mortality rates of 15-30%; however, infant mortality rates may have been lower in the countryside, excavation of the cemetery is not complete, and there is no realistic way of determining conclusively that the cemetery was the only burial spot during the Middle Empire.[249]

Small's initial interpretation from 17 individuals that some areas of the cemetery were the preferred burial locations for adult males, adult females, and children is not entirely convincing after further excavation to the east, west and south of the original cemetery Trench 09 in 2002.[250] Although a large number of infants and children are buried within the central section of the area that has been excavated, specifically in

[248] Pearce 2001: 125.

[249] Pearce speculates that in cemeteries where infants are represented, "it seems likely that the whole range of the population is receiving burial within the communal cemetery," (Pearce 2001: 137). This hypothesis is worth testing as other areas of the *vicus* at Vagnari are excavated in the future.

[250] Small *et al*. 2007: 132.

Trenches 09 and 49, there are a number of outlying infant and children that suggest otherwise. At the western end of the cemetery, a young baby of 1.5-2 years of age was buried in a grave that overlaps F117, an adult female on the same northeast-southwest axis, and it is entirely possibly that the child was buried alongside its mother. In the instance of F211 and F211b, a neonate was buried in the same grave with an adult female, also possibly its mother.

I suspect that the relationship between family members, specifically mothers and young children, is more prominent than Small originally suggested when he said that "the evidence at present seems to suggest that at Vagnari the family unit was less important for burial purposes than age or gender, but it remains to be seen whether further work in the cemetery confirms this impression."[251] Further studies in the family unit, which can be examined more fully with ancient DNA studies, is one area that will produce important results for re-assessing the spatial organization of the cemetery, the importance of proximity to family members and the possibility of familial relationships in the afterlife. *Infantiae* or *pueritiae* under the age of 14 had no legal method of ensuring proper burial, and their funerary and burial activities were determined by adults, guardians, or slave owners. [252] Beyond family relationships, the location of the cemetery on an Imperial estate is another area of scholarship that has been largely unexplored. There is a considerable amount of evidence for slave dependents within funerary complexes in urban centers, both in freestanding monuments and in communal *columbaria*, but comparable evidence for rural areas is lacking in Italy.

[251] *Ibid*.
[252] McWilliam 2001: 84.

Through an analysis of funerary epigraphy in urban contexts, Saller and Shaw found that slaves and freedmen gave more attention to the commemoration of young children than freeborn individuals.[253] Those buried in the Vagnari cemetery, whether of slave, freed or freeborn status, accorded children "proper" burial rites. The limited number of grave goods for children's burials and the high frequency of simple pit burials without grave coverings indicates that, in this rural population, the norm for children's burials differed from those of adults, but that is not to say that children were marginalized, de-humanized or otherwise disposed of "improperly." The absence of children's toys or miniature items, rather than suggesting that the young did not have a distinctly defined period of childhood at Vagnari, speaks to the economic status of these individuals, who likely played with wood or cloth toys instead of amber or ivory. The frailty of early infancy and childhood was a legitimate concern for Romans during the Middle Empire, yet earlier generalizations about children not being mourned continue to be reconsidered.

[253] Saller and Shaw: 1984: 130.

Conclusion

Discussion: *Life and Death on Imperial Estate*

One of the large questions that lingers around the Vagnari cemetery is the broader issue of identity. Were these slaves, freedmen or freeborn individuals, and what was their connection to the nearby villa at San Felice? The fact that the Vagnari village and the villa at San Felice were linked economically is apparent,[254] but the extent to which individuals from this estate were involved in production of tile or iron, pasturing transhumant flocks or as domestic slaves in the *pars urbana* of the villa is entirely speculative. Nevertheless, these questions are worth examining to determine what types of lives these individuals may have led and whether grave goods may be indicative of occupation in certain cases, since literary evidence from the early and middle Empire suggests that large *latifundia* were slave-run estates that were managed by freeborn tenants or stewards.[255]

In a treatise on agricultural affairs and the *villa rustica*, the agronomist writer Columella included several sections that address farm personnel, slave management and the tasks of different workers on a rural estate. This model may very well fit that of the villa at San Felice, in which a slave overseer (*vilicus*), free tenant (*colonus*), or freeborn steward (*procurator*) looked after an estate where the owner could not be present, as could be the case on this Imperial estate.[256] The majority of evidence from San Felice

[254] Small and Small 2005: 897-8; Small and Small 2007: 105; Prowse *et al*. 2010: 178; vanderLeest and McCallum 2007: 310.

[255] Thompson 2003: 102.

[256] Columella *Res Rustica* 1.6-7.

indicates a period of occupation in the early Empire, with continuity into the third and fourth centuries AD.[257] Since the villa is contemporary with datable material from the cemetery, those who were buried at Vagnari were likely associated with villa in some capacity, whether they were born there or worked on the estate during their lifetime.

From an examination of stable isotopes in a sample of individuals, it was determined that many individuals in the cemetery were born locally, based on local drinking water that was consumed during enamel formation.[258] From this sample, a small number of individuals are thought to have been born elsewhere, including F37, whose haplogroup originates in East Asia, and F96a, with a haplogroup from sub-Saharan African.[259] The interpretation that there are no noticeable differences in burial practices or grave goods between those of local and non-local birth may be used to shape questions of differential treatment and legal status on this rural *fundus*, in light of the claim that slave, freedmen and freeborn tenants could not be distinguished archaeologically at Vagnari.[260] While this seems true enough, the issue can be approached from a different perspective to determine whether grave goods can be interpreted as indicators of occupation and status.

The tradition of writing about agriculture and rural estates was extensive in the ancient world, beginning in the eighth century BC with Hesiod and continuing to three systematic agronomists, Cato the Elder, Varro and Columella in the late Roman Republic

[257] McCallum and vanderLeest 2008: 333.
[258] Prowse *et al.* 2010: 187. For a discussion of oxygen isotopes and values by age or sex, see pages 184-5.
[259] Prowse *et al*. 2010: 189-91.
[260] *Ibid*.

and early Empire.[261] In Classical Athens, it was the opinion of Aristotle that those who engaged in cultivating the land ought to be slaves, which expresses the sentiment of the land-owning class, rather than those who engaged in the practice.[262] Xenophon, who indicates that the farmer himself was a free individual whereas his labourers were slaves, also assumed the use of agricultural slaves by wealthy landowners.[263] In a discussion of land ownership in the late Republic, Appian explains that wealthy landowners took hold of large tracts of land, bought neighbouring plots and employed slaves as cultivators and herdsmen; the use of slaves was essential for these occupation, since free labourers could be called away to military service.[264] Beyond the frequent connection between slaves and agricultural labourers, there is further indication by Pliny the Elder and Columella that such slaves were often bound or chained during work.[265] From a variety of ancient sources, it is clear that slave labour was an integral aspect of both agricultural and industrial works in a rural context. Compared to slaves who worked in domestic service and industry, those who were agricultural labourers were less likely to win their freedom,

[261] To give an indication of the extensive ancient knowledge of the literary tradition surrounding agronomy and rural estates, Columella (1.1.7-14) provides these sources as references for his own work: Hesiod, Democritus, Xenophon, Archytas of Tarentum in southern Italy, Aristotle, Sicilian Hieron; from Athens came Chaereas, Aristandrus, Amphilochus, Euphronius, and Chrestus. Further names are listed from the Aegean and Cycladic islands, Asia Minor, and the Carthaginian Mago. As for Romans, Columella cites Marcus Cato, Porcius Cato, the two Sasernas, Tremelius Scrofa, Varro, Vergil, Julius Hyginus, Cornelius Celsus, Julius Atticus, and Julius Graecinus, as main sources of agricultural affairs. In total, Columella cites no less than 51 writers who wrote about rural affairs up to his time in the early second half of the first century AD under Nero. These sources span almost a millennium throughout the entire Mediterranean region, but they reflect increasing reliance on slave labour to manage the estates of wealthy men, particularly of the Roman equestrian and senatorial classes.

[262] Aristotle *Politics* 7.9.

[263] Xenophon *Oeconomicus* 5.16.

[264] Appian *Bellum Civile* 1.1.7.

[265] Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 18.4.21 and 18.7.36; Columella *Res Rustica* 1.7.

which suggests that a number of individuals at Vagnari may have been enslaved at the time of death, if they were indeed employed as agricultural labourers.[266]

Evidence for tools has been found in a number of burials at Vagnari, and these artifacts may be indicators of the occupations of the deceased.[267] Such tools include iron pruning hooks in F34 and F288, iron implements for leather working in F35, and iron blades in F131, F220, F253 and F288 (Figure 4.1). The individuals in all these burials have been identified as adult males, with the exception of F253, an old adult of unknown sex. It was demonstrated in Chapter 1 that these burials were among those with the highest quantities of grave goods, which leads to the question of interrelation between status, occupation and grave goods. Among other positions, slaves were employed as herdsmen, drovers, ploughmen, and vinedressers on rural estates; concerning the latter category and viticulture, Columella describes work squads of no more than ten men, in order for these workers to be watched most carefully.[268] If tools in graves are, in fact, indicators of occupation, and slaves performed these occupations typically, then it follows that the status of certain individuals at Vagnari may be surmised by combining archaeological and literary evidence.

[266] Wiedemann 1981: 133.
[267] Small *et al*. 2007: 145.
[268] Columella *Res Rustica* 1.9.7.

Figure 4.1. P6642 from F288. Iron bill-hook (42.5 cm long). Photo by author.

Slaves were categorized as *vincti* or *soluti*, either bound or unfettered, and they were further distinguished between urban and rural slaves, which refers to their status as domestic workers in the *pars urbana* or the *pars rustica* of a villa.[269] The noteworthy absence of fetters or chains in the archaeological record has been attributed to the fact that excavators have overlooked them or they were omitted from excavation reports.[270] One pair of fetters from the fourth century BC was found in the Sanctuary of Demeter at Policoro in Campania-Basilicata, where they were interpreted as a dedicatory offering by the slave after manumission.[271] The paucity of chains or fetters in archaeological contexts should raise questions relating to material as well as burial practices. The types of fetters that would be expected from archaeological contexts are iron rings around the ankles with connecting links, but it should be asked whether fetters made exclusively of iron chains or could other forms of restraints be employed, whose material might not survive in the archaeological record? Furthermore were *servi vincti* buried in their chains, or was this type of treatment only inflicted during one's lifetime? The semi-*cappuccina* burial from

[269] Columella *Res Rustica* 1.7.

[270] Thompson 2003: 221. The author admits that this explanation seems unlikely, but there is also a scarcity of fetters in museums as well.

[271] Thompson 2003: 222.

the American Academy at Rome garden included an individual whose hands had likely been tied behind the back with a perishable material, such as rope or leather.[272] Funerary inscriptions provide the most direct indication of legal status, but in the absence of such evidence, would the burials of slaves have differed from freed or freeborn individuals?

No evidence of fetters, handcuffs, or linked chains has been found at Vagnari, but small iron rings were found near the lower limbs in burials F287 and F288, and the function of these rings has not yet been identified (Figure 4.2). Such a ring could have been fitted around the shaft of an object, used in a link of chains, or connected with a perishable material to form a fetter. Whether these items are indicative of functional use during the individual's lifetime or they were included as symbolic dedications, it is possible that there is a connection between iron rings and legal status of freed or slave individuals. Such items may indicate the former slave status of an individual who had been freed later in life. If the majority of individuals at Vagnari were of slave status, the paucity of this type of grave good would not be unsurprising, since only a limited number of individuals may have attained free status during their lifetime. The aim of this section is not to determine conclusively the status of particular individuals, but by considering a multitude of sources and types of evidence, burials shift from being the material remains of the taphonomic process to one of many tools through which an understanding of life on an Imperial estate emerges.

[272] Leigh 2000: 286.

Figure 4.2. P6644 (left) and P6645 (right) from F288. Iron rings. Photo by author.

Despite the range of items inside burials, very few of the excavated graves demonstrate such an elaborate assemblage of material or wealth disparity to suggest elite status beyond the level of a slave or freedman labourer. The two cremation burials, F104 and F201, may represent the different social status of these particular individuals, who were perhaps elevated above those who were interred in *cappuccina*, funnel or soil burials, and therefore, these two cremation burials may represent foremen or tenants of higher status than labourers or slaves. The owner of the estate could have chosen to be buried elsewhere, particularly if this was an Imperial property or one of several *latifundia* estates. The current absence of any burials that differ vastly in construction material, grave goods or an inscription suggests that the social status of individuals in the cemetery was fairly low and relatively homogeneous.

Conclusions

This study has attempted to integrate direct evidence from the Vagnari cemetery with comparative evidence from other archaeological sites, as well as literary, legal and epigraphic sources. Wherever possible, no single type of evidence was considered in

isolation, and material from the archaeological record has been used to consider individuals in the cemetery within their greater social context. Since excavation of the cemetery is ongoing, the intent was not to summarize new findings or provide a catalogue of all finds, but to assess the burial practices of this rural site in the wider framework of Roman funerary practices, with attention to individuals and to the collective community. Our understanding of this Imperial estate is by no means complete, since the cemetery, village and villa excavations are all ongoing, but the current state of the cemetery and its organization lends itself well to an evaluation of the circumstances that governed and affected burial practices.

Chapter 1 was largely concerned with the artifacts themselves: typologies, quantities, and the placement of grave goods both inside and on the exterior of burials. One of the main outcomes of this study was an analysis of patterns of distribution of grave goods throughout the cemetery. Quantification, although an imprecise science when dealing with partially preserved or disturbed graves, has nevertheless yielded important preliminary results about the distribution of grave goods among age and sex categories, which can be in turn used to evaluate assumptions about economic status and wealth. Adult males were buried with the highest quantities of grave goods, some of which suggest that there was a slight degree of wealth disparity among members of this community, based on the presence or absence of particular types and quantities of grave goods. While adult males tended to have the highest numbers of grave goods, their burials also included some of the most valuable grave goods. Children had fewer grave goods than adult women, although children were not evaluated by sex or gender. Pottery, glass

and bronze vessels, jewellery, coins, lamps, tools and iron nails fall within the normal types of grave goods that were found in Roman cemeteries, and these items indicate the presence of lower class individuals, rather than senators or equestrians.

In the examination of funerary practices in Chapter 2, the possibility of a *collegium*, or burial club, was considered, although this was ultimately rejected. The impetus to join *collegia* is recorded among freedmen and freeborn working classes in urban centers and port cities, where the desire to be cared for in death may reflect fears about anonymity or death without proper attention to funerary rites and burial.[273] These same fears may not have been prominent in a rural setting, where many individuals were born locally and possibly spent their lives on the same estate. If these individuals were of slave status, then either the responsibility of burying slaves was governed by one such as the *procurator*, *vilicus* or *paterfamilias*, who ensured proper burial rites, or these individuals had the opportunity to earn money and acquire personal possessions, as demonstrated by the fact that they were buried with considerable quantities of grave goods. The placement and types of grave goods in burials demonstrates a strong belief in the afterlife, where individuals would have used these items in their eternal homes. Furthermore, the presence of iron nails, some of which were bent, intentionally broken and placed inside ceramic vessels, indicates superstitious beliefs and the desire to protect both the living and the deceased from hostile forces.

This study evaluated our understanding of the Roman funeral, in order to determine which aspects would have been applicable to a rural setting, since many

[273] Hopkins 1983: 213, who supposes that burial clubs were symptomatic of urban societies.

accounts of funerals record those of the elite at Rome. The claim that funerals may have taken place at night to avoid the possibility of a magistrate being polluted by contact with a funerary procession does not hold the same resonance in a rural community.[274] Lamps with evidence of burning at the nozzle may be an indicator of nighttime funerary rituals; however, this too seems unlikely. Other aspects of the funeral, such as a speech from the rostra in the forum or the procession with *imagines* ancestor masks, are likewise more suited to the funerals of the urban elite. Funerals of those of more humble means likely focused on collective mourning, rather than overt public displays of wealth and lineage. Funerary banqueting, visiting the cemetery and the celebration of festivals of the dead may not have had the same sort of formal component as they did in Rome, but there is every reason to believe that mourning and commemoration took place in proportion to the means of the individual.

The investigation of infants and children in Chapter 3 demonstrated that differences between the funerary practices of adults and children do not indicate an absence of 'proper' burial rites for children. Children have significantly lower quantities of grave goods at Vagnari, but this evidence does not necessarily mean that children under the age of one were not valued in this community. The quantities and types of grave goods in the burials of infants and children reflect the adult's perspective that children may have required fewer grave goods to be comfortable in the afterlife, since they had not yet grown accustomed to certain luxuries in their brief lives. Different burial locations for infants continue to be a possibility, but there is no evidence at present to

[274] Bodel 2000: 142; Graham 2006b: 30.

indicate that there were specific infant cemeteries or that they were buried in a domestic setting.

Aspects of funerary and burial processes were addressed in this study in order to understand particular motives and forms of commemoration in southeast Roman Italy. Treatment of the dead in burial and in post-funerary honours is an important part of the life course and through various rituals and practices, an understanding of rural commemoration emerges. This study concentrated on integrating evidence for burial practices with archaeological and literary evidence for funerals and commemoration. While the majority of literary evidence is centered in Rome, an absence of textual sources is not a reason to overlook the funerary practices of peripheral regions. By adapting the framework for Roman funerary practices to evidence in the archaeological record, we can work towards a greater understanding of death and commemoration. Specific attention to demography, grave goods and funerary practices has applied the approaches anthropology, archaeology and social history to material from the Vagnari cemetery, with the hope that an interdisciplinary study will encourage further collaboration and new ways of approaching the material.

Future Directions

Material from the Vagnari cemetery affords the opportunity for excavation and study of a collection that is neither part of a salvage project, nor being hastily recovered. With 88 burials excavated over 8 seasons, the project has the potential to continue excavating the cemetery with a variety of questions in mind. As the village, *vicus* and

villa are under simultaneous excavation, this Imperial estate provides the opportunity to study life in rural Apulia in context. Through an examination of ancient DNA and isotopic analysis, there will be further opportunities to examine burial groupings, kinship and potential family relationships, in addition to the analyses of trauma, injury and skeletal pathology. Since some of the grave goods have not yet been fully classified and dated, this study has examined funerary practices from the middle Empire, with little attention to change over time. Future study will be able to place greater emphasis on chronology and development, in order to reveal new information about the ways in which the cemetery was used and evolved over two and a half centuries. As one of the largest rural collections of inhumation burials in Italy, Vagnari holds great potential for future study at the site and regional levels, through which we may continue to ask new questions and build upon interdisciplinary approaches.

Catalogue of Artifacts

Catalogue contents

Instead of a comprehensive list of all artifacts, this catalogue includes selected examples of representative or unusual grave goods that increase our understanding of burial practices in the Vagnari cemetery. Artifacts are arranged by category, then by type when applicable, and finally in ascending order of the Special Piece (P) number.[275] All images have been reproduced with permission from the Director of the cemetery excavations, Tracy Prowse, as well as the initial excavators, Alastair and Carola Small. Since most artifacts cannot be dated precisely, it may be assumed that most artifacts fall within the Middle Imperial period if no date has been included. The majority of datable artifacts survive from the second and third centuries, with some notable fourth century material. Whenever possible, a *terminus post quem* has been added for any burial with a datable object, namely coins, lamps, and certain pottery types, but these dates cannot be treated as absolute, since these artifacts demonstrate evidence of use or wear, indicating that they may have been in use or circulation for a considerable amount of time before deposition into the grave.

I. Pottery

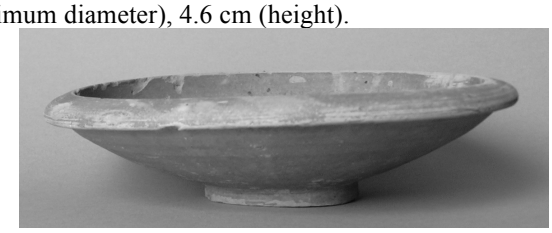
Pottery is the first and most common type of grave good, found within nearly every burial. Unless otherwise stated, it may be assumed that all pottery falls within the second and third centuries of the Middle Empire, particularly for sandy and plain wares,

[275] Artifacts were given Small Find (SF) numbers upon discovery in the field, and then Special Piece (P) numbers were assigned to those that were selected for further study. If a P number was not assigned to an artifact, then its original Small Find (SF) number from the excavation records was used.

which cannot be dated more precisely without further regional comparanda. The most common vessel types include small plain ware or red slip bowls, and globular or ovoid jars in plain ware or sandy ware fabrics.

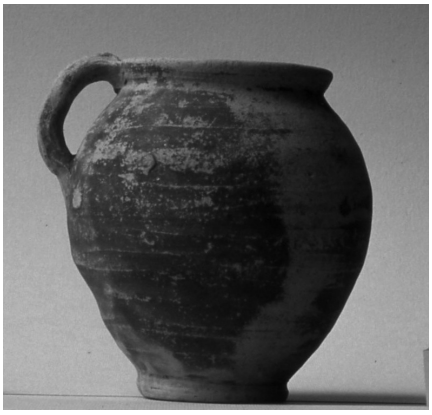
I.A Regional Red Slip Wares

Catalogue Number: 1.1A
Special Piece number: 5033
Year: 2006
Trench: 39
Burial: F204
Description: Regional Red Slip type 1 bowl with thick, convex rim and a low false ring-foot. Dull, uneven red-brown slip all over. Complete and intact.
Find spot: found above lower left leg, and below jar P5035, in the *cappuccina* burial of an adult female.
Dimensions: 18.0 cm (maximum diameter), 4.6 cm (height).



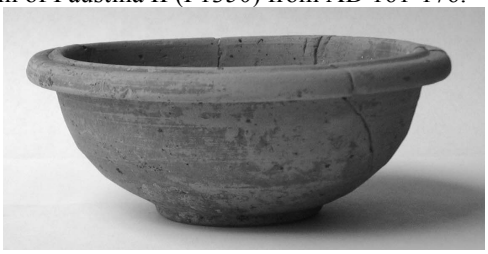
1.1A- P5033 from F204. Regional Red Slip 1. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 1.2A
Special Piece number: P705
Year: 2002
Trench: 09
Burial: F39
Description: Regional Red Slip type 2. Complete, one-handled beaker, in an ovoid shape. With a dull red-brown slip, usually worn and evanescent.
Find Spot: found near the feet of an infant, about 3 years old, in a *cappuccina* burial.
Dimensions: 5.7 cm (rim diameter), 4.8 cm (base diameter), 9.7 cm (max diameter), 10.6 cm (height).
Date: third century AD.
Cf. Small *et al*. 2007: 178, item 1.



1.2A- P705 from F39. Regional Red Slip type 2: one-handled beaker. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 1.3A
Special Piece number: P1332
Year: 2004
Trench: 29
Burial: F132
Description: Regional Red Slip type 2 dish. Hemispherical bowl with a dull, red slip, usually worn and evanescent. Down-turned rim, raised inner lip. Complete from many fragments.
Find Spot: found above legs and pelvic region in an adult, female burial.
Dimensions: 13.8 cm (diameter), 5.5 cm (height).
Date: burial must postdate a coin of Faustina II (P1350) from AD 161-176.



1.3A- P1332 from F132. Regional Red Slip bowl. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number 1.4A
Special Piece number: P5019
Year: 2006
Trench: 39
Burial: F201
Description: Regional Red Slip type 3 shallow bowl. Orange-red clay with a red-brown slip. Moulded, out-turned rim, and a low, false ring foot. Complete, but found in 12 pieces.
Find Spot: found just beyond the NE end of the grave cover in an adult cremation burial of an indeterminate sex. Also found in association with iron nails P5038 and F5103.
Dimensions: 16.2 cm (diameter), 3.9 cm (height).

1.4A- P5019 from F201. Regional Red Slip bowl. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

I.B African Red Slip wares

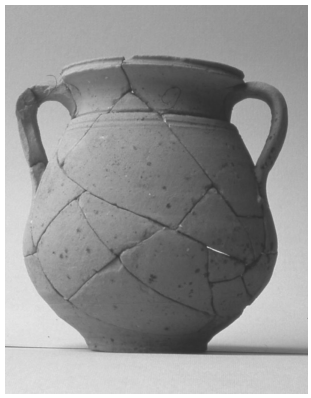
Catalogue Number: 1.1B
Special Piece number: P765
Year: 2002
Trench: 09
Burial: F48
Description: African Red Slip ware bowl, Hayes (1972) form 16. Broken but complete.
Find Spot: found at the feet of an infant in a *cappuccina* burial.
Dimensions: 15.7 cm (diameter), 3.7 cm (height).
Date: datable to the late second century AD, if not early third century.

Cf. Small *et al*. 2007: 200, item 4.

1.1 B - P765 from F48. African Red Slip bowl. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

I.C Plain Wares

Catalogue Number: 1.1C
Special Piece number: P768
Year: 2002
Trench: 09
Burial: F59
Description: Plain 1 buff ware. Two-handled globular beaker, orange-buff clay.
Find Spot: found at the right foot of a child, approximately 5 years old.
Dimensions: 9.3 cm (rim diameter), 12.6 cm (maximum diameter), 14.0 cm (height).
Cf. Small *et al*. 2007: 203, item 2.



1.1C- P768 from F59. Plain ware two-handled globular beaker. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 1.2C
Special Piece number: P1089
Year: 2003
Trench: 19
Burial: F104
Description: Plain buff ware, type 2. Large bowl with two horizontal handles, slightly raised inner lip, and broad ring foot. About 90% complete.
Find Spot: fragments found scattered throughout the cremation burial.
Dimensions: 33.0 cm (diameter), 13.7 c m (height).
Date: burial F104 likely postdates the coin of Hadrian (P967) from AD 117-138 (*RIC* II, no.669).

1.2C- P1089 from F104. Plain buff ware bowl. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 1.3C
Special Piece number: P1090
Year: 2003
Trench: 19
Burial: F104
Description: Plain ware grey cup. Unslipped, shallow cup with downward sloping, flanged rim and a simple ring-foot. Complete, but found broken in 12 pieces.
Find Spot: found scattered throughout the cremation burial.
Dimensions: 11.0 cm (maximum diameter), 3.8 cm (height).
Date: burial F104 likely postdates the coin of Hadrian (P967) from AD 117-138 (*RIC* II, no.669).

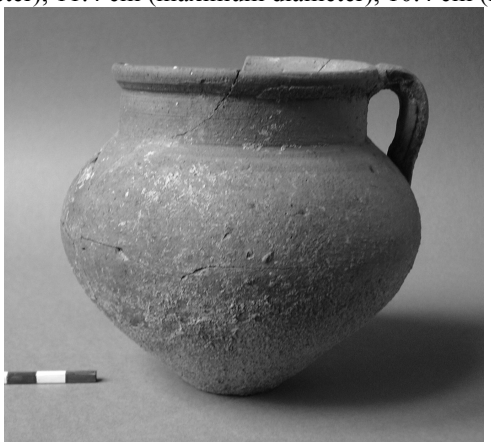
1.3C- P1090 from F104. Plain grey cup. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 1.4C
Special Piece number: P1054
Year: 2003
Trench: 19
Burial: F94
Description: Plain Buff 1 ware. Imitation of African Red slip, Hayes (1972), form 8. Moulded rim with two narrow bands of rouletting on wall, low ring base. Complete from many fragments.
Find Spot: bowl was found outside right tibia in the *cappuccina* burial of an adult (female?).
Dimensions: 15.5 cm (diameter), 6.0 cm (height).

1.4C- P1054 from F94. Plain ware bowl. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

I.D Sandy Wares

Catalogue Number: 1.1D
Special Piece number: P1055
Year: 2003
Trench: 19
Burial: F100
Description: Sandy I ware, one-handled globular beaker with flat base and cylindrical neck. About 90% complete.
Find Spot: found near right lower leg and contained iron nail P1093.
Dimensions: 8.3 cm (rim diameter), 11.4 cm (maximum diameter), 10.4 cm (height).

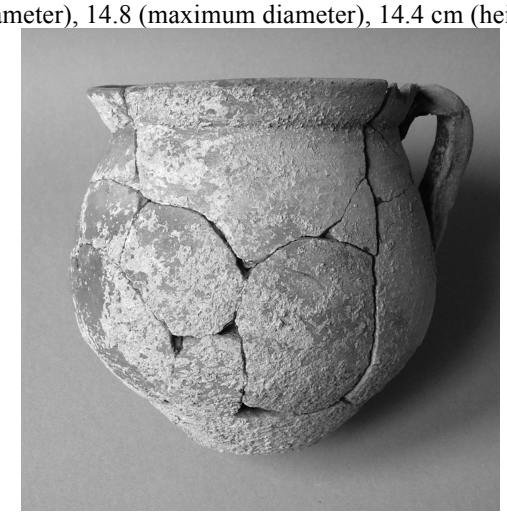


1.1D- P1055 from F100. Sandy ware globular beaker. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 1.2D
Special Piece number: P5013
Year: 2006
Trench: 39
Burial: F200
Description: Sandy ware type 2 cookpot. Flat base, globular body, short neck, and everted rim. Evidence for one vertical handle, as well as burning around base and some near the rim. About 95% complete, but found in 40 fragments.
Find spot: found near the feet of an adult female *cappuccina* burial, with iron nail P5016 inside.
Dimensions: 11.5 cm (rim diameter), 17.3 cm (maximum diameter), 14.9 cm (height).

1.2D- P5013 from F200. Sandy ware cookpot. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 1.3D
Special Piece number: P1084
Year: 2003
Trench: 19
Burial: F96B
Description: Sandy ware, type 3. Ovoid jar with flat base, everted rim and one vertical handle. Red-brown or grey clay. Complete, from many fragments.
Find Spot: found adjacent to pot P1050, over the lower legs. Two iron nails (P1073, P1074) were found inside P1084, in the *cappuccina* burial of an adult of an unknown sex.
Dimensions: 13.0 cm (rim diameter), 14.8 (maximum diameter), 14.4 cm (height).



1.3D- P1084 from F96B. Sandy ware jar. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

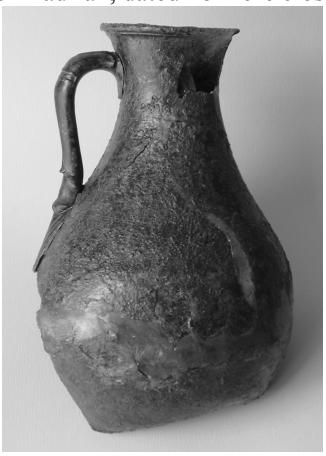
I.E Eastern Sigillata B

Catalogue Number: 1.1E
Special Piece number: P771
Year: 2002
Trench: 09
Burial: F44
Description: Eastern Sigillata B, Hayes (1985) form 63. Steep, and down-turned rim. Rosette stamp on the interior floor. Complete, but broken into three pieces.
Find Spot: dish found near the waist in an infant libation burial, approximately 2 years old.
Dimensions: 16.7 cm (diameter), 3.3 cm (height).
Date: AD 70-120 based on Hayes (1985) form 63.
Cf. Small *et al*. 2007: 195, item 1.

1.1E- P771 from F44. Eastern Sigillata B dish. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

II. Bronze and Glass Vessels

Catalogue Number: 2.1
Special Piece number: P894
Year: 2003
Trench: 19
Burial: F104
Description: Bronze piriform flagon. Simple vegetal decoration on cast bronze handle, two bands of incised decoration on body. Deformed and incomplete lower part.
Find spot: found in a cremation burial, next to coin P967, and contained mirror P1112.
Dimensions: 8.0 cm (rim diameter), c. 16 cm (maximum diameter), 23.5 cm (height).
Date: burial postdates the coin (P967) of Hadrian, dated no more closely than AD 117-138.



2.1- P894 from F104. Bronze Flagon vessel. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 2.2
Special Piece number: P974
Year: 2003
Trench: 09
Burial: F35
Description: Bronze canister, tin-plated on exterior and base. Straight sides with no distinct rim; undecorated except for two bands near base and rim.
Find Spot: found near the left knee of an adult male in a libation grave.
Dimensions: 4.2 cm (diameter), 4.8 cm (height), 0.05 cm (thickness).
Cf. Small *et al*. 2007: 167, item 4.

2.2- P974 from F35. Bronze canister. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 2.3
Special Piece number: P6651
Year: 2011
Trench: 69
Burial: F288
Description: Bronze vessel. Complete vessel, but sides appear to have been intentionally smashed. Found in association with iron rivets (SF69-069), possible a handle or repair to the vessel.
Find Spot: found with a large funerary assemblage over the lower legs.
Dimensions: not available until after restoration because of dirt left inside to preserve vessel.

2.3- P6651from F288. Bronze vessel. Photo by author.

Catalogue Number: 2.4
Special Piece number: P6650
Year: 2011
Trench: 59
Burial: F282
Description: Glass unguentarium vessel. Long, thin neck, with out-turned rim, and bulbous base. Broken into many pieces.
Find spot: found at the eastern end of infant soil burial, near the cranium.
Dimensions: 8.5 cm (length), 4.37 cm (base diameter), 3 cm (rim diameter).
Date: burial will be dated by coin P6639 after restoration.

2.4- P6650 from F282. Glass vessel. Photo by author.

III. Coins

Coins have been found in eighteen burials to date, and although not all are legible, they provide a *terminus post quem* for certain graves. The condition of many coins is

between moderately and heavily worn, indicating that they were in circulation for an unknown amount of time before being placed in the burial. Since much of the pottery cannot be dated precisely, lamps and coinage provide the best indicators of dates. Several coins are illegible or have not yet been restored; however, ten datable coins depict busts of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina I, Faustina II, and Constantine. Unlike other categories of evidence, coins have been arranged chronologically in the catalogue, not by Special Piece number.

Catalogue Number: 3.1
Special Piece number: P5030
Year: 2006
Trench: 39
Burial: F202
Description: Bronze *as*. Obverse: laureate head of Trajan looking right, with legend [IMP CAES] NERVA TRAIAN AVG GER[M P M]. Reverse: illegible. Minted at Rome.
Find Spot: found in the center of the chest cavity, over the vertebrae of an infant, aged 9-12 months, in a coffin with a *cappuccina* cover.
Dimensions: 2.7 cm (diameter), 9.6 g (weight).
Date: AD 98-102.

3.1- P5030 from F202. Obverse: Trajan.

Reverse: illegible. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 3.2
Special Piece number: P807
Year: 2002
Trench: 09
Burial: F41
Description: Bronze *as*. Obverse: bust of the emperor Antoninus Pius, bare-headed, facing right, with legend ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP. Reverse: Roma seated, facing right, holding a scepter in left hand, right hand raised to head, with legend TR POT COS III S C. Minted at Rome.
Find Spot: found on the chest of an infant, aged two years old, in a libation burial.
Dimensions: 2.6 cm (diameter), 9.2 g (weight).
Date: 140-144 AD.
Cf. Small *et al.* 2007: 180, item 1. *RIC* III, no. 696.


3.2- P807 from F41. Obverse: Antoninus Pius. Reverse: Roma. Photos by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 3.3
Special Piece number: P1294
Year: 2004
Trench: 09
Burial: F67
Description: Bronze *as* or *dupontius*. Obverse: Bust of Faustina I, facing right, draped, wearing a diadem, with the legend DIVA FAVSTINA. Reverse: Juno standing, facing left, holding scepter, with the legend AETERNITAS S C. Minted in Rome.
Find Spot: found between left hip and wrist in *cappuccina* burial, of an adult male aged 19-21.
Dimensions: 2.5 cm (diameter), 10.35 g (weight).
Date: AD 141-161.
Cf. Small *et al*. 2007: 207, item 1. *RIC* III no. 1155.


3.3- P1294 from F67. Obverse: Faustina I. Reverse: Juno. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 3.4
Special Piece number: P966
Year: 2003
Trench: 19

Burial: F95
Description: Bronze *nummus*. Obverse: Constantine I, looking right, wearing a diadem, with legend [CONSTAN]TINVS AVG. Reverse: fortified gateway, with the legend VI[RTVS] AVGG / S F//ARLP
Find spot: found in the burial fill of a *cappuccina* burial of an adult, likely female.
Dimensions: 1.9 cm (diameter), 2.8 g (weight).
Date: AD 327.
Cf. *RIC* VII, no. 314.


3.4- P966 from F95. Obverse: Constantine. Reverse: fortified gateway. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

IV. Lamps

To date lamps have been found in 32 burials, and although lamps do not provide chronology as precise as coins, they are interesting for the variety and limited range of types at Vagnari. Many are preserved either fully intact or reconstructed from several pieces. Burning around the nozzle on many examples denotes that some of these lamps were in use before being deposited in the grave. All lamps can be dated to the second century AD, with more precision only in rare cases, and a considerable number are North African made. Among the current body of evidence, there is very little range in typology, since the lamps fall almost exclusively into figural, globular, or decorative types with little variation.

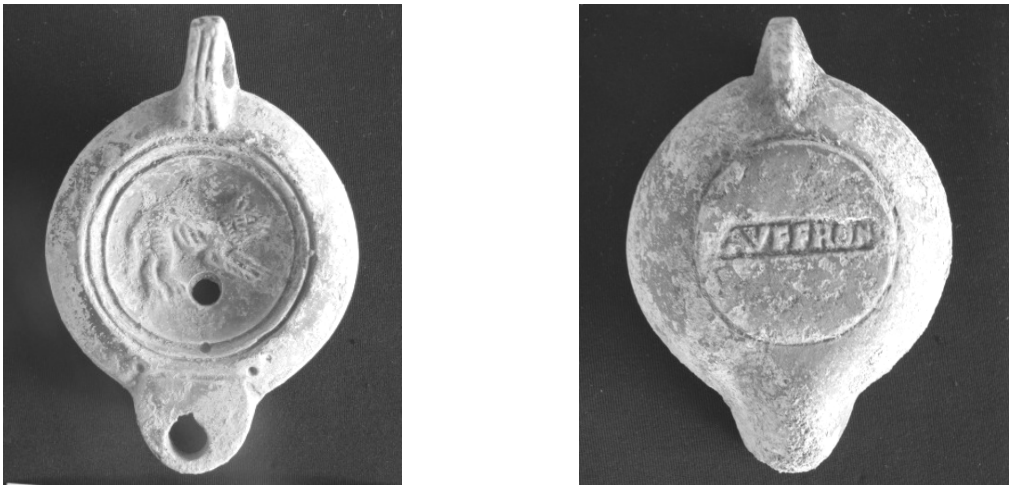
A. Figural Lamps

Catalogue Number: 4.1A
Special Piece number: P766
Year: 2002
Trench: 09
Burial: F59
Description: North African mould-made lamp. Bearded male figure advancing to the right, wearing a wreath, with one arm raised. Drapery and body in impressed lines. Discus delineated by three concentric circles. Straight line near nozzle, with an impressed circle at either end. Handle with two parallel grooves, and an impressed circle on either side of handle. Evidence of a thin brown slip and burning on the nozzle. Iron pin (P866) found with lamp. Stamp on bottom: IVNDRACO (Junius Draco).
Find spot: near the feet in libation burial F59 of a child, about 5 years old.
Dimensions: 10.5 cm (maximum length), 7.0 cm (maximum width), 4.1 cm (height).

Date: 2nd century AD. 120-180 (Bailey, 1980), or 150-180 (Pavolini, 1995). Burial postdates a coin of Hadrian (P809) from AD 117-38.
Cf. Small *et al.* 2007: 205, item 7. Deneauve (1969) type VII A. Also see P1010 with stamp CIVNDRAC, and P5003 with stamp CIVNDRAC.

4.1A- P766 from F59. Lamp with bearded male. Stamp: IVNDRACO. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 4.2A
Special Piece number: P6608
Year: 2011
Trench: 69
Burial: F283
Description: Lamp with a dog in the discus, advancing to the right, stretching. Discus delineated by two concentric grooves. Filling hole slightly off axis with handle and nozzle to accommodate canine figure. Nozzle delineated by straight line with circles impressed at either end. Traces of a brown-red slip. Stamp AVFFRON (Aufidius Fronimus) in a rectangular frame on base, in center of impressed circle.
Find spot: found south of left tibia in a juvenile, *cappuccina* burial, beneath two bowls (P6603, P6604) and an iron nail (6643).
Dimensions: 10.44 cm (maximum length), 7.23 cm (maximum diameter), 3.68 cm (maximum height to handle), 3.92 cm (base diameter).
Cf. P1043: decorated North African lamp- Deneauve (1969) VIII B from trench 19, also with stamp AVFF[RON] on base.
Date: second century AD.



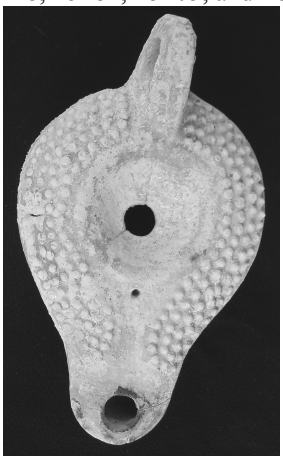
4.2A- P6608 from F283. Figural lamp. Stamp AVFFRON (Aufidius Fronimus). Photo by author.

B. Globular Lamps

Catalogue Number: 4.1B
Special Piece number: P5003
Year: 2006
Trench: 39
Burial: F55
Description: Globular lamp with three rows of globules around shoulder. Two parallel grooves on exterior of handle. Discus delineated by a groove that ends at the nozzle. Evidence of burning and decoration of an impressed rhombus in an oval near the nozzle. Stamp CIVNDRAC (C. Junius Draco) with 'N' reversed on 'pelta' shaped base, in incuse letters without frame.
Find spot: found inside pot (P5002) along with bent nail (P5036), on the south side of *cappuccina* burial of a child about 5-6 years old.
Dimensions: 4.5 cm (maximum height), 6.1 cm (base length), 6.9 cm (maximum width).
Date: second century AD.
Cf. Fabbricotti (1974) type I A: only one of this type at Vagnari. See P1010 with same stamp.

4.1B- P5003 from F55. Globular lamp. Stamp CIVNDRAC with N reversed. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

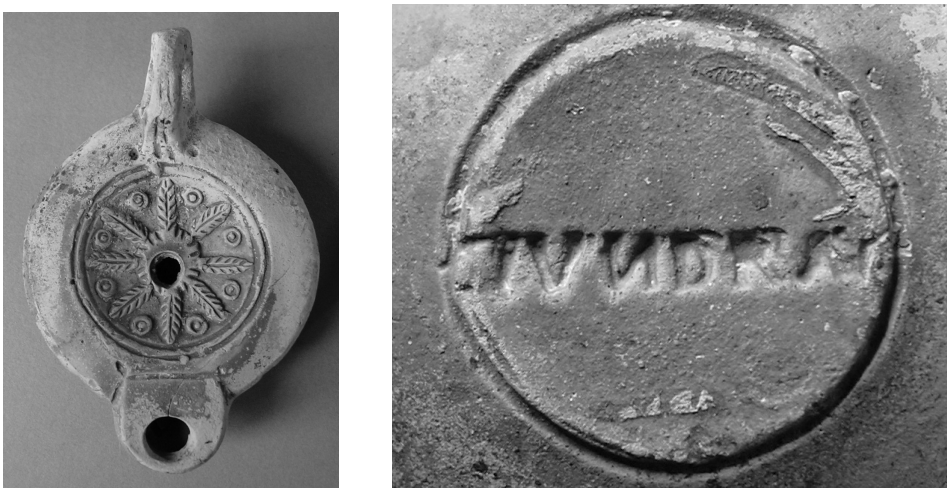
Catalogue Number: 4.2B
Special Piece number: P6627
Year: 2011
Trench: 59
Burial: F247
Description: Globular lamp with four rows of globules around shoulder. Discus delineated by a ridge. Traces of red-orange slip and burning at nozzle. Raised handle with two parallel grooves.
Find spot: found at western end of grave, in pot (SF59-064) and on top of nail (P6648).
Dimensions: 13.4 cm (length), 8.2 cm (maximum width), 4.2 cm (maximum height to discus), 5.6 cm (maximum height to handle).
Date: second century AD for Fabbricotti (1974) type II B lamps.
Cf. Fabbricotti (1974) type II B globule lamps are the most common found at Vagnari (P769, P1234, P1322, P1334, P5024, P5031, P5070, P5148, P5182, P5205, and P6612).



4.2B- P6627 from F247. Globular lamp. Photo by author.

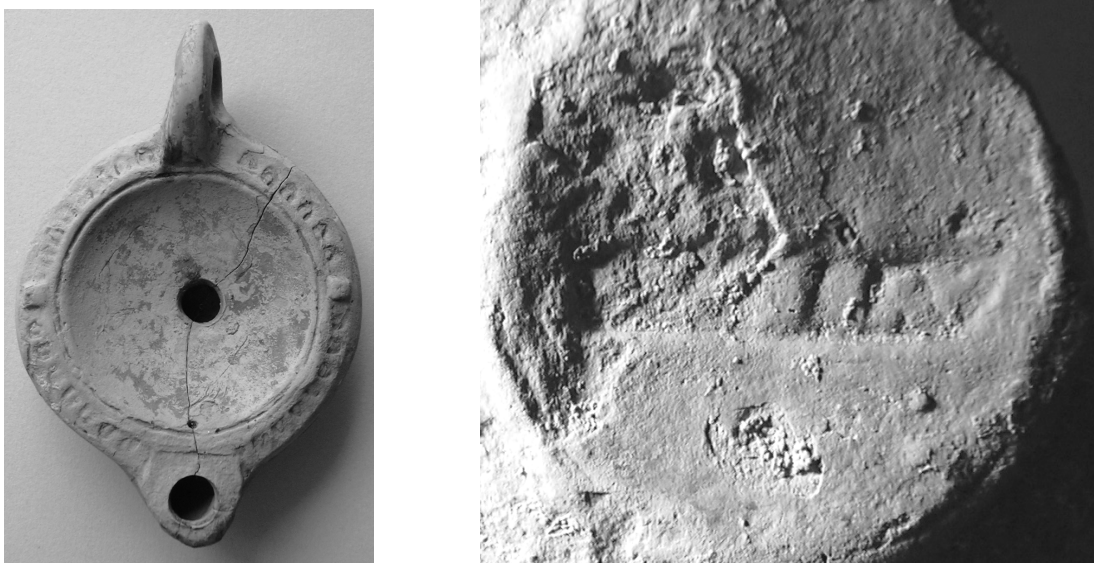
C. Decorated Lamps

Catalogue Number: 4.1C
Special Piece number: P1010
Year: 2003
Trench: 19
Burial: F96B
Description: Decorated lamp with floral pattern in center of discus with eight radiating leaves that alternate with bosses. Discus delineated by two concentric circles, also two parallel grooves on exterior of handle, and an impressed circle on either side of handle. Rounded nozzle separated by straight line and an impressed circle at either end. Stamp CIVNDRAC (C. Junius Draco) with 'N' reversed, not in a frame.
Find spot: Found by feet in *cappuccina* burial 96B of an adult of unknown sex.
Dimensions: 9.0 cm (length), 7.0 cm (width), 4.5 cm (height with handle).
Date: second century AD.
Cf. Deneauve (1969), type VII A. See also P5003 with same CIVNDRAC stamp.



4.1C- P1010 from F96B. Decorated lamp. Stamp CIVNDRAC with N reversed. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 4.2C
Special Piece number: P1043
Year: 2003
Trench: 19
Burial: F94
Description: Decorated, round lamp, with unadorned discus and ovuli around shoulder. Raised handle with two grooves on exterior, only preserved near discus. Orange slip, with evidence of burning on nozzle.
Find spot: between tibiae of an adult female in a *cappuccina* burial with stone and mortar. Found with iron pin P1080 above.
Dimensions: 11.1 cm (length), 7.4 cm (width), 4.2 cm (height).
Cf. Deneauve (1969) type VIII B. Only one other example (P1303) of this type has been found at Vagnari.



4.2C- P1043 from F94. Decorated lamp. Stamp AVFF[RON]. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

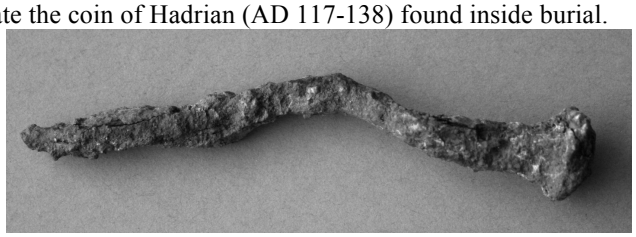
Catalogue Number: 4.3C
Special Piece number: P1325
Year: 2004

Trench: 29
Burial: F131
Description: Round, decorated lamp with no handle and round nozzle. Unadorned, concave discus, with wreath decoration around shoulder. Evidence of burning on nozzle.
Find spot: between the femora of an adult male buried in a libation tomb.
Dimensions: 8.8 cm (length), 7.3 cm (width), 2.5 cm (height).
Date: second century (?) AD.
Cf. Loeschcke (1921), type VIII.

4.3C- P1325 from F131. Decorated lamp with no handle. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

V. Iron Nails

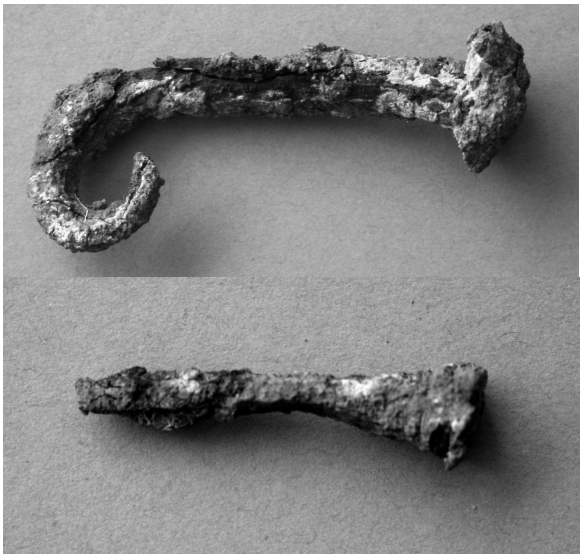
Catalogue Number: 5.1
Special Piece number: P1066
Year: 2003
Trench: 19
Burial: F104
Description: Iron nail with sub-rectangular head and square shank that tapers to a point.
Find spot: found in cremation burial F104, near bronze vessel and a coin of Hadrian (P967).
Dimensions: 8.9 cm (total length), 1.3 x 1.3 cm (dimensions of nail head), 0.6 x 0.6 cm (nail shank below head), 8.5 cm (length of nail shank).
Date: burial must postdate the coin of Hadrian (AD 117-138) found inside burial.



5.1- P1066 from F104. Bent iron nail. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 5.2
Special Piece number: P1073 and P1074
Year: 2003
Trench: 19
Burial: F96B

Description: Two iron nails.
P1073: Iron nail with oval head with domed top, square shank, shank bent almost to a ring at the point.
Dimensions: 2.3 x 1.7 x 0.7 cm (dimensions of nail head), 0.7 x 0.7 (shank dimensions) 8.7 cm (length of shank, bent at point almost into a ring).
P1074: Iron nail with square head, straight shank, missing point (modern break).
Dimensions: 3.7 cm (total preserved length), 0.8 x 0.9 cm (length x width of nail head), 0.4 x 0.4 cm (square shank).
Find spot: both found inside Sandy ware 3 pot P1084 inside F96B, over the lower legs of an adult in a *cappuccina* burial.

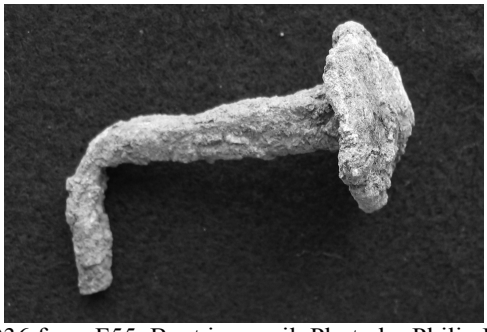


5.2- P1073 (left) and P1074 (right) from F96B. Iron nails found inside pot P1084. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 5.3
Special Piece number: P1335
Year: 2004
Trench: 29
Burial: F117
Description: Iron nail with a flat, irregular head. Complete.
Find spot: found inside Regional Red Slip pot P1304, outside left foot.
Dimensions: 11.0 cm (length), 3.1 x 2.2 cm (dimensions of nail head), 0.8 x 0.45 cm (shank).
Date: pot P1304 dated to the second century AD, and burial F117 must post date the reign of Hadrian based on the presence of a bronze coin (P1204), dated to AD 117-38.

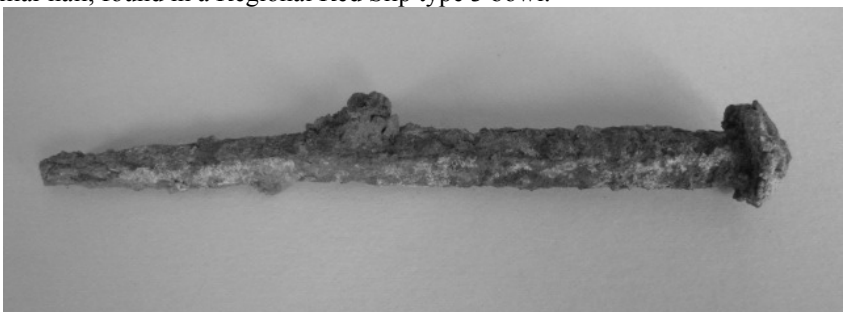
5.3- P1335 from F117. Iron nail. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 5.4
Special Piece number: P5036
Year: 2006
Trench: 39
Burial: F55
Description: Iron nail with circular / domed head and square shank. Shank is bent approximately at a right angle, missing point.
Find spot: found at the SW end of the grave near the feet, inside pot P5002 and under lamp P5003 inside F55.
Dimensions: 7.0 cm (preserved length of shaft, bent over at 4.5 cm), 3.2 cm (diameter of nail head), 0.9 cm x 0.9 cm (measurements where shank meets nail head).
Date: the globular lamp found in this burial (P5003) is Fabbricotti (1974) type I A, dated to the second century AD.



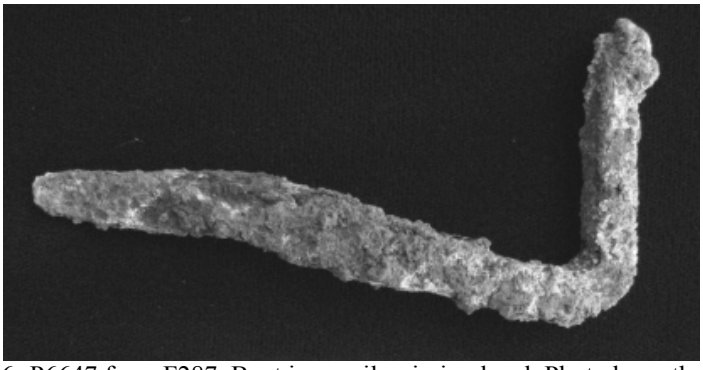
5.4- P5036 from F55. Bent iron nail. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 5.5
Special Piece number: P6643
Year: 2011
Trench: 69
Burial: F283
Description: Iron nail with conical head, square shank that tapers to a point. Unbroken, and almost complete, missing point.
Find spot: South of feet in juvenile burial F283, inside pot P6604, beneath bowl P6603, and above lamp P6608, and adjacent to glass vessel SF69-044.
Dimensions: 14.37 cm (length), 1.0 cm (maximum width of shank), 2.25 cm (maximum width of nail head).
Date: a large, bronze coin was also found in this burial, awaiting restoration.
Cf. P1038: similar nail, found in a Regional Red Slip type 3 bowl.



5.5- P6643 from F283. Iron nail from inside pot P6604. Photo by author.

Catalogue Number: 5.6
Special Piece number: P6647
Year: 2011
Trench: 69
Burial: F287
Description: Iron nail, square in section, bent at the shank, missing head.
Find spot: inside pot P6617, north of right tibia.
Dimensions: 9.34 cm (length, up to 13.0 cm if straight), 4.65 cm (maximum width), 1.0 x 1.0 cm (at widest part of shank).



5.6- P6647 from F287. Bent iron nail, missing head. Photo by author.

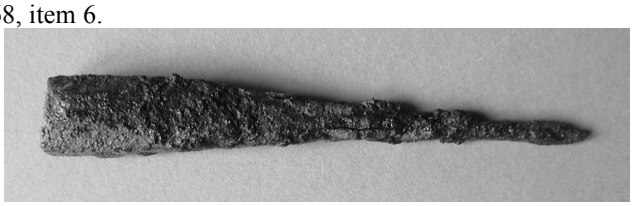
VI. Weapons and Tools

Catalogue Number: 6.1
Special Piece number: P1060
Year: 2003
Trench: 09
Burial: F35
Description: Bone spatula. Widens slightly towards the tip, rounded handle with indents. Almost complete, except for corner at end of blade.
Find spot: outside left tibia on east side of burial, in association with iron scraper P1061.
Dimensions: 14.7 cm (maximum length), 2.35 cm (maximum preserved width), 0.4 cm (maximum thickness).
Date: the bone spatula is not datable, but the burial has been dated to the late second or early third century AD by Small *et al*.
Cf. Small *et al*. 2007: 168, item 5.

6.1- P1060 from F35. Bone spatula. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

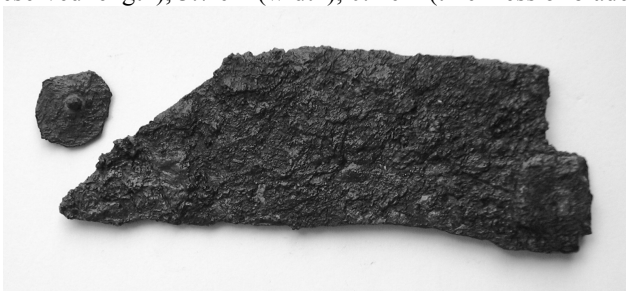
Catalogue Number: 6.2
Special Piece number: P1061

Year: 2003
Trench: 09
Burial: F35
Description: Iron scraper or spatula with an oblong head and tapering blade. Complete, but restored from four fragments.
Find spot: outside left tibia on east side of burial, in association with bone spatula P1060.
Dimensions: 17.4 cm (length), 3.2 cm (maximum width), 0.5 cm (thickness of blade).
Date: the iron scraper is not datable, but the burial has been dated to the late second or early third century AD by Small *et al*.
Cf. Small *et al*. 2007: 168, item 6.



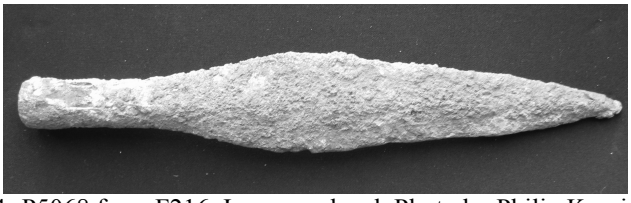
6.2- P1061 from F35. Iron scraper. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 6.3
Special Piece number: P1187
Year: 2004
Trench: 29
Burial: F131
Description: short, broad, rectangular knife-blade with rivets attached to each of the short sides near the cutting edge. Possibly a wood-working tool or a pruning knife.
Find spot: found in center an adult male pelvis, in a libation burial, with bones of left hand surrounding it.
Dimensions: 10.7 cm (preserved length), 3.7 cm (width), 0.2 cm (thickness of blade).



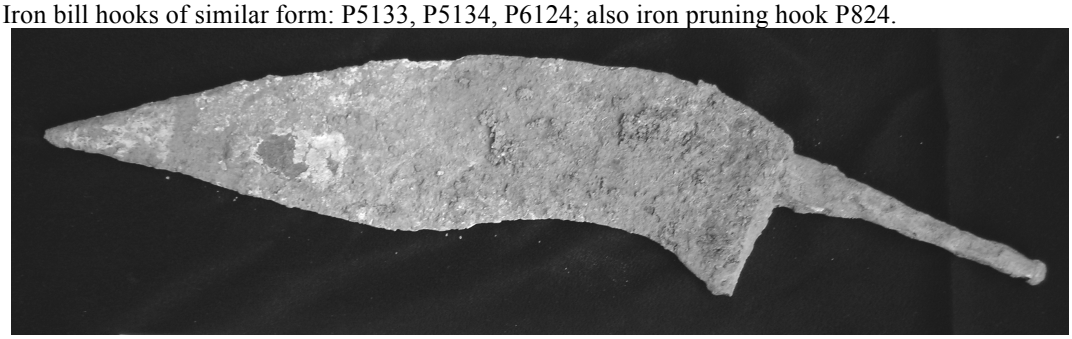
6.3- P1187 from F131. Iron blade with rivet. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 6.4
Special Piece number: P5068
Year: 2008
Trench: 49
Burial: F216
Description: Iron spearhead, rhomboid in cross section, and hollow socket for shaft.
Find spot: found outside of *cappuccina* burial F216, laying against tegulae on NW side of burial.
Dimensions: 29.2 cm (length), 4.8 cm (maximum width), 1.5 cm (diameter of socket / thickness).



6.4- P5068 from F216. Iron spearhead. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 6.5
Special Piece number: P6642
Year: 2011
Trench: 69
Burial: F288
Description: Large iron bill hook. Pointed at one end, with curved blade, and metal handle.
Find spot: found beneath cranium at the W end of F288.
Dimensions: 42.5 cm (maximum length), 7.5 cm (maximum width).
Cf. Iron bill hooks of similar form: P5133, P5134, P6124; also iron pruning hook P824.



6.5- P6642 from F288. Iron bill-hook. Photo by author.

Catalogue Number: 6.6
Special Piece number: P6636
Year: 2011
Trench: 69
Burial: F288
Description: Bronze spearhead with hollow socket for shaft.
Find spot: outside of right knee joint on south side of F288, in an adult's *cappuccina* burial.
Dimensions: 12.75 cm (length), 3.5 cm (maximum width), 1.9 cm (maximum thickness).

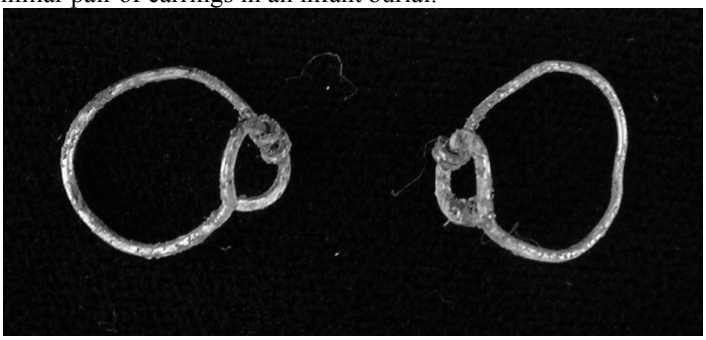
6.6- P6636 from F288. Bronze spearhead. Photo by author.

VII. Jewellery

Catalogue Number: 7.1
Special Piece number: P707
Year: 2002
Trench: 09
Burial: F48 / 49
Description: Bronze fibula with spring pin. No additional decoration or adornment. Part of the end is missing.
Find spot: found between the eastern ends of F48 and F49.
Dimensions: 2.9 cm (length), 2.5 cm (width).
Cf. Small *et al*. 2007: 201.

7.1- P707 from F48 / F49. Bronze fibula. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 7.2
Special Piece number: P6637
Year: 2011
Trench: 59
Burial: F281
Description: Gold wire earrings, round in section and formed into loops, with hook-and-eye fastenings.
Find spot: first earring was found on right side of an infant cranium, the second earring was found later, probably disturbed.
Dimensions: 1.27 cm (diameter), 0.1 cm (thickness).
Cf. P822 from F48, similar pair of earrings in an infant burial.

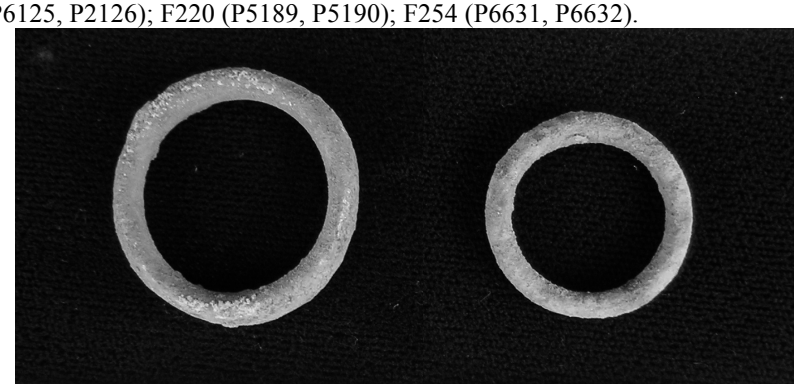


7.2- P6637 from F281. Gold earrings. Photo by author.

Catalogue Number: 7.3
Special Piece number: P6633 and P6634
Year: 2011
Trench: 69
Burial: F288
Description: Bronze rings, circular band, with no visible decoration.
Find spot: P6633 found outside the left leg on the north side, probably not worn by the individual since the left hand rests on the pelvis. Possible that P6634 was worn as a finger ring, since it was found on the proximal end of the left femur, near the left hand.
Dimensions:

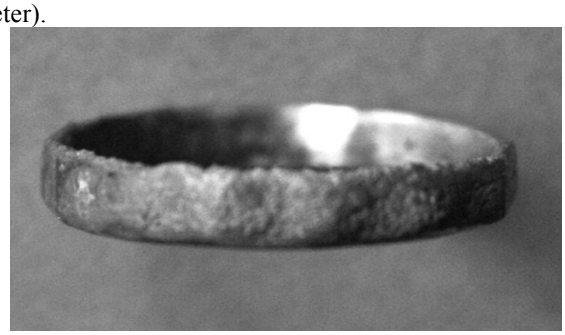
P6633: 2.72 cm (exterior diameter), 2.14 cm (interior diameter).
P6634: 2.23 cm (exterior diameter), 1.60 cm (interior diameter).

Cf. Pairs of similar bronze rings were also found in five other burials: F59 (P825, P832); F213 (P5138, P5139); F216 (P6125, P2126); F220 (P5189, P5190); F254 (P6631, P6632).



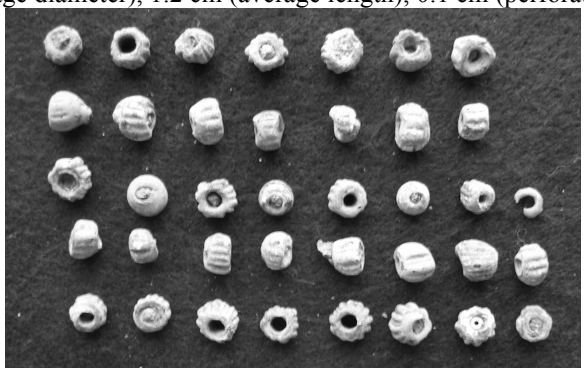
7.3- P6633 (left) and P6634 (right) from F288. Bronze rings. Photo by author.

Catalogue Number: 7.4
Special Piece number: P5076
Year: 2007
Trench: 49
Burial: F210
Description: Silver ring, circular band with rounded edges and no visible decoration.
Find spot: found on right hand of the deceased, along with two other rings (P5077, P5078).
Dimensions: 1.9 cm (diameter).



7.4- P5076 from F210. Silver ring. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

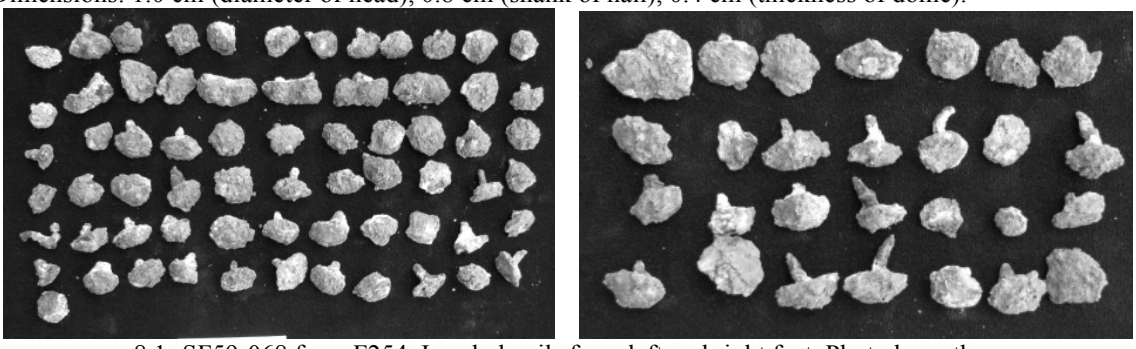
Catalogue Number: 7.5
Special Piece number: P5088
Year: 2007
Trench: 49
Burial: F210
Description: 38 bone beads, slightly bulbous and cylindrical. Decorated with simple incised rib patterns.
Find spot: found around chest and cranium at eastern end of the burial.
Dimensions: 0.5 cm (average diameter), 1.2 cm (average length), 0.1 cm (perforation).



7.5- P5088 from F210. Bone beads. Photo by Tracy Prowse.

VIII. Hobnails

Catalogue Number: 8.1
Small Find number: SF59-068
Year: 2011
Trench: 59
Burial: F254
Description: Iron hobnails with round, domed heads and tapering, square shanks. At least 73 hobnails associated with the left foot, and 30 with the right foot.
Find spot: found at southwest end of the burial, at the feet.
Dimensions: 1.0 cm (diameter of head), 0.8 cm (shank of nail), 0.4 cm (thickness of dome).



8.1- SF59-068 from F254. Iron hobnails from left and right feet. Photo by author.

IX. Miscellaneous

Catalogue Number: 9.1
Special Piece number: P813
Year: 2002
Trench: 09
Burial: F41
Description: Fragments of at least thirteen iron nails, divided into 5 categories based on form. These nails were likely part of a coffin or wooden box that held the deceased individual. Types of nails include nail heads with an ovoid plan; sub-rectangular heads; flaring top; a more narrow, flaring top; and a broad head. Several of these nails have been bent.
Find spot: found scattered throughout the poorly preserved infant burial F41.
Dimensions: dimensions and angles of nail heads range greatly. Heads range from 1.1 – 3.0 cm x 0.4 – 2.2 cm. Maximum total length: 6.7 cm.
Date: burial F41 is dated to AD 150-80 based on a coin (P807) of Antoninus Pius (AD 140-4), and a lamp (P818) with the stamp IVNI ALEXI from the second century AD.
Cf. Small *et al*. 2007: 185, item 7.

9.1- P813 from F41. Iron nails from infant burial. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 9.2
Special Piece number: P1114 and P1319
Year: 2004
Trench: 29
Burial: F126
Description: Bronze, cylindrical case, with both case and lid preserved. Decorated with thin concentric grooves on the lid. Thin iron rods were found inside (P1319).
Find spot: found near pelvis of an adult female.
Dimensions: 10.0 cm (length), 1.5 cm (diameter), 0.3 cm (thickness).

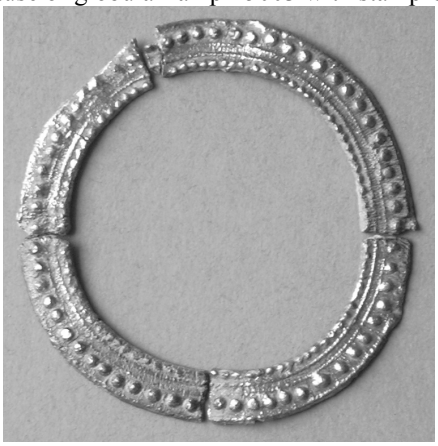
9.2- P1114 and P1319 from F126. Bronze container above and iron rods below. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 9.3
Special Piece number: P1310, P1311, P1312
Year: 2004
Trench: 29
Burial: F117
Description: Three bone needles in various states of preservation. Eyes of all needles survive, but not all points.
Find spot: P1310 was found on top of the chest, P1311 and P1312 were found on the right shoulder of an adult female.
Dimensions:

P1310: 10.9 cm (length), 0.45 cm (maximum diameter).
P1311: 10.1 cm (preserved length), 0.4 cm (maximum diameter).
P1312: 5.6 cm (preserved length), 0.4 cm (maximum diameter).

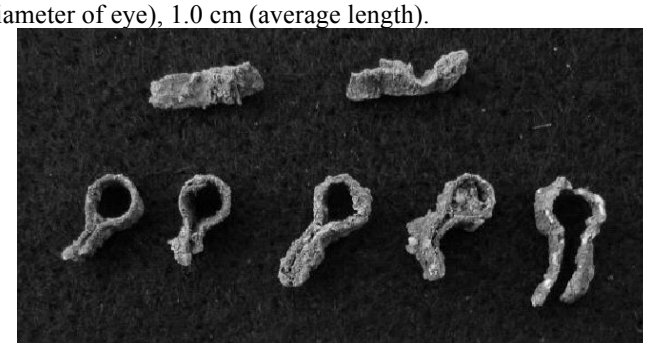
9.3- P1310, P1311, P1312 (from top to bottom) from F117. Three bone needles. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 9.4
Special Piece number: P5005
Year: 2006
Trench: 39
Burial: F55
Description: Lead or silvery alloy decorative circlet, broken into four pieces but complete. Decorated with a row of globules on the inner and outer edges, with two concentric grooves in between. Possibly the rim of a glass mirror.
Find spot: found close to the lower left leg at the SW end of a child's burial.
Dimensions: 4.4 cm (exterior diameter), 3.3 cm (interior diameter),
Date: second century AD (?) because of globular lamp P5003 with stamp CIVNDRAC in F55.



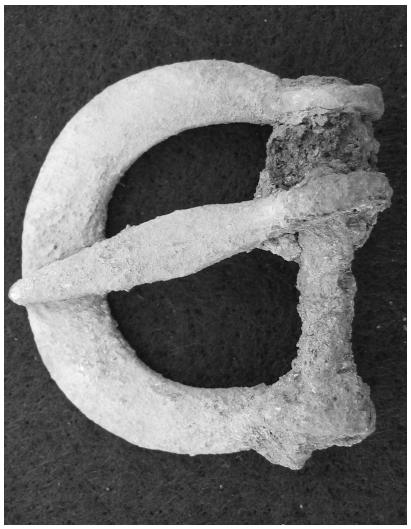
9.4- P5005 from F55. Lead or silver alloy circlet. Photo by Philip Kenrick.

Catalogue Number: 9.5
Special Piece number: P5023
Year: 2006
Trench: 39
Burial: F201
Description: five bronze attachments and three fragmentary pieces. Thin sheets of bronze curled over to form an eye. Possibly used to fasten clothing or as hinges for a box.
Find spot: two were found by the vertebrae, while others were found in the fill above cremation burial F201.
Dimensions: 0.3 cm (diameter of eye), 1.0 cm (average length).



9.5- P5023 from F201. Bronze attachments. Photo by Tracy Prowse.

Catalogue Number: 9.6
Special Piece number: P5137
Year: 2008
Trench: 49
Burial: F213
Description: Copper alloy belt buckle.
Find spot: found above pelvis in an adult male burial.
Dimensions: not available.

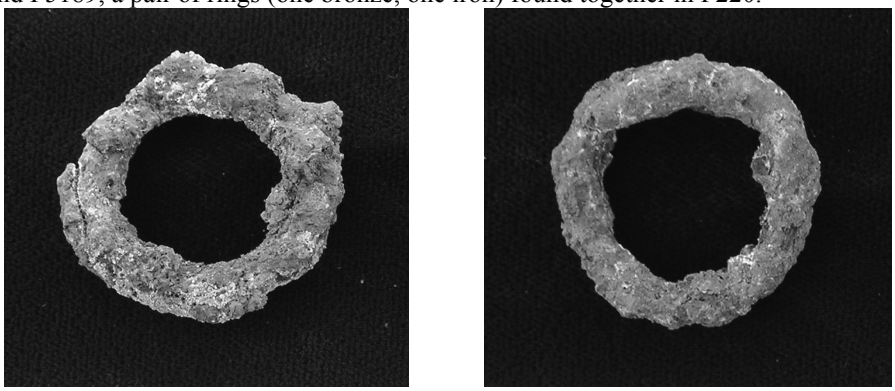


9.6- P5137 from F213. Belt buckle. Photo by Tracy Prowse.

Catalogue Number: 9.7
Special Piece number: P6644 and P6645
Year: 2011
Trench: 69
Burial: F287
Description: Iron rings, highly corroded, complete. Were not found in association with ay material or artifact to indicate their function.
Find spot: found non-contiguously at the western end adult burial F287, outside the right tibia, and by the right foot.
Dimensions:

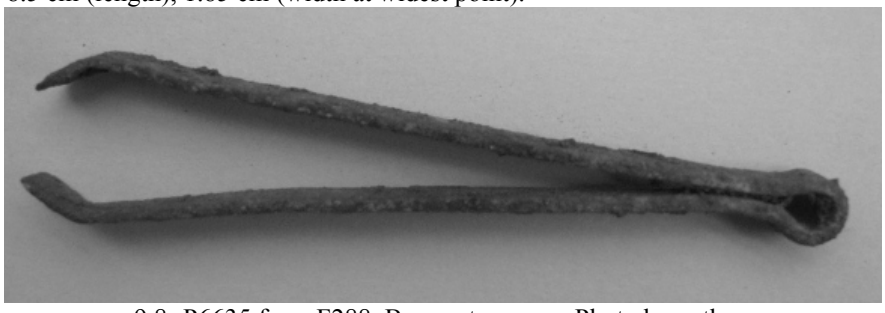
P6644: 3.50 cm (maximum exterior diameter), 0.75 cm (maximum thickness).
P6645: 3.0 cm (maximum exterior diameter), 0.54 cm (maximum thickness).

Cf. P5190 and P5189, a pair of rings (one bronze, one iron) found together in F220.



9.7- P6644 (left) and P6645 (right) from F288. Iron rings. Photo by author.

Catalogue Number: 9.8
Special Piece number: P6635
Year: 2011
Trench: 69
Burial: F288
Description: Bronze tweezers with round end and square pincers. Made from one piece of bronze, bent and moulded. Intact.
Find spot: found in the northeast corner of the burial, outside the lower legs, near the bronze vessel P6651.
Dimensions: 8.5 cm (length), 1.85 cm (width at widest point).



9.8- P6635 from F288. Bronze tweezers. Photo by author.

Appendix 1. Burials and Grave Goods

Burial	Age	Sex	Burial Type	Orientation	Grave Goods	Total # of Grave Goods*
34	Adult	M	Cappuccina	West	Ceramic vessels (2), iron cutting tool, iron nail, hobnails	5
35	Old Adult	M	Funnel	NE	Ceramic vessels (4), iron nail, bronze ring, bronze canister, bone spatula, iron scraper, iron fragments of a different object, iron punch, beads, glass candlestick *unguentarium*, hobnails	14
36	9 m ± 3 m	U	Cappuccina	East	Ceramic vessel, iron nail	2
37	45-49	F	Cappuccina	West	Ceramic vessel, iron nail	2
38	9-12m ± 4m	U	Soil	East	Glass amulet of male reproductive organs, single hobnail bent double	2
39	3 y ± 12 m	U	Cappuccina	West	Ceramic vessel, 5 amphora sherds	2
40	15-17	F	Cappuccina	West	None (sherd of a handle in soil)	0
41	3 y ± 12 m	U	Funnel	East	Pottery fragments, lamp, coin, glass vessels (3), iron nails from coffin / litter (13+) Outside: ceramic bowl, pottery sherds	7 2
42	28.7 ± 6.5 y	M	Cappuccina	East	Ceramic vessels (2), coin, iron buckle, iron bar, iron spike, iron fragments, hobnails,	8
42a	39.4 ± 9.1	M	Disturbed	N/A	Ceramic vessel, lamp, iron nail, hobnails	4
43	2 y ± 8m	U	Cappuccina	West	Lamp, bone pin, bead	3
44	2 y± 8m	U	Funnel	West	Ceramic vessels (3), iron nail inside vessel, lamp with iron pin	5
48	1.5-2 y ± 8 m	U	Cappuccina	West	Ceramic vessel, gold earrings, many glass beads, bronze bracelet fragments	4
49	8 y ± 2 y	U	Cappuccina	N/A	None. Outside burial: ceramic vessel, bronze fibula	0 2
51/59	5 y ± 16 m	U	Funnel	NE	Ceramic vessels (2), coin, iron nail inside vessel, bronze rings (2), lamp with pin	7
55	5-6	U	Cappuccina	NE	Ceramic cup, pottery sherds, lamp, bent iron nail, glass fragment, silver alloy piece, bronze armlet, bead	8+
62	Adult	M	Soil	West		
67	19-21	M	Cappuccina	East	Ceramic vessels (4), lamp with pin, iron nail inside plate, coin,	8

					hobnails Outside: lamp	1
68	45.6 ± 10.4 y	M	Cappuccina	West	None. Outside: iron nail or prong	0 1
86	Adult	F?	Cappuccina	East	Ceramic cup, iron piece	2
89	Adult	F	Cappuccina	NE	Ceramic vessel, iron ring + bronze disc, iron nail, bone pin	4
92	Old Adult (40+)	M	Cappuccina	NE	Ceramic bowl, hobnails	2
93	Adult	F	Cappuccina	NNE	Ceramic vessels (3), bronze vessel, bronze handle (part of vessel?), lamp, bronze fragment, beads (?)	8
94	45-49	F?	Cappuccina	NE	Ceramic vessels (2), lamp, iron fragment, iron nail, hobnails	6
95	Adult (young?)	F?	Cappuccina	East	Ceramic vessel, lamp, coin, curved iron piece, iron fragment + nail, hobnails	6
96a	Adult	M	Disturbed			DIST'D
96b	Adult	U	Cappuccina	NE	(Which individual??) Ceramic vessels (2), lamp + pin, bone pin, 2 nails inside pot	6
98	Adult	F	Disturbed	N/A	Pottery sherds (3), iron nail	2
99	Subadult	U	Disturbed (Possibly debris from F104)	N/A	Pottery sherds (rim + wall)	(debris from F104)
100	Adult	U	Cappuccina	East	Ceramic vessel, pottery fragment, iron nail inside pot	2+
104	Unknown (adult?)	U	Cremation	East	Bronze vessel, iron nail, coin, bronze disc, bronze nail, lead fragment, pottery fragments (In fill: Ceramic bowl fragments, bone pin, metal ring/pendant)	7+ 3
106	1 y ± 4 m	U	Soil	N/A	None	0
117	20-25	F	Cappuccina	East	Ceramic vessels (2), lamp, glass vessel, bronze pin, coin, iron pin, iron nail inside pot, bone pins (13) Outside: vessel fragments	21 1
123	1.5 y ± 6 m	U	Cappuccina	East	Glass fragment, ceramic vessel outside	1/1
126	20-25	M	Cappuccina	East (?)	Pottery fragments, iron nail inside pot, bronze tube	3
127	15-20	F	Disturbed tile	East	Lamp	1
130	15-16	F	Cappuccina (disturbed)	?	3 pottery sherds near *tegulae*	1

131	35.2 ± 9.4 y	M	Funnel	East	Ceramic pot, glass vessel, lamp, iron piece, iron nail, hobnails	6
132	Old Adult	F	Tile-disturbed	East	Ceramic vessels (3), pottery fragments (possibly associated with vessels) lamp, coin, glass vessels (2)	7+
137a	20-25	F	Tile + rock	East	Ceramic pot, coin, lamp, iron nail in pot, iron nail near foot, glass vessel	6
137b	Adult	U	Funnel-disturbed	East	None	0
200	> 35	F	Cappuccina	NE	Ceramic vessels (3), pottery sherds, glass fragments, bone needle, chert flake, nail fragments	8+
201	Unknown	U	Cremation (with Cappuccina cover)	N/A	Ceramic vessel (burned), iron nails (6- from pyre?), bronze attachments (clothing?) (2), bronze attachments (6) bronze nails (2), bronze ornamental piece, bronze pin head, hobnails	8 ‡
202	9 m ± 3 m	U	Cappuccina	North	Ceramic vessel, lamp, coin, iron ring, iron coffin nails (13)	5 ‡
204	39.4 ± 9.1 y	F?	Cappuccina	NE	Ceramic vessels (2), pottery fragments, lamp and iron pin, iron nail inside vessel	5
205	Young Adult	F	Cappuccina	NE	Ceramic vessels (2), metal ring, glass fragment, hobnails	5
206	Old Adult (50+)	F	Cappuccina	NE	Ceramic bowl, pottery sherds, iron nail, glass fragment (clear: possibly modern; not counted)	3
207	Young Adult	M	Cappuccina	NE	Ceramic vessels (3), pottery sherds (many), metal fragments	5+
208	12-14.5	F?	Cappuccina	NE	Pottery fragments, glass fragment, lamp, coin, iron nail	5
209	14-16	F	Funnel	NE	Inside grave: ceramic vessels (3), pottery fragment, lamp, iron fragment, glass fragment, coin, ring fragment, iron nail inside vessel, bone pins (2) Outside grave: pottery sherds (multiple vessels), glass fragments, bone needle / pin	12 3+
210	9y ± 24 m	U	Cappuccina	ENE	Ceramic vessels (2), pottery sherds, glass rim fragment, rings (3), bone pins (2), beads	10
211	Young adult (<30)	F	Cappuccina	East	Pottery sherds	1+
211b	Neonate	U	Cappuccina	N/A	0	0
212	Adult	U	Cappuccina	North	Ceramic vessel, pottery sherds	2

213	35 + (Older)	M	Cappuccina	NE	Ceramic vessel, pottery sherds (at least 2 vessels), bronze vessel with iron rivets, iron blades iron prong, copper belt buckle, metal pins, bronze rivets (4), bronze rings (4), iron ring and disk, lamp, bent iron nail in pot, bone gaming piece, glass fragments, hobnails, stone flake Outside grave: iron spearhead, pottery sherd	20+ ‡ 2
214	Adult	M	Cappuccina	East	Ceramic vessel, pottery sherds, lamp, hobnails	4
215	38 ± 11 y	F	Cappuccina	East	Pottery sherds, hobnails Outside grave: lamp, ceramic bowl (at intersection of F215/F226), pottery fragments (2 vessels)	2+ 4
216	35.2 y	M	Cappuccina	WSW	Pottery sherds, ceramic vessel, bronze vessel, iron spearhead, iron blade, bronze rings (5), silver ring, lamp, coin, iron nail inside pot, hobnails, glass fragment Outside grave:	16+
218	Subadult (<10 y)	U	Cappuccina	N/A	Pottery sherds, iron prong, bronze ring, hobnails Outside grave: pottery sherds, hobnails	4 2
220	40-44	M	Cappuccina	ESE (?)	Pottery sherds, iron blade, rings (2), iron nail, hobnails, animal tooth, bead Outside grave: pottery sherds	8+ 1
221	9 m ± 3 m	U	Soil	N/A	None	0
222/ 284	TBD	F?	Cappuccina	East	Lamp, iron pin, ceramic vessel (complete), fragmentary base, bone pins (2), curved iron piece	7
224	6 m ± 3 m	U	No cover, infant on a tile	N/A	None	0
225	Infant	U	Cappuccina	West	None	0
226	8 y	U	Cappuccina	North	Ceramic bowl, pottery sherds, lamp	3+
227	0-6m	U	Pit	South	Pottery fragment (1)	1
228	1 y ± 4 m	U	Cappuccina	NNE	Ceramic vessel, pottery sherds (at least 3 vessels), iron nails	7+ ‡

					from coffin (12), glass vessel, animal tooth	
229	Older Adult	M	Soil	?	None	0
230			Unexcavated (Funnel)		Outside grave: ceramic cup, pottery sherds, lamp	3 (outside grave)
231	Adult	M	Funnel	NE	Ceramic vessels (5), pottery sherds (also found in libation tube), iron blade, coin, glass vessel, iron nail in vessel hobnails Outside grave: ceramic cup, pottery sherds	11+ 2
234	35.2 ± 9.4 y	F	Cappuccina	SW	Ceramic vessel, coin	2
235	49 ± 10.5 yrs	M	Soil	East	Ceramic vessel, iron nail inside	2
245	19-22	F	Cappuccina	East	Pottery fragments (2 vessels), gold rings (2), silver alloy ring, bone pin, lamp, lithic, green stone, hobnails	10+
246	TBD		Cappuccina	East	Pottery sherds and an animal tooth	2
247	TBD		Cappuccina	East	Pottery sherds, lamp, iron nail, hobnails, glass vessel, coin	6
248	TBD		Cappuccina	ESE	Pottery sherds, lamp, iron nail, hobnails	4
249	Adult	U	Cappuccina	SW	Ceramic vessel, metal ring, bone pin, small gold coil	4
250	35-39	M	Cappuccina	SSW	Amphora sherds, large rock	2
251	18 m± 6 m	U	Cappuccina	West (?)	Pottery sherds, glass bead	2
252	17-22	F	Cappuccina	East	Cylindrical shell with ridges (2)	2
253	Older Adult	U	Soil	NE	Pottery sherds (2 vessels), iron blade, Carnelian,	4
254	TBD		Cappuccina	ESE	Ceramic vessel with nail inside, bronze rings (2), hobnails	5
280	TBD		Not excavated		Lamp	1 (outside grave)
281	Infant	U	Cappuccina	East	Pottery sherds, gold earrings, beads	3
282	TBD (child)	U	Soil	East	Pottery sherds, glass vessel, coin, worked bone and metal, animal tooth and bronze wire, silver alloy wire and bead	6
283	TBD (child)	U	Cappuccina	NE	Ceramic vessels (2 complete), pottery sherds, bronze wire bracelet, iron nail in vessel, coin, lamp, glass vessel, bronze	10+

					pendant, ornamental bronze charm	
285	TBD (infant)	U	Cappuccina	East (?)	Ceramic vessels (2), iron coffin nails (8), glass fragment (possibly modern), worked quartz piece, beads and silver alloy wire	5 ‡
287	TBD (adult)	M?	Cappuccina	East	Ceramic vessels (3), pottery sherds, fragmentary lamp, iron nail under vessel, iron rings (2)	7+
288	TBD (adult)	M?	Cappuccina	West	Bronze vessel, ceramic vessels (3), pottery base, bronze spearhead, iron pruning tool, bronze rings (2), glass vessels (2), bronze tweezers, lamp, iron hobnails, bronze fragment and small iron blade, animal claw, animal shell.	18
293	TBD		Soil	?	Ceramic vessel, pottery fragments	2+

*Unless multiple vessels can be discerned, pottery sherds have been counted as one item for the purposes of determining overall numbers and patterns of distribution.

+ Indicates the minimum number of grave goods since the number of ceramic vessels could not be determined.

‡ Nails that were used for a coffin or funerary bier were counted as one item, and in the case of F201 and F213; rivets were counted as one item

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