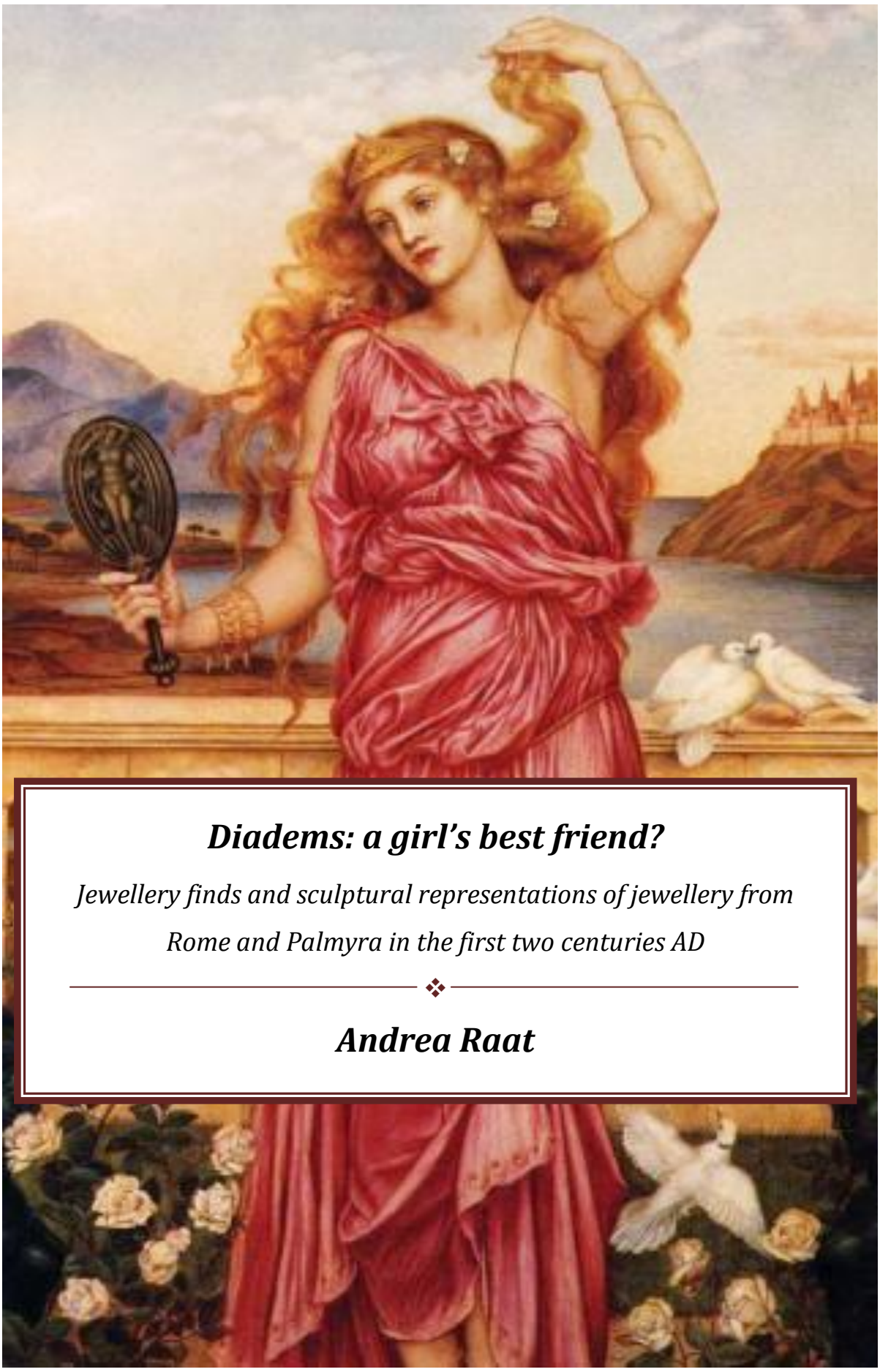

Diadems: a girl's best friend?

Jewellery finds and sculptural representations of jewellery from Rome and Palmyra in the first two centuries AD

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Jewellery finds and sculptural representations of jewellery from Rome and Palmyra in the first two centuries AD

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cover image: Helen of Troy (1898) by Evelyn Pickering De Morgan (image via http://www.artmagick.com)

Pessimum vitae scelus fecit qui [aurum] primus induit digitis [...]

"The worst crime against man's life was committed by the person who first put gold on his fingers."

Pliny (Naturalis Historia, 33.8)[1]

[1] Translation: H. Rackham, W.H.S. Jones and D.E. Eichholz. London, W. Heinemann (1949-54).

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1. Introduction

Nil non permittit mulier sibi, turpe putat nil, cum virides gemmas collo circumdedit et cum auribus extentis magnos commisit elencbos; intolerabilius nihil est quam femina dives.

"There is nothing that a woman will not permit herself to do, nothing that she deems shameful, when she encircles her neck with green emeralds, and fastens huge pearls to her elongated ears; there is nothing more intolerable than a wealthy woman."

Juvenal (Satire 6)

Non magistratus nec sacerdotia nec triumphi nec insignia nec dona aut spolia bellica iis contingere possunt; munditiae et ornatus et cultus, haec feminarum insignia sunt, his gaudent et gloriantur, hunc mundum muliebrem appellarunt maiores nostri.

"No offices, no priesthoods, no triumphs, no decorations, no gifts, no spoils of war can come to them; elegance of appearance, adornment, apparel – these are the woman's badges of honour; in these they rejoice and take delight; these our ancestors called the woman's world."

Livy (34.7.8-9)[2]

The relationship between women and jewellery is a very intriguing one, not only in modern, but also in ancient times. Today the rich and famous flash the jewels on their hands, ears and neck at public appearances, but distinguishing yourself by possessing and displaying ornaments is not new: it was known to the Roman women too. It seems that indeed 'diamonds are forever'.

Showing and showing off your wealth appears to play a prominent role with jewellery. A financial value is not all jewellery signifies though, there are other symbolic properties involved, think of gifts, grave goods and heirlooms. Important to keep in mind is the fact that jewellery is visually eye-catching, and perhaps therefore attracts so much attention. This is supported by both visual representations and written accounts. These demonstrate that the relationship between women and jewellery is surrounded by positive and negative values. Hence, the starting point of this thesis on women and jewellery in the Roman Empire is the response of ancient authors to that relationship, that ranges from more positive comments to extreme criticism.

In ancient literary sources, whether in a satiric, historical or other type of context, the relationship between Roman women and jewellery has often been criticised and labelled a female 'obsession'. The upper citation is an example from Juvenal in his sixth satire, which is

2 Translation Juvenal: G.G. Ramsay. London, W. Heinemann (1918); translation Livy: E.T. Sage. London, W. Heinemann (1935).

in general a critique on women. The second citation is from Livy, and at first sight an illustration of a more positive response: jewellery is described as a badge of honour for women. Indirectly however the woman's obsession with external appearance is treated as the only area where she will be able to earn respect with in public, not capable of doing so with holding a public office for example, which is the male equivalent, because of her limited civic role (Wyke 1994, 139-140).

In 'Woman in the mirror: the rhetoric of adornment in the Roman world' Maria Wyke (1994) has elaborated more on this. She describes how female identity is defined by distinguishing women as bodily beings, emphasising the visual, the external and the outward appearance. And precisely the woman's fixation on the body is thought of as demonstrating the lack of the 'high qualities' that are possessed by men, as they involve mental functions instead of bodily (Wyke 1994, 135).

The concept of gender enters here. We are dealing with male discourse on women, the idea that the adorned body confirms the difference between men and women. Consequently we are dealing with descriptions of adorned women that are usually typified by a negative view on the female gender. Nevertheless, the citation of Livy also points to the fact that jewellery can actually have a more positive function when it comes to women, such as displaying social status.

Different studies (e.g. Berg 2002; Kunst 2005; Stout 1994) indeed have revealed that jewellery played an important role in Roman society. Jewellery had wide-ranging functions and values, and served as symbol and signifier. It could for example indicate wealth, rank and merit. The display of jewellery has even been regulated by law. Multiple sumptuary laws are known from the Republican period, when values of simplicity and modesty prevailed, for example the *lex Oppia* from 215 BC that states the maximum amount of gold women were allowed to display (see e.g. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 334).

In this thesis the values and symbolic meanings that are associated with the relationship between Roman women and jewellery are deeper investigated: What did jewellery indicate? Which meanings, uses and functions can be distinguished with regards to jewellery? Jewellery appears to be an important element in the representation and symbolic expression of female identity. There are symbolic meanings embedded in the ornaments.

The relationship will be explored by investigating on the one hand at real jewellery from archaeological finds and on the other hand at representations of jewellery. These will be analysed separately and then compared. As for the representations of jewellery, the focus will be on sculptural evidence: portraits where jewellery plays a role in characterising women.

Four aspects regarding these finds and representations are examined specifically: types of jewellery, context, social position of the owner/portrayed, and the expression of gender.

The three concepts that will form the theoretical framework are gender, sculptural representations and core-periphery. For the first concept, which is related to the second, the focus will be on the expression of gender in representations, as statues can be models for gender roles (Davies 2008). Objects of adornment can be considered 'attributes of the female gender' (Fejfer 2008, 350-351). Being an attribute of gender means that jewellery can emphasise the gender of a represented person. Adornment can thus make a body 'gender specific', and when it comes to statues with jewellery, we could possibly speak of 'gender specific statues'.

The second concept concerns matters such as the role of medium and context, and the symbolic expression of identity and social roles. It will be underlined how and why representations in sculpture are distinctive.

The last concept follows from the two area´s that are the focus of this study. The area around the city of Rome is defined as the core and the city of Palmyra in Syria is defined as a peripheral region. The funerary sculpture from Palmyra is an exceptional and valuable source of information on women and their jewellery. Moreover, this material is often used as an illustration in studies on Roman women and jewellery in general, but has not been systematically investigated or compared with the sculptural material from Rome. A comparison with sculptures from Rome on this specific 'jewellery' aspect was thus needed. Also the jewellery finds from both regions will offer more insight. Interesting will be to see what development is visible, what kind of link there is between the core and the periphery, and how that is displayed via the jewellery: is there conformity in the norms and conventions when it comes to how jewellery is handled?

Different core-periphery models exist. A more established approach is that Rome really functions as a core for the peripheral regions of the empire, heavily influencing it, setting the standards. The periphery conforms to the core. There are newer approaches however, that challenge this perspective and argue for a more circular approach, a sort of dual way of influence. The relationship between the core of the Roman Empire and a provincial society, here investigated by focusing on jewellery finds and representations, is interesting: does Rome truly function as a core for the peripheral region Palmyra (meaning the periphery conforms to the core, as the core imposes its own norms and conventions) or is there more a dual way of influence?

The central research question of this thesis is: *What social norms, relations and values does jewellery signify regarding women in the Roman Empire?*

The focal point will be jewellery finds and sculptural representations of jewellery from Rome and Palmyra in the first two centuries AD. From that focus four subquestions have come forward:

1. What kind of real jewellery has been found, where, and by whom was it owned?
2. What jewellery is represented in sculpture? What role does it play in the sculptural representations?
3. What are the differences and similarities between the real jewellery that is found and the sculptural representations of jewellery?
4. What are the differences and similarities between Rome and Palmyra regarding the jewellery finds and representations? And what does that say about the link between the core and the periphery?

This thesis will provide a new perspective in the study of women and jewellery. Until now, archaeological evidence has been rather neglected in this field, mostly the focus has been on literary and legal sources, which perhaps only tell one side of the story. An important step in this research is to look at the material record, and to look more systematically at portraits where jewellery plays an important role in characterising women. Especially incorporating archaeological evidence, here consisting of jewellery finds and representations of jewellery on sculptures, in both a qualitative and quantitative way can bring some new insights to this field of study.

A comparison between sculptural representations and real jewellery finds has also been neglected until now. The jewellery finds from Rome themselves have been the topic of various studies, but the goal is to take them out of the typology trap here, by also focusing on e.g. the context and social implications of the finds. The jewellery finds from Palmyra are a complicated category of material, as will be explained in the next chapter. In previous research conclusions on the jewellery from Palmyra have been primarily based on the jewellery that is represented on the funerary sculptures, not on the actual jewellery finds. That is changed in this thesis, where the actual jewellery finds from Palmyra will be analysed thoroughly.

This study will investigate the diverse types of evidence separately, not merely refer to archaeological finds and representations to illustrate literary sources, what often happens. Each source presents a different part of the picture, but how do they fit together? Do they converge and support each other, or do they tell different stories? The material remains and

representations can test previous results that were mainly based on literary sources, thus confirm them or offer a different insight. For example, wearing pearls supposedly points to motherhood according to the literary and legal sources (Kunst 2005, 137), but do the archaeological data support this idea? Further, does the notion of many ancient literary sources - that there is a simple negative relationship between Roman women and jewellery - hold true? Is it correct to label it a 'female obsession'? And: is the jewellery from the Palmyrene funerary sculpture rightfully used to make conclusions on Roman women and their jewellery?

The outline of the thesis is as follows: the next chapter covers the methodology of this research, by explaining the research plan and methods of data collection and data-analysis. The third chapter presents the role of jewellery in Rome's luxury industry and investigates its symbolic significance in relation to women. In the fourth chapter the relevant theoretical concepts are discussed: gender, sculptural representations and core-periphery. The analyses of the jewellery finds and representations of jewellery from Rome and Palmyra are presented in the fifth and sixth chapter respectively. In the seventh chapter the results are discussed by answering the four subquestions. The last chapter concludes with an answer to the central research question and suggestions for further research.

2. Methodology

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter the methods that will be applied to this study on jewellery and women in the Roman Empire are discussed. It is clarified how the research questions will be answered.

The central research question of this thesis is: *What social norms, relations and values does jewellery signify regarding women in the Roman Empire*? In order to answer it, qualitative and quantitative research will be conducted, based on a combination of two categories of source material: jewellery finds and sculptural representations of jewellery. Two regions will be compared, the area around Rome and the city of Palmyra. As for the period, the first two centuries AD is concentrated on.

The four subquestions that were identified, are:

1. What kind of real jewellery has been found, where, and by whom was it owned?
2. What jewellery is represented in sculpture? What role does it play in the sculptural representations?
3. What are the differences and similarities between the real jewellery that is found and the sculptural representations of jewellery?
4. What are the differences and similarities between Rome and Palmyra regarding the jewellery finds and representations? And what does that say about the link between the core and the periphery?

This research broadly comprises of three steps. The first step is analysing the jewellery finds and sculptural representations of jewellery in both Rome and Palmyra separately. Second, a comparison will be made between the jewellery finds and the representations from both regions. The final step is examining the relationship between Rome and Palmyra, the core and the periphery, on the basis of the results acquired in the previous steps.

To answer the subquestions, data are collected on the following aspects of the jewellery finds and representations for Rome as well as for Palmyra: types of jewellery, context, social position and the expression of gender.

2.2 Data collection

The choice for the particular period, regions and central aspects to be studied, caused conditions with regards to which finds and representations are suitable for this study. The purpose is to collect data that have sufficient information available to answer the research

questions on basis of the four central aspects. To go beyond matters of typology, more detailed knowledge on the finds and representations is required. This is not always self-evident, many catalogues with ancient jewellery exist for example, but information on e.g. find spot, time period or owner is habitually unknown, because most finds stem from the art market. The British Museum for example offers an extensive catalogue on its Greek, Roman and Etruscan jewellery, but rarely information is included on find spots.

Here, only jewellery finds found in a burial context will be studied. This type of find context allows for more to be known on the artefacts, such as the time period or the owner of the jewellery. Also, jewellery in graves is usually well preserved and found together with other grave goods. In some cases it is even clear where on the body the jewellery was posited, though in other cases due to grave disturbance only the general find spot is certain. Gaps in the information seem nevertheless to be unavoidable.

Before the material is explained per category, it should be noted what is defined as jewellery in this study. In general jewellery are objects used for embellishment or adornment of the body, often made of a (precious) metal and sometimes including (precious) stones. The objects are crafted by jewellers, and will e.g. be drilled (in the case of beads) or have a ring or hook for attachment (in the case of pendants). Taking jewellery for the hair as an example: basic textile hair bands do not count as jewellery, but hairpins modelled by a jeweller do.

Jewellery finds: Rome

The jewellery finds from Rome that are selected for this study consist of the collection of jewellery on display in the `Luxury in Rome´ section of the *Palazzo Massimo alle Terme*, which is part of the *Museo Nazionale Romano*. It comprises of well conserved, valuable artefacts mostly found in a grave context with known excavation records. This is the reason that, in the light of the central aspects focused on, the documentation regarding this collection of jewellery is adequate for this study. Moreover, when your wish is to limit the region where the data is collected from specifically to the area around the centre of Rome, it is (a) required that there is information on the find spot and (b) likely that you have to fall back on these type of burial finds (Oliver 2000, 117).

So, the criteria of this study make this selection the only jewellery selection suitable to research here. The objects were all found within a radius of ca. 30 km around the centre of Rome, in ten identified burials, meaning the jewellery was found in sarcophagi and tombs, around and on the body. They stem from the first century AD to the end of the second century AD.

Note that for this research, from all the jewellery on display in the *Palazzo Massimo alle Terme*, only the objects from the first two centuries AD are considered, 49 pieces in total. Access is granted by the *Museo Nazionale Romano* to the online (not public) collection database of the Soprintendenza *Speciale ai Beni Archeologici di Roma*, to make use of in this research.

Jewellery finds: Palmyra

Selecting jewellery finds from Palmyra turn out to be more complicated. One reason is that there is little available documentation on jewellery retrieved from the Syrian city. Another is the frequent robbery and disturbance of graves in Palmyra - sites where most jewellery is expected to be found. Also no museum visits and in person investigation of the material is possible.

Palmyrenes buried their dead in family tombs. The tomb monuments were located nearby the city divided over four *necropoleis*, the north necropolis, the southeast necropolis, the southwest necropolis and the so-called Valley of the Tombs. Three types of tomb monuments existed, tower tombs, underground tombs (*hypogea*), and temple tombs (Richmond, 1963: 54; Collon, 1995: 199; Danti, 2001: 37).

For this study six burials from Palmyra are identified with jewellery and information on that:

- The tower tomb of Atenatan in the southwest necropolis (Witecka 1994). Based on an inscription the start date of the tomb is determined as 9 BC; the fall of Palmyra in 273 AD is considered a *terminus ante quem*. It is the earliest dated tomb in Palmyra (Witecka 1994, 71) and presents one of the largest collections of jewellery known to be found in one tomb at Palmyra and to be surely dated. It has seven storeys in total and was many times plundered, so the finds are scattered.
- The tomb of Alaine in the Valley of the Tombs (Sadurska 1977). The date of construction is based on an inscription with the date 138 AD (for the end date counts the same as the tower tomb of Atenatan). The state of the tomb is deplorable, it was plundered numerous times.
- The hypogeum of Sassan in the southeast necropolis (Saliby 1992). Dating of the tomb and its busts is based on one inscription that was found on a bust of two men bearing a date, the year 181/182 AD. That is the point of departure for the chronology. On basis of inscriptions on the funerary busts a genealogy can be established, and it appeared that one generation lasted ca. 20 years (Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 42). This results in a time range of the tomb from ca. 80-200 AD.

- The hypogeum of Zabda in the Valley of the Tombs (Michalowski 1960). The date of construction is not recorded, so the period is based on the busts retrieved from the hypogeum and other finds. It was at least in use in the second half of the first century AD and the first half of the second century AD. The grave monument is partly disturbed.
- Tomb C in the southeast necropolis (Higuchi and Izumi 1994). Some parts of the tomb are damaged or collapsed, but the graves are not robbed. According to an inscription, Tomb C was constructed in 109 AD and used as a family tomb for nearly a century after that date (Higuchi and Izumi 1994, 107). Together with Tomb F it is the only grave monument of which the skeletal material has been thoroughly researched. In these two tombs there was also more information on the specific positioning of the jewellery in the separate graves.
- Tomb F in the southeast necropolis (Higuchi and Saito 2001). An inscription indicates that the tomb was built by two brothers, BWRP and BWLH, in 128 AD (Higuchi and Saito 2001, 102). This tomb was relatively undisturbed.

In total 84 pieces of jewellery were retrieved from these grave monuments. Due to the state of affair in Palmyra, resulting in scarce data on jewellery finds, the information on all the tombs was very welcome, though some were heavily disturbed.

Sculptural representations: Rome

The sculptural representations for Rome are selected from the Musei Capitolini, which are extensively published in the *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker (1983), in specific *Band III · Kaiserinnen- und Prinzessenbildnisse · Frauenporträts*. The search will be for sculptural representations of women from the first two centuries AD which can be connected to some form of jewellery. In total fifteen sculptures out of 145 sculptures from the Augustean-Severan period meet the terms.

Often there is little knowledge on the original context. On that aspect there is a divergence between the samples of sculptures from Rome and Palmyra. This stems from the type of representations of women that have survived from Rome and Palmyra. For Roman sculptures the original context is not always known, but what we do know is that both male and female sculptures came from a wide array of contexts, e.g. a public context or a funerary context (Davies 2008; Fejfer 2008). The latter context appears to be most important with respect to Roman imperial sculpted portraits (Fejfer 2008, 105). It is that particular context that is purposefully focused on with the sculptural representations from Palmyra.

Sculptural representations: Palmyra

The search for the sculptural representations from Palmyra is limited to one type of funerary sculpture: individual funerary busts – funerary portraits of individual women. Other types of funerary sculpture, such as family groups, double busts, stèles or banquet scenes are not included. The Palmyrene tombs were decorated with numerous stone reliefs, but most common were limestone blocks with busts representing the deceased. These covered the *loculi* in the tomb's funerary chambers, where the bodies were placed.[3] The funerary busts found in the tombs around the city are one of the most important categories of Palmyrene sculptural material, this in contrast to e.g. honorific and monumental sculptures, which have mostly vanished (Colledge 1976, 89).

Exact dating of these Palmyrene funerary busts is difficult, since most are without precise context after being looted from the tombs (Heyn, 2010: 632). At the beginning of the twentieth century however, Harald Ingholt, who excavated in Palmyra in the 1920s, placed the funerary portraits into three chronological groups based on stylistic characteristics – comparing dated examples with undated: Period I (up to ca. 150 A.D.), Period II (ca. 150-200 A.D.) and Period III (ca. 200-250 A.D.) (Ingholt 1928, 90-93).

For this study sculptures are selected from a well-published tomb that will fit in the right time period, and that will have an adequate amount of intact, well preserved female busts. This amount is set on at least fifteen, the number of Roman sculptural representations selected. Only the hypogeum of Sassan appears suited, from this underground tomb sixteen good quality individual female busts were retrieved. The tomb was in use from ca. 80-200 AD, as was described above. The representations are selected from the catalogue *Les sculptures funéraires de Palmyre* by Anna Sadurska and Adnan Bounni (1994).

2.3 Data-analysis

The data collected, consisting of the jewellery finds and sculptural representations from Rome and Palmyra, will be analysed qualitatively and quantitatively. First the jewellery finds and sculptural representations will be per object described in detail, and then analysed and interpreted in specific according to the four central aspects: types of jewellery, context, social position and the expression of gender.

[3] A funerary chamber (in French: *exèdre*) in a Palmyrene grave monument usually consisted of multiple burial niches (in French: *travée*). Each burial niche consisted of multiple superimposed tombs/graves, called *loculi*. In one *loculus* one or more persons could be buried.

Investigating the types of jewellery found and represented, including materials used and symbolic functions, forms a basis. The context, social position of the owner/portrayed, and the expression of gender are important to take into account to avoid the typology trap. The context is significant for both the jewellery finds – it matters if they are found in e.g. a burial or not – and the sculptural representations – that is where the image is experienced and gets a meaning. The social position of the owners of the jewellery or of the persons portrayed, is interesting to consider with regards to particular social roles and relations, and connects to questions concerning e.g. class, rank and status. Further, the concept of gender is included to be able to expressions of gender relations in jewellery finds and representations of women and jewellery. Table 1 presents a schematic overview of the queries to be solved per central aspect for each of the two categories of material that will be studied.

Table 1 - The central aspects used for the data-analysis to answer the subquestions

Central aspect	Jewellery finds	Sculptural representations
Types of jewellery	What can we say about the types of jewellery found?	What types of jewellery are present on the representations?
Context	What can we say about the context where the jewellery was found?	What is the context of the jewellery representations?
Social position	What can we say about the social position of the owners of the jewellery?	Who is depicted in the jewellery representations and what is the social position of the person depicted?
Expression of gender	Is gender expressed in the jewellery finds?	How is gender expressed in the jewellery representations? Can we speak of gender-specific bodies?

For this, all the information on the finds and representations needed to solve the queries will be categorised in Excel-databases. For each group of data a standardised set of variables is used to record the information.

With regard to the jewellery finds these include: catalogue number, reference details, type of jewellery, material, period, find spot, current location, dimensions, state/condition, general context, other finds in context, and information on the owner (e.g. status, gender).

With regard to the sculptural representations these include: catalogue number, reference details, material, period, find spot, current location, dimensions, state/condition, general context, information on the portrayed, face and pose/gesture, dress and hair, attributes, inscription, and types/amount/position of the jewellery represented.

The databases allow an analysis of numerical data, and will result in overviews of e.g. the numbers of jewellery per category (divided per time period), and the materials used per type of jewellery.

By using the four central aspects as a basis and a standardising set of variables to record the information from the finds and representations, the goal is to assure the highest possible validity and reliability. Because the research objects were selected not on a statistical basis, but for their best suitable contribution to this study, statistical generalisation of numerical proportions is not possible (‘t Hart *et al.* 2005, 288).

3. The role of jewellery in Roman society

This chapter presents the role of jewellery in Rome's luxury industry and investigates its symbolic significance in relation to women.

3.1 Jewellery as a luxury industry

Jewellery in the way it will be approached here, can be seen essentially a luxury good: precious metals and stones are used in its manufacture, which results in sumptuousness, and makes that not everyone in society can access it. For those who can, it is a good vehicle to demonstrate their wealth.

Influx of luxury

Literary evidence (which in this chapter will be combined with secondary sources) shows that luxury in Roman society started to receive a lot of attention from the second century BC onwards. It was the period in which Rome expanded its territory and power by numerous victories in other regions, west and east, annexing them. Despite the socio-political and military troubles in the late republic this also resulted in, it was the time that luxury made its way into Roman society. The conquests brought prosperity and increased trade, fuelling the interest in luxury goods and the demand for jewellery. Later, Roman historians such as Livy (59 BC-17 AD) and Pliny (23/4-79 AD) have tried to pinpoint more specific causes for the desire for opulence. They see the various triumphs (and triumphal processions) of Roman military commanders in the first half of the second century BC as a catalyst in the process, introducing novel luxury products to the Romans. We do have to keep in mind here that these literary accounts stem from the viewpoints of the individual writers.

Asia primum devicta luxuriam misit in Italiam, siquidem L. Scipio in triumpho transtulit argenti caelati pondo mille et CCCC et vasorum aureorum pondo MD [anno conditae urbis DLXV]. […] ne quid deesset, pariter quoque luxuria nata est et Carthago sublata, ita congruentibus fatis, ut et liberet amplecti vitia et liceret.

"It was the conquest of Asia that first introduced luxury into Italy, inasmuch as Lucius Scipio carried in procession at his triumph 1400 lbs. of chased silverware and vessels of gold weighing 1500 lbs.: this was in the 565th year from the foundation of the city of Rome (189 BC). […] That nothing might be lacking, luxury came into being simultaneously, with the downfall of Carthage, a fatal coincidence that gave us at one and the same time a taste for the vices and an opportunity for indulging in them."

Pliny (Naturalis Historia, 33.148-150)[4]

Consumers of luxury

When we look at who is able to access luxury goods, it is possible to conclude that when it comes to luxury, we are dealing with elite consumption. During the late republic the wealth of the elite increased, and consequently did their demand for luxury goods. They were the ones able to buy expensive products beyond the range of their basic needs, such as fine textiles, silver vessels and pearls, fulfilling their luxurious lifestyle. Only a small percentage of the population belonged to the upper layers of Roman society, but they did possess the majority of the wealth (Parkin and Pomeroy 2007, 357-8), and thus were for a large part responsible for the rise of luxury and the development of a luxury industry.

The conquests and trade also brought prosperity for others in society, not originally belonging to the elite, giving them access to the same luxury products. This was one of the reasons for the concern in higher classes that the demand for luxury threatened social order (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 323-8). On the other hand the increasing consumption of luxury products can be connected to economic development: 'the waves of luxury that swept over Rome from the beginning of the second century BC represent a major economic stimulus in a dynamic and mobile society' (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 346).

Attitudes towards luxury

As the above already indicated, there are different ancient viewpoints towards luxury and the role it plays in society. A positive stance is that the purchases by the wealthy stimulate the economy. Those who could afford it, must have felt ´allowed´ to surround themselves with luxury. However, in the Roman world luxurious behaviour was often condemned. In the above citation by Pliny for instance luxuries are associated with vices, and in the further citations by him below this critical tone returns. Opulent display was seen as a sign of moral decline, bringing up the worst qualities in people (greediness, showing off).

One of the bases of the critique might have to do with the distinction between luxury products and actual basic necessities. Luxury products are not needed to survive and thereby distinguish themselves from e.g. bread. Precisely with being outside the scope of basic essentials, it seems that luxury goods get their power as a signifier. Being in fact unnecessary in many ways, leads to the incorporation of symbolic meanings in luxury goods: they become signs and symbols of something else. One of the most powerful areas of luxury goods as signifier is that of the social hierarchies in Roman society: luxuries mark status and social

[4] Translations Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* are by H. Rackham, W.H.S. Jones and D.E. Eichholz. London, W. Heinemann (1949-54).

superiority (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 352-3). Both the republic with its regulations and rules and the consumers of luxury products themselves played a role in this. Whether luxury perhaps was needed to survive *socially* in the elite (using luxury goods to express your wealth and validate your rank and power), will be examined further in this chapter.

Sumptuary laws

A good illustration of the critique on luxury and the changing attitudes towards it, are the sumptuary laws brought to life in the republican period, which were later repealed.[5] Their aim was to limit conspicuous consumption, and their main concern was luxurious feasting (Arena 2011, 464; Holleran 2012, 235; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 329). There was evidently a conflict of morals: values of simplicity and modesty versus the upcoming luxury standards. The wish was to limit lavish expenditures from the elite, maybe even to protect them from spending their entire fortune in the luxury show-off that had arisen. In this there was a difference between the public and private sphere. On the one side there was the proper public role, where spending on public causes must have been encouraged, and on the other side the extravagant private lives where expenditures on luxury were criticised (Holleran 2012, 235; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 344).

The economic versus the social effects of luxury were another central issue regarding sumptuary laws. The positive economic impact was acknowledged, but anxieties about threats to the social order encouraged the development of laws to control luxury and thereby to preserve class distinctions (Hurlock 1965, 296; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 323). Luxury products gave people the chance to symbolically distinguish themselves and enhance their social standing, which could challenge the social stability. By regulating the use and display of luxury goods, sumptuary laws however affirmed and strengthened the symbolic power of luxuries (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 325). So, if the sumptuary laws were actually effective, remains unclear. Only a small part of luxury behaviour was attempted to be regulated and there are literary sources that for example indicate legislation was disregarded as well (Holleran 2012, 238; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 351).

As the above description of sumptuary laws mostly concerned the male elite part of Roman society, there is also an example of a sumptuary law concerning the display jewellery specifically directed at women: the *lex Oppia* (215 BC). In short, it prevented women from displaying over half an ounce of gold, wearing coloured clothes and travelling in vehicles

[5] For a more detailed discussion on sumptuary laws and their role in different societies, see Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 315-355).

within the city (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 334). The law was repealed in 195 BC, thus was only in effect for twenty years. Nevertheless it encouraged a debate about the relationship between women and jewellery. The most important source we have on this is the discussion concerning the repeal of the *lex Oppia* as reconstructed by Livy (reflecting the perspective of the Augustan age). This discussion has been extensively described and analysed elsewhere (Arena 2011, 468-70; Kunst 2005, 133-4; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 335; Wyke 1994, 139-40), so it is adequate to summarise it here as follows: the disapproval of opulent display is opposed by the argument that luxuries such as adornment were used by women to socially distinguish themselves (for men other, more respected, means were available) and that they should not be limited in that.

3.2 The production and consumption of jewellery

Jewellery production

Epigraphic evidence points to an increasing specialisation of Roman jewellers at the same time the demand for luxury goods increased. Originally *aurifex* was a general term for all workmen handling precious metals and stones, but later on more specialisations can be distinguished (Gummerus 1915, 132ff). Examples are the *anularii* (specialisation: rings), *armillarii* (specialisation: bracelets), *brattiarii* (gold-beaters), *barbaricarii* (e.g. working with gold on textiles), *argentarii* (specialisation: silver items[6]), *gemmarii* (specialisation: carving and dealing gems), and *margaritarii* (specialisation: pearls). For these jewellery manufacturers numerous techniques were available, which often had long histories, such as moulding, punching, granulation, filigree and enamel (Marshall 1911, li-lvii).[7]

The epigraphic evidence further reveals that jewellers could be prosperous and socially respected for their work, especially pearl dealers, though they could never really escape the relatively lower social level of craftsmen (Gummerus 1918, 285, 288). Also, the jewellery industry was mostly under control of freedmen, and more remarkably a steady flow of 'immigrants', i.e. Greek and oriental craftsmen and merchants (Gummerus 1918, 282, 284). In addition, there is evidence that the jewellers were organised in *collegia*, both the general branch and the specialisations (Gummerus 1918, 286-7). Not only in the centre this was the

[6] Though with the term *argentarii* usually bankers are addressed, it was also used for silversmiths, and in some cases the line between the two professions might not have been that evident (Gummerus 1915, 146).
[7] See also Johns 1996, p. 187-205, for technical processes regarding different types of material.

case, in Palmyra for instance an inscription was found that mentions ‘a guild of workers in gold and silver’ (Marshall 1911, xliii).

With the prominent role of precious stones and pearls in their jewellery the Romans distinguished themselves from for example the Greek tradition (Gummerus 1918, 258; Marshall 1911, xlii). The materials used in the creation of jewellery came from a wide array of regions, from Spain to India. Every region had its ‘specialty’ (the occurrence of a certain precious metal and/or stone) and trade routes over land and sea ensured supply to all parts of the Empire. The opening up of the East for example resulted in the widespread use of oriental garnet in jewellery (Marshall 1911, lviii).

Distribution and consumption of jewellery

With most jewellers, there was a thin line between craftsmanship and trade, so production and retail were regularly combined (Gummerus 1915, 151; Holleran 2012, 124). In general there were three ways in which jewellery would make its way from producer to consumer. First, jewellers could receive orders from consumers, and it was not unusual that the customers wished to provide the craftsmen with the material themselves (Gummerus 1918, 289; Holleran 2012, 63). Second, jewellery could be made for the market and thus supplied from stock (Gummerus 1918, 290-1). This was a more public area of jewellery sale, including door-to-door sellers, fixed (work)shops and vending on markets. Thirdly, there were jewellers working for the Imperial and other affluent families that manufactured jewellery according to their clients’ desires (Gummerus 1918, 291). A general division could be made between the jewellers working for the Imperial family on the one side and ‘independent’ jewellers on the other side (Gummerus 1918, 266). Jewellery likely has been a part of gift exchange among the elite as well, next to wines, books and the like (Holleran 2012, 243).

Fig. 1 - The sale of jewellery
(Musées de Metz Métropole La Cour d’Or)

There have been several representations found of shopping experiences in ancient Rome. The relief presented above (fig. 1), where two men are seen negotiating, is thought to represent the sale of jewellery (Holleran 2012, 86-7). It is unclear how common this type of sale of jewellery was, open and from a cupboard, as the objects involved are exclusive and expensive. Depictions like these are found in buildings in Ostia and Pompeii, but also on altars and sarcophagi. There are representations of and literary evidence for women as customers and retailers as well. They are for example depicted as customers at a fabric seller or behind a stall as poultry seller (Holleran 2012, 204-207).

Since we are dealing with costly luxury items, it is likely that most jewellery 'consumption' took place in the private sphere of the house or in - for the elite consumers and jewellers accepted - shopping areas. It might have been easier for women to purchase these type of products in the safe house environment, but generally consumers must have found it less pleasant to buy their jewellery out in the open. One of the accepted shopping areas regarding jewellery was the Via Sacra in Rome, running across the Imperial fora from the base of the Capitoline hill past the house of the Vestals in the direction of the Colosseum. Rome itself was the centre of the consumption of luxury goods. It had a significant concentration of elite consumers (Holleran 2012, 232). The wealthy citizens who were based in the capital let the market flourish. A concentration of retailers of specific items within a city is common. And this was the case with the jewellery industry, and all its different specialisations, dominating the Via Sacra (Holleran 2012, 55-56). Clustering must have had practical reasons for retailers, like being easy to find, but in the case of luxury goods there may also be in symbolic reasons, for example being found in a prominent, elite part of town. The context of shopping is important too.

Pliny on jewellery

Pliny has written several sections in his *Naturalis Historia* (the encyclopaedia of all, at that time [first century AD] available knowledge) on the types of jewellery worn and the precious metals and stones used in jewellery. With these, he demonstrates how the luxury industry took shape in Roman society.

Both men and women wore rings, made from gold and increasingly added with precious stones, sometimes engraved (*NH* 33.22). Rings were only worn on one finger (the ring-finger and later also the little finger) in the beginning, but later on it became fashion to wear multiple rings on multiple fingers, though not when it came to signet-rings (*NH* 33.24-5). The *equites* used rings to distinguish themselves from lower ranks (*NH* 33.29). Besides rings, there

existed golden necklaces and bracelets (*NH* 33.37-8). As the citation below shows, apparently women adorned themselves more with jewellery than men.

Habeant feminae in armillis digitisque totis, collo, auribus, spriis; discurrant catenae circa latera et in secreto margaritarum sacculi e collo dominarum auro pendeant, ut in somno quoque unionum conscientia adsit: etiamne pedibus induetur atque inter stolam plebemque hunc medium feminarum equestrem ordinem faciet? honestius viri paedagogiis id damus, balineasque dives puerorum forma convertit.

"Let women have gold in their bracelets and covering their fingers and on their neck, ears and tresses, let gold chains run at random round their waists; and let little bags of pearls hang invisible suspended by gold chains from their lady owners' neck, so that even in their sleep they may retain the consciousness of possessing gems : but are even their feet to be shod with gold, and shall gold create this female Order of Knighthood, intermediate between the matron's robe and the common people? Much more becomingly do we men bestow this on our page-boys, and the wealthy show these lads make has quite transformed the public baths!"

Pliny (Naturalis Historia, 33.40)

Pliny does not see the popularity of gold in its radiance or weight, but in the fact that it is the only material not affected by fire (*NH* 33.59). In addition silver was an often used metal, for bracelets, rings and adornment of weapons (*NH* 33.95-8;151-3). Precious stones and pearls were fashionable as well (*NH* 37.12). Pliny believes they were inappropriate for men however, as the following citations show, pearls were mostly worn by women and counted as an enormous luxury.

Hos digitis suspendere et binos ac ternos auribus feminarum gloria est, subeuntque luxuriae eius nomina externa, exquisita perdito nepotatu, si quidem, cum id fecere, crotalia appellant, ceu sono quoque gaudeant et collisu ipso margaritarum; cupiuntque iam et pauperes, lictorem feminae in publico unionem esse dictitantes. quin et pedibus, nec crepidarum tantum obstragulis, sed totis socculis addunt. neque enim gestare iam margaritas, nisi calcent ac per uniones etiam ambulent, satis est.

"Women glory in hanging these on their fingers and using two or three for a single-earring, and foreign names for this luxury occur, names invented by abandoned extravagance, inasmuch as when they have done this they call them 'castanets,' as if they enjoyed even the sound and the mere rattling together of the pearls; and now-a-days even poor people covet them – it is a common saying that a pearl is as good as a lackey for a lady when she walks abroad! And they even use them on their feet, and fix them not only to the laces of their sandals but all over their slippers. In fact, by this time they are not content with wearing pearls unless they tread on them, and actually walk on these unique gems!"

Pliny (Naturalis Historia, 9.114)

E margaritis, Magne, tam prodiga re et feminis reperta, quae gerere te fas non sit, fieri tuos voltus?

"To think that it is of pearls, Great Pompey, those wasteful things meant only for women, of pearls, which you yourself cannot and must not wear, that your portrait is made!"

Pliny (Naturalis Historia 37.15)

Examples of other preferred stones are amber, diamond and emerald (*NH* 37.30; 54; 62). Fraud must have been involved now and then when it came to jewellery with precious stones, since Pliny also describes a method to distinguish real from false gems (*NH* 37.198-200). As for worth, diamonds and pearls were on top, and their worth actually exceeded that of gold considerably (*NH* 37.204).

Again, we are dealing here with a literary source. But as the rest of this study will show, it is exactly the comparison with real jewellery finds that makes it fascinating. It appears for example that there is not always a resemblance between the favourite stones described in literary sources and the actual finds. Pearls are indeed common in Roman jewellery, especially earrings, found, but the supposed beloved topaz is not (Marshall 1911, lvii-lxii).

3.3 Adornment in Roman society: values and meanings

Multiple studies have given us an insight in the important role jewellery played in Roman society.[8] A range of indications can be distinguished with regards to jewellery, of which an overview will be given here. Interestingly, there can be a kind of universality witnessed in this 'language' of personal adornment, i.e. the values and meanings associated with it, between different societies through time (Roach and Bobolz Eicher 1979). Before going further into this matter, some of the terms associated with the practice of adornment will be clarified, though there are no sharp boundaries between these terms and in literary sources they often seem to overlap.

Mundus muliebrus, cultus and ornamenta: the practice of adornment

Mundus muliebris consists of articles used in the feminine arts of beautification (Berg 2002, 17). Remarkable is the gender bound nature of the concept.

Cultus can be defined in a wider sense, including all aspects of 'cleaning' and acts of making the body socially acceptable (Berg 2002, 21). This, care for the body, includes both men and women.

[8] Most notably Berg (2002), but also Kunst (2005) and Stout (1994).

The same holds for *ornamenta*. Commonly *ornamenta* referred to the status, title, honours and costume (including decorations) granted to a specific rank.[9] For men these were tangible and intangible 'badges of honour' operating in the public political or military sphere (e.g. *ornamenta consularia* or *ornamenta triumphalia*). *Ornamenta muliebra* or *feminarum* ('female ornaments') on the other hand, because of the different position of women in society, are confined to personal items of decoration.

Fig. 2 - A woman is helped getting dressed
Fresco, first century AD, Pompeii
(Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli)

For women the focus with respect to *ornamenta* thus seems to be on 'external embellishment of jewellery' (Balsdon 1962, 261). Wealthy women would even make use of a special *ornatrix*, a female slave responsible for making her mistress' toilet, with hairdressing as main task (see fig. 2).[10] Nonetheless, as will be described later on, jewellery could indicate rank and status in both the male and female sphere of *ornamenta*. With men however jewellery formed only one part of the badges of rank and honour available, whereas with women external appearance and decoration formed perhaps the most important opportunity to distinguish themselves.

Jewellery as a category can be placed under all concepts described here: *mundus muliebris*, *cultus* and *ornamenta*. It can be considered part of the entire process of adornment and beautification.

[9] Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, p.1110-1122.
[10] Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, p. 1122.

Jewellery: from financial value to symbolic meanings

One of the most obvious values when it comes to jewellery of precious metals and stones is the financial value. In Rome it was a symbol of wealth, because of the economic effort needed to acquire it (Berg 2002, 50). Its financial importance also becomes visible in the role it played in dowries and inheritance. Jewellery was an important component of legacies in Roman law. There was a tradition of passing on jewellery from one generation to the next, one of the reasons it is relatively uncommon found in Roman graves (Oliver 2000, 117-9). This enhanced the prestige of wearing jewellery, because it showed ancestry (family lineage), charging it additionally with emotional worth (D'Ambra 2007, 128). Jewellery could also constitute part of a dowry, next to land, houses and clothing (Berg 2002, 50-1; Oliver 2000, 120). Interestingly, jewellery is even said to have functioned literally as cash reserve (Kunst 2005, 135).

This financial value had consequences for jewellery: it turned it into a status symbol, something the wealthy could distinguish themselves with. Expressing wealth went hand in hand with signalling rank and class. So the connection between jewellery and social relations (indicating them) is very important and one of the most apparent. Jewellery could indicate wealth and rank for both men and women. In the case of women, jewellery would demonstrate their own, their husband's and their family's status and capital. However, it is not always possible to identify the status of a person by looking at the relative worth of the jewellery owned or displayed: there are examples from the Vesuvius region which show that laws on class-bound jewellery (prohibiting lower classes to display certain jewellery, such as golden rings) were not always regarded in reality (Berg 2002, 46).

Related to the above is the connection between jewellery and power. One example is the display of imperial power via jewellery. Besides that jewellery could be a sign of status among regular citizens, a special category of jewellery, including jewelled brooches and diadems/crowns, developed to set the emperor and empress apart and to signify imperial power and authority (Stout 1994, 77, 83). Another example is when adornment indicated divine might, being attributes of powerful divinities, such as Venus and Isis (Berg 2002, 64).

Specific types of jewellery often had specific symbolic properties. Most necklace pendants for instance had an amuletic character (Marshall 1911, xlvi). The lunar crescent is a well-known example and was worn as a protective amulet, but also was a fertility symbol (Berg 2002, 33; D'Ambra 2007, 128; Marshall 1911, xlvi). The symbolic function of amulets sometimes changed according to the age of the wearer (Berg 2002, 34). Also a beloved piece of jewellery

with a symbolic meaning was the snake bracelet, a sign of fertility and family continuum (Berg 2002, 40).

Women and jewellery: virtues and vices

This leads us to the another thing to be considered in the relationship between women and jewellery: the feminine virtues admired and vices criticised in Roman society. Women were praised for example for chastity, modesty, fertility, beauty and fidelity (see e.g. Kleiner and Matheson 1996, 13). Noticeable is that these virtues all seem to be in favour of their husbands and family. They are all masculine (thus 'gendered') choices of virtues that are right to be associated with women (Kleiner and Matheson 2000, 9-13). And these virtues are also reflected in the representations of women (Kleiner and Matheson 1996, 13).

Wearing jewellery often is believed to contradict feminine virtues and was seen as a vice, sometimes even symbolic of loose morals, which means that the absence of jewellery in itself could be meaningful (Berg 2002, 72). On the other hand there is jewellery that does support female virtues, such as green gemstones favouring fertility, pearls rewarding motherhood (only to be worn by women with three or more children) and engagement rings pointing to marital status (Berg 2002, 34, 36, 72; Kunst 2005, 137, 140). In this, jewellery can be seen as a marker of gender (Berg 2002, 72).

Additionally, a discrepancy can be detected between the private and the public sphere women operated in. The feminine virtues centred around the private sphere (of the home and the family), but wearing jewellery is part of display in the public sphere. Therefore the latter was regularly criticised, though it also appears that jewellery is important to express status and other values in public, certainly for women, since they did not have many other options.

It is not the intention of this chapter (or this thesis) to give a detailed treatise on the role of women in the Roman Empire, for that I refer to other numerous volumes on this topic.[11] For the sake of the discussion on the discrepancy between the public and private sphere, the role of female virtues, and outward appearance being considered one of the most important things women could assert themselves with in public life, here an overview on public participation of women in public in the Roman Empire will follow. The gender (male-female) divide appears to be on the foreground with this all – shaping the role of women, because the criteria where their position depended on, are precisely derived from this divide.

[11] E.g. Balsdon (1962); D'Ambra (2007); Dixon (2001); Gardner (1986); Kleiner and Matheson (1996; 2000); MacMullen (1990); See e.g. Cussini (2005) and Nakhai (2008) for women in the Near East in specific. The most recent volume is *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World* (2012) by James and Dillon (eds.).

Women lacked many of the rights men did have in Roman society, limiting their independence and civic roles. As Jane Gardner explains (1986, 262): 'although of citizen status and able to produce citizen children, women did not have a vote and could not hold public office'. Being a daughter or wife meant being subject to another's control (*alieni iuris*), that of the *paterfamilias* (Gardner 1986, 5-6). Women's duties lay somewhere else (the private area of the family) than the duties of the male part of society.

Studies have shown though that more was possible for women in public life (e.g. Van Bremen 1996; Hemelrijk 2008; MacMullen 1990). Women were certainly publically noticeable and visible, as they put up commemorations, were rewarded with honorific statues, appointed as patronesses, and involved in sacred and secular business, e.g. as priestess or selling goods. This was the case for both the centre and the peripheral regions. For Palmyra there is for example evidence that reveals that women could commission funerary reliefs, offer altars and build tombs (Cussini 2005).

If women actually had power, is a more difficult question. Fact is that women could not hold public office, so direct political influence was ruled out, but indirect influence remained possible. Wealth and status played a significant role in the opportunities for women in public life. It would give them access to the public sphere, for example by becoming a benefactress.

In short, Roman women were visible in public life, but in far less numbers than men. Though participation in public life was possible, a gender divide remains evident, not only in a quantitative, but also in a qualitative way. It seems that other features were focused on when it came to women in public. Female virtues and the association with male family members counted. So the context and conditions for public participation by women was different. Moreover, women could not perform all roles in public, only the ones that were considered appropriate for them. For women it was rare to 'make history' in the sense that men were able to, but there was certainly a difference in the public role women could perform between different regions – the centre of the Empire opposed to the provinces (MacMullen 1990, 176). In the local aristocracy usually there were more possibilities to accomplish successful public participation.

This chapter has offered a base for rest of this study. It is worthwhile to examine how luxury relates to visual culture. In the above outlined complex system of divergent beliefs, ideals and values regarding luxury, the following question can be asked: were luxuries represented, why and how?[12]

[12] Marcia Pointon (1997) offers in this field an interesting study on Quakerism and visual culture in the 18th century.

4. A framework for studying Roman women and jewellery

This chapter centres around the relevant concepts of this study on the relationship between women and jewellery in the Roman Empire: gender, sculptural representations and core-periphery. These three concepts form the framework that had to be established to approach the archaeological material in this research. They will be discussed respectively below.
Jewellery is what connects these concepts. In general jewellery comprises objects used for embellishment or adornment of the body, often made of valuable materials. These type of objects of adornment, also described by ancient authors, are signifiers of gender. This counts both for the objects in themselves and for representations of jewellery, where they play a role in characterising women. This means jewellery is an instrument in visual communication and is thereby a medium in itself.

4.1 Gender: expressing female roles and identities[13]

'The archaeology of gender is the study of the roles, activities, ideologies and identities of men and women, and the differences between them' (Nelson 2005, 127). The concept of gender is important to take into account, because it makes its way into all parts of this study. I will make use of this concept as a framework by looking at expressions of gender constructions and relations in jewellery finds and representations of women and jewellery.
What is taken as starting point here is the broad description that 'gender' is concerned with constructs of the 'male' and 'female'. Differently formulated: what in a certain social and cultural context is perceived as being 'male' (masculine) or 'female' (feminine). This is worth being considered as it complements the observation of basic biological differences between men and women, usually indicated with the term 'sex' as opposed to gender. There is thus a difference between the fixed, objective category of biological sex and the ever changing gender roles ascribed to men and women, as the latter - though related to the first - will vary in time and per society (Huskinson 2000, 154; Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 220). Gender is part of a broader social framework and always exists in a context next to other social categories, which intersect and influence each other, like age, status and ethnicity (Clark and Wilkie 2006, 333; Kampen 1996, 14; Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 226-7).

[13] It is not the goal of this paragraph to give an elaborate overview of the history and evolution of gender studies in general and in (classical) archaeology, and thereby will not do justice to the complexities of the concept. A range of volumes has appeared over the years (the interest in gender as research focus has grown vastly since the 1970s) that can be consulted for more information, see e.g. McClure's *Sexuality and gender in the classical world* (2002), Nelson's *Handbook of gender in archaeology* (2006) or Kampen's 'Gender theory in Roman art' (1996).

The concept of gender can be used to interpret material remains, since social constructs will become visible in the archaeological record in a material form (Renfrew and Bahn 2004, 221; Sørensen 2007). Different contexts, from burials to art presentations, will provide evidence for the archaeologist as they are reflecting gender ideologies and activities (Brumfiel 2007, 8-11). Thus, not only through social practice and discourse, but as well in art and artefacts gender constructions are visually represented, perceived and communicated (Kampen 1996, 17). For example via the 'symbolic meanings and social inferences [...] embedded in the iconographical attributes of [e.g.] dress, body ornament and personal possessions' (Koloski-Ostrow and Lyons 1997, 1).

Gender and the body

Always on the foreground in the discussion on the visualisation and communication of gender is the 'body'. The body is where gender 'specific-ness' is conveyed and gender differences and boundaries are articulated and confirmed. The body is concerned with external appearance, making 'the representation and manipulation of the body is the most visual way to construct identity' (Fisher and Loren 2003, 225). This in turn makes the body an ideal 'marker of the difference between male and female' as 'the surface of the body is a site for the display of difference' (Wyke 1994, 134-5). The female body can be presented as gender specific by for example body type, hair, clothing and attributes. These are socially constructed signs of the female gender.

Adornment, combined with dress, is a visible marker of the body, and, complemented with pose and gestures, plays a role in expressing social categories, identities and constructions such as gender, rank, wealth and age (Bartman 1999, 32; Colburn and Heyn 2008, 1; Fisher and Loren 2003, 225). Thus, investigating with what the body is covered, can inform us among other things about constructions of gender. Jewellery can be considered as an indicator of gender, and therefore comes to play an important role in the representation and symbolic expression of female identity.

The importance of the body in establishing gender relations is what jewellery finds have in common with jewellery representations. Both centre around bodily adornment, though in different circumstances: on the one hand the material remains of personal adornment and on the other hand the visual representations of adornment on a body.

Jewellery as attribute of gender: finds versus representations

Jewellery can be seen as symbolic marker of gender in both finds and representations. In other words, jewellery can be seen as a gendered form of material culture (Huskinson 2000, 167). As has been established in the previous chapter, this was also the case in the Roman period.

First, the relation between the concept of gender and jewellery finds will be discussed. Specific objects can turn out to be gendered, i.e. to be associated with either the male or female gender (masculinity versus femininity). Objects of adornment are considered 'attributes of the female gender' and a 'means of gender differentiation' (Fejfer 2008, 350-351).[14] In that way, jewellery finds can tell us something about gender constructions and relations in Roman society. The results of this study will illustrate if the selection of jewellery finds can indeed be traced belonging to women. Following the ancient literary sources, which argue that jewellery in itself is concerned with the female gender (see the previous chapter), it will be likely that for example in burials jewellery finds can confirm female presence.

In linking artefacts to gender, we need to remember that we are in a lot of cases dealing with (historical *and* modern) ideologies. For example, relating grave goods from a burial to a certain gender may point to a cultural ideal, not reality (Brumfiel 2007, 12). The most complete picture with regard to gender attribution will emerge in the combination of different types of evidence, from texts to finds to representational art to context information, e.g. burial data (Brumfiel 2007, 12).

The other part of the material of this thesis is formed by sculptural representations of women and jewellery. It is possible to see how gender constructions and relations are visualised in these representations. Portrait statues can reflect male and female (i.e. constructed gender) roles in society, focusing especially on body language (Davies 2008). For women the range of social roles available to them in statues seems more limited than is the case with men, perhaps reflecting their limited participation possibilities and thereby the behaviour that was considered appropriate for them (Davies 2008, 208). Whereas for men representations would reflect their various public roles in society, e.g. performing a military or civic function, the emphasis with female representations was on ideal and exemplary behaviour, appearance, values and virtues (Davies 2008, 208-211). In that sense, statues of men and women are a manifestation of certain gender constructions in Roman society. As was indicated above, in this study female identity and female social role are seen as converging, both being social constructions, expressed for example in an image.

[14] In Late Antiquity (not included in this thesis) more men, especially emperors, started to wear jewellery like diadems and brooches, turning it into a means of status differentiation (Fejfer 2008, 351). See also Stout (1994) on imperial jewellery in the late Empire.

Sculptures can offer us insights in what was constructed as being feminine. Female statues represent an ideal (Davies 2008, 217). Although over time the amount of public statues of women increased, the particular expressions of gender would still confirm and assure men of the preferred woman's place in society (Davies 2008, 209, 218).

4.2 Sculptural representations: the medium, the context and the audience

There are two important categories of material that are researched in this thesis: jewellery finds and representations of jewellery.

For the latter, the focus will be on sculptural evidence, i.e. portraits where jewellery plays a role in characterising women. In this paragraph the concept of sculptural representations will be explored: what kind of medium are we dealing with and why does it matter? What is the role of context and audience response? And how are identity and social roles expressed via this medium?

Sculpture as medium

A definition of sculpture is 'the representation of things by means of three-dimensional figures' (Hopkins 2010, 572). It is certainly not the only means of representing objects, there are also literary and pictorial representations to name two of many, but the three-dimensionality is one of the characteristics that makes representations in sculpture distinctive. In comparison to other representations, sculpture offers a different experience, as Robert Hopkins (2010, 573-4) explains. How we see sculpture is shaped by our thoughts about the represented. We see the material organised in a way that it is resembling something, e.g. a person. We can experience what technically is a block of stone, as a visualisation of that person.

Of course, taking in the above, it becomes clear that not in all cases or by all theories sculptural and pictorial representations will differ in all of their aspects, but the way sculpture relates to space and the sense of touch is distinctive indeed. Even though sculpture is not a tactile art form, since it is usually not made to be felt, it is possible to connect the three-dimensionality of sculptural representations to the senses of both sight and touch (Hopkins 2010, 575). We use both senses in our experience of sculpture, and the possibilities of tactile experiences shape the appeal of and our engagement with sculpture. Though we may be inclined to say that we probably will not experience sculpture directly by touch, there are examples of actual physical engagement with sculptures in antiquity, from touching religious statues to destruction (Stewart 2003, 261-299). In modern times this is seen as well: religious

sculptures are touched until they show signs of wear and tear, and when the statue of Saddam Hussein was pulled down in 2003, images of the act appeared in all news media. Sculpture can be a powerful and symbolic medium, also exemplary of this is the scene in the movie *Goodbye Lenin* (2003) where the statue of Lenin is carried out of the city. Sculptures seem to 'offer a greater invitation to contact', because of their extra, third dimension (Stewart 2003, 299).

Another distinctive aspect inherent to the medium of sculpture and its three-dimensionality, is that it can interact with the space around it, in a way unlike pictorial art (Hopkins 2010, 577). The visual experience can quite different, movement is possible around the object. This makes the exploration of and engagement with a sculpture different from engagement with a painting for example. For a painting, the space that counts most, lies in the image itself, a spatial realm separate from where the depiction and its audience are located, whereas for sculpture the space that is important, is the space around the representation, thus where the actual engagement takes place (Hopkins 2010, 578). According to Martin (1976, 282) 'the space around a sculpture, although not a part of its material body, is still an essential part of the perceptible structure of that sculpture'. This is already a link to the role of the context regarding sculptural representations, where I will return to later.

Each medium has its own possibilities, distinctive characteristics and constraints. Not everything is possible with every medium, so there are also limitations to representations in sculpture. Marshall McLuhan (1964), in his research on modern types of media has put particular emphasis on the nature of the medium: 'the medium is the message'. He used the idea that each medium has different characteristics, e.g. in how much participation they allow, which 'shape and control the scale and form of human association and action', to argue that the medium itself matters, not per se the content of the medium (McLuhan 1964, 9). In his view, the power lies with the medium itself, the medium conveys a message. With respect to sculpture as a medium the question would be: does the medium itself assign meaning to a sculpture?

The context of sculpture

Closely related to medium is context. It is in that combination that something like a sculpture gets its meaning. A medium is in a sense an 'image carrier' and the image gets a meaning because it is embedded in a context. It is a two-way process, sculpture is experienced in a certain context, so its function depends on its location.

When we take a look at the context of sculptural representations in the Roman Empire, we can in general assert that sculpture was everywhere in Roman society - from cemeteries to communal buildings and from houses to temples to market places - and motives behind this were for instance commemoration, honouring and worshipping (Davies 2008, 207; Fejfer 2008; Stewart 2003, 83). Statues thus seem to have taken a prominent place in the everyday environment.

Types of representations would vary per context. A general division that is usually made regarding the context of Roman sculpture, is between public and private. One possibility is to define spaces where sculptures were 'set up by or approved by a public institution' as public, and spaces where this was not the case as private (Fejfer 2008, 16-7). It is difficult though to rigidly define these spheres and to separate them (Stewart 2003, 223), and sometimes we might be dealing with semi-public or semi-private contexts.

The funerary context is an example of that: funerary sculptures were mostly not publically exposed, but were often open to and accessible for visitors. Similarly, sculptures in houses could be there for personal enjoyment, but in most cases play a more public role as they were exposed to visitors. It should be noted that we can differentiate as well between public and private portraiture, in the sense of portraits of private and public persons, where we encounter again several definition problems (see Fejfer 2008, 16).

The audience of sculpture

The type of context also influenced who saw the statue. Therefore reception is an important aspect to consider, i.e. the response of the audience to a sculpture. As Stewart (2003, 13) describes it: 'representation implies response – a more or less conscious engagement with the subject'.

It is important to emphasise that there is a certain knowledge of codes necessary to be able to receive a message from a sculpture and construct a meaning from it. Bourdieu (1984, 7) explains that the symbolic meaning of a work of art only exists for a person that has the tools to decipher it, thus that has the right interpretive framework at disposal. The meanings of a sculpture depend not only on the nature of the medium used or the context, but also on the interpretive frameworks of the creator and viewer. These are called 'frameworks of knowledge' by Hall (1973, 4) and refer to knowledge of codes and conventions on behalf of the creator and receiver of the message in e.g. a sculpture. These frameworks are shaped and influenced by for example social position (e.g. class, gender, ethnicity) and social context (e.g. prevailing cultural values). This means that audiences may not construct the meanings

that are intended by the creators of sculpture, and that different audience members can interpret multiple meanings.

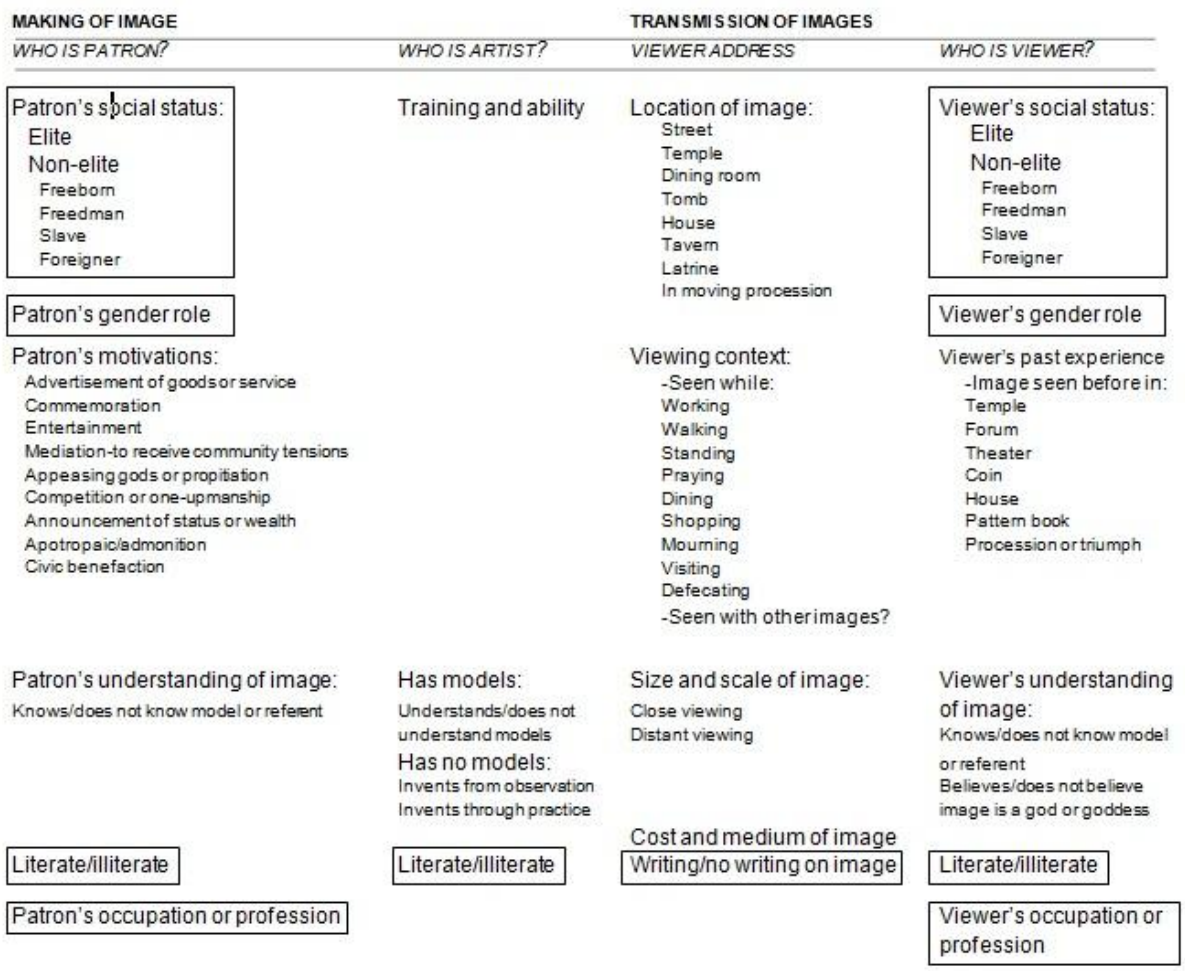


Fig. 3 - A model for the making and transmission of visual representation in ancient Roman visual culture (after Clarke 2008, fig. 9)

This notion may help later on in this study to account for the nature of sculptural representations of jewellery, and differences and similarities regarding these between the core and the periphery.

It should be underlined that when we deal with sculpture, we have to look at the sculptor, the sculpted, and the viewer/audience. The meaning of the medium is residing in the interaction between the image and these involved parties. John R. Clarke (2008) provides an adequate model which can be used when looking for the meaning of a Roman art work (see fig. 3). Though only a small role seems reserved for the role of the medium itself, the other elements that already have been discussed here or will return later in this chapter are included, such as context, social position, gender roles and frameworks of knowledge.

Sculpture as an expression of identity and social roles

Sculptural representations can be treated as an expression of identity and social roles, because the persons concerned are represented in a certain way, e.g. with a specific pose, gesture, attributes, dress and adornment.

Both in Roman and modern times there are fixed statuary types identified that were/are used to represent specific roles (Hölscher 2008, 46). The choice of which social role is represented, depends on the context of the representation, and thereby one person can have various roles that may complement or contradict each other (Hölscher 2008, 52). In general, social roles provide individuals 'in specific situations with patterns of behaviour in accordance with collective expectations' (Hölscher 2008, 45).

But what is the relationship between identity and social role? Does identity operate more on level of the personal and individual? Hölscher (2008) is one of the scholars that sees the terms as conflicting and he himself chooses 'roles' as the preferred concept in research. In this study identity is used in addition to social role. Most importantly, notes can be placed with the distinction between identity and social role. Looking specifically at the topic of this thesis, it has to be noted that it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between identity and role. I have given the example before that jewellery can point to motherhood, e.g. by wearing pearls. But is motherhood a role in society, or is it an identity? Is it how a woman defines herself or something which is ascribed to her? Whatever the case may be, in representations of women it appears difficult to differentiate between the two terms. Both appear to be constructed and ascribed in a social context. Identity can be linked to an amount of self-perception, which can consequently play a role when a person commissions a sculpted portrait of him- or herself. But how strong was the agency of women in this process and how many choices did they have with regard to sculptures of themselves? Female identity and female social role will converge, if you treat them both as a social construction from a male viewpoint, thus to be gendered.

To summarise, it is possible to hold the two concepts as distinctive, but here sculptures are seen as expressing both, where social role as well as identity is concerned with how someone is perceived and constructed in an image. Identity here therefore does not exclusively have to do with a degree of individuality of a person, but more with the representation of the identity of that person, whether declared by him- or herself, or ascribed and perceived by others.

4.3 Core-periphery: from unequal exchange to negotiation and interaction

Palmyra, urbs nobilis situ, divitiis soli et aquis amoenis, vasto undique ambitu haernis includit agros ac, velut terris exempta a rerum natura, privata sorte inter duo imperia summa Romanorum Parthorumque est, prima in discordia semper utrimque cura.

"Palmyra is a city famous for its situation, for the richness of its soil and for its agreeable springs; its fields are surrounded on every side by a vast circuit of sand, and it is as it were isolated by Nature from the world, having a destiny of its own between the two mighty empires of Rome and Parthia, and at the first moment of a quarrel between them always attracting the attention of both sides."

Pliny (Naturalis Historia, 5.88) [15]

In this thesis a comparison is made between Rome and the city of Palmyra in Syria (annexed as a Roman province in 64 BC). The area around the city of Rome is defined as the core and Palmyra as a peripheral region. But what was the relationship between the two regions, and how is that displayed via the jewellery finds and representations? Core-periphery is therefore the last concept that will be used as a part of this theoretical framework to investigate the relationship between women and jewellery. Different models exist that try to explain and account for the relationship between the core and the periphery. Following a traditional approach, Rome will have functioned as influential, leading centre, setting the standards in the periphery. In this view, peripheral regions will have conformed to the core. Newer approaches challenge this however, arguing for a more circular type of influence. Below these perspectives will be elaborated on more, but first a short historical background to Palmyra as part of the Roman Empire will be given.

Palmyra as city in the Roman Empire

Pliny offers with the above lines from his *Natural History* not only the first, but also a very detailed and striking account of the city of Palmyra. Already in ancient times the oasis in the desert was recognised for its particular value, but at present as well. In 1980 the ruins of the ancient city were placed on the World Heritage List by UNESCO. The heyday of Palmyra can be seen as the first three centuries AD. It was the phase when the Palmyrenes were under Roman rule. Syria was made a Roman province in 64 B.C. and by the reign of Roman emperor Tiberius (14-37 B.C.) the city was fully integrated and in addition renamed (Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art, 2000). In that period, the desert oasis grew from

[15] Translation: H. Rackham, W.H.S. Jones and D.E. Eichholz. London, W. Heinemann (1949-54).

the settlement *Tadmor*, the ancient Arabic name, to the wealthy trade city of *Palmyra*, the name given by the Romans, meaning 'city of palms'.

Palmyra became the leading caravan city in the Roman east and therefore one of the 'premier economic and political powers' (Danti, 2001: 34). The most important reason for this is the location of the city. It is situated in the middle of the Syrian desert, north-eastern of Damascus. A spring, known as Efqa, provides the city with abundant amounts of water and creates an oasis. Palm trees complete the image. More crucially: the city was strategically located between the Roman and the Parthian empire. The city had an essential position in the rich existing caravan traffic on two very important routes in the ancient world, one of them being the route from Europe to China. So, it played a central role in the trading routes between the east and west. This key position and ideal environmental setting form the basis of Palmyra's wealth and power.

The particular position between the Roman and Parthian empire has allowed scholars to identify a remarkable Greco-Roman-Eastern cultural mixture in the archaeological finds from Palmyra. Being incorporated into a province under Roman rule, naturally Roman influences were present. Richmond (1963: 53) and Danti (2001: 36) point out that Hellenistic influences were there as well, e.g. in the clothing and language. As most of the population was of Aramaic and Arabic descent (Goldman, 1994: 164) and as the city was actually located in the Near East, eastern influences prevailed as well, for example Persian and Aramaic.

Towards a new perspective on core-periphery relations

The classical core-periphery model focuses on 'exploitive economic ties between "core" regions with advanced economies, technology, and political structures, and adjacent "periphery" regions less developed in all these aspects' (Bintliff 1997, 17-8). The exploitation rests on an unequal exchange between the core and the periphery, where the periphery as hinterland provides raw materials and the core returns manufactured and luxury goods. This all results in an asymmetrical dependency relationship: the core dominates the periphery, setting the standards. There will be a strong, direct link between the core and the periphery, where the first will experience benefits and the latter dependence. With this model it is important to keep in mind that between the core and the periphery there will be a semi-developed transition (buffer) zone, and further that the interaction with and stimulation by the core can in some cases lead to the peripheral region achieving a core status (Bintliff 1997, 18). When we take jewellery as an example, this model accommodates the basic view that the peripheral regions will supply (and are exploited for) the raw materials needed in the

manufacture of jewellery, e.g. precious metals and stones, and the core takes on the production and distribution of the luxury items.

Moving to another viewpoint: the 'Romanisation' debate, which is in the main concerned with Rome's cultural impact on the rest of the Empire, or: 'the process whereby Roman culture spread to other areas' (Huskinson 2000, 20). New views have emerged in the last years that increasingly emphasise this as being a dialectic, two-way process (Huskinson 2000, 20). A global, inclusive perspective needs to be adopted, rising above simple binary oppositions (Mattingly 2004, 6; Sturgeon 2000). This can offer a different framework to understand the relation between the core and periphery.

In his book *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (2008) Andrew Wallace-Hadrill proposes to study cultural identities as overlapping and in dialogue with each other.[16] According to Wallace-Hadrill, the people annexed in the Roman Empire did not succumb to a dominant force. Having multiple cultural identities was a remarkable feature of the Roman world, people could layer instead of having to sacrifice identities (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 5-7). Someone in Palmyra could thus feel Palmyrene as well as Roman. Moreover, we can detect a 'local pride in a context of multiple identities' rather than 'an aspiration to Roman identity' (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 448). Jennifer Trimble describes how local culture develops and takes shape in terms of the global culture (Trimble 2011, 267). She points out that the glory days of Palmyra lie in the period during the Roman occupation, when the city's local culture took 'its fullest and richest shape as part of the city's self-definition within a much larger world' (Trimble 2011, 268).

Another thing to keep in mind regarding core-periphery relations is that the role of the elite. As Mattingly (2004, 5) describes, the highest levels of Roman society demonstrated the highest degree of 'social conformity', which led to the sharing of a metropolitan culture. Eve D'Ambra adds that elites throughout the empire could participate in this, regardless of the distances between Rome and some provinces (D'Ambra 2007, 20). Catherine Johns (1996, 88) argues that the fact that we can 'use Romano-Egyptian paintings as a source of information on certain aspects of Romano-British jewellery', is a 'remarkable testimony to the homogeneity of Roman culture among the wealthier sections of society'.

[16] Cultural identities can for example be expressed via language, dress, social values and (burial) customs (Huskinson 2000, 7).

A model for the relationship between Rome and Palmyra

Not too long ago, Lidewijde de Jong analysed funerary practices in Roman Syria in the context of the Empire for her dissertation (2007). She investigated the relationship between the province and the Empire focusing on burial practices.[17] It appeared that 'cemeteries were the sites of multiple renegotiations of social identities, directly related to incorporation into the Roman empire and the transformation of the region of Syria into a Roman province' (De Jong 2007, iv). Rome did have an impact on the provincial society, but the response was a dialogue through which a new, mixed burial practice evolved, building on existing ones and following from interaction and resistance (De Jong 2007, 37, 268).

Based on the recent studies like that of De Jong (2007) and contributions to the Romanisation debate that favour a dialectic, interactive process between Rome and its provinces, I would like to suggest in this study a core-periphery model not only focusing on economic interaction, but also on socio-cultural interaction. This implies a different view on the power relations between the core and the periphery than the classical perspective presented above. The starting point is that the centre does not operate as a dominating force, but rather that we are dealing with a negotiation process. The idea is that both regions can take over certain aspects from each other, building their own identities and traditions. The basic premise is a more equal and autonomous form of exchange and interaction (see fig. 4).

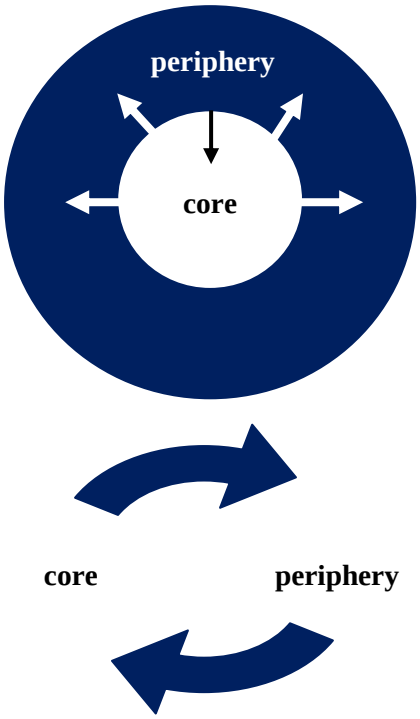


Fig. 4 - A simplified outline of the classical core-periphery model (above) and the proposed model for this thesis, with the arrows indicating the type of exchange (below).

The upper model shows an unequal relationship, centring around dominance of the core and dependency of the periphery.

The model below stands for more interaction: a circular negotiation process, where the core and the periphery are in dialogue.

[17] I refer to De Jong's dissertation (2007) for an interesting historiography of Syria as a Roman province.

It would not be surprising if some of the aspects of the traditional view are observable, as Rome, being the centre of power, did retrieve raw materials from its provinces and exerted control. The periphery does not have to be dependent on the core or conform to the core's norms and conventions though, but can in fact turn out to be self-determining and an influential factor as well.

In this thesis the relationship between a provincial society (Palmyra) and the core of the Empire (Rome) will be examined in specific by focusing on jewellery finds and representations. This will test the proposed core-periphery model, while answering the fourth subquestion: what are the differences and similarities between Rome and Palmyra regarding the jewellery finds and representations? And what does that say about the link between the core and the periphery? The first step is to see what differences and similarities regarding relationship between women and jewellery, e.g. norms, ideals, values and constructions, have become visible. These results will then clarify the symbolic and practical ties between the area's.

5. Rome: jewellery finds and representations of jewellery

This chapter presents the results of the analyses of the jewellery finds and sculptural representations of jewellery from the area around Rome (the core).

5.1 Description of the jewellery finds from Rome

In this paragraph the pieces of jewellery will be described in short per find spot (alphabetically ordered). The numbers between brackets are the database numbers of the objects created for this study. Appendix A gives an overview of the sample of jewellery finds from Rome used in this study, including images where available.

From Arricia (Galloro), a burial from the first century AD, there is a golden *bulla*, an amulet for boys (**nr. 1**). From Arricia (Stella), also the first century AD, there is a thin golden bracelet, with a, in comparison to the bracelet itself, quite large pendant in the shape of an *olla* (a jar), that is attached to the bracelet with a ring (**nr. 2**). The next find spot, Casale Guidi (Via della Bufalotta), from the second half of the second century AD, includes seven pieces of jewellery. First a fingerring made of gold and inlayed with a glass paste element (**nr. 3**). The loop of the ring has the appearance of thick braided gold. The other fingerring from this location is made from gold and has a nicolo stone with the image of a dromedary (**nr. 4**). Further, there are two hairpins. One undecorated made from amber (**nr. 5**) and one made from gold and silver with a decorated ball on top (**nr. 6**). The golden necklace, a thin thread, seems to have a golden element meant for the attachment of a pendant (**nr. 7**). Counted as one piece of jewellery is a pair of golden earrings in the shape of a hook (**nr. 8**). What completes this group is a set of elements of gold leaf, which was probably part of a bigger piece of jewellery, e.g. a golden hairnet, a type of hair jewellery that will be discussed below (**nr. 9**).

Another find spot from the second half of the second century AD is Mentana (Monte Carnale), where a fingerring and a necklace where found. The fingerring is made from gold and rock crystal and has a relief of a wild cat (**nr. 10**). The necklace is made from gold and consists of drop-shaped elements of garnet linked together (**nr. 11**).

The next group of jewellery was found in tomb 1 of Osteria del Curato, also from the second half of the second century AD, and consists of a necklace, a brooch and five hairpins. Four hairpins are made from gold and bone, and one from bone alone (**nr. 13-17**). They all had a ball at the top. The necklace is made from gold and glass paste stones, of which a few are

missing (**nr. 12**). The very small brooch, a circle (diameter ca. 2 cm) with a pin, is made from gold as well (**nr. 18**).

The next 'piece' of jewellery is an exceptional one and consists of a set of golden miniature jewellery: a necklace, bracelets and anklets found on an ivory doll modelled after Iulia Domna in a burial from the end of the second century AD in Tivoli (Via Valeria) (**nr. 19**). Remarkable is the variety in appearance of the miniature pieces: the necklace is formed like a sort of chain (with '8' shaped loops linked to each other), the bracelets resemble twisted wire, and the anklets are plain rings closed with a hook through a loop.

The biggest group of jewellery in this selection of material comes from tomb 2 of Vallerano, a burial from the second half of the second century AD. No less than eighteen pieces were recovered from here: six fingerings, three brooches, two necklaces, two bracelets, two hairpins, a hairnet (*reticulum*), a pendant, and a medal amulet. The fingerrings are all made from gold and inlayed with precious stones: emerald (**nr. 21** and **nr. 23**), sapphire (**nr. 25** and **nr. 26**), sapphire and garnet (**nr. 24**), and diamond (**nr. 22**). From ring nr. 21 and 25 the middle stones are missing. Rings nr. 24, 25 and 26 have a floral-like design with a lot of attention for detail and technique. The decorated brooches were made from gold and were inlayed with amethyst (**nr. 34**), garnet (**nr. 35**) and sardonyx (**nr. 36**). They respectively held a relief of the bust of a woman, an engraving of Victory, and an engraving of a female figure resting against a pillar holding a bird. The first necklace is made from gold with small round sapphire stones (**nr. 20**), and the second necklace is made from golden 'tubes' with larger cylindrical emerald stones between them, of which a few are missing (**nr. 27**). The golden lunar crescent pendant is thought to belong to this last necklace (**nr. 28**). The crescent with knobs on the ends appeared as a new motive in Roman imperial jewellery (Higgins 1961, 179). Besides the pendant there was also a golden medal amulet found, decorated with a face in profile (too vague to make a more detailed identification), including a small loop on top that would facilitate the attachment to e.g. a necklace. The bracelets are identical and consist of a thin golden band inlayed with three sapphire stones, one round in the middle and two drop-shaped on the sides (**nr. 32**, **33**). The two hairpins are made from undecorated amber (**nr. 30**, **31**). Lastly there was a considerable amount of loose golden elements found, which will probably have formed a part of a *reticulum*, a golden hairnet (**nr. 37**).

The last three find spots are from the second half of the second century AD as well. From a burial at Vetralla (Doganella) two necklaces, a fingerring and a cameo were retrieved. Both necklaces are made from gold links and emerald stones (**nr. 38**, **39**). The fingerring is made from gold and inlayed with three stones of garnet (**nr. 40**). The cameo is made from glass

paste and has an image of Amor and Psyche (**nr. 41**). It was probably designed to be set in for instance a brooch. From the so-called Grottarossa burial (with the mummy of a girl) at Via Cassia (La Giustiniana, km 11) a golden fingerring with the image of a winged Victory (**nr. 42**), a necklace from golden plates and sapphire stones (**nr. 43**), and one pair of golden earrings, basic loops (**nr. 44**) were retrieved. Finally, from a burial at Via Nomentana (km 10.500) a golden fingerring inlayed with a carnelian stone engraved with an image of Mercury was recovered (**nr. 45**).

The last four pieces of jewellery are from the imperial period, but the provenience is uncertain. They are decorated hairpins. Two are very thin, made from gold, and decorated at the top with hanging rings (**nr. 46**) and a *pelta* (shield) and small ball (**nr. 47**). The third hairpin is made from bone and the top is shaped as a hand holding a spherical object (**nr. 48**). The fourth hairpin is made from ivory, with at the top a miniature portrait head (**nr. 49**). It was recovered from the Tiber and dated to the first century AD.

5.2 Jewellery finds from Rome: types, context, gender and social position

Here the results of the jewellery finds will be examined per central aspect, i.e.: types of jewellery, context, social position of the owner, and gender.

Types of jewellery

In total there are 49 pieces of jewellery described above[18]: one *bulla*, three bracelets, four brooches, two pair of earrings, twelve fingerrings, thirteen hairpins, one hairnet (*reticulum*), eight necklaces and five other items (including the set of miniature jewellery and the objects that were probably part of a bigger piece of jewellery – the pendant, the medal amulet, the cameo, and the elements of gold leaf). All of them are in a good state of preservation.

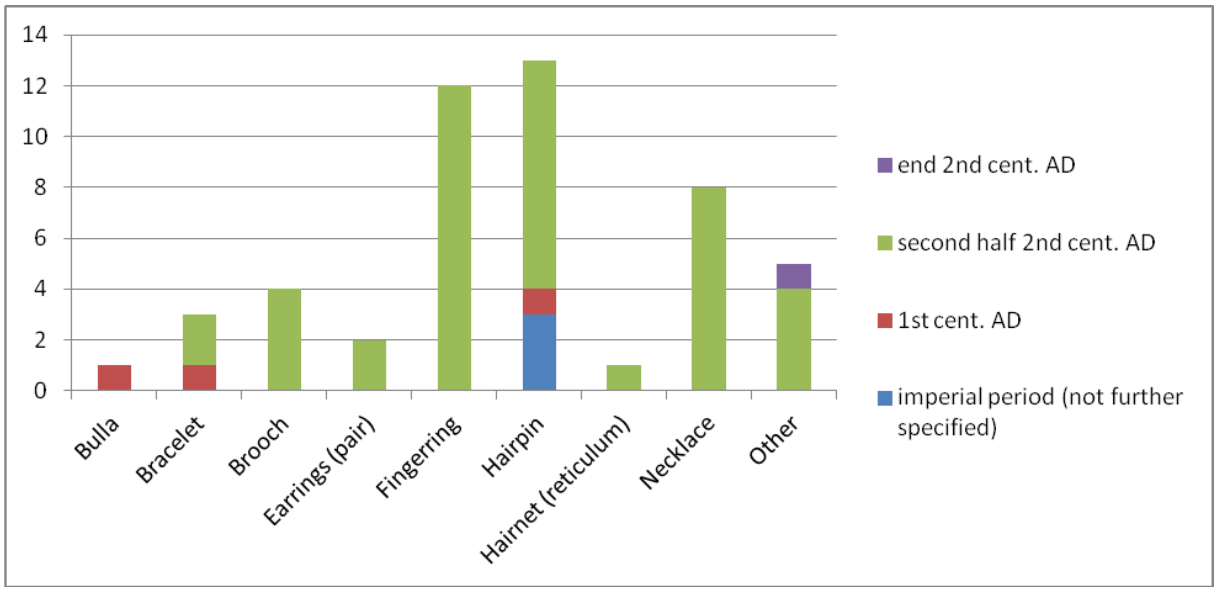
The numbers reveal that fingerrings, hairpins and necklaces are the most present in this selection of jewellery from the *Museo Nazionale Romano*. These types of jewellery all concentrate on different parts of the upper body (hands, head and neck), so no specific part is highlighted. The little amount of earrings found, would imply that piercing of the ears, thus conscious permanent damage to the body, was not popular.

As for the period to which the jewellery items are dated, the second half of the second century stands out (N=42), followed by the first century AD (N=3) and the end of the second century

[18] The pieces of jewellery will mainly be indicated by their modern English terms, though Latin terms exist as well for e.g. fingerring (*annulus*) or bracelet (*armilla*). Only in the case of *bulla* and *reticulum* the Latin terms will recur, as they are more appropriate in these cases.

AD (N=1). Three items could only broadly be ascribed to the imperial period. See graph 1 for the numbers of jewellery per category and divided per time period.

Graph 1 - The numbers of jewellery per category and divided per time period (Rome)



When looking at the materials used for this selection of jewellery (see table 2), gold or gold combined with a (precious) stone is most popular. Hairpins are made from the most diverse range of materials, from amber to bone and from gold to ivory. As for the stones, it comes out that sapphire (N=7), emerald (N=5) and garnet (N=4) were included most. Other stones such as amethyst, carnelian, diamond, rock crystal and sardonyx only appear once.

Evidence of great craftsmanship of the jewellers are the engraved gems, with images from animals (e.g. dromedary and wild cat) to deities (e.g. Mercury and Victory). These images might have had symbolic properties for their owners, or simply served as embellishment. Brooch nr. 35 is special, as the engraved gem is set in a golden frame decorated as a wreath. Further demonstrating craftsmanship are the hairpins with decorated tops from balls to finely carved figures, and the *reticulum*, for which a variety of golden elements was interweaved to make fragile headdress.

It is also interesting to have a look at the assemblages of jewellery found. As an assemblage counts a group of at least two pieces of jewellery from the same find spot. From the ten find spots mentioned above there are six from which two or more pieces of jewellery were recovered. So we are dealing with six assemblages here, with an average of 6.8 jewellery items per assemblage. This points to jewellery being a category of objects that occurs mostly in the 'plural', i.e. in a group. The number and types of jewellery per assemblage are listed in

table 3. Found in the other four find spots, as separate pieces of jewellery (but together with other types of grave goods) were the bulla (nr. 1), bracelet nr. 2, the doll with miniature jewellery (nr. 19) and fingerring nr. 45.

Table 2 - The material per type of jewellery (Rome)

	Amber	Bone	Gold	Ivory	Bone and gold	Gold and a (precious) stone	Gold and glass paste	Gold and silver	**Totals**
Bulla			1						1
Bracelet			1			2			3
Brooch			1			3			4
Earrings (pair)			2						2
Fingerring			1			10	1		12
Hairpin	3	2	2	1	4			1	13
Hairnet (*reticulum*)			1						1
Necklace			1			6	1		8
Totals	3	2	10	1	4	21	2	1	44

Table 3 - The number and types of jewellery per assemblage (Rome)

	Bulla	Bracelet	Brooch	Earrings (pair)	Fingerring	Hairpin	Hairnet (*reticulum*)	Necklace	Other	**Totals**
Casale Guidi (Via della Bufalotta)				1	2	2		1	1	7
Mentana (Monte Carnale)					1			1		2
Osteria del Curato (tomb 1)			1			5		1		7
Vallerano (tomb 2)		2	3		6	2	1	2	2	18
Vetralla (Doganella)					1			2	1	4
Via Cassia (La Giustiniana)				1	1			1		3
Totals	0	2	4	2	11	9	1	8	4	41

In line with the overall numbers, fingerrings, hairpins and necklaces are most popular in these assemblages. All six find spots included at least one necklace, while two assemblages featured two necklaces. Further, five find spots included at least one fingerring. At Vallerano (tomb 2) a high number of fingerrings was found, six in total. Besides fingerrings, hairpins are another type of jewellery found in larger quantities, from two to five per assemblage (three assemblages in total). Usually though there are only one or two pieces per type of jewellery found per assemblage. On the whole Vallerano contains the largest assemblage, eighteen pieces of jewellery in total. The assemblage is fairly 'complete', almost all types of jewellery are represented, interestingly only earrings are absent. When comparing which types of jewellery appear most together in one assemblage, it appears that the most common combination (five out of six assemblages) is a necklace and a fingerring. As in the selection for this study these two types of jewellery are among the most found, this result was expected. To conclude this section on the types of jewellery found, it is good to point to the variety in appearances of the jewellery of this selection, e.g. the fingerrings. None of the items can really be paralleled, thus the two identical bracelets from Vallerano (nr. 32 and 33) and the set of hairpins from Osteria del Curato (nr. 13-16) are an exception. Also it is possible to compare the amber hairpins from Vallerano and Casale Guidi, and some of the necklaces made from gold and precious stones like nr. 20 from Vallerano and nr. 38 from Vetralla. Most jewellery in this selection however appears to consist of individualised pieces instead of standardised.

Context

For 45 of the 49 pieces of jewellery there is information on the context. The ten identified contexts are burials, meaning the jewellery was found in sarcophagi and tombs, around and on the body. The items were either placed with the deceased or worn by the deceased at the time of the burial, an analysis of the skeletal material and position of the jewellery is needed to shed more light on this. Only for the Grottarossa burial (Via Cassia) it is known that the earrings were found attached to the ears of the mummy. The sarcophagi were mainly made from marble, but the one from Vetralla was made from tuff. Jewellery was not the only thing placed with the deceased, other grave goods were found as well. From six contexts it is known what other grave goods are associated with it, and these artefacts will in short be considered here. Overall the grave goods can be divided into three categories: toiletries, household items and toys.

The *bulla* from Ariccia (Gallaro) was discovered together with a denarius of Vespasian and a group of thirteen amber objects that look like toys (Oliver 2000, 121). The seven pieces of jewellery from Casale Guidi (Via della Bufalotta) were recovered with, among other things, a small silver mirror, a denarius from Faustina minor, and other amber and silver objects. The set of miniature jewellery on the ivory doll from Tivoli (Via Valeria) was found with a small amber box (perhaps for jewellery). Tomb 2 at Vallerano has offered, besides the unique assemblage of jewellery, an outstanding collection of other grave goods, including a decorated silver mirror (fig. 5), an ivory doll and a silver container in the form of a shell. Also the pieces of jewellery found at Vetralla (Doganella) were discovered with a wide array of grave goods, including amber figurines, crystal bowls, spatulas, a spindle, a distaff, cosmetic containers, and ointment jars. Lastly, the Grottarossa burial at Via Cassia included an ivory doll with a diadem and amber amulets, figurines, and holders in the form of vases and shells.

Fig. 5 - Silver mirror from tomb 2 at Vallerano
(Museo Nazionale Romano)

Gender and social position

For nine out of the ten identified contexts the sex of the owner of the jewellery, i.e. the deceased with whom the jewellery was placed, can be confirmed via the skeletal material: they are burials with female depositions. Most of the jewellery (N=44) was thus with certainty placed with a deceased woman. The context of which the sex of the deceased is uncertain (the skeletal remains were not analysed), is the Ariccia burial where the *bulla* was found. Being a common amulet for boys though, it is likely that this particular type of jewellery was placed with a boy, something backed up by the small size of the sarcophagus (Oliver 2000, 120-1).

The grave goods found in context with the jewellery can offer us another insight in the expression of gender. Because in the case of the female burials they consist for a considerable part of toilet articles that can be seen as part of the *mundus muliebrus* (see chapter 3), i.e. items used in the feminine arts of beautification. The dolls, spindle and distaff also allude to a feminine sphere. Overall, jewellery can be seen clearly linked to the female gender.

For three burials there is information on the age of the deceased women. The young woman from the Vallerano tomb 2 died when she was between 16-17 years old, the young woman from Vetralla (Doganella) when she was about 20 years old, and the girl from the Grottarossa burial (Via Cassia) when she was circa 8 years old (Oliver 2000, 115-6). It is highly likely though that all deceased from the burials discussed here were young, unmarried women. First, the sarcophagi are in some cases small in size. Second, jewellery was probably only placed in burials in these amounts in the case of the death of an unmarried girl. Normally jewellery was not placed in graves, but formed part of a dowry and was passed on from one generation to the next (Oliver 2000, 117-8). When a girl died before she had arrived to marriage and motherhood, this chain of traditions was broken, making it an accepted practice to let the girl take her jewellery to the grave. Third, especially the dolls (childhood toys) that were included in the grave goods indicate that the young women died before they were married, for it was a tradition to give up your dolls after marriage (Oliver 2000, 117-8).

As for the social status of these young women: the richness of jewellery finds and other grave goods in the burials suggest that we are dealing with more affluent and socially significant families here.

5.3 Description of the sculptural representations from Rome

The sculptural representations will be described in short in the order as they appear in the catalogue by Fittschen and Zanker (1983). The numbers between brackets are the database numbers of the sculptures created for this study. Appendix B gives an overview of the sample of sculptural representations from Rome used in this study, including images.

To give an idea of the ratio of sculptures with jewellery versus sculptures without any form of jewellery: the total selection in the Fittschen and Zanker catalogue (1983) for the Augustean-Severan period comprises 145 sculptures, meaning that only ca. 10% of these sculptures includes a form of jewellery. And with these sculptures there is a differences between real metal jewellery that was attached (earrings fastened to the pierced earlobes) and jewellery in sculptured form, in this selection only consisting of one type: diadems.

The first sculpture is a marble portrait head of Livia, wife of Augustus, from the late Tiberian-Claudian period (**nr. 1**). The bust did not originally belong to the portrait, and the nose and parts of the diadem are restored (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 3-4). The richly decorated diadem might be the most striking feature of this sculpture. The decoration is the reason that this portrait is seen as the Ceres-type: the wheat ears, as her usual attributes, allude to the divine Ceres. The hairstyle is quite loose. The wavy hair, parted in the middle, is combed to the back – over the ears – and in the neck fastened in a bun. The head itself is slightly turned to the right, her expression is neutral.

The next sculpture is a marble portrait of Sabina, wife of Hadrian, from the Hadrianic period (**nr. 2**). This is Sabina's main image-type, and in this particular portrait small parts of the face were restored (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 10). She looks very slightly to the left, and the head is faintly turned downwards. Her hair is wavy, at front parted in the middle, and at the back two strands of hair form a bird´s nest. A plain hoop-shaped diadem finishes the whole. The third sculpture (**nr. 3**), though rather damaged (the lower half of the face is missing), is identical, except for the strands of hair at the back, which overlap in a reversed manner in this portrait.

Other image-types of Sabina exist as well, as is shown by the fourth sculpture, a marble bust of Sabina from the late Hadrianic period (**nr. 4**). The bust is quite damaged and consists of fragments, the nose and a part of the diadem were restored (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 12-3). The face corresponds to the ones seen in the previous two sculptures, and the head is slightly turned to the left. She wears a *peplos* with a cloak over her shoulders. The wavy hair is parted in the middle, combed backwards, and falls (bound together) on her back. The hairstyle suggests that in this image Sabina is supposed to be represented as a goddess, probably Artemis (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 13). The diadem, kept in place by a string on the back of her head, has an ornamented top, but is further plain.

The fifth sculpture, from ca. 165-180 AD, is a portrait of Faustina minor, wife of Marcus Aurelius (**nr. 5**). The backside of the bust is not in best shape, and at front other damaged parts are visible, e.g. the nose. She has a fairly round face and full lips and gazes straight forward. At front her hair is characterised by styled curls, and at the back it is tied in a bun, with some loose strands of hair falling out. She wears a thick, undecorated diadem.

The next sculpture, from ca. 166-169 AD, is a fragmented image of Lucilla, daughter of Faustina minor and Marcus Aurelius, as Venus (**nr. 6**). The back is damaged and below the breast it is broken from the rest of the statue it probably was a part of. Her face is turned downwards and to the left. Her friendly smile makes her seem more engaged with possible

viewers. She wears a *chiton* held together at the left shoulder, the right shoulder is bare. The wavy hear is combed back into a bun, with strands of hair falling out over her shoulders. The thick, damaged, diadem appears to have been undecorated. The complete statue might have held attributes, explaining her movement to the left (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 25).

The following sculpture is the bust of an unknown woman from the late Augustan period (**nr. 7**). Parts of the marble bust are restored, among other things the nose, and the backside and the left ear are damaged (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 43). She has her head slightly turned to the right and gazes forward. She has thin lips, but bigger nose and eyes. Her hairstyle is elaborate, including ringlets. On her head she wears a wreath of flowers. Her right ear is pierced for the attachment of metal earrings, the left ear is too damaged to tell if it was also the case there.

The eighth sculpture discussed here, from the Tiberian-Claudian period, is a marble portrait of a priestess from a relief (**nr. 8**). The portrait is partly damaged, for example the nose area. She gazes straight ahead. She wears a decorated diadem and *vittae* (bands of wool), which are visible on the sides. Her cloak is pulled over her diadem as a veil. Her wavy hair is only visible at front.

Next, we have the marble portrait of a woman from ca. 80-90 AD (**nr. 9**). Parts of the face and backside are damaged. Viewed from the back it is noticeable that her head is slightly turned to the left. She has big eyes and rather full lips. Her hair is styled in curls at the front and tied into a bun at the back. She wears a plain diadem. Interesting is that the ends of the diadem do not disappear in the hair, but can be seen going all the way around the head. This does make its shape unusual. There is a discussion whether this portrait is an image of Iulia Titi, daughter of Titus, or that it is the portrait of an unknown woman resembling her (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 49).

For the next sculpture, a marble portrait from the Trajan period (**nr. 10**), there is also a disagreement on the person represented. The woman is either Domitia, wife of Domitian, or an unknown woman resembling her (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 51). Her lips are thin, her nose (restored) is bigger, and the corners of her mouth are hanging. A big curly hairpiece characterises the front of her hairstyle, while at the back the hair is braided and held together in her neck by a separate braid. She wears a diadem with a decorated upper rim.

Only one entire statue, including attributes and an inscription, forms part of this selection of sculptural representations of jewellery. It is a marble statue (height ca. 1,66 m)[19] of the

[19] The head itself is ca. 25 cm long, which is also the average height of the heads of the sculptures discussed here.

woman Claudia Iusta as Fortuna from the late Trajan-early Hadrianic period (**nr. 11**). Several parts of the body were restored, and multiple damages and breaks are visible (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 56). The inscription reads 'fortunae sacrum claudiae iustae'[20]. In her left hand she holds a cornucopia and in her right hand part of a rudder, both attributes associated with Fortuna. She wears a diadem, but because of corrosion the shape and surface is not entirely clear, nor where the diadem ends and the stiff hairstyle continues. She is leaning on her right leg, showing the contours of her left knee through her garment, which is belted together below the breast.

The next statue, a marble portrait of a woman, is from ca. 100 AD (**nr. 12**). The bust is partly restored (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 60). The head is slightly turned to the left, the hairstyle is not elaborate (braided into a bird's nest at the back), the eyebrows are asymmetrical, and the cheeks and forehead are pronounced. Both ears are pierced for the attachment of earrings.

Also holes in her ears has the marble portrait of a woman from the early Antonine period (**nr. 13**). The portrait is quite damaged and not restored. She has full lips and gazes straight forward. Because of the damage, her hairstyle is not entirely identifiable, but seems to consist at least of a braided bird's nest at the back.

The following statue is a marble bust of a young woman from the early Antonine period (**nr. 14**). The right ear is damaged, but the left ear has a hole for the attachment of jewellery. It is an unknown girl that resembles Faustina maior (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 73). Her head is a bit turned to the right and her expression seems severe for her age. Her hairstyle is elaborate, including difficult braiding and strands of hair that circle her head in a diadem-like manner.

The last sculpture to be discussed here is the marble portrait of an unknown woman from the middle Antonine period (**nr. 15**). The bust did not originally belong to the portrait (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 80). She has a small nose, full lips, pronounced eyebrows, and eyelids that seem to be drooping a bit. Her wavy hair is styled simple, combed back and tied into a big bun at the back. Just as with the previous sculptures, both ears are pierced.

5.4 Sculptural representations of jewellery from Rome

Here the results of the sculptural representations of jewellery will be examined per central aspect, i.e.: types of jewellery, context, social position of the portrayed, and gender.

[20] The inscription could be of a later date, in case the statue was reused.

Types of jewellery

Above there have been fifteen sculptures described which could be connected to some form of jewellery. Ca. 1/3 of these sculptures are from the first century AD and 2/3 from the second century AD. Five of the sculptures had holes in their ears and ten had a diadem. The focus of these forms of jewellery is on the upper most part of the body: the head. Because the majority of the sculptures in the Fittschen and Zanker catalogue (1983) consists of portrait heads and busts, this can be expected. Nonetheless, also with the one complete statue in this selection the focus regarding the jewellery represented, is on the head. Moreover, more types of jewellery could have been associated with portrait busts, such as brooches and necklaces, but are not. The piercing of the sculptures ears is especially interesting, because the sculptors chose rather to damage the statue by piercing the sculpted ears in order to attach real metal jewellery, instead of adding a sculpted pair of earrings.

On the appearance of the earrings that were fastened to the pierced earlobes there is no information recorded, but for the sculpted diadems it can be concluded that there is a variety in shapes and sizes. In all cases the diadems are in some way intertwined with the hairdo, so not just put on top.

The first category that can be distinguished is that of the richly decorated diadem, seen on the portrait of Livia (nr. 1) and the portrait of the priestess (nr. 8). The first diadem is a prominent part of the statue. The decoration (wheat ears) stands out in its remarkable three-dimensionality. The upper rim is enriched with some ornaments as well. The diadem of the priestess has an almost architectural appearance with the arch-like openings at the front[21]. The lower rim is decorated with oval stones. In the middle of the diadem a medallion is placed, probably with a miniature bust, but the figure is unidentifiable. Completely different from these decorated diadems are the plain, small, round, hoop-shaped diadems on the portraits of Sabina (nr. 2 and 3).

The other six diadems can be divided in diadems with decorated upper rims and diadems where only the contours of the upper rim are visible, but no ornamentation is present. In general stone sculptures were coloured (Fejfer 2008, 162), so as plain as the surface of these diadems seems now, there is the possibility that the decoration was painted on at the time of creation of the sculptures.

Both sculptures nr. 4 and nr. 10 have a diadem with small ‘spikes’, i.e. pointy edges, on the top, almost crown-like. No decoration at the top have the diadems of sculptures nr. 5, 6, 9 and

[21] It is different though from the mural crowns that identified the Greek goddess Tyche in representations.

11. Diadems nr. 5 and 6 both have a rather heavy appearance, they are very thick. Diadem nr. 9 is smaller and thinner, but has an unusual shape as the ends can be seen going all the way around the head.

At times it is difficult to determine what kind of material the sculpted diadems were alluding to. For nr. 2 and 3 it is quite possible to imagine metal circlets like those represented. But for instance for the heavy diadems of nr. 5 and 6 it is harder to envision them made of a precious metal. The shape of the diadem of nr. 9 seems so much adapted for the purpose of the portrait, that it is difficult to see this form working in real-life. With only one portrait it can be observed how the diadem was fastened to the head and hair. With the rest of the portraits, this element may have been left out for esthetical reasons.

Besides diadems of metal, also another type of diadems is present on sculptures: 'hair-diadems'. In some portraits in the Fittschen and Zanker catalogue (1983) there is not a real diadem represented, but one sculpted from hair (fig. 6). These can also take a variety of complicated, three-dimensional shapes and sizes. The question is if the hair here is a substitute for the real item, or that it has nothing to do with adornment in the sense of jewellery.

Fig. 6 - The bust of a woman (Plotina?) with a diadem sculpted from hair
Marble, Trajan period
(Musei Capitolini)

Context

The original context of the sculptures described above is uncertain. Only for five there is information on the find spot recorded in the Fittschen and Zanker catalogue (1983). The bust of Sabina (nr. 4) was in 1875 found at the Esquiline at the Santa Prassede. The image of Lucilla as Venus (nr. 6, a fragment of a larger statue) was recovered in 1901 when a tunnel was built under the Quirinal. It was found close to the Via Rasella in a brick room with other marble fragments, which was possibly a depot for lime-kiln. The portrait of the priestess (nr. 8) was discovered in 1938 during excavations at the *Mercati Traianei* (Trajan's markets).

According to Fittschen and Zanker (1983, 47) this find spot suggests the image was part of a larger state relief. The statue of Claudia Iusta as Fortuna (nr. 11) was in 1873 found at the Via Marsala together with an altar dedicated to Fortuna Primigenia. The altar dates to a later period though, giving rise to the possibility that the statue was first part of a grave temple, standing in a niche, and later part of a sanctuary. The damaged portrait of an unknown woman (nr. 13) was found in 1946 at the Via Appia (Rome), close to a railway bridge, on the land of the Cecchini company, perhaps once have been part of a grave monument (Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 67).

All in all, the knowledge on context is scarce, but here there may be a chance that the portraits of empresses and priestesses were more likely found in a public context and the portraits of non-imperial women in another range of more private contexts, for example funerary.

Gender and social position

Of the fifteen sculptures, we know that six represent an imperial woman, six represent non-imperial women, and one represents a priestess. For two sculptures the discussion is still open, they represent either an imperial woman or an unknown woman. Only of one non-imperial woman the name is known, via an inscription. In this selection there is a balance between the imperial and non-imperial portraits, though when we look at the total selection in the Fittschen and Zanker catalogue for the Augustean-Severan period (145 sculptures), only 31 are designated as imperial, and 114 as non-imperial.

The pierced ears are all found on sculptures of unknown women. The fact that there was actual jewellery attached to their statues might say something about their social position. Apparently they did not belong the poorest families in town, but at least to the upper-middle class, though the fact that they were immortalised in a sculpture in itself would make this clear.

Looking at the ten diadems, six appear on imperial women (of which one means to represent Ceres, one Venus and one probably Artemis), two appear on portraits where it is unclear whether they are imperial or non-imperial women, one appears on a priestess, and one appears on a non-imperial woman who is represented as the goddess Fortuna. So, what does this say about the type of persons we can connect diadems as a type of jewellery to? As Fittschen and Zanker (1983, 51) already concluded, diadems appears not only on imperial women, but also on non-imperial women, for example in the case of *consecratio* or *deificatio in formam deorum* (the deification of non-imperial persons in the Roman imperial period). It is possible to take this conclusion further though. Indeed, the diadem can refer to the imperial sphere, but

that does not always have to be the case. The diadem does seem more strongly connected to the religious sphere. Besides the priestess with the diadem, three of the imperial women with diadems and the one certain non-imperial woman with a diadem are represented as a goddess. The diadem can therefore be associated with the divine, as if this type of jewellery were a divine attribute. The *consecratio* or *deificatio in formam deorum* as mentioned by Fittschen and Zanker actually supports this: non-imperial persons could be presented with a diadem in case they were deified. As empresses could be deified too, examples are Livia and Faustina minor, it could be studied if their representations with diadems are connected with this deification event as well.

In the discussion chapter I will pay more attention to the expression of gender in these representations. Is there something gender-specific about them? For now, I think it is safe to say that pierced ears for the attachment of earrings make a representation gender-specific, they will represent a feminine body, ready to be adorned with jewellery. For diadems the case is more complicated – males are seen with headdresses too, but there will of course be differences according to type.

6. Palmyra: jewellery finds and representations of jewellery

This chapter presents the results of the analyses of the jewellery finds and sculptural representations of jewellery from Palmyra (the periphery).

6.1 Description of the jewellery finds from Palmyra

In this paragraph the pieces of jewellery (many corroded and weathered) will be described in short per grave monument. The numbers between brackets are the database numbers of the objects created for this study. Appendix C gives an overview of the sample of jewellery finds from Rome used in this study, including images where available. Note that groups of beads found in one location are summed up as one piece.

The first to be discussed is the grave monument of Atenatan, a tower tomb constructed in 9 BC. In total thirteen pieces of jewellery were recovered from this tomb: eight earrings, a fingerring, a bracelet, a gem, a group of beads, and a group of pearls. One earring (**nr. 1**) is made from silver and is shaped like a bunch of grapes. Fourteen small pearls, some are missing, make up the 'bunch of grapes'. Another earring (**nr. 2**) is made from silver and has two pendants of thin round wires with pearls at the bottom. The pearls of one pendant is missing. The following four earrings from this tomb (**nr. 3-6**) are silver loops, which are considerably thicker in the middle of the lower part and taper towards the ends, creating a crescent shape. The last two earrings (**nr. 7** and **8**) are respectively made from silver and bronze and consist of simple plain loops. The silver fingerring (**nr. 9**) is a thicker loop inlayed on top with an agate gem. The gem is engraved with the image of an animal, perhaps a gazelle or Capricorn (Witecka 1994, 78). The bracelet (**nr. 10**) discovered in this tomb is made of a round iron core, surrounded by a bronze twisted wire. It is not a full circle, there is an opening between the ends of the iron core, which are finished off with bronze knobs. The bracelet is broken in the middle. Also found was a good preserved carnelian gem with the representation of a satyr (**nr. 11**). Finally, a group of 146 drilled beads (**nr. 12**) and 34 drilled pearls (**nr. 13**) were retrieved. The beads are of various shapes, sizes, materials and techniques. Materials include carnelian, amethyst, coral, lime, glass, bone, and ceramics. Some are simple and plain, others are polychrome with different motifs. Most are round or cylindrical.

The second collection of jewellery comes from the tomb of Alaine, constructed in 138 AD, and consists of a fragment of ca. 7 cm of a multi-coloured glass bracelet (**nr. 14**), three groups of round and cylindrical beads made from glass paste and stone (**nr. 15-17**), a pair of bronze

loop earrings (**nr. 18**), an individual bronze loop earring that is slightly thinner than the previous (**nr. 19**), a fragment of ca. 5 cm of the lower front part of a bronze necklace with an indication that a pendant was attached (**nr. 21**), an intact bronze fingerring with a seal on top which is engraved with an olive branch (**nr. 24**), and three bronze pendants (**nr. 20, 22, 23**). The first pendant (**nr. 20**) is broken into two fragments and shaped like a ring with a triangular attachment. The second (**nr. 22**) is a small drop-shaped pendant with a hole on top. The third (**nr. 23**) is disc-shaped, made from an imperial coin and with a hole for the attachment to for example a necklace.

From the hypogeum of Sassan, constructed in the late first century AD, the smallest amount of jewellery was retrieved: a pair of silver earrings (**nr. 25**) and one bronze earring (**nr. 26**).

The next grave monument, the hypogeum of Zabda, constructed in the second half of the first century AD, included eleven pieces of jewellery. Five silver earrings were found (**nr. 27-31**) with the same crescent shape as the silver earrings from Atenatan. Two other earrings are made respectively from bronze into a thin loop (**nr. 32**) and from iron into a thicker loop (**nr. 33**). In addition, a rosette-shaped bronze brooch framing six beads was found (**nr. 34**), as well as small oval pendant made from green-coloured lime with the relief of a frog (**nr. 36**). This pendant probably belongs to a group of 21 beads found in the hypogeum of Zabda (**nr. 35**). The beads are made from faïence, glass paste, slate, lime, and carnelian, and have diverse shapes, from round to cone to cylindrical. Another group of six beads (**nr. 37**) was found with a fragment of a bronze hook, possibly the remnant of a necklace. They are made from lime, bronze, and glass paste.

The fifth grave monument to be discussed is Tomb C, constructed in 109 AD. The jewellery from this tomb consists first of all of eight groups of beads (a total of 36 individual beads) with a variety of shapes (circular, oblate, cylindrical), manufacturing techniques (from plain to mosaic glass) and materials (glass, agate, white frit stones, bronze, and silver) (**nr. 38-45**). Further an iron fingerring with an oval white opaque glass inset (**nr. 46**), a C-shaped fragment of a silver earring with a pendant of gathered globules (**nr. 47**), a small bronze bracelet with a diameter of ca. 4 cm (**nr. 48**), and six pendants were found (**nr. 49-54**). One pendant is an undecorated heart shaped bronze plate with an attached hook (**nr. 49**). Another is a glass pendant in the shape of an amphora with still intact bronze wire in the hole (**nr. 50**). The last four pendants, all ca. 2 cm high, have an amuletic character. The first is an ivory pendant in the shape of a dog (**nr. 51**). Bronze wire is still visible in the hole, just like the ivory pendant in the shape of the bust of a man-like figure (**nr. 52**). The third ivory amulet resembles the

previous and is dyed green (**nr. 53**). The last amuletic pendant is made from a whitish stone and shaped like the Egyptian god Bes (**nr. 54**).

A large collection of jewellery comes from the last grave monument, Tomb F, built in 128 AD, 30 pieces in total, including eleven groups of beads. The beads (**nr. 73-78** and **80-84**) are made from gold, glass, bone, agate, wood, carnelian, lapis lazuli, stone, shell and copper. They have diverse shapes and range from plain to very decorative. Sometimes there are traces of thread in the holes. The smallest beads are ca. 2,5-3 mm and the largest bead is 13,5 mm. Another large category of jewellery from this tomb is formed by fingerrings, twelve in total. One is a golden ring with a glass bead attached with twisted golden wire (**nr. 55**). Others are made from silver, copper and bronze (**nr. 56-66**). These mainly consist of plain loops, sometimes with an oval bezel, and one has a glass bead on top (**nr. 62**). The four copper earrings from this selection are manufactured in a way that one end of the earring is formed as a pin, and other end as a socket for the pin (**nr. 67-70**). Earring nr. 70 consists of a double loop. It is possibly that this is a fusion of two originally separate earrings. The two pendants from Tomb F are made from gold and glass. One is a gold round pendant set with a glass bead (**nr. 71**). The other is made of a cylindrical glass bead with three smaller golden pendants (**nr. 72**). The last piece of jewellery is a fragment of a dark blue glass bracelet (**nr. 79**).

6.2 Jewellery finds from Palmyra: types, context, gender and social position

Here the results of the jewellery finds will be examined per central aspect, i.e.: types of jewellery, context, social position of the owner, and gender.

Types of jewellery

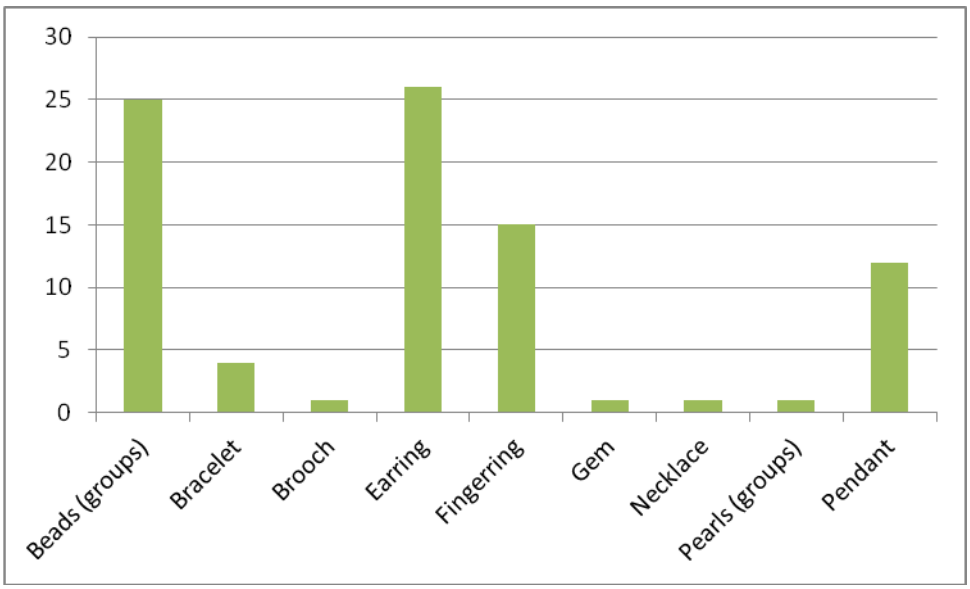
In total there are 84 pieces of jewellery described above. Groups of beads of one find spot count as one piece. A total number of 308 individual beads was recovered from 25 find spots. Further there was one group of 34 pearls found. The other types of jewellery consist of bracelets (N=4), a brooch (N=1), earrings (N=26, with 22 individual earrings and two pairs of earrings), fingerrings (N=15), a gem (N=1), a necklace (N=1) and pendants (N=12). See graph 2 for the numbers of jewellery per category.

In most cases the beads were found in clusters of more than one. It is highly likely that the majority was part of a necklace or bracelet, made of beads strung together. Sometimes there are even traces of threads in the holes of the drilled beads. The same counts for the group of pearls, which probably formed a luxurious necklace of bracelet once. The low number of bracelets and necklaces of a solid material thus does not mean that the actual number of

bracelets and necklaces was that low. A considerate number of beaded bracelets and necklaces is to be expected.

So when you look at the most popular types of jewellery, first the high number of earrings and fingerrings stand out, and second the high number of pendants and beads. The latter two appear to be connected, as they are both signs of the existence of more necklaces and bracelets than are directly visible now. These types of jewellery focus on the ears, hands and neck, all part of the upper body. The high amount of earrings indicates that piercing of the ears was common.

Graph 2 - The numbers of jewellery per category (Palmyra)



In the tower tomb of Atenatan the most beads were found, 146 in total. Tomb F is runner-up with a total of 92 beads. Where there was information on beads per burial, it appeared that the number of beads per grave range from one to 22. In one particular grave in Tomb F one group of beads was found around the neck area and one around the wrist area. These count as two pieces, as the first group probably formed a necklace, and the second separate group a bracelet. The tower tomb of Atenatan and Tomb F are also the two grave monuments with the largest amount of jewellery recovered. Besides the 146 beads, in the tower tomb of Atenatan eight earrings, a fingerring, a bracelet, a gem and a group of 34 pearls were found. In Tomb F, besides the 92 beads, twelve fingerrings, four earrings, two pendants and a bracelet were found.

It should be noted that in some of the studied grave monuments also pins were found, made from materials like ivory, bone and iron, but that their use was unclear. They could have been

used in the hair or to pin clothing together for example. Because of the uncertainty they were excluded from this research.

As for the period to which the jewellery items are dated: most of the items were not or could not be systematically and precisely dated, but looking at the construction dates of the tombs and the era in which they were in use, the majority probably stems from the second century AD. The earliest finds are from the tower tomb of Atenatan, the only tomb operational from the beginning of the first century AD.

Table 4 - The material per type of jewellery (Palmyra)

	Bronze/ copper/ iron	Carnelian	Glass paste	Ivory	(Lime) stone	Silver	Bronze/ iron and glass	Gold and glass	Silver and (precious) stone	**Totals**
Bracelet	2		2							4
Brooch	1									1
Earring	11					13			2	26
Fingerring	7					4	2	1	1	15
Gem		1								1
Necklace	1									1
Pendant	4		1	3	2			2		12
Totals	26	1	3	3	2	17	2	3	3	60

Table 4 presents the materials used in the selection of jewellery studied, excluding the beads and the group of pearls. The most used materials include bronze, copper, iron (united in one category) and silver. The fingerrings and pendants are made from the most diverse range of material. As for the 308 beads, the materials include glass, carnelian, amethyst, coral shell, (lime)stone, bone, ceramics, faïence, gold, slate, bronze/copper, agate, silver, wood, and lapis lazuli. Glass is most widely used for the beads. Carnelian and agate are also popular, while lapis lazuli and faïence for example are rare. The last type of material worth mentioning here is of course pearl, recovered from the tomb of Atenatan in both the form of individual drilled pearls as two earrings combining silver with pearls.

To be remembered is the fact that most studied grave monuments were partly looted, which means that it is possible that e.g. copper jewellery is more likely to be found than jewellery from a precious metal as gold (Sadurska 1977, 63). Other possibilities should not be

overlooked however, for instance that it was simply uncommon to bury the dead with jewellery made from precious metals. In the discussion chapter this issue will return.

Not of all jewellery there is a specific context known, e.g. a burial in the tomb monument. Nonetheless in total eight burials in the studied grave monuments were identified that turned out to have two or more pieces of jewellery. Counting a group of at least two pieces of jewellery from the same find spot as an assemblage, we have here a total of eight assemblages, with an average of 4.5 jewellery items per assemblage. Because of the high disturbance ratio in the grave monuments, it is not possible to make a definite conclusion, but the identified assemblages do point to jewellery often occurring in the 'plural', i.e. in a group. The number and types of jewellery per assemblage are listed in table 5. Note that a group of beads is counted as one (the total number of individual beads is indicated between brackets).

Table 5 - The number and types of jewellery per assemblage (Palmyra)

	Beads	Bracelet	Earring	Fingerring	Necklace	Pendant	**Totals**
Alaine (burial niche 14)	1 (2)				1	1	3
Zabda (grave C 1 *d*)	1 (21)		5			1	7
Tomb C (loculus M3-0)	1 (16)					3	4
Tomb C (loculus M3-1)	1 (7)					3	4
Tomb C (grave pit P2)	1 (1)	1					2
Tomb F (skeleton 1 of loculus ENL1-0)	2 (13 / 17)			5		1	8
Tomb F (skeleton 5 of loculus ENL1-0)				3			3
Tomb F (EL2-0)			4	1			5
Totals	7 (77)	1	9	9	1	9	36

Grave C 1 *d* in the hypogeum of Zabda and the burial of skeleton 1 of loculus ENL1-0 in Tomb F contained the largest assemblages. The first included a group of beads (21 in total), five earrings and a pendant. The second included two groups of beads (one around the neck area and one around the wrist area), five fingerrings and a pendant.

On the whole, it appears that beads are the most common in these assemblages (six out of the eight assemblages). A quarter of the total amount of beads are found in these eight

assemblages. Five of the six assemblages with beads also include one or three pendants. Both types of items probably were part of necklaces and bracelets, as was indicated above, making these kinds of jewellery more popular than appears from the numbers in the table.

Further, fingerrings form a part of three out of the eight assemblages, while earrings are present in two assemblages. These last two types of jewellery were almost in all cases found in the 'plural': three to five per burial. The fact that in two burials three pendants were found (together with beads), could point to multiple necklaces or bracelets, counting one pendant per necklace/bracelet. Or there is the possibility that multiple pendants hung from one necklace/bracelet.

To conclude this section on the types of jewellery found in Palmyra it is interesting to point to the differences and similarities in the appearances of the jewellery from this selection. The in total 308 beads for example display an enormous variety in appearances, shapes and materials. Noteworthy examples are a decorative golden bead and two golden beads set in with agate from Tomb F, all three found in the burial of skeleton 1 of loculus ENL1-0 (belonging to bead group nr. 73). On the other hand the majority of the plain, small glass beads recovered looks rather similar. Mosaic glass beads with an eye motif were found in both the tomb of Atenatan and Tomb C.

The earrings from the selection studied are quite comparable. Most consist of plain loops, varying in their thickness. The characteristic crescent-shaped earrings (loops which are considerably thicker in the middle of the lower part and taper towards the ends, creating a crescent shape) of the tomb of Atenatan and the hypogeum of Zabda are comparable as well. Fingerrings vary from plain loops to loops with an oval bezel on top to rings with a gem or glass inset. Special is fingerring nr. 55, the golden ring with a glass bead attached with twisted golden wire.

Interestingly, none of the twelve pendants is similar. The most correspondence is visible with the two ivory figurine-like pendants from Tomb C (nr. 52 and 53), both found in the same burial. These two pendants, as well as two others from Tomb C (nr. 51 and 54, shaped as a dog and Bes) have an amulet appearance, but count here as jewellery as they are drilled and have traces of wire, which indicates that they were worn. Another striking pendant is nr. 72: the cylindrical glass bead with the three smaller golden pendants, found in the burial of skeleton 1 of loculus ENL1-0.

Context

For every of the 84 pieces of jewellery the overall context is known, they were all found in one of the six discussed grave monuments. Specific find spots within the tombs are often more difficult to determine, because of the high rate of disturbance. This results in jewellery being found somewhere on the ground throughout the funerary chambers, without any connection to a specific burial, though the items were originally placed with the deceased. In five out of the six grave monuments nonetheless, several specific burial niches or *loculi* were indentified that held one or more pieces of jewellery: in total 32, where ca. 75% of the total amount of jewellery from this selection was found. As stated above, eight of these burials had two or more pieces of jewellery.

Besides jewellery other grave goods were found as well, in thirteen of the 32 identified burials to be exact. In five of them jewellery was discovered together with one or more lamps (Alaine ~ burial niche 3; Sassan ~ burial niche 28; Tomb C ~ pit grave P5 and loculus R4-0; Tomb F ~ burial of skeleton 5 of loculus ENL1-0). Another included lamps and vases (Alaine ~ burial niche 14). Two child burials contained each a bronze bell (Tomb F ~ EI7 and WI-1). In two infant pit graves from Tomb C a bronze bell and a coin were discovered (P2), as well as a bronze pin, glass vases and a lead object (P7). In a further burial in Tomb C a bronze bell and fragments of bronze chains were found (M3-0). Besides the richest assemblage of jewellery, the burial of skeleton 1 of loculus ENL1-0 in Tomb F also contained a human-shaped amulet, resembling a clothed female-like figure (fig. 7).

Fig. 7 - Amulet found with skeleton 1 of loculus ENL1-0 of Tomb F (height 13.3 cm)

Together with the second richest assemblage of jewellery, grave C 1 *d* in the hypogeum of Zabda, a little shell, two glass vases and a bronze bell were discovered. In front of this burial (the skeleton material indicates that it belonged to a young woman) two small graves of newborns were found (possibly twins) and the architecture points to the three graves being an ensemble (Michalowski 1960, 156-7). Perhaps the young woman died in childbirth?

How common was it for the Palmyrenes to bury their deceased with jewellery or other grave goods? Taking Tomb C as an example[22], it appears that in eleven from the 31 used *loculi* grave goods were discovered. Five of them included jewellery (three other *loculi* only held jewellery items and no other grave goods). From the six pit graves (infant burials) three possessed grave goods, all of them including jewellery. From the adult burials thus ca. 35% held grave goods, and from the child burials 50%. This suggests grave goods were not omnipresent, and that they were more common with deceased children than adults. Remarkably, the burial of the founder of Tomb C, identifiable through the bust including inscription that seals of his grave, did not contain any grave goods (Higuchi and Izumi 1994, 52-53).

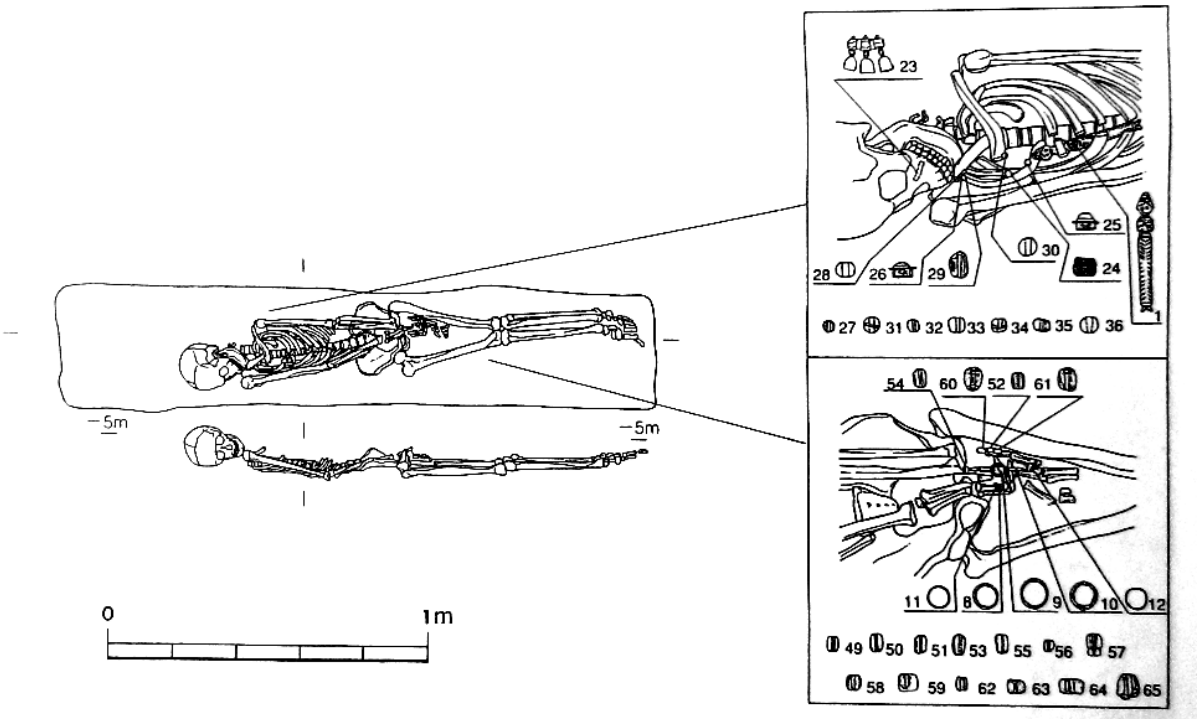


Fig 8 - The position of jewellery items and other grave goods found on skeleton 1 of loculus ENL1-0 (Tomb F)

[22] Because Tomb C did not show traces of artificial disturbance (Saito 2005, 157), it presents a good illustration, as in the case of disturbed tombs the information on the grave goods will be distorted.

For several burials there is information on where in the grave and on the body the jewellery was found. Fingerring nr. 46 for example was found on a finger of the left hand of the deceased in loculus R4-0 (Tomb C). One group of beads was found around the neck area of skeleton 1 of loculus ENL1-0 (Tomb F), another group of beads around the wrist area, and fingerrings nr. 57-61 on the right hand, see fig. 8. Fingerrings nr. 62-64 were discovered on the middle finger of the left hand of skeleton 5 of loculus ENL1-0 (Tomb F). Earrings 67-70 were found close to the ears of the deceased infant of loculus EL2-0 (Tomb F), see fig. 9. And pendant nr. 71 was discovered in the neck region of the deceased of loculus EL6-0 (Tomb F).

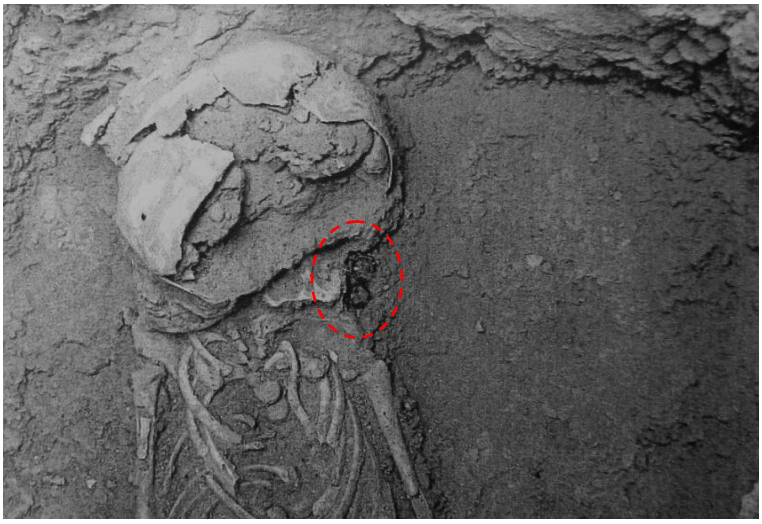


Fig. 9 - The position of the earrings found in the grave of the deceased infant of loculus EL2-0 (Tomb F)

Gender and social position

For 22 of the 32 identified burials with jewellery there is more information on the deceased. Analysis of skeletal material confirmed that three burials were of adult males, six burials were of adult females, twelve burials were of children, and one burial belonged to two adult males and one child. As for the age of the males, two were between 20-39 years old, two between 40-59 years old, and one male was older than 60 years. As for the age of the females: one was estimated between 40-59 years old, one around eighteen years old, and two were classified as adult, one as middle-aged and one as young. For the children, gender could not be determined, but the age of four of them was: two children were younger than one year old and two children were between 5-7 years old. There is a high amount of infant burials with jewellery, so it is unfortunate that it is unknown whether we are dealing with boys, girls or both.

In total 47 of the total of 84 pieces of jewellery could be connected with a type of burial (male adult, female adult, child, combination). When we look at the number of individual jewellery

pieces placed per category of deceased (a group of beads is counted as one piece) it turns out that nine pieces were placed with adult males, 21 pieces were placed with adult females, seventeen pieces were placed with children, and one piece of jewellery was found in the burial of two adult males and one child. See table 6 for an overview of the number of burials with jewellery and the amount of jewellery per type of deceased. The majority of the jewellery items can be connected to female adults and children. An average of the number of jewellery items per identified burial however reveals that on average female adults were buried with most items per grave (3.5), followed by male adults (3) and children (1.4) (table 6). So in the actual amount of jewellery per deceased female adults lead, with male adults as second best. And though the total number of infant burials with jewellery exceeds by far the number of male and female burials, on average there were not many items of jewellery placed with them.

Table 6 - Overview of the number of burials with jewellery and the amount of jewellery per type of deceased (Palmyra)

	Male	Female	Child	Combination
Number of burials with jewellery	3	6	12	1
Pieces of jewellery	9	21	17	1
Average number of jewellery per burial	3	3.5	1.4	1

It is worth to take a closer look at the separate categories of jewellery per type of deceased (table 7). The focus here is on the four main categories of jewellery from this selection: beads (counted per group), pendants, earrings and fingerrings.

Table 7 - The number of jewellery per jewellery category per type of deceased (Palmyra)

	Male	Female	Child
Beads (groups)	2	3	10
Pendants	6	3	-
Earrings	-	7	4
Fingerrings	1	8	2

First, the high amount of beads buried with children stands out. Second, there is a clear male-female divide with respect to the other three categories of jewellery. When men are buried with jewellery, pendants dominate. Interestingly, four of the six pendants from this selection buried with men are those with the amuletic character, i.e. the ivory pendants shaped as a dog and the two figurines and the stone pendant of Bes. Female adults are mostly buried with earrings and fingerrings. Earrings are absent in the male burials, as are pendants in the infant burials. Earrings and fingerrings are present in infant burials, though in smaller amounts than in the female burials. These types of jewellery were thus not reserved for adults.

A remarkable difference between the jewellery of the adult female burials and the infant burials appears in the materials used. Focusing on pendants, earrings and fingerrings, it shows that the jewellery of the adult females is for 2/3 made from a precious metal, both silver (N=10) and gold (N=2). The six jewellery items of the infants are all made of copper.

Because of the lack of busts and inscriptions that could be connected to one of the identified burials with jewellery, only in one case the identity of the deceased person could be determined. In the hypogeum of Sassan tomb 3 in burial niche 6 was sealed off with the bust of a woman called Nabî. This bust is discussed below with the sculptural representations (bust nr. 3). Nevertheless, it is likely that the jewellery from this selection was placed with deceased from upper classes, as they were the ones to afford these type of grave monuments.

6.3 Description of the sculptural representations from Palmyra

The sculptural representations will be described in short in the order as they appear in the catalogue by Sadurska and Bounni (1994). The numbers between brackets are the database numbers of the sculptures created for this study. Appendix D gives an overview of the sample of sculptural representations from Rome used in this study, including images.

Before describing the individual busts, it is useful to point to a number of similarities between the funerary busts of Palmyra. They are broadly stylistically alike, though there are variations seen through time. The eyes for example are carved and shaped prominently. Also the persons are represented frontal, but with depth. They are not sculpted in the round though, the back is flat. Often, the person depicted is making a certain gesture, like pointing at something or holding something. Most portraits have an inscription in Palmyrene (an Aramaic dialect) on the left or right side above the shoulder, indicating the person's name and descent. Just like most Palmyrene funerary busts, the ones described below are all made of limestone. They measure on average ca. 45x45 cm.

The first sculpture is the bust of an unknown woman from ca. 120-140 AD (**nr. 1**). There is no inscription. The bust is well preserved. With her large eyes the woman gazes straight forward, her hands - with extended fingers – are held below her breast. In her left hand she holds an unusual object: a large ring with buttons on the outer rim, sometimes explained as a calendar for domestic use (Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 44). She wears a headband and a turban underneath a cloak that is draped as a veil. Covering the head with a veil or mantle was fashionable in different areas of the ancient east as well as the west (Goldman, 1994: 165). Strands of hair are visible above and below her ears. As for jewellery other than the headband, she wears a trapezoidal brooch with a rosette finial and key pendant on her left shoulder, and on each ear four earrings – three plain rings on the rim and one shaped like a bunch of grapes on the earlobe.

The next sculpture is the bust of a woman named Nabî from ca. 170-200 AD (**nr. 2**). The inscription (above her left shoulder) translates as: ´Nabî, daughter of A'ailamî, son of Lišamš, alas´. The bust is in a good state, though the colour of the surface has turned a bit dark. Nabî gazes straight forward and her expression is neutral. She holds her veil with her right hand, raising it to collarbone level. This, raising an arm to chin or collarbone level, was known in Rome as the *pudicitia* gesture (pointing to modesty and fidelity) and is typically made by women in the Palmyra funerary portraiture, though it might not have had the same meaning there (Heyn, 2010: 635). With her left hand she holds a loop of her garment. She wears a headband with a floral design, a head-chain (made of round stones) and a knotted turban underneath a veil. Only part of her hair shows around her ears. Further she wears a trapezoidal brooch with a rosette finial on her left shoulder, a pair of 'dumb-bell' earrings (two balls with a vertical bar between them) on her earlobes, two fingerrings (one on the base of her little finger and one on the middle of her ring-finger), and a necklace consisting of a chain of stones and a round pendant.

The third sculpture is the bust of a woman named Nabî from ca. 110-130 AD (**nr. 3**). The inscription (above her left shoulder) translates as: ´Nabî, daughter of Belšûrî, alas´. The bust is well preserved. Her head is turned slightly to the left, and her gaze is not pointed straight forward at the viewer, but is wandering to the left. Her right hand is raised to collarbone level and her left hand holds a spindle and distaff. She wears a headband with a floral design and a turban underneath a veil. Her hair can be seen curling around the sides of the headband. She wears a trapezoidal brooch with a rosette finial on her left shoulder, a pair of earrings shaped like a bunch of grapes on her earlobes, and four fingerrings on her left hand (on each finger one, except for the thumb).

The following sculpture is the bust of a woman named Halî from ca. 140-160 AD (**nr. 4**). The inscription (above her left shoulder) translates as: ´Alas, Halî, daughter of Yamlâ´. The bust is in a good state. Halî gazes straight forward. Her right hand is raised to collarbone level and in her left hand (index finger and middle finger extended) she holds a loop of her garment. She wears a headband (the design is somewhat unclear, but at least consists of vertical lines) and a knotted turban underneath a veil. Her hair curls around both sides of the headband and turban. As other jewellery she wears a trapezoidal brooch with an animal-head finial on her left shoulder, a pair of dumb-bell earrings on her earlobes, and a fingerring on the base of her little finger of her left hand.

There is a bust of another woman named Nabî, from ca. 160-180 AD (**nr. 5**). The inscription (above her left shoulder) translates as: ´Nabî, daughter of Oggâ, (son of) Sassan, alas´. This woman appears to be younger than the other women represented in this selection. She does not wear a headband, turban or veil, and her hairstyle is remarkable, with short curls around her forehead and the rest of the hair braided to the back. Her head is turned slightly to the left and that is also where her gaze is pointed at. Her right hand is held across her chest and her left hand straight over her stomach. She wears a necklace of round stones and the rim of her ears seem to be adorned with a type of earcover. In the background you can see two rosettes with palm leaves attached, with a piece of drapery in between.

This is a frequent type of background for Palmyrene funerary reliefs. There is no consensus on the exact meaning of this background. Some say this *dorsalium* is a Hellenistic tradition symbolising the interior of a house, while another explanation is that it symbolises the boundary between life and death, and even another that the curtain is a cloth used in the funerary ritual (Colledge 1976, 157). In inscriptions the Palmyrene grave monuments are often described as 'houses of eternity' (Colledge 1976, 62)[23], so when you interpret the tombs as representing the interiors of eternal houses, the first explanation given would sound accurate.

The next sculpture is the bust of a woman named Malkat from ca. 150-170 AD (**nr. 6**). The inscription (above her left shoulder) translates as: ´Alas, Malkat, daugther of Oggâ, son of Sassan´. The bust is well preserved. Malkat holds her head a bit sideways, but gazes forward. She holds her veil with her right hand, raising it to collarbone level, and in her left hand she holds a spindle and distaff. She wears a headband with a floral design, a head-chain (made of

[23] The epitaph tablet found in the first chamber of Tomb C for example translates as: "This eternal house, YRHY, son of LSMS, son of MLKW, who is called 'HLTA', has built for himself and for his sons in their honour of eternity in the month of Nisan (April), the year 420 (109 AD)" (Higuchi and Izumi 1994, 127).

round stones) and a knotted turban underneath a veil. Her hair curls around the headband, under the head-chain. Further, she wears a trapezoidal brooch (type of finial unclear) on her left shoulder, a pair of dumb-bell earrings on her earlobes, and a necklace consisting of a chain of stones with an oval pendant, which itself has three smaller pendants.

In total there are four busts of women named Nabî, this last one is from ca. 160-180 AD (**nr. 7**). The inscription (above her left shoulder) translates as: ´Nabî, daughter of Yarhibôlâ, alas´. The bust is in a very good state and in the background a similar *dorsalium* background as on sculpture nr. 5 can be seen. She gazes straight forward, holding her veil with her right hand (index finger and little finger extended), raising it to collarbone level. In her left hand (index finger and middle finger extended) she holds a loop of her garment. She wears a headband with a floral design and a turban underneath a veil. Her hair curls around both sides of the headband and turban. As other jewellery she wears a trapezoidal brooch with an animal-head finial on her left shoulder, a pair of dumb-bell earrings on her earlobes, and two necklaces, one on the base of her throat and the other a bit lower. The first consists of a chain of round stones and the second of a chain with stones and an oval pendant, which itself has three smaller pendants.

The eighth sculpture is the bust of a woman named Amtâ from ca. 140-160 AD (**nr. 8**). The inscription (above her left shoulder) translates as: ´Alas, Amtâ, daughter of Sassan, Samâ, her daughter´. The bust has some damages, but as a whole is rather well preserved. She gazes straight forward, holding her veil with her right hand (index finger and little finger extended), raising it to collarbone level. In her left hand (index finger extended) she holds a loop of her garment. She wears a headband (design unclear) and a turban underneath a veil. The hair curls around both sides of the headband and turban. She wears a trapezoidal brooch (type of finial unclear) on her left shoulder and a pair of dumb-bell earrings on her earlobes. Above her right shoulder there is a small female figurine, probably her daughter Samâ who is also mentioned in the inscription. Children were habitually depicted on a smaller scale on Palmyrene funerary busts, holding e.g. bunches of grapes or small animals (Colledge 1976, 156).

Amtâ was a popular name as well: the next sculpture is the bust of a woman named Amtâ from ca. 170-200 AD (**nr. 9**). The inscription (above her left shoulder) translates as: ´Amtâ, daughter of Malkâl, (son of) Moqîmû, alas´. She gazes straight forward, holding her veil with her right hand, raising it to collarbone level. In her left hand (index finger and little finger extended) she holds a loop of her garment. She wears a headband with a floral design, a head-chain (made of round stones) and a knotted turban underneath a veil. Her hair is seen curled around over the headband, under the head-chain. As for other jewellery, she wears a circular,

richly decorated brooch with three small pendants on her left shoulder, one pair of dumb-bell earrings on her earlobes, two fingerrings on her little finger, and two necklaces, one very high on her neck (more a neck-ring) and one on the base of her throat. The first is a simple ring with a flower-like pendant, and the second consists of a chain of stones.

The third bust of a woman named Amtâ is dated to ca. 100-130 AD (**nr. 10**). The inscription (above her left shoulder, partly damaged) translates as: ´Alas, Amtâ, daughter of Malkû, wife of Belšûrî, son of Sassan´. The bust has some damages, e.g. on the left hand and turban, but is further well preserved. She gazes straight forward, holding her veil with her right hand (index finger extended) raising it to collarbone level, and with her left hand holding a spindle and distaff. She wears a headband with a floral design and a knotted turban underneath a veil. Strands of hair are visible above and below her ears. Further, she wears a trapezoidal brooch with a rosette finial and key pendant on her left shoulder, a pair of earrings on her earlobes shaped like a bunch of grapes, and two necklaces below each other on the base of her throat, consisting both of a chain of round stones.

The next sculpture is the bust of a woman named Tammâ from ca. 100-120 AD (**nr. 11**). The inscription (above both shoulders) translates as: ´Alas, Tammâ, daughter of Sîgâ (and), daughter of Belšûrî´. Tammâ gazes straight forward and touches her chin with her right index. In her left hand she is holding a spindle and distaff. She wears a broad headband (the design is somewhat unclear, but at least consists of vertical lines) and a twisted turban underneath a veil. Strands of hair are visible above and below her ears. Further she wears a trapezoidal brooch (type of finial unclear) on her left shoulder and a pair of earrings on her earlobes shaped like a bunch of grapes.

The earliest sculpture from this selection is the bust of a woman named Aqmat from ca. 80-100 AD (**nr. 12**). The inscription translates as: ´Aqmat, daughter of Barûq[â], son of Taimšâ, wife of Belšûrî, son of Mattai Rabbâ, alas´. Despite some corrosion, the bust is in a good state. She gazes straight forward, holding a spindle and distaff in her left hand and a loop of her garment in her right hand. She wears a headband, adorned with vertical lines, and knotted turban underneath a veil. The way she wears her cloak draped as a veil, with both of her arms in the slings, gives the bust a triangular outline. Her ears are heavily ornamented: at least 8 pair of earrings (plain rings) cover the rims of both ears. Besides that, she wears a trapezoidal brooch (type of finial unclear) on her left shoulder.

The following sculpture is the bust of a woman named Šalmat from ca. 100-130 AD (**nr. 13**). The inscription (above both shoulders) translates as: ´Alas, Šalmat, daughter of Malqû, (son of) Mattai, alas. Šalma[t], wife of Taim'amed, son of Zebîdâ´. Several parts of the bust are

damaged, for instance the left hand and the lower part of the face (nose and mouth). Šalmat gazes straight forward, while her right hand (index finger and middle finger extended) is held across her chest and her left hand holds a spindle and distaff. She wears a headband ornamented with dots and lines and a twisted and knotted turban underneath a veil. Strands of hair curl around her ears and fall on her shoulders. On her left shoulder she wears a trapezoidal brooch (type of finial unclear) and on her earlobes a pair of earrings shaped like a bunch of grapes.

Next is the bust of a woman named Barnîm from ca. 170-200 AD (**nr. 14**). The inscription (above her left shoulder) translates as: ´Barnîm, daughter of Sassan, son of Bôrrefâ, alas. Made for her, Bôlmâ, her son´. The bust is preserved rather well, though the colour of the surface has turned a bit dark. Her head is slightly turned to the right, so her gaze is not directly pointed to the viewer. Interestingly, in contrast to the other busts discussed here, Barnîm holds her veil with her left hand, raising it to collarbone level. Her right hand rests below her breast. She wears a headband with a floral design and a knotted turban underneath a veil. Her hair can be seen curling around the sides of the headband. Further, she wears a trapezoidal brooch (finial does not show as her left hand is in front of it) on her left shoulder.

The fifteenth sculpture is the bust of a woman named Bîlat from ca. 140-170 AD (**nr. 15**). The inscription (above her left shoulder) translates as: ´Bîlat, daughter of Elahbel, alas´. This bust is in a very good state. With her big eyes, Bîlat gazes straight forward. She holds her veil with her right hand, raising it to collarbone level, and in her left hand she holds a spindle and distaff. She wears a headband with a floral and geometrical design and a knotted and twisted turban underneath a veil. Strands of her hair are curled around her headband and fall on her shoulders. On her left shoulder she wears a trapezoidal brooch with an animal-head finial, on her earlobes a pair of earring shaped like a bunch of grapes, and on the little finger of her left hand a fingerring.

The final sculpture is the bust of a woman named Marâ from ca. 150-180 AD (**nr. 16**). The inscription (above her left shoulder) translates as: ´Marâ, daughter of Bar'atê, alas´. There are some damages to the bust, e.g. the right arm and the right cheek. This bust stands out in the fact that the contours are very angular. All in all it appears less smoothly worked than the others discussed here. The left hand for example has the appearance of a rectangular block, the nails are not indicated. Marâ's head is turned slightly to the left, so she does not gaze straight forward. With her right hand, raised to collarbone level, she holds her veil and in her left hand (all fingers extended) she holds a loop of her garment. She wears a headband, with a simple design of vertical and transverse lines, and a knotted turban underneath a veil. Her hair

curls around the sides of the headband in big waves. On her left shoulder she wears a rectangular brooch with a rosette finial and key pendant.

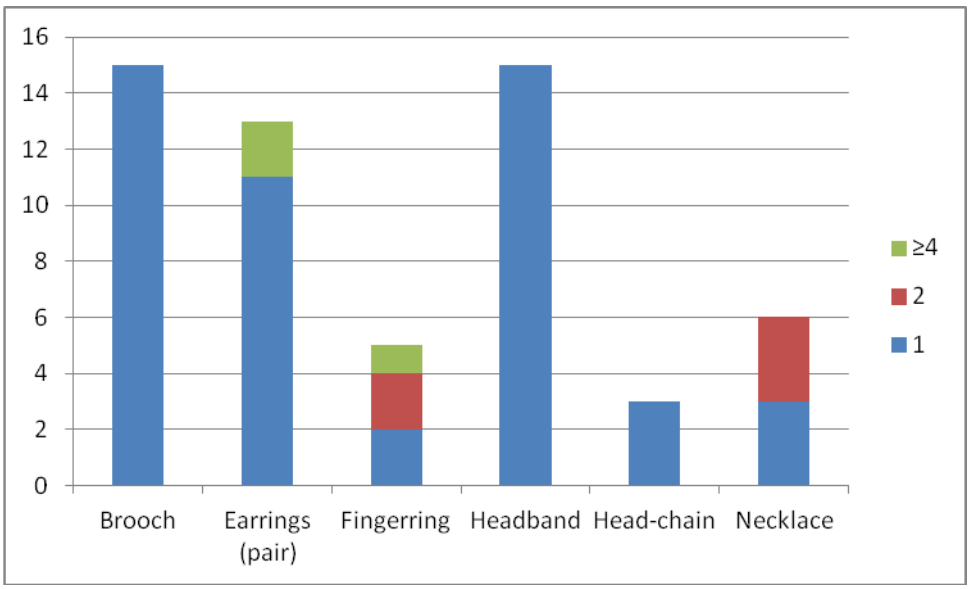
6.4 Sculptural representations of jewellery from Palmyra

Here the results of the sculptural representations of jewellery will be examined per central aspect, i.e.: types of jewellery, context, social position of the portrayed, and gender.

Types of jewellery

In total six types of jewellery were identified on the sixteen discussed busts: brooches, earrings, fingerrings, headbands, head-chains and necklaces. Brooches, earrings and headbands appear to be the most popular types of jewellery to represent (see graph 3). Because we are dealing with busts, the jewellery items represented all connect to the upper part of the body, but do consist of a wide range of different types. Specific focus is on jewellery to adorn the forehead (headband), jewellery to complement the garment at the shoulder region (brooches), and jewellery for the ears (earrings). Piercing of the ears is common. Not only the earlobes, but also the rim of the ear serves as a place for adornment, so the entire ear is used.

Graph 3 - The number of busts displaying the different types of jewellery, divided per amount (Palmyra)



One brooch is worn by 15 out of the 16 women, always on the left shoulder. The most common shape is trapezoidal (N=13) with either a rosette or animal-head finial, and in two

cases with a key pendant. Keys are a frequently featured in Palmyrene funerary art, but the symbolism behind it is not entirely clear. They could symbolise a possession on earth, the keys to the grave monument, or the 'key to the enter eternity' (Colledge 1976, 155). What is known is that sometimes the keys are inscribed with the phrase 'house of eternity' (Colledge 1976, 155). Besides the trapezoidal brooches there is one circular shaped brooch with three smaller pendants and one rectangular shaped brooch with a rosette finial and key pendant. The brooches themselves are decorated, with e.g. patterns and beading. Only the bust of the young woman (nr. 5) is without a brooch.

Thirteen women wear earrings, usually one pair on the earlobes (N=11), either dumb-bell earrings (N=6) or earrings shaped like a bunch of grapes (N=5). Two women wear multiple pairs. One wears four pairs, three plain rings on the rim of the ear and one pair on the earlobes shaped like a bunch of grapes (nr. 1). The other wears at least eight pairs, all plain rings attached to the rim of the ear (nr. 12). So the plain rings were only used on the rim of the ear. The ears of the young woman (bust nr. 5) seem to be adorned with a type of earcover, a special type of ear-jewellery (Mackay 1949, 168). Two women show no earrings at all (nr. 14 and 16), and with only a brooch and a headband they display the smallest assemblages of jewellery, together with bust nr. 5.

Five women wear fingerrings. Totals range from one fingerring (N=2) to two (N=2) and four (N=1) fingerrings. They are mostly worn on the little finger of the left hand, and in one case even two rings are present on this finger. The rings of the women who displays four, are all placed on an individual finger on the left hand, except the thumb. Usually the rings are positioned on the base of the finger, but one ring (on bust nr. 2) is placed on the middle of the ring-finger. Most of the women that wear fingerrings, belong to the group that displays the largest amount of jewellery in this selection of busts.

Just like the brooches, headbands are worn by fifteen out of the sixteen women. Again, only the young woman (bust nr. 5) does not wear one. The headbands are worn below a turban and veil, covering part of the forehead. They are all decorated, at least with some vertical, transverse lines, but preferably with an elaborate floral design.

Over their headbands, three women have hung a head-chain consisting of sequence of round stones. A head-chain is present on the busts of women who display in general a large assemblage of jewellery.

Necklaces are the final type of jewellery represented. Three women wear one and three women wear two necklaces. Normally they are worn around the neck, on the base of the throat. In one case (bust nr. 9) a necklace is worn extremely high around the neck, making it

more a neck-ring. This necklace consists of a simple thin ring with a flower-like pendant. The other eight necklaces are made of a basic chain of stones, of which three have a pendant. One is a simple round pendant, but the other two consist an oval pendant with three smaller pendants attached.

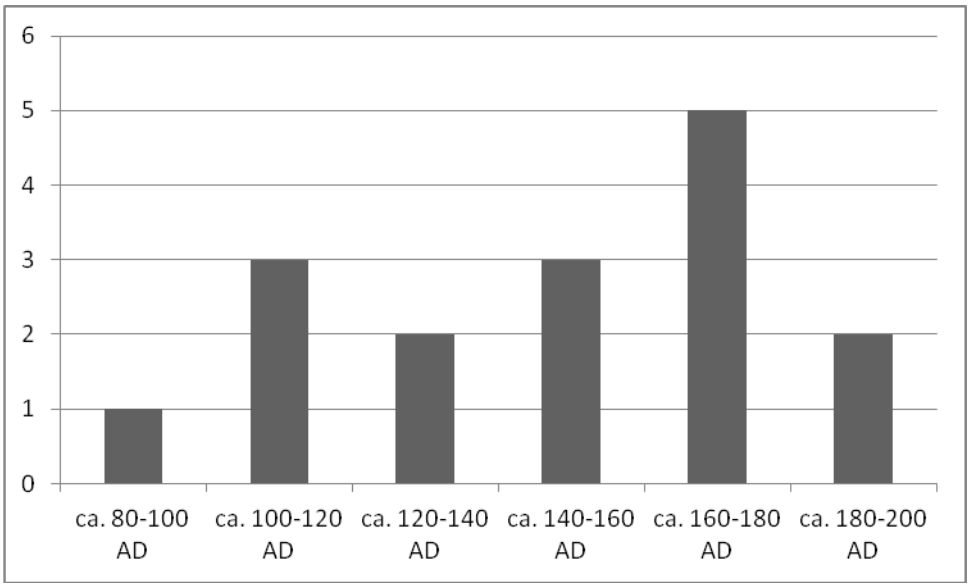
The total amount of separate pieces of jewellery represented on the busts (earrings counted per pair) adds up to 75. On average 4,7 pieces of jewellery are displayed per bust: the range is two to ten pieces per bust. The bust with the eight pairs of earrings accounts for this last number.

It is also possible to look at assemblages of types of jewellery. The three richest decorated busts wear five to six types of jewellery (nr. 2, 6 and 9). These can therefore be seen as most 'complete'. Only the women on these busts wear a head-chain, so this type of jewellery seems to be reserved as a 'finishing touch' to a further complete outfit. Three other busts display the most modest collection of jewellery. In two cases the women wear only a brooch and a headband (nr. 14 and 16). These types of jewellery thus seem to form the minimal part of an outfit. It also means that jewellery is only represented in the 'plural', there is no bust with one piece of jewellery, two pieces is the minimum.

A special case is the bust of the young woman (nr. 5). Her entire appearance stands out, as she has an unusual hairstyle and lacks a turban and veil. This is the only woman that does not wear a brooch or headband. Only a necklace and (possibly) earcovers are present. Remarkable is that the busts with the most modest as well as the most rich collection of jewellery are all from the period ca. 160-200 AD.

Graph 4 offers an overview of the number of busts per time period. Combining the information on the periods with the data on the amount, types, decorations of jewellery, gives a couple of insights. First, the six busts in the period ca. 80-140 AD display 33 pieces of jewellery, an average of 5,5 per bust, and the ten busts in the period ca. 140-200 AD 42 pieces of jewellery, an average of 4,2 per bust. This shows there is not a considerable difference in the amount of jewellery displayed through time. Second, fingerrings appear from the period ca. 120-140 AD onwards, while the head-chains (plus most necklaces) are represented only in the period ca. 160-200 AD. Other types of jewellery are displayed through all periods. A notable fact though is that earrings shaped like a bunch of grapes appear in the period ca. 80-140 AD, whereas the dumb-bell earrings are only represented on busts in the period ca. 140-200 AD. This might indicate a change regarding what type of earrings were fashionable.

Graph 4 - The number of busts per time period



At present it is difficult to determine what kind of material the sculpted jewellery was supposed to represent. Sometimes scholars are keen to describe a necklace on a funerary bust made up of a chain of stones simply as a 'pearl necklace' (see e.g. Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 45), but I believe we have to be more careful with those kind of conclusions. A comparison with the actual jewellery finds can suggest which materials were commonly used in jewellery manufacture. Besides, most sculptures in Palmyra were painted (Colledge 1976, 118-120), though traces are little now, and the colours will at the time have formed an indication to the kind of material the sculpted jewellery corresponded to. There are examples of funerary busts of women where the jewellery is covered with yellow paint, imitating gold (Colledge 1976, 120).

Context

As has become clear from the methodology chapter, all sixteen busts were found in the hypogeum of Sassan, where they covered the burial niches in which the deceased were placed. In total 42 individual busts were found in the hypogeum of Sassan, so ca. 38% of them represented women. In the tombs which the busts closed off, skeletal remains were found, but not analysed. Also inside, occasionally grave goods were found, as was also elaborated on above in the section on the context of the jewellery finds.

In general I would call the context of the hypogeum semi-private or semi-public. In Palmyra family members of the deceased had access to the tombs, so the busts were visible for generations to come (Heyn 2010, 632). Only relatives or others associated with the deceased

would be able to open the locks on the entrance doors of the tombs, and during their visit they would leave lamps (Saito 2005, 159).

We thus can identify the location, the viewing context (deliberate visits to mourn, pray and perhaps worship), as well as the viewers (relatives of the deceased) of these sculptures. This must be taken into account in the interpretation of the busts. The commissioners must have been aware of the type of context in which the sculptures would be viewed, as well as by who they would be viewed. With all this in mind the deceased will have been represented in a certain way, conveying messages on his or her identity and role in society. The sculptures will have evoked a certain response from the family members.

Gender and social position

Of fifteen of the sixteen busts we have more information on the identity of the person represented, because of the inscriptions. They include the names of the women and their descent. All women are described at least as 'daughter of [name of the father]'. Just one inscription names both parents (bust nr. 11). In seven cases the descent of the father is inscribed as 'son of [name of the father]'. In three cases the women are also described as 'wife of [name of husband]' (busts nr. 10, 12 and 13). The descent of their husbands is also inscribed as 'son of [name of the father]'. In all three cases both husband and father are listed. It is unclear if this means that only three women of this selection of busts were married. The jewellery represented on these busts in any case does not particularly stand out. They do all three hold a spindle and distaff in their left hand, but four other women do as well. It could have been a tradition to focus in the inscriptions on the descent on the side of the deceased person's father.

The inscriptions further reveal that we are dealing with at least two mothers. The daughter of the deceased woman of bust nr. 8 is represented with her on the sculpture and mentioned in the inscription. The reason for representing children on funerary busts of adults is unclear, but it occurs with both men and women (Heyn 2010, 638). In the inscription of bust nr. 14 it is noted that the monument for the deceased woman was made by her son Bôlmâ. It is likely that these women were also married.

The women represented must all have been part of the same family, the family for which the tomb was constructed. How they are exactly related is not always apparent. Only for bust nr. 5 and 6 the inscriptions point to the two women being sisters. Overall the represented women will have belonged to the higher class. Their family was affluent and important enough to found and sustain this quite large hypogeum. A genealogy was reconstructed by Sadurska and

Bounni (1994, 42), leading to an overview of more than 70 family members divided over six generations from ca. 80-200 AD.

The age of the women represented is difficult to determine. None of them seem old, though they probably did not all died as young as they look. The images are idealised in that sense. The size of the skeletons retrieved from the graves (as listed in Saliby 1992) does confirm that we are dealing with grown women, not children. One represented woman appears to be younger than the rest though (bust nr. 5), and her appearance, e.g. dress and hair, differs from the others as well. She is the only one not wearing a brooch or a decorated headband (nor a turban and veil). If the estimation of her age is correct, this could mean that certain types of jewellery, like the headband, were reserved for women in a later stage of life, maybe after a certain age, marriage or having children (thus perhaps after acquiring a matron-like status?).

Fig. 10 - Bust from the hypogeum of Bôlbarak

Fig. 11 - Stèle of a girl from the hypogeum of Sassan

Remarkable is that this is the only female bust in the Sadurska and Bounni catalogue (1994) with this divergent appearance, and she bears more resemblance to some of the children of the deceased persons that are represented as small figurines on their busts (fig. 10). She also resembles the girl of a stèle from the hypogeum of Sassan (S&B cat. nr. 94), who we can tell is young by the small animal, a dove, she is holding in her left hand. This young girl wears two necklaces and a pair of earrings (fig. 11).

Jewellery forms an eye-catching aspect of the female Palmyrene funerary busts, and already a quick observation of the selection of male funerary busts in the Sadurska and Bounni catalogue (1994) makes immediately clear that men are scarcely seen wearing jewellery, except for the occasional fingerring or fibula. The difference between men and women regarding jewellery representations is thus apparent.

Besides jewellery also the gestures and attributes of the examined busts allude to the female sphere. In total nine of the sixteen busts display the *pudicitia* gesture, a distinctive 'feminine' gesture. Seven out of the sixteen women are seen holding a spindle and distaff in their left hand. Men have not been represented with these types of domestic attributes normally used by women at home. On four busts both the *pudicitia* gesture is made with the right hand and the spindle and distaff are held in the left. On the other hand, seven women are seen holding a loop of their garment, a gesture also seen on male busts. In this selection of busts I did not find a specific connection between the gestures and attributes on the one side, and the amount and types of jewellery displayed on the other side.

7. Discussion

In this chapter the results from the previous two chapters are discussed by answering the four subquestions.

7.1 What kind of real jewellery has been found, where, and by whom was it owned?

Rome

For Rome the selection of jewellery consisted of 49 pieces, including one *bulla*, three bracelets, four brooches, one cameo, two pair of earrings, twelve fingerrings, thirteen hairpins, one hairnet, five necklaces, one medal amulet, one pendant, elements of gold leaf, and a set of miniature jewellery on an ivory doll. Most pieces stem from the second half of the second century AD. The high number of fingerrings and hairpins stands out against the lesser amount of other types of jewellery. Jewellery to adorn the hair seems to have been favoured. Remarkable was the variety in the appearances of the jewellery of the sample set in this study, visible for instance with the group of fingerrings and the individual and production-intensive modelled hairpins. However, the variety in this selection does not mean that we are dealing with unique pieces of jewellery (similar items have been described in Higgins 1961, 178-192), but that attention was paid to make them more individual.

The most popular material for jewellery appeared to be gold and gold combined with a (precious) stone. Examples of other materials are bone, amber, silver and ivory. Three often used stones were sapphire, emerald and garnet, but amethyst, carnelian, diamond, rock crystal and sardonyx appeared as well. It is clear that overall valuable materials were used in the manufacture of these Roman jewellery items. Looking at the context where they were found, it was not uncommon to bury this expensive jewellery with the dead (though below a note will be placed regarding the type of the deceased where jewellery was placed with).

Six graves were identified from which two or more pieces of jewellery were recovered. The assemblages range from two to eighteen pieces of jewellery (6.8 items on average). The most common combination in an assemblage is a necklace and a fingerring. Fingerrings (up to six) and hairpins (up to five) are the two types of jewellery that are found in larger quantities per grave. Three rings per hand and five pins in the hair do function in the plural, not only in the grave, but also in real life, in the sense that they do not have to hinder each other. This could be exactly the kind of opulent display that was criticised by ancient authors as showing off.

In total there were ten identified contexts for the jewellery from this selection, all burials, so the pieces were found around and on the body of deceased persons in sarcophagi and tombs. Exact positions are unknown, with the exception of the mummy of the Grottarossa burial, but probably the jewellery was worn at the time of the burial. In six of these ten contexts, jewellery was discovered in association with a considerable collection of other grave goods, including a mirror, dolls, figurines, amulets, a spindle and distaff, bowls, and variety of containers, holders and boxes.

The sex of the owner of the jewellery was known for nine out of the ten contexts, resulting in the confirmation that most of the jewellery (90%) was places with a deceased woman. For another piece of jewellery, the *bulla*, it is highly likely that is was placed in the grave of a boy. The grave goods point to the same conclusion that follows from the analysis of skeletal material: the toilet articles are part of the *mundus muliebrus* (the feminine sphere), the spindle and distaff are domestic items handled by women, and the dolls were childhood toys for girls.

Besides information on the sex of the owners, there is also information on age for three of the deceased women. Two were adolescents when they died, between sixteen and twenty years old, and one was around eight years old. Since normally jewellery was not placed in graves, but was part of a dowry and passed on from generation to generation, and the grave goods in these cases included childhood toys, it must be considered that all deceased women from the burials were young, unmarried women.

The first thing is especially important to keep in mind here with regard to the context in which the jewellery was found: the fact that most jewellery from this selection was found in graves is not a part of the evidence of this study that should be generalised. Apparently it was unusual to bury the dead with jewellery, except in the case of a specific category of deceased: young, unmarried women and girls (and the *bulla* points to the burial of a, likewise unmarried, boy). Perhaps this also is the reason for the expensiveness of the jewellery placed in the graves. In these cases, as the tradition of passing on jewellery was broken (at least in the case of an only child), valuable items were appropriate to place with the deceased. The expensiveness of the jewellery and richness of other grave goods further points to the young women probably coming from the more wealthier families in society.

Palmyra

For Palmyra the selection of jewellery consisted of 84 pieces, including 25 groups of beads (308 individual beads), four bracelets, one brooch, 26 earrings, fifteen fingerrings, one gem, one necklace, one group of pearls (34 individual pearls) and twelve pendants. The beads and

pendants indicate there were originally more bracelets and necklaces than appears from the numbers now. The high number of beads, pendants, earrings and fingerrings stands out against the rest. Earrings are particularly popular. Assuming the beads and pendants formed bracelets and necklaces once, these categories of jewellery should not be underestimated. Dating of the jewellery items is uncertain in most cases, but the majority will stem from the second century AD and the earliest finds are from the beginning of the first century AD. In the selection of jewellery both differences and similarities in appearances are visible. The beads vary in shape and material, though the simplest plain glass bead are very alike. The twelve pendants are all different, whereas the earrings found are rather comparable.

It appeared that bronze, copper, iron (26 items in total, excluding the beads) and silver (seventeen items in total, excluding the beads) were the most used materials in this selection of jewellery. Examples of other materials are pearl, glass paste, ivory and gold (one to three items per material, excluding the beads). For the beads glass, carnelian, amethyst, coral shell, (lime)stone, bone, ceramics, faïence, gold, slate, bronze/copper, agate, silver, wood, and lapis lazuli were used. Glass was most popular. So in the manufacture of these Palmyrene jewellery items a combination of costly and less valuable materials was used, precious metals and stones are not especially prominent. This result could stem from the fact that most studied grave monuments were looted, but also in the case it was simply uncommon to bury the dead with jewellery made from precious metals and stones.

Eight burials were identified from which two or more pieces of jewellery were recovered. The assemblages range from two to eight pieces of jewellery (4.5 items on average). Beads and pendants were most common in these assemblages, probably parts of necklaces and bracelets. Found in larger quantities per burial were fingerrings and earrings, up to five per burial. For earrings this means one person was buried with two to three pairs of earrings. This is interesting, because (assuming the jewellery was worn at the time of burial) it would seem multiple holes in one ear was customary. Wearing multiple numbers of earrings would have resulted in a striking appearance, an appearance which would have perhaps been considered exotic in Rome and which would have been heavily criticised by an author like Pliny (if he would have seen them), just like he did with Roman women.

All jewellery items were found in a grave monument in Palmyra, and about three-quarter of these items were found in one of the 32 specific identified burials. For some jewellery the position on the body was recorded during excavation. As fingerrings were found on hands, and earrings close to ears, leading to think that the jewellery was worn when the deceased were buried. Overall, burying jewellery and other grave goods appears not common in the

Palmyrene grave monuments. The founder of Tomb C, assumed to have had a high status in the Palmyrene community, was not buried with any items at all, leading to think that generally jewellery and other grave goods did not serve as markers of the status of the deceased. They were in any case not used by the Tomb's founder to distinguish himself with, signalling his wealth and status. In some other graves there have been lamps, vases, bronze bells and amulets found in association with jewellery. These were more common with deceased children than adults.

The sex of the owner of the jewellery was confirmed for multiple burials. Three graves belonged to adult males between 20 and >60 years old. Six graves belonged to adult females of various ages, also between circa 20 and 60 years old. Besides these, there were twelve graves of children with jewellery. Some are younger than one year, others are around 5-7 years old, but their sex is unknown. In another grave two adult males and a child were buried. Over half of the pieces of jewellery were found in one of these 22 graves, so could be connected to either a male owner, a female owner or an infant owner. On the whole, the most pieces were placed with the adult females and infants, though the average number of jewellery per grave varies between these categories of deceased ranging from 1.4 (infants) to 3.5 (adult females). Most jewellery was thus placed with women and children, but the amount of jewellery per burial differs significantly.

As for the types of jewellery there is a clear divide visible, men are mostly buried with pendants, women with earrings and fingerrings, and children with beads (earrings and fingerrings in smaller amount). For the children this means it is likely that they were buried with necklaces and/or bracelets. And apparently it was accepted for young children to adorn their fingers and ears. Particularly the earrings found are noteworthy as it would mean the ears of children were pierced. On top of this there is a divide in materials used: the jewellery belonging to infants is made of copper and most jewellery placed with adult females is made from silver.

It would be of great interest to know whether the infants were boys or girls, but until then I believe we should not rush to conclusions about the sex of the children. The results show that both male and female adults are buried with jewellery. Thus it would be inapt to make statements on gender regarding the infants[24], something Saito (2005, 158) does do: 'it is reasonable to assume that boys were not buried with any accessories and that girls were [...]'. This does not take in the possibility that the status of children could have been quite different

[24] Even more because on funerary busts both young boys and girls are seen displaying jewellery items.

from adults, and that it was not uncommon to bury both boys and girls with jewellery. Perhaps in this case the fact that there were a lot of children buried with jewellery (as a category of deceased opposed to adult males and females) is more important to keep in mind for now than to determine whether they were boys or girls.

General remarks

A number of general observations will serve as a conclusion of this paragraph on the first subquestion: what kind of real jewellery has been found, where, and by whom was it owned?

First, with all the jewellery finds a broad indication of the time period was presented, but we have to keep in mind that many jewellery items could have been handed down from generation to generation. There can thus be a difference between the time of production of the jewellery, and the time span in which the jewellery was in use. Note that this assumes that the jewellery was actually played a role in daily life, instead of being specially produced for the burial ritual. Analysing traces of use-wear on well-preserved jewellery items will have to be done in future so that more light can then be shed on this. The mummy of the Grottarossa burial is a noteworthy example, as one fingerring placed on the left hand of the body shows changes made to fit the deceased's hand, in a way they could have been repealed later on, i.e. once the young woman would have grown up.

Further, a comparison between the actual finds studied here and what has been described by Pliny in his *Naturalis Historia* (discussed in chapter 3) should not be forgotten. For instance, there is indeed a prominent role of gold in the Roman jewellery finds. The use of silver, another material indicated as popular, can be seen in the jewellery of Palmyra, though less valuable materials as copper and iron prevail there as well. That pearls were fashionable is visible in the Palmyrene jewellery finds, but not in the Roman (preferred stones as amber, diamond and emerald do come forward). The fashion to wear multiple rings on multiple fingers, reflects in the finds from both Rome and Palmyra, where multiple fingerrings were buried with one person.

Finally, it is necessary to look at what insights in the expression of gender the jewellery finds give us. The jewellery finds in Rome can be seen clearly linked to the female gender: for 90% of the finds it was confirmed that they were placed with a deceased woman. The grave goods associated with the jewellery only support this result, as they are toiletries, domestic items and childhood toys connected to the feminine sphere.

A different outcome followed from the jewellery finds from Palmyra. The presence of jewellery is not clearly linked to the female gender, nor is absence of jewellery to the male

gender: jewellery was recovered from burials of male adults, female adults and children (gender unknown). In absolute numbers, most jewellery pieces were found in the graves of female adults and children, thus jewellery in Palmyra cannot be solely traced belonging to women. However, the specific types of jewellery and materials used in their manufacture did prove to be a means of gender and age differentiation. Men, women and children were buried with different types of jewellery, and the material of which the jewellery was made, differed as well between the items placed with women and the items placed with children.

Whereas in Rome it is the adornment of the body altogether where gender specific-ness is conveyed, in Palmyra gender differences are articulated by specific types of jewellery. Conscious long-term damage to the body by piercing ears was done by adult females and in lesser amount by children, not by adult males.

7.2 What jewellery is represented in sculpture? What role does it play in the sculptural representations?

Rome

For Rome the selection of sculptural representations of jewellery consisted of fifteen sculptures, one-third from the first century AD and two-third from the second century AD (a differentiation in the time period of the sculptures regarding the jewellery represented did not give noteworthy results with this small sample set). These are the 10% of sculptures from a catalogue of 145 sculptures from the Augustan-Severan period that had a form of jewellery. Five of them had holes in their ears for the attachment of earrings and ten of them had a diadem on their head. There is thus a difference between jewellery in sculpted form and real metal jewellery attached to the pierced earlobes of the statue.

Fig. 12 - Bronze statuette head of a divinity with a gold and pearl earring
(Museo Nazionale Romano)

On the earrings there is no information recorded, so it is uncertain from what material they were made and if they were plain hoops or more extensively decorated. Scarce finds, like a bronze statuette head of a divinity with pierced earlobes, that still carries one original gold and pearl earring, give an indication of what possibly could have been attached (fig. 12). What must be noted is that earrings are a type of real jewellery that will leave traces on sculptures, by the drilling of the earlobes. We should consider that perhaps other types of real jewellery, e.g. necklaces, were once adorning the statues as well. Moreover, there are examples of female statues with holes in the neck area, where highly likely a necklace used to be attached.

The sculpted diadems have a variety of shapes and sizes. There are richly decorated diadems, plain hoop-shaped diadems, diadems with decorated upper rims, and diadems with only contours of an undecorated upper rim. Though the surfaces of the diadems are not ornamented sculpture-wise, this does not exclude the possibility of the diadems being painted in certain colours or motives. This paint (e.g. gold or yellow) could have formed an indication as to what kind of material the diadems are alluding to. For some of the more fragile diadems it can be imagined they were supposed to represent a precious metal, but for the heavy decorated diadems this is somewhat harder.

Only for five of the sculptures there is more information on the find spot. All in all, knowledge on the original context is scarce, but it will have varied from a funerary context (e.g. one sculpture was found at the Via Appia) to a public context (e.g. one sculpture was found in Trajan's markets).

Of the fifteen sculptures, six represent an imperial woman, six represent a non-imperial woman and one represents a priestess. Two sculptures are either imperial women or unknown non-imperial women. With all the imperial women and in the case of one non-imperial woman (Claudia Iusta, sculpture nr. 11) the depicted individuals could be identified. The women are of different ages, so the representation of jewellery was not bound to a specific age group.

The sculptures with holes in the ears are all of unknown, non-imperial women. This might be a coincidence. Or attaching earrings of precious material to statues was a way for the non-imperial class to additionally demonstrate wealth and social status, and thereby a sign of different customs between the imperial and non-imperial elite.

The diadems are found on the six imperial women (three are represented as goddesses), the sculpture of the priestess, the sculpture of the non-imperial woman represented as the goddess Fortuna, and the two sculptures of which the identity is unclear. This means that in this

selection at least all imperial women are represented with a diadem, though I believe this type of jewellery is more connected to the religious sphere than an imperial context: it is an attribute of the divine. Besides the priestess, three of the six imperial women and the one non-imperial women wearing a diadem are represented as a goddess. The non-imperial woman also carries other attributes associated with the goddess she is representing. This association of the diadem with the divine is supported by the fact that both imperial and non-imperial persons could be idealised and represented as goddesses. This means both type of women could be displayed with this attribute, and that it was not solely reserved for imperial women.
As in the selection of the sculptures for this study a catalogue was used with only female depictions, it is not possible to make any conclusions about comparable male statues and possible jewellery. An observation of male sculptures in Roman museums suggests though that, besides from an occasional brooch or fingerring, Roman men are hardly represented with jewellery.

Palmyra

For Palmyra the selection of sculptural representations of jewellery consisted of sixteen funerary busts, the period ranging from the end of the first century to the end of the second century AD. These were all the individual female busts recovered from the hypogeum of Sassan, and they all included sculpted jewellery. In total six types of jewellery were visible on the busts: brooches, earrings, fingerrings, headbands, head-chains and necklaces. Bracelets are absent in this selection, but they are not entirely uncommon on Palmyrene funerary busts of women. Bracelets are e.g. visible on other female busts in the Sadurska and Bounni catalogue (1994). Brooches, earrings and headbands were most popular. Represented in larger quantities per sculpture were earrings (one to eight pair per bust), fingerrings (one to four per bust) and necklaces (one to two per bust). All the busts had some form of jewellery, a brooch and headband formed the minimal adornment, and the richest adorned women displayed five to six types of jewellery. On average, 4.7 pieces of jewellery are present per bust, ranging from two to ten pieces per bust.
The brooches were decorated, worn on the left shoulder and mostly trapezoidal in shape. The earrings on earlobes were either dumb-bell shaped or shaped like a bunch of grapes, while earrings around the rim of the ear where plain rings. Fingerrings were mainly worn on the little finger of the left hand. Headbands were decorated and worn below a turban and veil. Head-chains were sequences of round stones in settings hung over these headbands, they are not represented independently. Necklaces are usually consist of a basic chain of beads,

sometimes with a pendant, and are generally worn around the neck on the base of the throat. The colouring that was originally on the busts would have been an indication of the kind of material the sculpted jewellery corresponded to. The jewellery was for example sometimes highlighted in yellow or gold.

A couple of developments in the types of jewellery themselves are visible through time. While other types of jewellery are displayed throughout the entire period, fingerrings appear from ca. 120-140 AD onwards and head-chains are represented only in the period ca. 160-200 AD. Besides, earrings shaped like a bunch of grapes appear in the period ca. 80-140 AD, whereas the dumb-bell earrings are only represented on busts in the period ca. 140-200 AD.

Notable is that in this sample of Palmyrene busts there is not a considerable difference in the amount of jewellery displayed through time. This challenges the hypothesis by Mackay (1949) that the quantity of jewellery displayed on the busts increased as the wealth of the city did. Perhaps time is not the only variable to apply here, maybe the differences in the opulence of display between the Palmyrene busts are founded in something else as well, such as the social position of the families the women were part of. It has been argued for example that there is a close relation between the quantity of jewellery worn by women and their wealth, i.e. the wealth of their family (Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 188).

A comparison between hypogea could perhaps give more insight, providing there is enough information on the social position of the founding families. Tombs with busts of women displaying richer assemblages of jewellery can be compared to tombs with busts of women with smaller assemblages. Indeed, some of the hypogea discussed in the Sadurska and Bounni catalogue (1994) stand out with particularly lavishly decorated busts, e.g. the hypogeum of Šalamallat - the women of the busts in the hypogeum of Sassan seem modest compared to them, though both hypogea do overlap regarding the period they were in use. Moreover, it appears that family ties can not only play a role in the amount of jewellery, but also in the design of the jewellery represented, in specific the headbands, as was shown by Finlayson (1998).

The context is clear for all the busts: they were found in the hypogeum of Sassan, covering graves in burial niches. The context of the sculptures thus was semi-private or semi-public. Relatives or others associated with the deceased had access to the tombs and would pay visits.

The fifteen female busts form ca. 38% of the total of individual funerary busts in the hypogeum of Sassan. The male busts in this hypogeum are scarcely seen wearing jewellery, except for the occasional fingerring or fibula. The difference between men and women regarding jewellery representations is thus apparent.

Besides looking at the jewellery, for the gender matter it is worth looking also at the gestures and attributes of the examined busts. These appear to allude to the female sphere, for instance certain gestures and holding a spindle and distaff. Overall, jewellery goes hand in hand with these gestures and attributes that refer to, what has been determined in earlier research as, female ideals and virtues like modesty and 'domestic-ness'. It is said that there is a decline in the popularity of the spindle and distaff as attributes in the second half of the second century (Heyn 2010, 632), while at the same time the popularity of jewellery rose. It could be the case that jewellery was favoured over these signifiers of feminine virtues.

Because most busts carried an inscription, there is information on the identity of fifteen of the sixteen women represented. In the inscription their name is mentioned, including indications to their descent. Fifteen women are described as the 'daughter of', three as 'wife of', and two are indicated to be a mother. So most women are just specified as daughters, though it is likely that more were married and had children. Note that they were represented as themselves, not as divinities.

The age of the women can in most cases not be determined, their age at the time of death was not recorded in the inscriptions, and the representations are idealised in the sense that age differences are hardly noticeable between the women. Only one represented women appears to be younger than the rest, her dress, hair and jewellery differ from the other busts, bearing more resemblance to children represented on Palmyrene funerary art. Remarkably this is the only bust that does not display a brooch or headband. If she indeed is quite younger than the other women represented, it is possible that some types of jewellery were reserved for women in a later stage of life, maybe after a certain age, marriage or having children, thus perhaps after acquiring a matron-like status.

Regardless of their age, in general the represented women will have belonged to the higher classes in Palmyrene society, as their family was affluent and important enough to found and sustain this quite large hypogeum. Being of one family, one could in future research try to estimate what they would have owned, by what is displayed. Another point to concentrate on would be if identical jewellery items are worn by multiple persons, pointing towards handing down jewellery from one generation to the next.

This assumes however that we are dealing with real-life instead of idealising portraits here. If the women actually owned the jewellery they display, cannot be decided, though in this study an attempt is made to compare the actual jewellery finds from Palmyra with the representations on the busts (see paragraph 7.3). At this point it is impossible to tell if Palmyrene women went out in public dressed up like this, if they presented themselves this

way in the domestic environment, if they dressed like this during special occasions, or if they never wore outfits like this.

General remarks

A number of general observations will serve as a conclusion of this paragraph on the second subquestion: what jewellery is represented in sculpture? What role does it play in the sculptural representations?

First, it has become visible what role jewellery plays in sculptural representations. In both Rome and Palmyra jewellery is what can make a sculpture gender-specific, meaning sculpture is a medium in expressing gender constructions, and by that certain identities and social roles. There is a contrast between men and women in the amount and types of jewellery they display. A further analysis of male sculptures in Rome and Palmyra could supply further information on this.

In Rome, female statues do not that often display jewellery, but when they do, a specific female role and identity is expressed. Pierced ears for the attachment of earrings make a sculptural representation gender-specific, they will represent a feminine body, ready to be adorned with jewellery. As for the diadem, this type of jewellery appears to be an attribute of the divine, associating the female wearer with the religious sphere of goddesses. Though men are also sometimes represented with headdresses, the type of diadems that is represented on the female statues discussed here, does indeed seem reserved for women. For example, the *diadema* that is described as being worn by men in ancient literature, is a textile band worn around the head.[25] However, this type of ornamentation was connected to regal power instead of associated with divine might.

In Palmyra, the difference between men and women regarding jewellery representations is even more apparent than in Rome, because of the enormous amount of female busts adorned with at least two types of jewellery. The jewellery display goes hand in hand with gestures and attributes that are social female signifiers.

Three other remarks with regard to sculpture as a medium can be made. First, the reason that in the sample set of Roman marble statues besides diadems no other sculpted jewellery items appear, is certainly not a limitation of the medium (as also the reliefs from Palmya suggest). There exists a rare example of a Roman portrait head of an unknown woman with sculpted earrings (fig. 13). Note that these are earrings shaped like a bunch of grapes, sculpted in fact on the Palmyrene busts as well (see e.g. Appendix D, cat. no. 1).

[25] Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, p. 303-5.

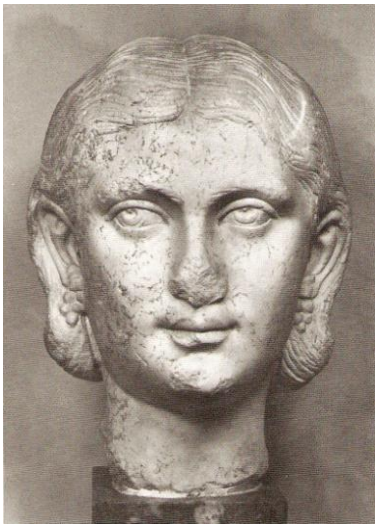


Fig. 13 - Portrait of a woman with earrings
Marble, third century AD
(Musei Capitolini)

Furthermore, we should consider the possibility that jewellery was painted on a statue. No immediate visible traces are left now, but since most Roman stone sculptures were originally coloured, this option should be kept in mind. Perhaps hairnets were added with paint on the heads of sculpted women. This possibility could be investigated by tracing (now to the eye invisible) colouring with for example pigment analysis, as done by Zink and Piening (2009) in their research on the polychromy of a Roman marble temple.[26] Fig. 14 shows a detail of marble statuette of Venus with golden paint, a rare example, found in Pompeii.

Fig. 14 - Detail of a marble statuette of Venus with painted on golden jewellery and bikini from Pompeii
(Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli)

[26] For more on the painting of classical sculptures, see e.g. V. Brinkmann and R. Wünsche (eds.), *Gods in Color: Painted Sculpture of Classical Antiquity* (Munich, 2007).

Finally it should be remembered that sculptural representations are of course only one type of medium in the representations of jewellery. Though outside the scope of this thesis, for instance an analysis of Roman wall paintings and mosaics shows, that the women in these representations can be observed wearing jewellery in amounts unseen on the sculptures (see also D'Ambrosio *et al*. 2008).

7.3 What are the differences and similarities between the real jewellery that is found and the sculptural representations of jewellery?

The question what the differences and similarities are between the jewellery found and the representations of jewellery is particularly significant, because items of jewellery displayed on representations, whether on Roman mosaics, funerary busts of Palmyra or Fayoum (mummy) portraits from Egypt, are often taken as basis for conclusions on the actual jewellery worn (e.g. Böhme 1978). But to what extent do these type of representations give insight in the actual ancient jewellery customs: do they really tell us how jewellery was used as part of daily-life costume by women? The material left from antiquity does not allow a direct glimpse on daily life, but a view of the social norms as represented through sculptures and in burials.

Bearing in mind that the insights in this study are based on exemplary sample sets, the results of the analysis will be discussed. First let us turn to Rome. The holes in the ears found on some statues are basically suitable for any type of earrings, including the golden loop earrings from the selection of jewellery studied from Rome or any of the earrings from the Palmyra jewellery selection. Remarkably in any case is that there are quite some statues found with pierced ears, but not many actual earrings. The sculptural representations with drilled earlobes are not in accordance with the relatively few found actual earrings, which seem to indicate there was a resistance to piercing actual ears.

That is different for the sculpted diadems on the Roman statues. In the selection of jewellery from Rome there is jewellery for the hair found, consisting of hairpins and a hairnet, but no diadems were recovered. It is difficult to imagine the robust sculpted diadems on the Roman statues having existed for real. The medium could be responsible for that however, it might be a difficulty to sculpt in the round thin headdresses of precious metals. And exactly for that reason it is difficult to determine the materials the Roman sculpted diadems were alluding to. Higgins (1961, 183) concludes that diadems were uncommon as Roman jewellery, though Hellenistic varieties are found in the East. There is an example of a pediment-shaped diadem of a group of jewellery from ancient Miletopolis, dating to the second century AD. It is a

golden, decorated band with holes at the end for a cord to fasten it around the head (Williams *et al*. 1991). This is the same type of fastening that is visible with sculpture nr. 4 from the Rome selection.

In the selection of Palmyrene jewellery no diadems are present either, jewellery for the hair is absent, while in the representations from Palmyra decorated headbands and head-chains are prominent. This does not mean that the headbands have to be imaginary though, from other time periods and regions these types of headgear are known, so they could have existed in real life. In the collection of the *Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale* in Rome for instance is a golden decorated headband from Iran (end of the third century BC) that is similar to those represented on the foreheads of the Palmyrene women (fig. 15). This is a type of funerary diadem also known from Greek graves. As they are too thin to have been worn in real life, this example can only point out how Palmyrene headbands might have looked like. It does remain notable that of all the jewellery pieces found in Palmyra there is not a single indication for a headband, while they feature so prominently on the funerary busts.

Fig. 15 - Golden decorated headband, Iran, end of the third century BC
(Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale)

Continuing with Palmyra, some comparisons can be made between the jewellery found and the jewellery represented. First, an earring shaped like a bunch of grapes (nr. 1) was found, a type of earring often represented on the funerary busts. The earring with the two pendants (nr. 2) is not comparable with the earrings on the busts from the selection for this study, but similar earrings with two or three pendants are not uncommon on other Palmyrene busts. The multiple loop earrings found (e.g. nr. 7 and 8) can be seen on the two sculptures that have plain rings around the rims of their ears (sculptures nr. 1 and 12). The fingerrings on the sculptures are similar to the thicker loop fingerrings with oval bezels/gems found. Some of these type of fingerrings in the Roman selection are similar as well, to what has been found on the busts and in the grave monuments. The necklaces represented on the funerary busts from this selection mainly consist of chains of beads. The beads and the group of pearls found in the grave monuments could have been the basis for these type of necklaces, though the representations do not show the variety in shapes and sizes visible in the finds. Moreover, it

should be reconsidered if it is accurate to describing necklaces on the Palmyrene busts as 'pearl necklaces', e.g. done by Sadurska and Bounni (1994), as the actual finds indicate that other types of materials for beads are more popular, such as glass, carnelian and agate. Pendant nr. 72, the cylindrical glass bead with three small golden attachments, shows the same structure as the oval pendants with three smaller attachments hanging from the necklaces of sculptures nr. 6 and 7.[27] The rosette-shaped brooch found (nr. 34) calls to mind the design of the rosette finials of the trapezoidal brooches. With a diameter of 2,5 cm it would have the right size for such a finial.

The amount of jewellery per person in Palmyra according to the finds and the representations compares as follows: the average number of jewellery items per adult female grave is 3.5, and the items are mostly earrings and fingerrings, while per female bust the average number of jewellery items is 4.7, and the items consist mostly of headbands, brooches and earrings. The representations of multiple earrings per bust, evident also in the finds per burial, indicate that there might have been a trend to wear multiple earrings.

Both Mackay (1949) and Musche (1988) have pointed out a few discoveries of real jewellery in regions around Palmyra that show some similarities to the jewellery on Palmyrene representations, but much of the elaborate head jewellery, enormous necklaces and richly decorated brooches that are present on the busts, are not visible in the actual evidence. The real heaviness of the jewellery on many Palmyrene representations is not seen back in the scarce amount of finds.

Perhaps the relation between the finds and representations from Palmyra is comparable to the situation that arises for region around Pompeii. D'Ambrosio *et al*. (2008) compared the jewellery displayed on the wall paintings of the Vesuvius region with the actual jewellery found there. In turned out that in total 57 diadems were represented, but only one was actually found. For the other types of jewellery there were discrepancies as well, though more nuanced. 80 necklaces of precious materials were found, but the display of necklaces was double that amount. The same counted for bracelets (142 found, 319 represented). Only the earrings were recovered in greater quantities than they were represented on the wall paintings (276 to 146).

[27] Interestingly an item from Higgins (1961, 185, pl. 54G) from the section on Roman jewellery, perhaps falsely described as a pendant earring, resembles the type of pendant represented on the Palmyrene busts.

7.4 What are the differences and similarities between Rome and Palmyra regarding the jewellery finds and representations? And what does that say about the link between the core and the periphery?

Differences and similarities jewellery finds: Rome versus Palmyra

Because in this study the samples of jewellery finds were not randomly selected, but purposively, in order to have enough information regarding the central factors, a comparison between the total amount of jewellery finds in Rome and Palmyra is not feasible. What can be noted is that on average there were 6.8 jewellery items per assemblage in Rome and 4.5 jewellery items per assemblage in Palmyra, but other evaluations of the jewellery finds in both regions are more promising.

With respect to the types of jewellery, the results have shown that in Rome hairpins and fingerrings were found in the largest quantity. In Palmyra, fingerrings were present in large numbers as well, next to earrings, beads and pendants. Present in the Rome sample, but not in the Palmyra sample were hairpins and a hairnet. Present in the Palmyra sample, but not in the Rome sample were groups of individual drilled beads and pearls, most likely once part of a necklace or bracelet. The difference between Rome and Palmyra with regard to the amount of earrings found is interesting, as in the latter city it must have been more common to consciously and permanently marking your body by piercing your ears.

In both regions the jewellery was often found in assemblages, meaning they occurred in groups of two items or more. The same types of jewellery were found in the 'plural' as well. This means that it was not uncommon in Rome and Palmyra to wear multiple fingerrings or additionally in Palmyra to wear multiple pairs of earrings. Besides, all found jewellery in Rome and Palmyra concentrate on the upper part of the body, mostly the hands, head and neck area.

In Rome the jewellery was mostly made of gold, sometimes including a precious stone, whereas in Palmyra bronze, copper and iron, as well as silver prevailed. Stones like amethyst and carnelian appear in both sample sets. The in Rome frequently found sapphire, emerald and garnet do not recur in Palmyra, whereas pearl was found only in Palmyra. We should be careful with concluding that in Palmyra less valuable jewellery was buried with the dead, as most tombs are looted and more precious jewellery perhaps was taken. Neither should we conclude that in Rome it was usual too bury the dead with precious jewellery items, as it turned out that this only was the case with a specific category of deceased: young unmarried women.

The jewellery from the Palmyra sample set is in a worse state than the particularly well-preserved Roman jewellery, but nonetheless some resemblances are observable. For example in the earrings consisting of plain rings and in the fingerrings with oval bezels/gems found in both Palmyra and Rome.

As for the context: although the jewellery items from both Rome and Palmyra were retrieved from a burial context, it has become clear that in both regions it was uncommon to bury the dead with jewellery. Only a quarter of the *loculi* in Tomb C held one or more jewellery items. Moreover, in the grave of the founder of the Tomb no jewellery or grave goods at all were found, even though the excavators have judged the burials in this tomb as undisturbed. This is an important outcome, because it points to jewellery not being a general status marker of the deceased person. Not even in wealthier circles of society there was a habit to give jewellery with the deceased into the grave, neither as a remembrance of the status and wealth of the persons during life, nor as an act of conspicuous consumption by rich families during burial rituals. In Rome only on special occasions jewellery was placed with the death, because it seems that normally the items were handed down from generation to generation. This special occasion was the death of a young, unmarried woman. Being young and childless (indicated by both skeletal analysis and the dolls as part of the grave goods) at the time of death, the tradition of handing the jewellery over to a following generation was broken; instead the jewellery was placed in the grave.

In Rome and Palmyra the jewellery finds were associated with other, specific grave goods. In Rome mostly with toiletries, domestic items and childhood toys, which (as discussed above) allude to the feminine sphere. In Palmyra the jewellery items were mostly found together with lamps and vases, which are more 'neutral' in the sense that they were offered to the dead regardless of sex or age group (Saito 2005, 158).

In Rome ca. 90% of the jewellery could be confirmed belonging to women, girls and young women to be specific. Jewellery items are clearly linked to the female gender and are thus gender-specific attributes. In Palmyra both men, women and children were buried with jewellery. Most pieces were placed with adult females and children of which the sex is unknown. Jewellery as a whole is there not clearly linked to a specific gender. Instead, different types of jewellery and the material used in the manufacture are the means of gender and age differentiation. Men and women are buried with different types of jewellery, and adult women are buried with jewellery that is made of more precious material than the jewellery buried with the children.

Differences and similarities representations of jewellery: Rome versus Palmyra

The contrast between amount of sculptural representations of jewellery of Rome and Palmyra is significant. The fifteen sculptures found with a type of jewellery for the Rome region formed only 10% of the total amount of sculptures from the consulted catalogue (Fittschen and Zanker 1983) with Roman statues of women from the Augustan-Severan period. On the other hand, in the hypogeum of Sassan, selected as the sample set regarding the sculptural representations of Palmyra, all female statues displayed jewellery. Moreover, of the 78 individual female busts in the Sadurska and Bounni catalogue (1994) not one was found without jewellery.

There is a slight difference in which part of the body is in focus in the sculptures from both regions. Apart from the one complete statue, in Rome the sample of sculptures consisted of heads, in some cases placed on armless busts. In Palmyra the focus was on the whole upper part of the body of the depicted, including the arms. For Rome this eliminates the possibility of finding e.g. fingerrings or bracelets, though the one complete statue in the sample set did not show any jewellery on the hands or arms. Regardless of this difference, for both Palmyra and Rome the focus of the types of jewellery found on the sculptures was on the head.

The sculptures in Rome either had pierced earlobes (N=5) or wore a diadem (N=10). The three most favoured types of jewellery on the sculptures from Palmyra were brooches, headbands and earrings. In contrast to Rome, the women of Palmyra were displayed with at least two types of jewellery, and sometimes with multiple pieces of one type of jewellery, e.g. fingerrings or earrings.

Interesting is the occurrence of diadems in Rome and headbands in Palmyra, both a type of headdress and hair-jewellery, but different in appearance. The diadems in Rome, by tracing the identity of the wearers, seem connected with an idealising allusion to the religious sphere, being an attribute of the divine, whereas for Palmyra such an association does not exist. An investigation of the only bust in the Palmyrene sample that does not display a headband, proposes that this type of hair-jewellery in Palmyra perhaps was reserved for women in a later stage of life, after acquiring a certain status, e.g. that of a married woman.

For about half of the sculptures in Rome there is information on the identity of the depicted person, in the case of the six imperial women and the non-imperial woman with an inscription, four of which are represented as a goddess. For fifteen out of sixteen sculptures in Palmyra there is information on their name and descent. Imperial representations or those inspired by allusions to the divine do not play a role. The grave monument indicates they will have belonged to the higher class.

In comparing the sculptural representations from Rome and Palmyra with respect to the expression of gender constructions, we need to return to the first observation in this section on the amount of sculptures in both regions displaying jewellery. Though several statues from Rome with a form of jewellery have been discussed in this study, it is important to consider that they only form a very small part of the total amount of sculptures of women presented in the catalogue by Fittschen and Zanker (1983). On the other hand, in Palmyra there was not one female bust found in the consulted catalogue (Sadurska and Bounni 1994) without some type of jewellery. The statues are representations of female ideals and values, so overall the analysis of the selected sculptures has offered an insight in what was constructed as being feminine in both regions. They point to a difference between Rome and Palmyra with regard to these constructions. In Palmyra the *presence* of jewellery is gender-specific: women are abundantly decorated with jewellery, which in addition goes hand in hand with gestures and attributes that refer to female social virtues as modesty and 'domestic-ness'. The sculptures in Rome are gender-specific as well, but in another way. The enormous display of jewellery visible on the Palmyrene busts is unimaginable in Rome: here the general *absence* of jewellery on statues of women counts. Apparently, displaying jewellery contradicted the feminine virtues and challenged the prevailing female ideals. In seems that in Roman society, sculptures without jewellery were representations of the feminine ideal. Sculptures like those in Palmyra would deviate from this norm. The fact that the diadems on Roman statues are connected with the religious sphere, must have made it an accepted piece of adornment.

This means that even though these women did most likely possess a lot of jewellery in real life, it was unwanted for them to show this off on sculptural representations, besides the occasional general gender-specific marking of the body, which was limited to showing one type of jewellery (earrings or diadem). Bearing in mind the limitation of the investigated sample set discussed above, it can nevertheless be pointed out that a possible interpretation of this result can be sought with the help of the literary sources: it is highly likely that a female representation without jewellery, or without jewellery besides an earring or a diadem, might have been praised as a representation of female virtues. More jewellery was not depicted, as it would have most probably warranted the same criticism as the women showing off their jewels in public, namely as a symbolising female vice.

This observation can be linked to the context of the sculptures, because we have to remember that sculpture is experienced in a certain environment. It is likely that both in Rome and Palmyra the audiences of the sculptures were equipped with different interpretive frameworks in their interaction with the statues to make sense of them. The difference in sculptures

regarding the overall amount of jewellery they display suggests that in both regions they were differently 'decoded', that the meanings differed. In Rome statues without jewellery were interpreted as representing female ideals, but so were the busts with jewellery in Palmyra. The frameworks differed per region, meaning that a sculpture from Palmyra would be 'decoded' differently by the audience from Rome. It is likely that the opulent display of jewellery on the Palmyrene busts would be disapproved of in Rome, because it would be interpreted as conflicting with the feminine ideals in society there. The other way around, a Roman portrait head of a woman with a diadem might not be 'decoded' properly in Palmyra either, meaning that the audience e.g. might not have been aware of the divine meaning of the diadem.

Because for most sculptures in Rome the original context is unknown, no decisive conclusions can be made on whether the type of context, e.g. public or private, had an influence on the amount and types of jewellery represented. It has been proposed by Fejfer (2008, 348) that outside the public eye, on sculptures in the private context, women were more heavily adorned. Only one example of a sculptural representation is given however, that of a funerary altar where a woman is seen wearing earrings and a necklace. I am not convinced that this was in general the case, on the one hand because of the sample investigated in this study, and on the other hand because in the extensive catalogue by Diana Kleiner on Roman imperial funerary altars with portraits (1987) this funerary altar is one of only two altars out of a total of 130 altars where a woman is depicted with jewellery.

For the sculptures from Palmyra, there is more information on the context of the sculptures. The funerary busts are a significant presence in the Palmyrene tombs, and therefore it is important to consider the interaction that must have taken place with them, what messages they would have put across to the viewers. The viewing context, e.g. deliberate visits to mourn, pray and perhaps worship, and the viewers, most frequently relatives of the deceased, of the sculptures must be taken into account in the interpretation of the busts. The way the women were represented will have conveyed a message on their identity and roles in society, and have evoked a certain response from family members visiting the tombs. The adornment with jewellery, combined with feminine gestures and attributes, will have expressed what was considered the prevailing female ideal. Above it has also been argued that the differences in the amount of jewellery displayed by busts might have to do with social status and conventions of the regional elite, besides the actual wealth of the women and their families during life. Specific types of jewellery may even have had different meanings, as was shown with the example of the headband, which was possibly only depicted on women with a certain social role, e.g. being married.

The relationship between the core (Rome) and the periphery (Palmyra)

The results on the jewellery finds and sculptural representations of jewellery from Rome and Palmyra show that we are not dealing with a dominant core that set the standards to which the periphery conformed. The relationship is not that direct, there is more an overlap in the material visible, pointing to a negotiation process taking place. When it comes to real jewellery and representations of jewellery, both regions display similarities, but also their own customs. In the way they handled jewellery, Rome and Palmyra followed their own traditions and practices.

For the actual jewellery finds these traditions and practices lay closer together. Most notably with the fingerrings parallels are visible, a type of jewellery favoured in both regions. Other types of jewellery found, do reveal a variation in traditions: e.g. in Palmyra earrings were more popular.

Further, in both regions it was uncommon to bury the dead with jewellery. This means that in general jewellery was not common as a status marker in the burial context, even for the higher classes it was unusual to incorporate precious jewellery in the burial ritual as a sign of their wealth and social standing.

In both Rome and Palmyra the same function of jewellery, in the sense of being a means of gender differentiation, comes forward as well. The way in which gender is expressed through the jewellery differs though, from jewellery as a category in itself being a marker of gender in Rome to specific types of jewellery being a marker of gender and age group in Palmyra.

With the sculptural representations of jewellery the differences between the two regions in the role of jewellery as social signifier, are most apparent. The sculptures demonstrate that different ideals prevailed in Rome and Palmyra. The difference in the statues, i.e. the presence versus the general absence of jewellery, is the result of different values, codes and conventions in the core and the periphery. The norm in Rome, i.e. what was seen as feminine, as female virtues, did not correspond to the norm in Palmyra. This is exemplified by statues without jewellery in Rome, which were at the most decorated with a diadem as divine attribute or in even lesser amounts with pierced earlobes, and by the abundantly decorated busts in Palmyra. Both the deliberate absence/limitation and the presence of jewellery turn out to be an expression of gender. In Rome a female statue without jewellery was signalling the female ideal, whereas in Palmyra jewellery, combined with specific attributes and gestures, delivered that message.

Especially the divergence of Palmyra from the norms of Rome with regard to sculptural representations of jewellery point to this peripheral region being in possession of its own

values and ideals, and in that being a self-determining factor in the core-periphery negotiation process. There is such a difference between the sculpture samples from Rome and Palmyra in the representation of jewellery, that the periphery clearly shows its autonomy in that area. When it came to the representation of jewellery, Palmyra held on to its own ideals.

The last thing to elaborate on here is the role of the elite. Palmyra did not entirely mirror Rome in the way they handled jewellery. The norms among the elite in Rome regarding the representation of jewellery did not subsist among the elite of Palmyra, they chose their own means of representation. Thus, with respect to the visual culture regarding jewellery, homogeneity among the wealthier sections of Roman and Palmyrene society is not confirmed. As for actual jewellery, both regions do share aspects of the functions they ascribed to jewellery items. Jewellery was not a means of status differentiation in the burial context, but was a means of gender differentiation.

8. Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The focal point of this research was the relationship between women and jewellery in the Roman Empire. Ancient literary sources pointed to positive and negative values surrounding this relationship, subsuming women from various regions, social spheres and age groups as 'women', and the central aim was to deeper differentiate and investigate the values, meanings and social relations at play here. This was done by investigating jewellery finds and sculptural representations of jewellery from Rome and Palmyra in the first two centuries AD. These two categories of evidence were analysed separately per region and then compared, with the aim that comparative investigation of the material in both regions would supply arguments to differentiate the notion of 'women' and to understand better the signifying function of jewellery for the prevailing social norms. Four central aspects regarding the finds and representations were focused on: types of jewellery, context, social position of the owner/portrayed, and the expression of gender. These aspects followed from the framework that was developed to study the relationship between women and jewellery, which included the concepts gender, sculptural representations and core-periphery.

The research problem this study intended to solve was that archaeological evidence has been rather neglected in the study of women and jewellery. The systematic quantitative and qualitative analyses of the jewellery finds and sculptural representations of jewellery from Rome and Palmyra, attempted here for the first time on exemplary sample sets, as well as the comparison between them, have brought new insights to this field of study. This underlines that the approach chosen in this study, namely to analyse the archaeological evidence separately from literary sources. Furthermore the sculptural representations were analysed as media, whereas the actual jewellery finds were treated in their function as grave gifts. Only in the discussion the outcome of the separately conducted analysis were combined.

Previously, conclusions on the jewellery from Palmyra have been primarily based on the jewellery that is represented on the funerary sculptures, not on the actual jewellery finds. In jewellery studies like those of Mackay (1949) and Musche (1988) evidence from representations and actual finds is not well separated, many conclusions are even based purely on the representations. Moreover, the actual jewellery finds from Palmyra that are described in this research have not been considered until now. Not having much to work with regarding jewellery finds from Palmyra makes it tempting to resort to the representations, but both types

of evidence have different implications as sources and have to be investigated with an individual methodological approach. The data from Rome form a good case in point. The sculptural representations by themselves, if used as a direct source on daily-life practices, would suggest no jewellery was worn, except for the occasional diadem. By taking into consideration the impact of the sculptural representation as a medium, the diadem could be established as signifier of religious associations. Moreover, the jewellery finds put forward a completely different picture, and diadems as they appear on the sculptures have not been found at all until now.

8.2 Jewellery as signifier: women and values in the Roman Empire

The four subquestions posed at the beginning of this thesis have been operationalised and answered in the previous chapter. Now the focus will be on answering the central research question: *What social norms, relations and values does jewellery signify regarding women in the Roman Empire?*

The two types of evidence are important to separate when we talk about what jewellery indicated: in visual culture other values, social norms and relations come forward than in the jewellery finds.

Looking at types and amount of jewellery found, certain social norms come forward, for instance that in Palmyra it was more common to wear earrings, thus to lastingly damage your body for the sake of attaching adornment. Besides, the jewellery finds focus on the upper part of the body: that is the body part wished to adorn. Wearing multiple pieces of jewellery and even multiple pieces of one specific type of jewellery was common. Most importantly, in Rome jewellery as a whole and in Palmyra certain types of jewellery proved to be linked to the female gender and jewellery was a means of gender differentiation. In Palmyra the material of the jewellery formed in addition a means of age group differentiation. For both regions it appears that, despite the wealth that could have been demonstrated by precious jewellery items, in the burial context jewellery was not used as a status marker of the deceased or as a means of conspicuous consumption by the families staging the burials.

Looking at the sculptural representations, a big difference between Rome and Palmyra is visible with regard to the amount and types of jewellery represented. Overall Rome is characterised by an absence or strict limitation of jewellery on sculptural representations. The most important form of jewellery that is visible, is the diadem, which turns out to be related to the religious sphere, the wearers were for instance represented as personification of a goddess. Being an attribute of the divine, this type of jewellery was accepted. The female busts of

Palmyra are characterised by the conscious and even abundant display of jewellery, the minimum amount of jewellery pieces on a bust is two. In some cases there are multiple pieces of one type of jewellery found, it was for example not uncommon to decorate the entire rim of an ear with earrings.

As was established in the first chapter on the basis of the investigation of the literary sources, jewellery indeed is an important element in the representation and symbolic expression of female identities. The sculptures in both regions can be established as being gender-specific. In Palmyra the jewellery attire made female busts gender-specific, going hand in hand with other feminine attributes and gestures, while men are scarcely seen wearing jewellery. In Rome the gender specific-ness can be explained in two ways. First, when a form of jewellery is present on the sculptures, i.e. the pierced earlobes and the specific type of diadems, they were clearly forms of jewellery reserved for women. Second, because the overall amount of sculptures with a form of jewellery is so small, the absence of jewellery in itself was gender-specific, in the sense that not displaying jewellery reflected the female ideal.

The difference in the statues between Rome and Palmyra, i.e. the presence versus the general absence of jewellery, is the result of different values, codes and conventions in the core and the periphery. The norm in Rome did not correspond to the norm in Palmyra: gender was expressed in a different way. In Palmyra women represented with jewellery were believed corresponding to what was seen as feminine and being in accordance with the female virtues, whereas in Rome it was the other way around.

With respect to the visual culture regarding jewellery, homogeneity among the wealthier sections of Roman and Palmyrene society is thus not visible. Overall it can be said that in the way they handled jewellery as real objects of adornment and as part of sculptural representation, Rome and Palmyra developed their own traditions and practices. The negotiation process at the heart of the core-periphery model chosen in this study (see chapter four), seems to have taken place in the exchangeability of actual jewellery found in Rome and Palmyras graves, whereas in the medium of sculpture independent traditions of representations were maintained in the core and the periphery.

This study centred specifically around the social norms, relations and values that were associated with the relationship between women and jewellery. Jewellery was a signifier in the Roman Empire: the results have shown that the way jewellery was handled in the first two centuries AD offers new insights in the social norms, relations and values in that society. These values, social norms an relations, including gender constructions, structured the jewellery finds and the sculptural representations of jewellery. In Rome sculptures of women

with no or a very limited amount of jewellery were in conformity with the social norm, because they coincided with the prevailing feminine ideal, and by that these sculptures expressed gender constructions and relations.

It became clear that the social norms, relations and values differed per region, and that in the case of jewellery and women the core did not impose its own norms or conventions on the peripheral region. By taking jewellery as central topic, this thesis has therefore supplied new insights into the relationship between Rome as a core and Palmyra as a peripheral region.

To return to the starting point of this thesis, the response of ancient authors to the relationship between women and jewellery: after conducting this research it is no longer possible to simply speak - with them - of a 'negative' relationship between women and jewellery as often comes forward in ancient literary sources. To label this relationship, e.g. as Pliny did, a 'female obsession' overlooks all the different types of women, social norms, relations and values that could be distinguished surrounding this relationship in this thesis, and, as has been shown by examples, will differ per regional social situation.

For example, when we look at the sculptural representations, there is a huge difference between the absence and strict limitation of jewellery in Rome and the presence of jewellery in Palmyra. Neither has a negative connotation though, in both regions the sculptures represented the female ideal and were expressions of gender constructions. In Palmyra the opulent display of jewellery was seen as underlining feminine virtues, even as a supplement to them. The type of sculptures proclaiming the female ideal in Palmyra would probably have not brought this message across in Rome, to viewers accustomed to not having much or any jewellery represented on their ideal of the female statue.

8.3 Suggestions further research

This thesis forms a foundation for future jewellery studies in this area, having combined thorough analyses of both sculptural representations of jewellery and actual jewellery finds, and comparing the results of two regions in the Roman Empire. It has to be noted that the small sample sets of jewellery finds and representations in this study cause limitations and prevent conclusive generalisations (cf. chapter 7). However, some suggestions for further research can be presented.

The first is to expand the selection of jewellery finds and sculptural representations in order to increase the quantity of the material studied. For Palmyra in this study the selection of sculptures was narrowed down to individual funerary busts, but other types of funerary sculptures like banquet scenes, and sculptures outside the burial context, though scarce,

should be included in the future. As for Rome, studying more representations with diadems and their social and contextual background (for example if an image of an empress with a diadem can be connected to a deification event), could further increase insights in the religious context with this type of jewellery in the Roman context. Also male representations should be systematically taken into consideration. Not only can these shine additional light on differences between males and females, e.g. with regard to amount and types of jewellery, but on the core-periphery aspect as well. Further, more focus should be on children. In the jewellery finds children and adolescents are on the foreground, and in visual representations jewellery may turn out to be a significant factor in differentiating children as well. One bust from the Palmyra sample already indicated this, and an incorporation of more representations of children could prove fruitful. It must be said that expanding the selection of jewellery finds from Palmyra can turn out to be more difficult than for Rome, because of the limited finds, documentation and the ongoing difficulties of studying the original material in Syria.

Besides expanding the selection of sculptural representations, other media types of visual representations of jewellery, such as mosaics and wall paintings, should be included. A comparison with other media that also represent women and jewellery will be interesting, because there are considerable differences in what the women in these representations display. This might have to do with the context of the representations, or the type of persons and scenes depicted.

Lastly, further options include expanding the researched regions and the time period. And other suspicions that arose during this research might be worth following up as well, for instance the role that paint might have played on the sculptures.

In any case, this thesis has proven that the relationship between women and jewellery in the Roman Empire is just as intriguing as it is today, not in the least because of all the positive and negative values surrounding this relationship. The women in Rome and Palmyra probably will have agreed with our modern saying that ‘diamonds are forever’. If you should also be depicted with them however, is another question.

Abstract

The focal point of this thesis is the relationship between women and jewellery in the Roman Empire. This relationship is surrounded by positive and negative values, e.g. the responses of ancient authors range from more positive comments to extreme criticism. The central research question was: *What social norms, relations and values does jewellery signify regarding women in the Roman Empire?* The central aim is to differentiate and investigate the social norms, relations and values that were associated with the relationship between women and jewellery.

In order to do this, jewellery finds and sculptural representations of jewellery from Rome (defined as core) and Palmyra (defined as periphery) in the first two centuries AD were studied. These two categories of evidence were analysed separately per region and then compared. Comparative investigation of the material in both regions increases understanding of the signifying function of jewellery with regard to the prevailing social norms. In visual culture other values, social norms and relations come forward than in the jewellery finds.

Four central aspects regarding the finds and representations were focused on: types of jewellery, context, social position of the owner/portrayed, and the expression of gender. These aspects followed from the framework that was developed to study the relationship between women and jewellery, which included the concepts gender, sculptural representations and core-periphery.

For example, a big difference between Rome and Palmyra is visible with regard to the amount and types of jewellery represented. Overall Rome is characterised by an absence or strict limitation of jewellery on sculptural representations. The female busts of Palmyra are characterised by an abundant display of jewellery. The difference in the sculptures is the result of different values, codes and conventions in the core and the periphery. The norm in Rome did not correspond to the norm in Palmyra: gender was expressed in a different way. In Palmyra women represented with jewellery were believed corresponding to what was seen as feminine and being in accordance with the female virtues, whereas in Rome it was the other way around. Overall it can be said that in the way they handled jewellery as real objects of adornment and as part of sculptural representation, Rome and Palmyra developed their own traditions and practices.

The research problem this study intended to solve was that archaeological evidence has been rather neglected in the study of women and jewellery. The systematic quantitative and qualitative analyses of the jewellery finds and sculptural representations of jewellery from Rome and Palmyra, attempted here for the first time on exemplary sample sets, as well as the comparison between them, have brought new insights to this field of study.

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List of figures, tables and graphs

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Appendix A: The sample of jewellery finds from Rome

Nr. 1
Description: *bulla*
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 114891
Find spot: Ariccia (Galloro)
Date: 1st century AD
(source image: http://www.vroma.org)

Nr. 2
Description: bracelet
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 112445
Find spot: Ariccia (Stella)
Date: 1st century AD
(source image: Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1992)

Nr. 3
Description: fingerring
Material: gold and glass paste
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425513
Find spot: Casale Guidi (Via della Bufalotta)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 4
Description: fingerring
Material: gold and nicolo
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425514
Find spot: Casale Guidi (Via della Bufalotta)
Date: second half 2nd century AD
(source image: http://www.vroma.org)

Nr. 5
Description: hairpin
Material: amber
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425508
Find spot: Casale Guidi (Via della Bufalotta)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 6
Description: hairpin
Material: gold and silver
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425507
Find spot: Casale Guidi (Via della Bufalotta)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

(photo: author)

Nr. 7
Description: necklace
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425512
Find spot: Casale Guidi (Via della Bufalotta)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 8
Description: earrings (one pair)
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425511, 425516
Find spot: Casale Guidi (Via della Bufalotta)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 9
Description: elements
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425510
Find spot: Casale Guidi (Via della Bufalotta)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 10
Description: fingerring
Material: gold and rock crystal
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 128028-29
Find spot: Mentana (Monte Carnale)
Date: second half 2nd century AD
(source image: Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1992)

Nr. 11
Description: necklace
Material: gold and garnet
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 128031
Find spot: Mentana (Monte Carnale)
Date: second half 2nd century AD
(photo: author)

Nr. 12
Description: necklace
Material: gold and glass paste
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425386
Find spot: Osteria del Curato (tomb 1)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 13
Description: hairpin
Material: bone and gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425519
Find spot: Osteria del Curato (tomb 1)
Date: second half 2nd century AD
(photo: author)

Hairpins nr. 13, 14, 17, 15 and 16

Nr. 14
Description: hairpin
Material: bone and gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425387
Find spot: Osteria del Curato (tomb 1)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 15
Description: hairpin
Material: bone and gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425388
Find spot: Osteria del Curato (tomb 1)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 16
Description: hairpin
Material: bone and gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425389
Find spot: Osteria del Curato (tomb 1)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 17
Description: hairpin
Material: bone
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425391
Find spot: Osteria del Curato (tomb 1)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 18
Description: brooch
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 425390
Find spot: Osteria del Curato (tomb 1)
Date: second half 2nd century AD
(photo: author)

Nr. 19
Description: miniature jewellery
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 262725
Find spot: Tivoli (Via Valeria)
Date: end 2nd century AD
(photo: author)

Nr. 20
Description: necklace
Material: gold and sapphire
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414059
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 21
Description: fingerring
Material: gold and emerald
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 394561
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 22
Description: fingerring
Material: gold and diamond
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 394563
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 23
Description: fingerring
Material: gold and emerald
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414058
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 24
Description: fingerring
Material: gold and sapphire and garnet
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414056
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 25
Description: fingerring
Material: gold and sapphire
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414057
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 26
Description: fingerring
Material: gold and sapphire
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 394562
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 27
Description: necklace
Material: gold and emerald
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414060
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 28
Description: pendant
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414065
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 29
Description: medal amulet
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414064
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 30
Description: hairpin
Material: amber
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414067
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 31
Description: hairpin (similar to nr. 30)
Material: amber
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414068
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 32
Description: bracelet
Material: gold and sapphire
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 42901
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

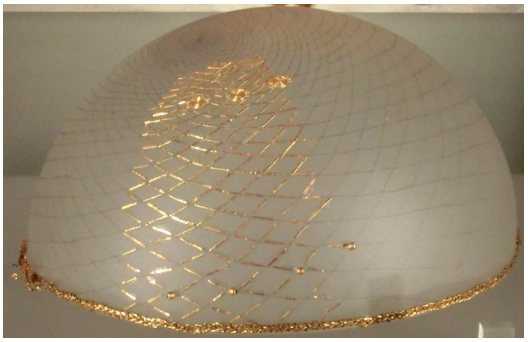
Nr. 33
Description: bracelet (similar to nr. 32)
Material: gold and sapphire
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414071
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 34
Description: brooch
Material: gold and amethyst
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414061
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 35
Description: brooch
Material: gold and garnet
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414063
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 36
Description: brooch
Material: gold and sardonyx
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414062
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 37
Description: *reticulum* (hairnet)
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 414069
Find spot: Vallerano (tomb 2)
Date: second half 2nd century AD
(photo: author)



Nr. 38
Description: necklace
Material: gold and emerald
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 47901
Find spot: Vetralla (Doganella)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 39
Description: necklace
Material: gold and emerald
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 47902
Find spot: Vetralla (Doganella)
Date: second half 2nd century AD
(source image: http://www.flickr.com)

Nr. 40
Description: fingerring
Material: gold and garnet
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 47903
Find spot: Vetralla (Doganella)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 41
Description: cameo
Material: glass paste
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 47914
Find spot: Vetralla (Doganella)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 42
Description: fingerring
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 168189
Find spot: Via Cassia (La Giustiniana, km 11)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 43
Description: necklace
Material: gold and sapphire
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 168190
Find spot: Via Cassia (La Giustiniana, km 11)
Date: second half 2nd century AD
(source image: http://www.flickr.com)

Nr. 44
Description: earrings (one pair)
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 168188
Find spot: Via Cassia (La Giustiniana, km 11)
Date: second half 2nd century AD
(photo: author)

Nr. 45
Description: fingerring
Material: gold and carnelian
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 384356
Find spot: Via Nomentana (km 10.500)
Date: second half 2nd century AD

Nr. 46
Description: hairpin
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 262745
Find spot: unknown
Date: Imperial period

Nr. 47
Description: hairpin
Material: gold
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 262746
Find spot: unknown
Date: Imperial period
Nr. 48
Description: hairpin
Material: bone
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 50421A
Find spot: unknown
Date: Imperial period

Nr. 49
Description: hairpin
Material: ivory
Reference: Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 5499
Find spot: Tiber
Date: 1st century AD

Appendix B: The sample of sculptural representations from Rome

Nr. 1
Description: portrait head of Livia
Material: marble
Reference: Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori 9. Inv. 144
Find spot: unknown
Date: late Tiberian-Claudian period

(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 3)

Nr. 2
Description: portrait of Sabina
Material: marble
Reference: Museo Capitolino, Salone 44. Inv. 338
Find spot: unknown
Date: Hadrianic period

(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 10)

Nr. 3
Description: portrait of Sabina (fragmented)
Material: marble
Reference: Museo Capitolino, Magazin. Inv. 1433
Find spot: unknown
Date: Hadrianic period

(source: Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 11)

Nr. 4
Description: bust of Sabina
Material: marble
Reference: Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala dei Fasti moderni II 6. Inv. 848
Find spot: in 1875 found at the Esquiline at the Santa Prassede
Date: late Hadrianic period

(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 12)

Nr. 5
Description: portrait of Faustina minor
Material: marble
Reference: Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori 33. Inv. 310
Find spot: unknown
Date: ca. 165-180 AD

(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 23)

Nr. 6
Description: image of Lucilla as Venus (fragmented)
Material: marble
Reference: Museo Nuovo Capitolino, Sala I 19. Inv. 1781
Find spot: found in 1901 close to the Via Rasella in a brick room with other marble fragments
Date: ca. 166-169 AD

(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 25)

Nr. 7
Description: bust of a woman
Material: marble
Reference: Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori 8. Inv. 419
Find spot: unknown
Date: late Augustan period

(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 50)

Nr. 8
Description: portrait of a priestess (from a relief)
Material: marble
Reference: Palazzo dei Conservatori, Braccio Nuovo III 16. Inv. 2688 (2539.158)
Find spot: discovered in 1938 during excavations at the *Mercati Traianei* (Trajan's markets)
Date: Tiberian-Claudian period

(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 58)

Nr. 9
Description: portrait of a woman
Material: marble
Reference: Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala dei Fasti moderni III 8. Inv. 1795
Find spot: unknown
Date: ca. 80-90 AD

(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 62)

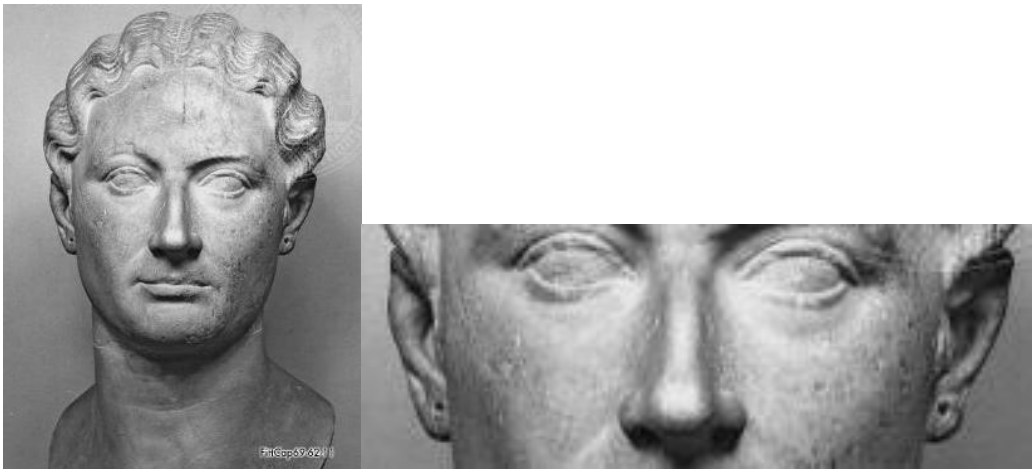
Nr. 10
Description: portrait of a woman
Material: marble
Reference: Museo Capitolino, Sala delle Colome 17. Inv. 394
Find spot: unknown
Date: Trajan period

(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 65)

Nr. 11
Description: statue of Claudia Iusta as Fortuna
Material: marble
Reference: Palazzo dei Conservatori, Galleria 58. Inv. 933
Find spot: 1873 found at the Via Marsala together with an altar dedicated to Fortuna Primigenia
Date: late Trajan-early Hadrianic period

(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 73)

Nr. 12
Description: portrait of a woman
Material: marble
Reference: Museo Capitolino, Stanza terrena a destra I 9. Inv. 379
Find spot: unknown
Date: ca. 100 AD



(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 80)

Nr. 13
Description: portrait of a woman
Material: marble
Reference: Museo Capitolino, Magazin. Inv. 1453
Find spot: found in 1946 at the Via Appia (Rome), close to a railway bridge, on the land of the Cecchini company
Date: early Antonine period

(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 88)

Nr. 14
Description: bust of a young woman
Material: marble
Reference: Museo Capitolino, Salone 53. Inv. 677
Find spot: unknown
Date: early Antonine period

(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 96)

Nr. 15
Description: portrait of a woman
Material: marble
Reference: Museo Capitolino, Salone 49. Inv. 673
Find spot: unknown
Date: middle Antonine period

(source: arachne.uni-koeln.de; after Fittschen and Zanker 1983, catalogue number 106)

Appendix C: The sample of jewellery finds from Palmyra

Nr. 1

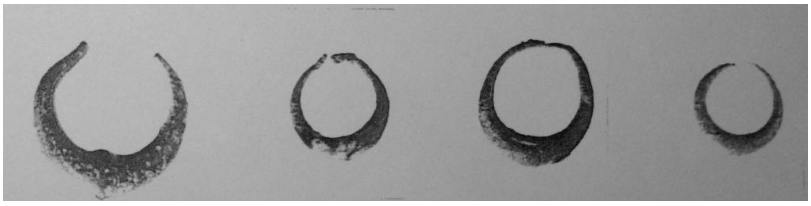
Description: earring
Material: silver and pearls
Reference: Witecka 1994, cat. no. 1
Find spot: tower tomb of Atenatan
Date: first half 2nd century AD
(source image: Witecka 1994)

Nr. 2

Description: earring
Material: silver and pearls
Reference: Witecka 1994, cat. no. 2
Find spot: tower tomb of Atenatan
Date: early second half 2nd century AD
(source image: Witecka 1994)

Nr. 3

Description: earring
Material: silver
Reference: Witecka 1994, cat. no. 3
Find spot: tower tomb of Atenatan
Date: 1st - mid 2nd century AD
(source image: Witecka 1994)



Earrings nr. 3-6

Nr. 4

Description: earring
Material: silver
Reference: Witecka 1994, cat. no. 4
Find spot: tower tomb of Atenatan
Date: 1st - mid 2nd century AD

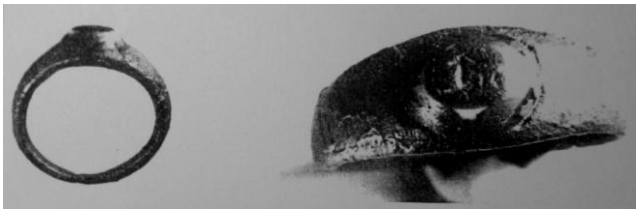
Nr. 5
Description: earring
Material: silver
Reference: Witecka 1994, cat. no. 5
Find spot: tower tomb of Atenatan
Date: 1st - mid 2nd century AD

Nr. 6
Description: earring
Material: silver
Reference: Witecka 1994, cat. no. 6
Find spot: tower tomb of Atenatan
Date: 1st - mid 2nd century AD

Nr. 7
Description: earring
Material: silver
Reference: Witecka 1994, cat. no. 7
Find spot: tower tomb of Atenatan
Date: 1st – second half 2nd century AD
(source image: Witecka 1994)

Nr. 8
Description: earring
Material: bronze
Reference: Witecka 1994, cat. no. 8
Find spot: tower tomb of Atenatan
Date: 1st – second half 2nd century AD
(source image: Witecka 1994)

Nr. 9
Description: fingerring
Material: silver and banded agate
Reference: Witecka 1994, cat. no. 9
Find spot: tower tomb of Atenatan
Date: first half – early second half 2nd century AD
(source image: Witecka 1994)

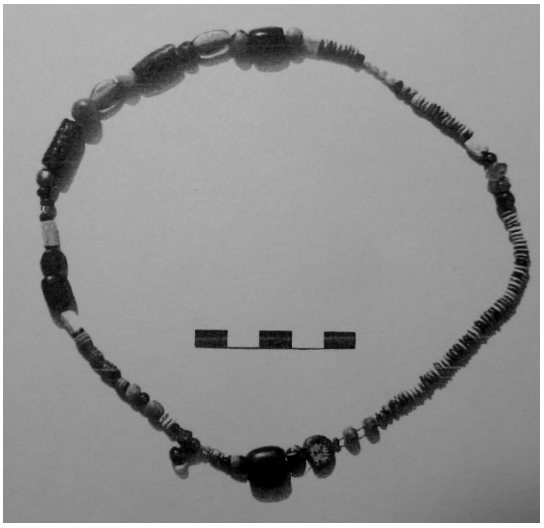


Nr. 10
Description: bracelet
Material: irn and bronze
Reference: Witecka 1994, cat. no. 10
Find spot: tower tomb of Atenatan
Date: late 1st century BC – 1st century AD
(source image: Witecka 1994)

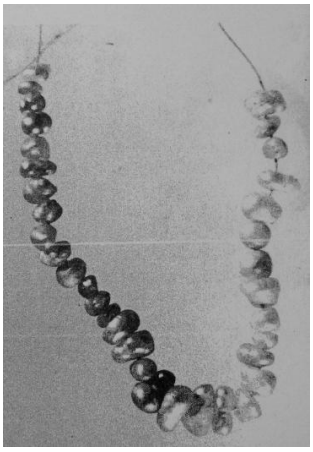
Nr. 11
Description: gem
Material: carnelian
Reference: Witecka 1994, cat. no. 11
Find spot: tower tomb of Atenatan
Date: 1st century BC – 1st century AD
(source image: Witecka 1994)

Nr. 12
Description: beads
Material: carnelian, amethyst, soral, lime, glass, bone, ceramics
Reference: Witecka 1994
Find spot: tower tomb of Atenatan
Date: 1st century BC – 3rd century AD
(source image: Witecka 1994)

Nr. 13
Description: pearls
Material: pearl
Reference: Witecka 1994
Find spot: tower tomb of Atenatan
Date: 1st century BC – 3rd century AD
(source image: Witecka 1994)

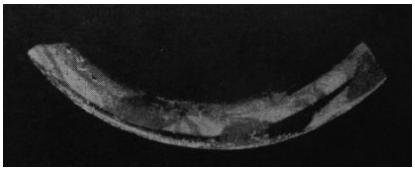


Beads nr. 12 reassembled



Pearls nr. 13 reassembled

Nr. 14
Description: bracelet
Material: glass paste (polychrome)
Reference: Sadurska 1977, cat. no. 12
Find spot: tomb of Alaine
Date: mid 2nd century AD
(source image: Sadurska 1977)



Nr. 15-17
Description: 3 groups of beads
Material: glass paste, stone
Reference: Sadurska 1977, cat. no. 13-18
Find spot: tomb of Alaine
Date: mid 2nd century AD

Nr. 18
Description: earrings (pair)
Material: bronze
Reference: Sadurska 1977, cat. no. 21
Find spot: tomb of Alaine
Date: mid 2nd– 3rd century AD

Nr. 19
Description: earring
Material: bronze
Reference: Sadurska 1977, cat. no. 21
Find spot: tomb of Alaine
Date: unknown

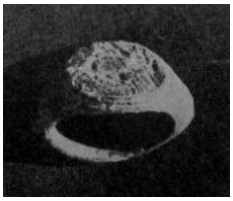
Nr. 20
Description: pendant
Material: bronze
Reference: Sadurska 1977, cat. no. 23
Find spot: tomb of Alaine
Date: 2nd century AD

Nr. 21
Description: necklace
Material: bronze
Reference: Sadurska 1977, cat. no. 24
Find spot: tomb of Alaine
Date: 2nd century AD

Nr. 22
Description: pendant
Material: bronze
Reference: Sadurska 1977, cat. no. 25
Find spot: tomb of Alaine
Date: 138-240 AD

Nr. 23
Description: pendant
Material: bronze
Reference: Sadurska 1977, cat. no.26
Find spot: tomb of Alaine
Date: mid 2nd century AD
(source image: Sadurska 1977)

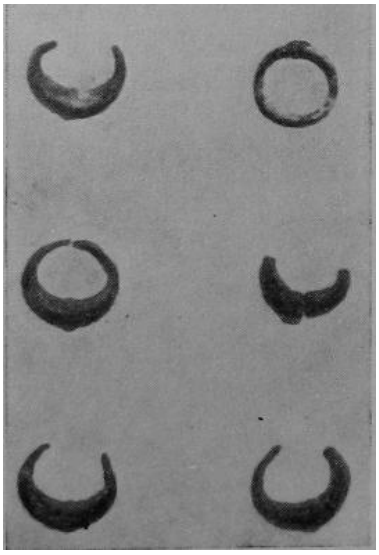
Nr. 24
Description: fingerring
Material: bronze
Reference: Sadurska 1977, cat. no. 27
Find spot: tomb of Alaine
Date: mid 2nd century AD
(source image: Sadurska 1977)



Nr. 25
Description: earrings (pair)
Material: silver
Reference: Saliby 1992
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: first half 2nd century AD

Nr. 26
Description: earring
Material: bronze
Reference: Saliby 1992
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: late 1st century BC - mid 2nd century AD

Nr. 27
Description: earring
Material: silver
Reference: Michalowski 1960, cat. no. 38
Find spot: hypogeum of Zabda
Date: mid 2nd century AD
(source image: Michalowski 1960)


Earrings nr. 27-31

Nr. 28
Description: earring
Material: silver
Reference: Michalowski 1960, cat. no. 38
Find spot: hypogeum of Zabda
Date: mid 2nd century AD

Nr. 29
Description: earring
Material: silver
Reference: Michalowski 1960, cat. no. 38
Find spot: hypogeum of Zabda
Date: mid 2nd century AD

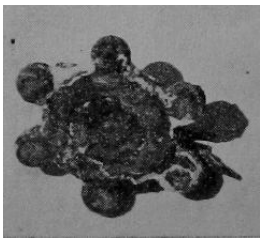
Nr. 30
Description: earring
Material: silver
Reference: Michalowski 1960, cat. no. 38
Find spot: hypogeum of Zabda
Date: mid 2nd century AD

Nr. 31
Description: earring
Material: silver
Reference: Michalowski 1960, cat. no. 38
Find spot: hypogeum of Zabda
Date: mid 2nd century AD

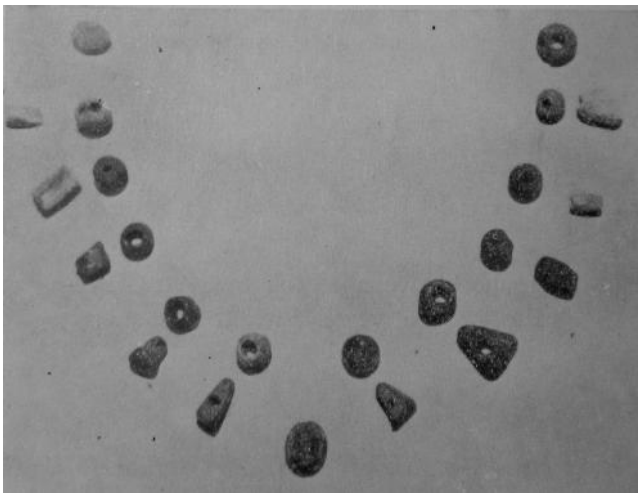
Nr. 32
Description: earring
Material: bronze
Reference: Michalowski 1960, cat. no. 39
Find spot: hypogeum of Zabda
Date: mid 2nd century AD

Nr. 33
Description: earring
Material: iron
Reference: Michalowski 1960, cat. no. 41
Find spot: hypogeum of Zabda
Date: mid 2nd century AD

Nr. 34
Description: brooch
Material: bronze
Reference: Michalowski 1960, cat. no. 44
Find spot: hypogeum of Zabda
Date: mid 2nd century AD
(source image: Michalowski 1960)



Nr. 35
Description: beads
Material: faience, glass paste, slate, lime, carnelian
Reference: Michalowski 1960, cat. no. 47
Find spot: hypogeum of Zabda
Date: mid 2nd century AD
(source image: Michalowski 1960)



Beads nr. 35 with in the centre middle pendant nr. 36

Nr. 36
Description: pendant
Material: lime
Reference: Michalowski 1960, cat. no. 48
Find spot: hypogeum of Zabda
Date: mid 2nd century AD

Nr. 37
Description: beads
Material: lime, bronze, glass paste
Reference: Michalowski 1960, cat. no. 49
Find spot: hypogeum of Zabda
Date: mid 2nd century AD

Nr. 38-45
Description: 8 groups of beads
Material: glass, agate, white frit stones, bronze, silver
Reference: Higuchi and Izumi 1994, cat. no. 35, 66-100
Find spot: Tomb C
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 46
Description: fingerring
Material: iron and glass
Reference: Higuchi and Izumi 1994, cat. no. 32
Find spot: Tomb C
Date: 2nd century AD?

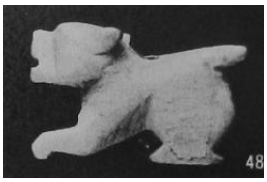
Nr. 47
Description: earring
Material: silver
Reference: Higuchi and Izumi 1994, cat. no. 33
Find spot: Tomb C
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 48
Description: bracelet
Material: bronze
Reference: Higuchi and Izumi 1994, cat. no. 26
Find spot: Tomb C
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 49
Description: pendant
Material: bronze
Reference: Higuchi and Izumi 1994, cat. no. 27
Find spot: Tomb C
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 50
Description: amuletic pendant
Material: glass
Reference: Higuchi and Izumi 1994, cat. no. 47
Find spot: Tomb C
Date: 2nd century AD?

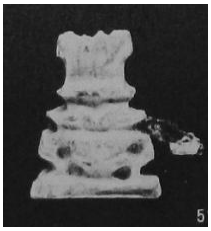
Nr. 51
Description: amuletic pendant
Material: ivory
Reference: Higuchi and Izumi 1994, cat. no. 48
Find spot: Tomb C
Date: 2nd century AD?
(source image: Higuchi and Izumi 1994)



Nr. 52
Description: amuletic pendant
Material: ivory
Reference: Higuchi and Izumi 1994, cat. no. 49
Find spot: Tomb C
Date: 2nd century AD?
(source image: Higuchi and Izumi 1994)

Nr. 53
Description: amuletic pendant
Material: ivory
Reference: Higuchi and Izumi 1994, cat. no. 50
Find spot: Tomb C
Date: 2nd century AD?
(source image: Higuchi and Izumi 1994)

Nr. 54
Description: amuletic pendant
Material: stone (whitish)
Reference: Higuchi and Izumi 1994, cat. no. 51
Find spot: Tomb C
Date: 2nd century AD?
(source image: Higuchi and Izumi 1994)



Nr. 55
Description: fingerring
Material: gold and glass
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 6
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?
(source image: Higuchi and Saito 2001)

Nr. 56
Description: fingerring
Material: silver
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 7
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 57
Description: fingerring
Material: silver
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 8
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 58
Description: fingerring
Material: silver
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 9
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 59
Description: fingerring
Material: silver
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 10
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 60
Description: fingerring
Material: copper
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 11
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 61
Description: fingerring
Material: copper
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 12
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?
(source image: Higuchi and Saito 2001)

Fingerrings nr. 61-64

Nr. 62
Description: fingerring
Material: bronze and glass
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 13
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 63
Description: fingerring
Material: bronze
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 14
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 64
Description: fingerring
Material: bronze
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 15
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 65
Description: fingerring
Material: copper
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 16
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 66
Description: fingerring
Material: copper
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 17
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 67
Description: earring
Material: copper
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 18
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?
(source image: Higuchi and Saito 2001)

Earrings nr. 67-70

Nr. 68
Description: earring
Material: copper
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 19
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 69
Description: earring
Material: copper
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 20
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 70
Description: earring
Material: copper
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 21 a/b
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 71
Description: pendant
Material: gold and glass
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 22
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?
(source image: Higuchi and Saito 2001)

Nr. 72
Description: pendant
Material: gold and glass
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 23
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?
(source image: Higuchi and Saito 2001)

Nr. 73
Description: beads
Material: gold, glass, bone, agate
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 24-36
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?
(source image: Higuchi and Saito 2001)

Examples of the beads recovered from Tomb F, showing the variety in shapes, sizes and material

Nr. 74
Description: beads
Material: glass?
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 37-43
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 75
Description: beads
Material: glass
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 44-46
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 76
Description: beads
Material: glass
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 47 a-j
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 77
Description: bead
Material: glass
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 48
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 78
Description: beads
Material: bone and wood
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 49-65
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 79
Description: bracelet
Material: glass
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 66
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?
(source image: Higuchi and Saito 2001)

Nr. 80
Description: bead
Material: glass
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 67
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 81
Description: beads
Material: glass, agate, carnelian, lapis lazuli
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 68-72
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 82
Description: beads
Material: agate
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 73-74
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 83
Description: beads
Material: stone and glass
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 75-86
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Nr. 84
Description: beads
Material: glass, cowrie (shell), copper
Reference: Higuchi and Saito 2001, cat. no. 87-92
Find spot: Tomb F
Date: 2nd century AD?

Appendix D: The sample of sculptural representations from Palmyra

Nr. 1
Description: bust of an unknown woman
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1936/7028
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: 120-140 AD


(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 44)

Nr. 2
Description: bust of a woman named Nabî
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1937/7029
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: 170-200 AD


(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 45)

Nr. 3
Description: bust of a woman named Nabî
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1940/7032
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: 110-130 AD


(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 48)

Nr. 4
Description: bust of a woman named Halî
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1947/7039
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: middle 2nd century AD

(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 55)

Nr. 5
Description: bust of a woman named Nabî
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1953/7045
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: second half 2nd century AD


(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 61)

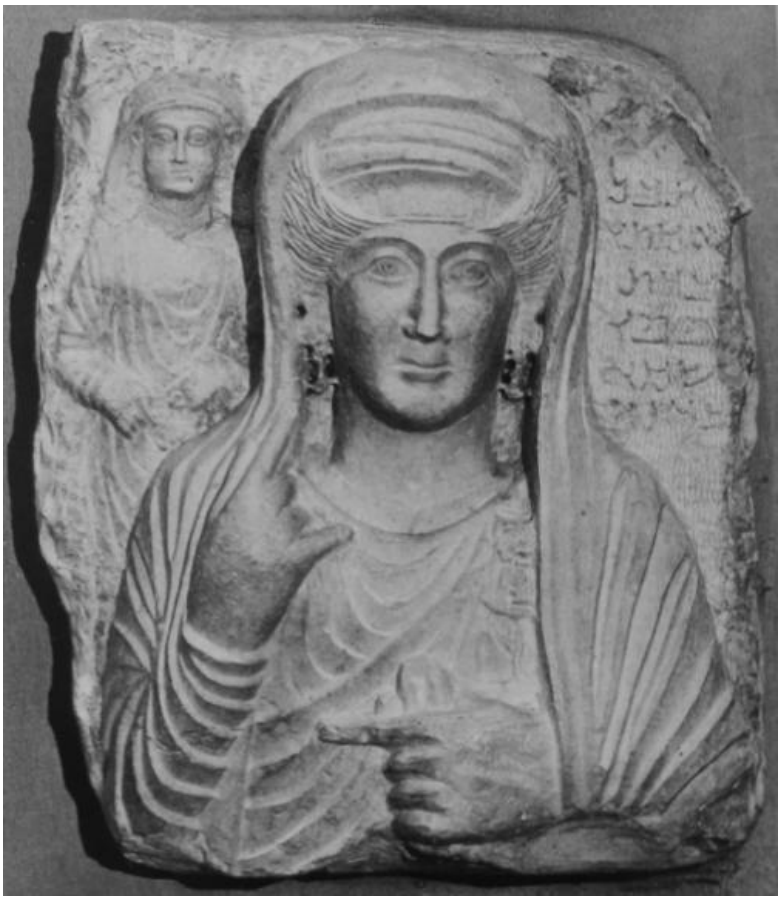
Nr. 6
Description: bust of a woman named Malkat
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1954/7046
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: 150-170 AD


(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 62)

Nr. 7
Description: bust of a woman named Nabî
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1957/7049
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: middle 2nd century AD


(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 65)

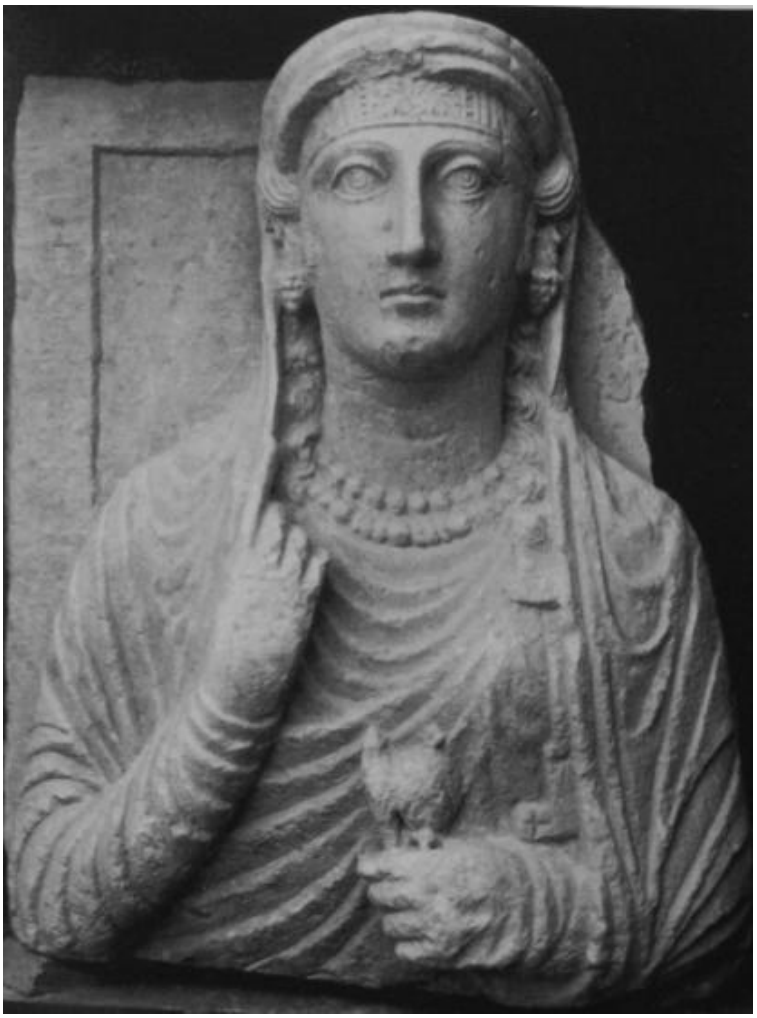
Nr. 8
Description: bust of a woman named Amtâ
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1958/7050
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: middle 2nd century AD


(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 66)

Nr. 9
Description: bust of a woman named Amtâ
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1963/7055
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: 170-200 AD


(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 71)

Nr. 10
Description: bust of a woman named Amtâ
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1965/7057
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: 100-130 AD


(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 73)

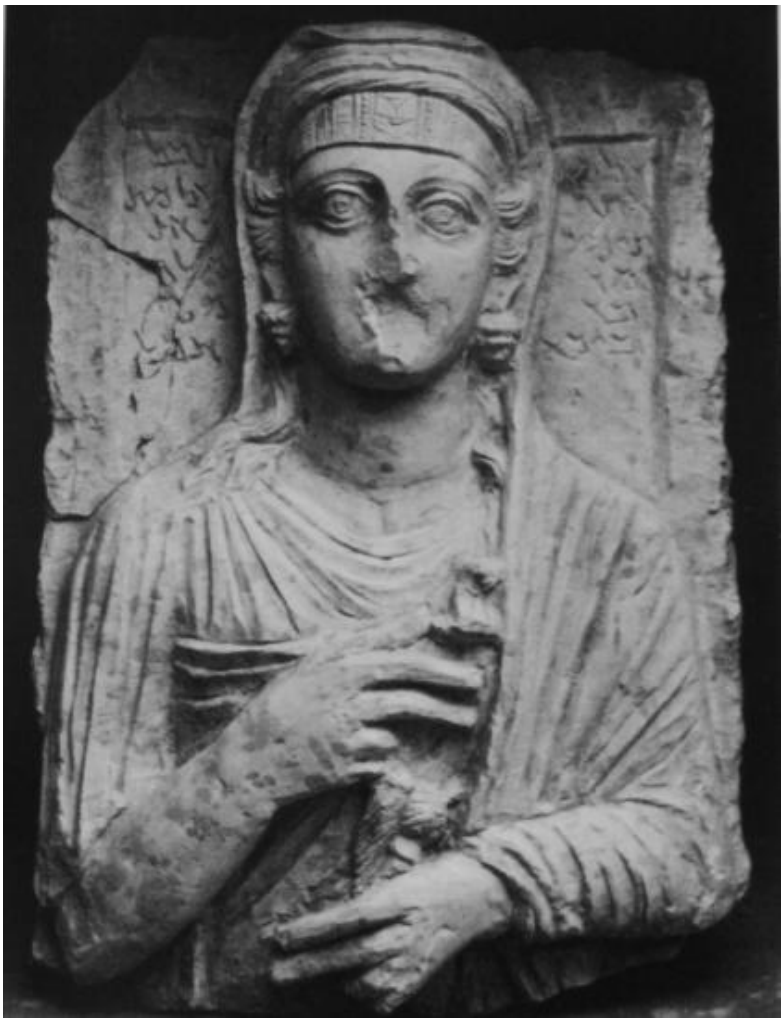
Nr. 11
Description: bust of a woman named Tammâ
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1966/7058
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: 100-120 AD


(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 74)

Nr. 12
Description: bust of a woman named Aqmat
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1968/7060
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: end 1st -begin 2nd century AD

(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 76)

Nr. 13
Description: bust of a woman named Salmat
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1969/7061
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: 100-130 AD



(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 77)

Nr. 14
Description: bust of a woman named Barnîm
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1976/7068
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: 170-200 AD

(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 84)

Nr. 15
Description: bust of a woman named Bîlat
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1983/7075
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: middle 2nd century AD


(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 91)

Nr. 16
Description: bust of a woman named Marâ
Material: limestone
Reference: Palmyra Museum inv. 1985/7077
Find spot: hypogeum of Sassan
Date: 150-175 AD

(source: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, catalogue number 93)