DEATH IN ROMAN MARCHE, ITALY:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BURIAL RITUALS

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by

ANTONE R.E. PIERUCCI

Dr. Kathleen Warner Slane, Thesis Supervisor

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

DEATH IN ROMAN MARCHE, ITALY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BURIAL RITUALS

presented by Antone R.E. Pierucci,

a candidate for the degree of master of arts,

and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

_______________________________________________
Professor Kathleen Warner Slane

_______________________________________________
Professor Marcus Rautman

_______________________________________________
Professor Carrie Duncan
To my parents, for their support over the years. And for their support in the months to come as I languish on their couch eating fruit loops “looking for a job.”
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Chapter 1: Introduction

For decades graves have been an important source of information for the social, cultural and religious landscape of the Romans. The assortment of items, from coins and lamps to a variety of ceramic bowls and plates, have been used at different times as evidence of the relative wealth of the dead and as a means of recreating the social structure of the burying community.\(^1\) Over the last few decades a greater interest in Roman burial rituals has seen the publishing of numerous articles and monographs on the subject. These studies often couched the question of funerary rituals within a wider interest in cultural integration, using the presence of distinctly Roman burying traditions as an indication of the “Romanization” of indigenous peoples.\(^2\) In doing so, however, such studies only tangentially addressed the theoretical and methodological issues inherent in reconstructing rituals from the excavated grave objects. Over the last two decades the methodological framework for interpreting funerary rituals has been the focus of renewed scholarly interest, especially in the fields of Iron and Bronze Age archaeology.\(^3\)

Lagging somewhat behind their colleagues, classical archaeologists have recently begun to seek methods of recording objects within graves in order to better recreate the ritual actions behind their placement. That is not to say that mortuary archaeology is a new subject for Roman archaeologists; far from it, in fact. Since its first publication in the

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\(^1\) See Chapter 2 for more information.


\(^3\) For a more in depth discussion on this see Chapter 2.
nineteenth century, the *Notizie degli Scavi* of the Italian ministry of culture has featured the excavation reports of numerous Roman period cemeteries in Italy. While some of these earlier excavated cemeteries have been reexamined by scholars, many of them have remained unexplored.⁴

Working for the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche in the 1970’s, Liliana Mercando excavated and published several cemeteries in the modern-day region of Marche, Italy.⁵ This area encompasses the southern portion of the Roman region of Umbria and the greater part of the region of Picenum (fig. 1). Four of the cemeteries that Mercando excavated were large and three quite small, consisting of only a handful of graves. Of these seven cemeteries, four—Fano, the Bivio and San Donato cemeteries of Urbino and the small cemetery of Pergola—are located in the northern part of Marche in what was once Roman Umbria. The last three cemeteries—Portorecanati, San Vittore di Cingoli and Piane di Falerone—are located in Roman Picenum (fig. 2).

Thanks in large part to the meticulous work of Mercando, these graves and their furnishings have been preserved for later courses of inquiry, which were not a topic of scholarly interest at the time. Although Mercando cataloged the graves in relative detail for each cemetery and, at the end of each chapter, provided a brief synopsis of the kinds of goods included in the graves, she was uninterested in analyzing the nature of the funerary rituals. What remains, therefore, is a relatively rich corpus of unmined information. Despite Mercando’s thorough cataloguing of the graves, most of the

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cemeteries in Marche have largely been excluded from discussions of Roman funerary rituals in Italy and the western provinces.6

**History of Occupation**

The regions of Umbria and Picenum have a long history of occupation. Until relatively recently, research into the pre-Roman cultures of these two regions was sparse. In the last decades studies on Umbrian culture in particular have attempted to extract the distinct culture of this people from the later Latin—Roman—culture that eventually came to dominate.7 If we are to believe Herodotus, the land of the Umbrians reached as far north as the Danube.8 Certainly the Umbrians had a presence in the Po valley, where Strabo tells us that they fought for supremacy with the Etruscans.9 Adding to the cultural mix, the Gallic Senones immigrated into the region in the fourth century B.C.E. and settled in Umbria and Picenum until their defeat by the Romans in 284 B.C.E.10

In addition to this list, the Umbrians of course interacted with their southern neighbors—the Piceni. The Piceni appear as a distinct culture in Italy sometime in the Late Bronze Age. Like the Umbrians, the Picenian culture was greatly affected by the incursion of the Gauls in the fourth century B.C.E. However, unlike the Umbrians, the Greek culture of Magna Graecia also had an influence, especially after the founding of the Syracusan colony of Ancona in the fifth century B.C.E.11

The Roman conquest of these regions began in earnest after the defeat of the Gallic Senones in the third century B.C.E. Roman influence was consolidated from the

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7 Bradley 2000; Agnati 1999.  
8 Herodotus *History* 4.49.  
9 Strabo *Geography* 5.1.10.  
10 Agnati 1999, 124.  
11 Dell’Orto 2001, 5. Ancona is located just north of Portorecanati.
third to the second centuries with the building of the Via Flaminia and the Via Salaria and the settling of veterans in colonies.\(^\text{12}\) During the Augustan period, most of the cities saw a massive increase in public building and both Umbria and Picenum seem to have flourished during the first two centuries C.E.\(^\text{13}\) During the third century, however, this area suffered from the incursion of the barbarian Iutungi in 271. With the increase in brigandage that followed, the prosperity of the region decreased and during the fourth and fifth centuries greater numbers of people moved to the countryside as the urban centers began to deteriorate.\(^\text{14}\)

**Scope of Study**

The cemeteries documented by Mercando in these two regions were used from the third century B.C.E. to the late third and early fourth century C.E. Each cemetery can therefore provide important information on not only regional but also chronological patterns in the funerary rituals practiced in Roman Marche. Before continuing, it will be useful to first establish what I mean by the term “ritual”. There is not a single definition of ritual and the difficulties in establishing exactly what that term entails has resulted in numerous publications over the past century.\(^\text{15}\) It is easier to explain the different elements which can form ritual, rather than explicitly defining the term itself. First and foremost I consider rituals to be purposeful actions, with the archaeological remains being the “external envelope concealing mental operations.”\(^\text{16}\)

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\(^\text{12}\) Agnati 1999 37.


\(^\text{15}\) E.g. van Gennep 1960; Turner 1995; Bell 1998; Grimes 2013.

\(^\text{16}\) Durkheim 2001, 314.
which the religious studies scholar Catherine Bell enumerates as the following: formalism, traditionalism, invariance and rule-governance. 17 This means that actions can be considered ritualistic when they are formalized activities that follow in the steps of certain, prescribed traditions. These actions must be disciplined and repetitious and be governed by rules or guidelines. In the case of Roman funerary rituals, the formalized and repetitious activities that occur at the grave site (and immediately before and after) are grounded in numerous cultural (and perhaps regional) traditions. The intent of this thesis is to examine these different funerary rituals evident at the cemeteries of Marche, using the excavation reports of Mercando and the grave objects themselves.

The primary research question that will guide this study is how to actually distinguish different funerary rituals from the excavated material. In order to do this, I will first develop a methodology (Chapter 2) for organizing the grave objects from Mercando’s catalogues. Although not included in this thesis, I created a database of all of the graves and their objects. After applying this methodology to each of the cemeteries in turn (Chapter 3), I will attempt to determine if, in fact, different rituals can be distinguished (Chapter 4). Because four of the cemeteries are located in Umbria and the other three in Picenum, the secondary question that I will try to answer in the conclusion is whether different regional trends are evident.

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Chapter 2: Methodology

Introduction

Having passed through the cauldron of both the processual and postprocessual schools of thought, the study of mortuary archaeology is a confusion of contending methods that are as numerous as the individual scholars who practice it. What follows is therefore not meant to be a panoramic, historiographical analysis of mortuary archaeology and its many theories. Instead, the focus of the present chapter is the creation of a method that will allow me to test whether it is possible to differentiate a variety of funerary rites from the excavated grave goods of Marche, Italy. First and foremost, using O’Shea’s notion of depositional pathways, I will show the correlation between the objects in the graves and deliberate, conscious human action. This seems like such a fundamental notion of any archaeological analysis but, as I will show, it is rarely systematically laid out by Roman mortuary archaeologists.

Having established that it is possible to discern different processes that transported the goods into the grave, I will then show how, gradually, classical archaeologists have received O’Shea and how they now tend to interpret grave goods. Then I will continue by presenting the work being done with Iron Age burials and how the location and condition of the goods have been used to identify the various rites that took place. I will also discuss how Roman archaeologists have practiced this same method. Having established that the processes by which objects enter the grave can not only be discerned but, using their location and condition, also be used to indicate the
funerary rites that resulted in their deposition, I will then lay out my method for how to do just that for the cemeteries of Marche, Italy.

“Depositional Pathways” and the Methods of John O’Shea

In 1977 John M. O’Shea wrote a dissertation on mortuary variability, a topic recently conceived within the school of “New Archaeology”—or processual archaeology—that arose in the 1960’s and 1970’s in American and British scholarly circles. The phrase “mortuary variability” stemmed from the argument that it was possible, using data derived from ethnographic and archaeological sources, to learn about the relative complexity of a given burial society from the variability of said society’s mortuary practices. In rapid succession, publications in the early 1970’s by Saxe and Binford attempted to define cross-cultural “laws” of mortuary behavior and social structure, viewing the former as a faithful reproduction of the latter. Although criticisms would soon arise, with both studies later becoming the flagship of processual mortuary archaeology around which processualists flocked, Saxe and Binford nevertheless were the first to set out in a formal manner a series of principles that could be tested and verified by future works.

Later published as “Mortuary Variability: An Archaeological Investigation” in 1984, O’Shea’s work was directly in response to these previous publications. He attempted, very optimistically, to create a theory of mortuary differentiation that future archaeologists could employ. Although received with mixed reviews, O’Shea alone

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18 Saxe’s first four Hypotheses that he tested in his seminal 1970 dissertation “Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practice” were concerned with this notion of the representativeness of social personae and the organization of a society from variable mortuary data.
19 Saxe 1970; Binford 1971.
21 O’Shea 1984, xi.
addresses some of the most fundamental issues regarding the archaeology of ritual: the processes of deposition whereby the funerary material finds its way into the grave in the first place. Something seemingly so essential, O’Shea was nevertheless the first to systematically lay out the theories of deposition for mortuary archaeology. O’Shea drew particularly on Clarke and Shiffer and used their theories as the foundation of his notion of how cultural behavior becomes manifest in the archaeological record of graves. “Formation processes” as they were coined by Shiffer, describe the actions by which objects are taken out of their cultural systems and eventually embedded within the archaeological record. Clarke argued that these formation processes could further be specified to distinguish “primary depositional pathways”, by which an object becomes incorporated in the archaeological record, and “post-depositional processes”, processes by which objects become affected or changed after their initial entry into the archaeological record.

O’Shea argued that in order to interpret the funerary remains as an archaeological phenomenon—a primary goal of his dissertation—one must understand how these two fundamental processes interact with one another within the context of the grave. His subsequent chapter on deposition processes further specifies these processes by subdividing them into three categories: intentional depositions, coincidental depositions and accidental depositions. He identifies intentional depositions as all of the mortuary practices that are “conscious and purposive” such as the construction of a funerary facility, the treatment of the corpse and the placement of objects in the grave.

23 Clarke 1973, 16.
25 Ibid. 24.
Coincidental depositions, on the other hand, are those instances whereby items find their way into the grave even though they are not the object or focus of funerary treatment. For instance, he argues that buttons are generally found in the grave not because their presence was intentionally desired but because, coincidentally, they are part of the clothes in which the deceased is clothed. As the name suggests, accidental depositions are those things—from animals to objects—that make their way into the grave as no intentional or coincidental part of the burial. The inclusion of trash in the backfill of graves, for instance, can be considered part of this category.

Just as he subdivided the primary depositional pathways posited by Clarke and other processual archaeologists, O’Shea also introduced a variety of post-depositional processes that affect a mortuary deposit. The range of post-depositional processes can be natural or cultural, each one affecting the deposits in unique ways. O’Shea further specifies that cultural processes can be intentional or accidental. The digging of graves over or sometimes through preexisting graves—an action often accidental—can have catastrophic effects on the disturbed grave’s deposit.26 Such practices, as we shall see, occurred widely in the cemeteries of Roman Marche. Although not explicitly included by O’Shea, I would propose that commemorative offerings would also be included in this category of post-depositional, cultural, processes. This is especially so for those offerings that are placed within libation tubes since these objects can and often do find their way into the graves buried beneath. Other, natural, forces such as animal disturbances, water infiltration and other destructive processes could also significantly alter the grave deposits and have to be considered when analyzing the data.27

26 Ibid. 25-26.
27 Ibid 25.
With these subdivisions O’Shea introduced to the discourse of mortuary archaeology the notion that grave goods have a variety of pathways by which they can make their way into the graves and that each object needs to be evaluated in terms of its pathway of funerary deposition. Differentiating between these pathways is essential, O’Shea argues, since it determines the relative importance of the object in an interpretation of the grave and the mortuary rituals of the burying society. For instance, an item that was intentionally placed within a grave is relatively more significant to one’s interpretation of the mortuary behavior of a society than some trash that had found its way into the grave after the primary deposition. The obfuscation of the original activities that created the mortuary deposit by accidental and post-depositional processes is summarized by O’Shea in the following figure (fig. 3). The relative organization and patterning of these funerary behaviors (or actions) that generate the mortuary deposit, O’Shea argues, is at its highest at the point of deposition and gradually degenerates as accidental or post-depositional forces alter them. The goal for the archaeologist, therefore, is to identify the various depositional pathways and sift through the “noise” created by such altering processes in order to get to the original actions that generated the deposit.28

Like Binford and Saxe before him, O’Shea primarily argued for the significance of the variability of mortuary practices as a means of understanding the relative complexity of the burial society as a whole as well as the social persona of the individual. Therefore, he couched the important theoretical work on the deposition of grave goods within this larger argument. Unlike Binford and Saxe, whose methods entirely relied on a

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combination of cross-cultural ethnographic studies with formal hypothesis testing, O’Shea attempted to incorporate concrete archaeological data to his analysis of mortuary variability. This was in response to the growing discontent with what many were beginning to see as the over reliance on ethnographic studies and the creation of cross-cultural “rules” of mortuary practices.29 Despite his own critique of the Saxe and Binford Method (as by the 1980’s such an approach had become known), O’Shea’s decidedly processual approach to mortuary archaeology and the obvious influence of Saxe and Binford in his work on mortuary variability left him open to criticism from a growing group of archaeologists who today are identified as post-processualists.

Scholars of such a persuasion criticized the Saxe and Binford Method, and O’Shea’s work as well, for the simplistic relationship they say it drew between mortuary behaviors and the social persona of the deceased and the relative complexity of the entire society.30 Critics argued that it was impossible to deduce from such socially complicated acts as burial a set of “rules” that could be applied cross-culturally. Doing so, some argued, ignored the subjectivity and individuality of mortuary practices and instead imposed a false sense of objectivity.31 As much as O’Shea’s work itself was a result of the times and the particular school of processualism, so too was the criticism levelled at it a result of the by then growing discontent of post-processualists of the 1980’s. Much but not all of the criticism of O’Shea’s work was associated with his processualist approach. The prominent archaeologist Parker Pearson, in a review of O’Shea’s book on mortuary variability, criticizes O’Shea for differentiating between “intentional” and “incidental”

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30 Parker Pearson 1986, 550; McHugh 1999, 12.
31 Hodder 1982, 5.
depositional pathways. Parker Pearson argues that defining such items as buttons from clothes as symbolically less important than “intentional” depositions is untenable, although he doesn’t deign to explain why that is the case.32

Despite the numerous critiques of O’Shea and the Saxe and Binford Method in particular, O’Shea’s chapter on funerary deposits as an archaeological phenomenon remains an important method for studying graves and their contents. O’Shea showed that any analysis of grave goods needs to take into account the kinds of depositional pathways in order to sort through the obfuscating “noise” of intrusions or accidental deposits and retrieve the original actions that created the deposit.

**Classical Archaeologists and Mortuary Archaeology**

Aside from a few critics, O’Shea’s chapter on depositional pathways remains largely inviolate. In fact it appears to be the most widely cited section of O’Shea’s work for those archaeologists interested in the archaeology of mortuary ritual.33 Following the trend in the field that developed over the course of two decades, classical archaeologists began to seek methods of recreating the funerary rituals that generated the graves they were excavating. Such attempts built upon O’Shea’s foundation of grave goods and their depositional pathways.

Just as the fields of anthropology and American archaeology began exploring the correlation between mortuary behaviors and social status, so too were Roman archaeologists bringing to bear the theories of Saxe and Binford to their own material.34

Towards these ends, Roman archaeologists who applied the processual approach were

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33 Fitzpatrick 2000, 15-16; Baker 2011, 27; Morris 1992, 14; Many cite Morris’ citation of O’Shea rather than O’Shea himself (e.g. Pearce 2000).
34 Jones 1983; 1984a; 1984b; Pearce 2000, 4; Struck 2000, 85-86.
primarily interested in the variability of grave objects and their relation to the status of the deceased. Like the work of their anthropologist colleagues, however, such studies came under attack by post-processualist scholars who argued against such simplistic relationships between the relative “wealth” of burial assemblages and the wealth and status of the deceased.35

A greater interest in cultural issues and their relationship with mortuary behavior developed out of these criticisms. Towards this new focus, more attention was paid to the funerary rites of different regions and cemeteries.36 Attempts to reconstruct Roman funerary rites, however, rarely included a discussion of relevant theories and most of the subsequent studies on culture and the Roman funerary evidence simply presented digested material without reference to the methods used.37 This lacuna in methodology led to a series of colloquia and publications on the subject in the late 1990’s and the first decade of the twenty-first century. Among the essays included are attempts by Roman archaeologists to articulate archaeological methods and theories used to recreate the funerary rites. These attempts and a few others from fields outside of Roman archaeology build upon O’Shea’s notion of depositional pathways and argue for a more detailed analysis of the location and condition of the grave objects as a vital part of these reconstructions.

**Depositional Pathways and Funerary Rites: New Archaeological Methods**

One conference in particular, held under the aegis of the Research Centre for Roman Provincial Archaeology at the University of Durham in 1997, challenged archaeologists to articulate their methods of reconstructing funerary rituals.\(^\text{38}\) Two essays in particular deal with the reconstruction of parts of the funerary rites of cremation from Roman cemeteries in Britain\(^\text{39}\) and Luxemburg.\(^\text{40}\) Through an analysis of pyre sites, re-deposited pyre debris and the burial of the cremated remains, McKinley attempted to illustrate the potential for the recovery of data that may help to increase our understanding of the various aspects of the cremation ritual itself. Polfer, too, tried to reconstruct aspects of the Roman cremation rite, but focused instead on known excavations of *ustrina* and related re-burial of pyre goods with the cremated deceased.

Integral to both studies—particularly when dealing with the pyre goods that were re-deposited in individual graves—is the condition of the grave goods themselves. Clear evidence of burning is used by Polfer as proof of the objects’ inclusion in the pyre during the cremation of the deceased.\(^\text{41}\) Although Polfer convincingly shows that these burnt goods might not be faithful representations of all the kinds of objects used during the rite of cremation, they nevertheless remain important indicators of the rite itself. They can also be used to determine, at the very least, the kinds of objects that were chosen to be salvaged from the pyre and re-deposited with the deceased.\(^\text{42}\)

Whereas the Roman archaeologists in this colloquium chose to focus specifically on aspects of the cremation rite, specialists in other fields took a more holistic approach

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\(^{38}\) Pearce, Millet and Struck 2000.

\(^{39}\) McKinley 2000.

\(^{40}\) Polfer 2000.

\(^{41}\) Polfer 2000, 34.

\(^{42}\) Ibid. 35-36.
by attempting to recreate the funerary rites of entire cemeteries. Analyzing a series of Iron Age cemeteries in northwestern Europe, A.P. Fitzpatrick attempted to illustrate the correlation between the sequence of rituals and the structure of the funerary remains.\(^{43}\) Although dealing with a different body of material than Roman graves, Fitzpatrick enumerated a series of points regarding the reconstruction of funerary rites from excavated graves that can be used to evaluate material from Roman cemeteries.

Recognizing the range of theories that had hitherto been practiced, Fitzpatrick identified O’Shea’s as a middle range theory that attempted to connect concrete archaeological examples to more general notions of society.\(^{44}\) Although not concerned with discerning the social status of the deceased from the variability of grave goods, Fitzpatrick recognized the significance of O’Shea’s concept of depositional pathways. As one of the two purposes of his essay, Fitzpatrick attempted to show that “something of the ritual process can be recovered archaeologically.”\(^{45}\) Working from the archaeological reports from the cemeteries of Clemency, Acy-Romance, and Westhampnett Fitzpatrick reconstructed the framework of the mortuary rituals practiced at these sites.\(^{46}\) He was able to use these reconstructions in order to compare the burial practices of the different cemeteries and in so doing enumerate the many ritual elements common to all three sites.\(^{47}\) Although not directly dealing with Roman graves, his ability to create a regional map of funerary rituals from a contextual analysis of the excavation reports serves as a model for future studies. Fitzpatrick not only convincingly illustrated the potential of

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\(^{43}\) Fitzpatrick 2000. This was only one purpose of his essay, the other being an argument against the interpretation of “Romanization” of certain funerary rituals without first understanding the earlier, indigenous rituals.

\(^{44}\) Fitzpatrick 2000, 15.

\(^{45}\) Ibid. 15.

\(^{46}\) Ibid. 20, 22, 27.

\(^{47}\) Ibid. 27.
such a comparative study for the analysis of regional mortuary behavior, but also the reliance of such studies on the condition and structure of the excavated material.

The methods discussed in the publication of the 1997 colloquium certainly laid the foundation for issues that were raised in another momentous colloquium in 2005. The results of the gathering, which had been organized by John Scheid from the College of France and Martin Millet from Cambridge, was published in 2008 as *Pour une Archeologie du Rite: Nouvelles Perspectives de l’Archeologie Funéraire*. 48 The essays ranged in topic from methods of analyzing archaeobotanical data to current excavations of Roman sites in the western provinces. 49 One essay in particular presents a methodology of excavation and analysis of Roman graves that incorporates the sources previously mentioned into a system of “micro-topographical finds analysis”. 50 As the name suggests, Maron Witteyer proposes an analysis of the archaeological finds that pays particular attention to the stratigraphic location of the goods and their spatial relationship to each other. Incorporating data derived from multi-disciplinary studies of graves, including the physical anthropological analyses of the human remains and the archaeobotanical analyses of the flora and fauna, Witteyer analyzes the grave goods and

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48 Scheid 2008.
49 Questions of archaeobotany see Méniel 2008; Zech-Matterne 2008; excavation reports see Buccellato, Catalano and Musco 2008; Leoni, Maioli and Montevecchi 2008.
50 Witteyer 2008, 171, “mikrotopografische Befundbeobachtungen” as Marion Witteyer puts it. Two other essays in the volume touch on the same topic, although not as systematically as Witteyer: Booth and Boyle 2008, 134 briefly mentions the exciting implications of paying more attention to the location of objects in the grave, including advocating for quantitative analyses like correspondence analysis. Ortalli 2008 offers similar minute stratigraphic analyses as Witteyer. He is especially interested in methods of excavation that allow for the recovery of the surface layer of the grave.
their implementation within the funerary space in order to reconstruct the “course of sequential action” or rites that generated the deposits.\textsuperscript{51}

Like McKinley before her, Witteyer uses graves from several cemeteries in her essay and, like Polfer, she starts her analysis with the remains of pyre debris in order to recreate the various rites associated with the cremation of the deceased.\textsuperscript{52} However, she continues beyond these remains to the grave itself, analyzing the position of the grave goods to establish the point in the series of “sequential actions” at which they were deposited. She concludes at one point that after the cremation, some of the goods were re-deposited with the body inside a wooden coffin alongside some additional ceramic and glass vessels.\textsuperscript{53} Additional vessels were found above these goods and were interpreted by Witteyer to have been placed on top of the coffin after it was sealed. She suggests that these goods might be the remnants of a meal that the mourners partook in after covering the remains but before filling in the shaft of the grave.\textsuperscript{54} By organizing the grave goods into their location and condition, Witteyer was able to distinguish separate funerary rites, even possibly identifying more than one that occurred during the interment of the deceased.

In many ways Witteyer’s essay represents the culmination of two decades of theoretical work; starting with the foundational methods of O’Shea and the subsequent incorporation of his work by Roman and Iron Age archaeologists like McKinley and Fitzpatrick. By tracing the genealogy of these theoretical arguments, it is clear that the

\textsuperscript{51} Although she does not directly cite O’Shea, this notion of a “Hinweisen auf den Verlauf von Handlungsabfolgen” (Witteyer 2008, 173) is nevertheless very similar to O’Shea’s concept of various depositional pathways.

\textsuperscript{52} Witteyer analyzed graves from various groups of graves in the environs of Mainz (ancient Mogontiacum).

\textsuperscript{53} Just as Polfer 2000 did before her.

\textsuperscript{54} Witteyer 2008, 175.
development of a coherent methodology for the reconstruction of funerary rites can be traced back to the early days of mortuary archaeology and O’Shea’s notion of depositional pathways. When the processualist interest in social structure gave way to inquiries into mortuary rituals, archaeologists used O’Shea’s theories as they attempted to assign meaning to the various depositional pathways.

In past studies, Roman archaeologists have relied on both the condition and location of the objects in order to reconstruct these pathways and the ritual actions behind them. These studies convincingly showed that the grave goods themselves can be used towards this end. However, they do caution that such a study needs to be wary of making over-generalizations since, as Polfer and McKinley have shown, the objects deposited in the grave represent only a portion of the rituals acted out during the funeral, let alone during the entire often weeks-long ceremony accorded to a death in the Roman world.55

Methodology

Taking into account these past methods and the caveats of such a study, I too intend to differentiate various funerary rites based on the excavated grave goods. In order to do this I will use a systematic method that will allow me to organize the material based on such criteria as object condition and location within the funeral space. By providing a framework within which the grave goods from each cemetery can be organized, I will systematically lay out the various pathways through which the objects of each grave were deposited. Once organized in this manner, the frequency of the occurrence of these “sequential actions” or rites can be evaluated and any regional trends articulated.

55 See Chapter 3 for a more thorough analysis of the Roman funeral.
First, however, I will create the organizing framework. This framework will consist of five different occasions at which objects could be included in the funerary space. These five different occasions were chosen based on the types of graves found in the cemeteries in question and the conceivable places within which objects could be placed.\textsuperscript{56} Such criteria necessarily requires a certain amount of prerequisite knowledge of the data to be analyzed and since the creation of these five occasions takes into account examples from other cemeteries it assumes, a priori, that the cemeteries of Marche will share at least some features of other Roman cemeteries in Italy. However, lest I attempt to force the data from Marche into occasions defined in part from other cemeteries I have also included one “miscellaneous” occasion into which any occurrence of good placement that appears unique to the Marche region can be placed.

Additionally, funerary “space” should be understood to have both a temporal and physical element. Temporal in that these five occasions represent distinct points in the chronological timeline of a Roman funeral at which the grave objects are used; from the “use” of an object as a pyre good to the “use” of an object as a container for some food or drink for the deceased. Also physical in the sense that these five different occasions represent particular, physical places within the structure of the graves that items can be placed.

These five different occasions are defined below. The criteria used to determine the placement of a grave object within each occasion is also listed.

i) **Pre-Interment:** “Pre-interment” here is understood to mean the rites practiced prior to the interment of the remains of the deceased. Objects thought to be

\textsuperscript{56} For comparable grave types and placement of goods see Chapter 3.
included in the funerary space at this occasion are those with clear traces of exposure to fire and those that necessarily were used prior to placing the remains in the grave (like the placement of jewelry on the deceased).

ii) **Interment:** “Interment” is the moment at which the remains of the deceased are deposited in the grave. Grave items included in the funerary space at this occasion are objects placed inside the grave cover (for those graves with cover), objects placed inside vessels (for those graves where the cremated remains were placed inside a vessel) and objects placed in the fossa alongside the deposited human remains (for those graves without covers).

iii) **Post-Interment:** “Post-interment” refers to the period after the remains of the deceased have been interred and covered but before the shaft of grave is completely filled in. Objects included in the funerary space at this occasion are those placed in the fossa next to the vessel containing the cremated remains of the deceased, those objects placed outside the grave cover and those placed in the shaft of grave.

iv) **Post-Funeral:** “Post-funeral” is the period after the shaft of the grave has been filled. Objects included in the funerary space at this occasion are those placed in libation tubes.

v) **Miscellaneous:** As stated above, this occasion should be understood as a preventative measure lest I force any seemingly unique placement of an object into an occasion that is derived from examples verified from cemeteries outside the Marche region.
In the following chapter I will present each cemetery with their objects organized into these five occasions. At the end of the chapter I will discuss the frequency of occurrences of each category. From there I will attempt to interpret the ritual actions that created each occasion (Chapter 3) and determine if any wider regional trends are evident (Conclusion).
Chapter 3: The Cemeteries and their Goods

Introduction

This chapter analyzes the grave items from the different cemeteries of Marche, Italy. For each cemetery I have organized these items into the five occasions of deposition defined in Chapter 1. This organization will allow me to discuss these five occasions as they appear in each cemetery and to highlight any significant variations between them. The methods used to digest and organize such a large amount of data are presented first so that the reader may better understand some of the logic behind the decisions made while organizing the objects.

In his 1992 book on death rituals in classical archaeology Ian Morris insightfully stated that for a mortuary archaeologist the excavation reports of the cemeteries are “a complex genre which has to be read as closely as any ancient text.”\textsuperscript{57} Like any philologist I have had to work out the occasional anachronism peculiar to the author in question; in this case Liliana Mercando. Reconciling the description of the graves, her subsequent catalog of objects found and the sketches of their location occasionally proved as frustrating as decoding a line of Thucydides. Additionally, some of her earlier reports—like Portorecanati—lack detailed stratigraphic analysis and exhibit an overly optimistic view of coins as a source of reliable dating.\textsuperscript{58} In an attempt to be as consistent in my analysis as possible I devised a series of methods for dealing with such matters as

\textsuperscript{57} Morris 1992, 174.
\textsuperscript{58} This is more an indication of the archaeological excavation techniques of the time, rather than a particular fault of Dr. Mercando herself.
quantifying the number of objects in each grave and deciding which graves were hopelessly compromised from modern and ancient disturbances.

How one chooses to count the objects found in the graves often goes unremarked in studies of Roman cemeteries. The silence is striking given how often and vociferously the quantity of objects in graves has been used as the cornerstone to so many of the leading arguments in the field. The presence of “more” items in one grave compared to another has been used at one time as evidence for the relative wealth of the individual and at another as the social status that individual had in life.59 And yet, the fundamental question of how the objects are counted is not discussed.

I counted grave objects in the following way. Each ceramic or glass vessel is considered “1” object; each lamp or coin is also considered “1” object. Iron and bronze are more difficult to quantify since they often appear in the funerary context in an extremely fragmentary state, making it difficult to determine their original form. Occasionally Mercando did not include bronze and iron scrap in her list of grave items even though she listed their presence in her description of the grave itself. Because of these exigencies I have devised the following method for dealing with iron and bronze objects: each category of bronze or iron present in a grave is given the value of “1”. So, for example, if there are three pieces of a thin iron sheet, one iron ring and four iron nails, the grave is said to have 3 iron items. This approach is as much as a result of a lack of detailed information regarding the position, type and exact number of metal items present in graves as it is a way of assigning relative value to the grave assemblages. This danger is especially germane since iron and bronze objects often appear in multiples. Although it

59 Jones 1983; 1984a; 1984b; Pearce 2000, 4; Struck 2000, 85-86.
is impossible to know if two bronze nails were more significant to the actors of the funeral than a single glass unguentarium, assigning an equal value to them would dangerously expand the corpus of objects, thereby skewing the percentages drawn from them.

Nails are even more difficult to quantify. For much of the twentieth century they were overlooked in excavation reports, with the occasional remark about a particularly large or well-preserved specimen being the rare exception. Over the last decade or so, they have received more attention; one notable example is the excavation of the Roman cemetery of Musarna in Italy, where an entire chapter is devoted to the appearance of nails.\textsuperscript{60} The poor condition and small size of the nails often undermined earlier attempts to record accurately and map their presence within the graves, thereby preventing any further analyses to uncover their purpose.

Frustration caused from the lack of such information can clearly be felt in most of Mercando’s reports, especially Portorecanati where an attempt to reconcile the mention of a nail in the catalog entry with the sketch of the grave itself, sans nails, proves futile.\textsuperscript{61} Furthermore, when iron nails clearly appear as the remains of some funerary furniture—like a coffin—I have excluded them as a grave item. In other cases, iron nails and bronze nails—regardless of the number in each grave—are considered a single grave item. So, for instance, if a grave in the Northern Cemetery of Portorecanati contained a glass unguentarium and two bronze nails, I consider that grave to have two grave items.

\textsuperscript{60} Brives 2009, 173-189.
\textsuperscript{61} That is not to say that more recent attempts at studying the purpose of nails within haven’t proven insightful, cf. Ceci 2001.
The same issues of ambiguity in the location and number of some objects appear in all the excavation reports. All of Mercando’s excavations in this study were rescue excavations, precipitated by the—often violent—accidental discovery of the graves. This raises the ubiquitous issue of disturbed or outright destroyed graves. Not all of the damage comes from modern disturbances as occasionally ancient graves were dug through older ones. Such disturbances could be, as O’Shea mentioned in his chapter on depositional processes, both cultural (for those later graves that go straight through older graves) and accidental (for the modern disturbances) post-depositional processes that have hindered our ability to accurately interpret the objects.62 Ideally, the excavator would have sifted through the material recovered in an attempt to distinguish what, if anything, remains of the original deposition of the disturbed graves. Unfortunately the lack of careful stratigraphic excavations and the very fragmentary nature of many of the objects from the disturbed graves made it difficult to do so. Mercando herself admits that in many such cases she could not reconstruct such items and their exact location with respect to each grave remained unclear.

In order to create a more accurate view of complete funerary assemblages of the cemeteries in question—and at the risk of creating only a partial picture—the only graves considered here are those which were not disturbed or destroyed.63 I understand that this

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62 O’Shea 1984, 25-26
63 Mercando was not entirely consistent in her description of the condition of the graves and at times she seems to assume that if no cover remained then the grave must have been disturbed at some point. However, this is not necessarily so, as graves from other cemeteries in Italy attest to the practice of burial with no cover (e.g. Falzone et al. 2001, grave XIV at cemetery of Fralana, Acilia; Rébillard 2009, grave 208). In order to create consistency where there is none, I have devised additional qualifications for determining whether a grave was disturbed or outright destroyed. If no trace of a cover remains and the skeleton (in the case of inhumations) or the grave items and burnt bones (in the case of cremations) are mentioned as being relatively intact, I have assumed that the graves were not disturbed. If, however, only one or two small fragments of covering tiles were found in the grave I, like Mercando, assume that the
opens my argument to the question of whether it is in fact a representative example given that I am omitting what in some cases is nearly half of the graves. However, because these graves were so disturbed, the excavator’s recording of them was also fragmentary and therefore not a faithful representation of the original deposit. Omitting these graves from this study runs the risk of creating only a partial picture of the rituals practiced at the cemeteries, but including them ensures a complete, but inaccurate, picture.

**Portorecanati**

The Roman colony of Potentia was located along the Adriatic coast of Italy in the region of Picenum. Livy’s account of the founding of the colony in 184 B.C.E. was, until relatively recently, the only proof that the small town even existed. This lacuna began to be filled when rescue excavations were undertaken by the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche between 1962 and 1965 and again in 1971 in a field southwest of the modern town of Portorecanati (fig. 4).

The careful excavations by the Soprintendenza revealed an extensive cemetery of an unknown Roman town. Over the course of four years 357 graves (365 burials) were excavated around the large pit created by the industrial extraction of gravel, which had uncovered the graves in the first place (fig. 5). These graves would form the core of what is now known as the Northern Cemetery of the Roman colony of Potentia. The Soprintendenza also opened a series of three test trenches immediately to the south of the

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graves were disturbed. Those graves where only traces of burnt bone, fragmentary skeletons or objects remain are considered to be “destroyed”.

64 Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 39.44.10.

65 Eight of the 357 graves Mercando listed contained an associated burial, which she labeled as the same number as the first grave only distinguished by the addition of “bis”. Therefore, although only 357 are listed, there are in fact 365 different burials in the Northern Cemetery.

66 It should be noted that Mercando was not present during the first field season of 1962, an absence that is echoed in her catalog entries for those tombs excavated during that year. Unfortunately, because she was forced to rely on somewhat cursory field notes, our knowledge of these graves are incomplete.
Northern Cemetery, which revealed an enclosure wall and the bases of several monumental structures. In addition, a series of 28 graves (29 burials)\textsuperscript{67} were discovered scattered throughout (Graves I-XXVIII).\textsuperscript{68} Further rescue excavations were undertaken in 1965 and 1971 in the northeastern quarter of Potentia that adjoins the Northern Cemetery. In this city quarter thirteen tombs, which had been installed in the streets as well as in the dwellings, were discovered. This proved that at an undefined moment in late Antiquity this sector was abandoned and reused as a cemetery.\textsuperscript{69}

The town of Potentia itself began to be uncovered in 1962, 1967, and 1982, when the Soprintendenza excavated a substantial part of the monumental center.\textsuperscript{70} These and subsequent surveys and excavations by the Potenza Valley Survey led by the University of Ghent has revealed additional cemeteries to the west and south of the city—these consisting of more monumental tombs along the roads leading out of the town.\textsuperscript{71} Unfortunately the results of these exploratory excavations have not been fully published and so they cannot be included in my analysis.\textsuperscript{72}

Dating the graves at the Northern Cemetery continues to be a challenge. Neglect of detailed stratigraphy prevented a nuanced chronology and forced Mercando to rely entirely on the contents of the graves; a combination of coins, recurring ceramic types and datable vessels like terra sigillata or other unique items. The result was not an absolute dating but instead a relative chronology of the graves, which was anchored in

\textsuperscript{67} Grave X contained a supposed associated grave, Xbis. Therefore, there were in fact 29 different graves.

\textsuperscript{68} Mercando 1979.

\textsuperscript{69} Mercando 1979. These graves contained no datable grave objects and were dated to sometime in the 5th or 6th centuries—well outside the range of those in the northern cemetery. Because of this I have omitted these graves from my deliberations. Therefore, the final total is the 365 burials and the additional 29 (I-XXVIII) uncovered in the test trenches for a grand total of 394 burials.

\textsuperscript{70} Mercando 1979.

\textsuperscript{71} Vermeulen et al. 2005.

\textsuperscript{72} The most recent preliminary reports is Vermeulen et al. 2012.
time and space by more firmly datable items that appear in datable contexts outside of the cemetery. One-hundred and sixty-four graves were either disturbed or destroyed outright. Of the remaining 230 graves, Mercando was able to date 142, only 36% of the entire excavated cemetery. Eighty-eight graves were relatively intact but were not datable because they didn’t contain a sufficient number of artefacts.

Graves that contain sufficient objects for dating are placed in broad chronological groups defined by half centuries. Large numbers of graves can be dated no more specifically than to the first half of the first century and so on. Relying upon Mercando’s analysis, a chronology of the cemetery begins to take shape with the earliest datable grave (PR 194) dating to around the end of the third and the beginning of the second century B.C.E.—approximately to the founding of the colony itself. The cemetery seems to have been in fairly continuous use at least until the end of the second century C.E. and then haphazardly during the third and fourth centuries C.E. (with only two graves datable to the third century and four to the fourth). Because of this somewhat questionable chronology, any discussion of the chronology of the appearance of the various funerary objects ought necessarily to be undertaken with care.

After omitting the destroyed and disturbed graves, 230 intact burials remain. Of these 230 burials, 137 (60%) have at least one grave object and 93 (40%) are without objects of any kind. Of these 230 intact graves 90 are cremations and the other 140 are inhumations. The burnt walls and layers of ash along the sides of 84 cremation burials are evidence of

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73 Based on the criteria explained in the introduction of this chapter, I calculate that 88 graves were disturbed and 76 outright destroyed for a total of 164.

74 Although recent work on the typology of vernice nera ware and other ceramics found elsewhere in Italy that appear in the Northern Cemetery might be applied to create a more specific chronology of the cemetery, such a chronological reassessment is outside the scope of this thesis. Vernice Nera: Morel 1987 and 1998.
ad bustum cremation. In such cases, the pyre upon which each individual was cremated was built directly over a cist into which the cremated remains would fall.\textsuperscript{75} Portorecanati represents one of the largest instances of ad bustum burial in Roman Italy, although the practice is also attested in Gaul and Britain.\textsuperscript{76} Inhumed individuals at Portorecanati are, with few exceptions, laid supine with their arms often at their sides, though occasionally one or the other can be crossed over the chest.\textsuperscript{77} There doesn’t appear to be any chronological or typological significance to the manner in which the individuals were laid to rest, perhaps indicating that it was a matter of individual importance rather than an overarching cultural habit.

Many of the cremation burials are tile gable, a type of grave in which the remains of the deceased were covered with a series of tiles arranged along both sides like a pitched roof (Table 1). Occasionally curved tiles would cover the top where the tiles met, however this was not always the case. One or both ends were sometimes closed with an additional flat tile, or an upturned amphora or two which served as libation tubes would be inserted instead.\textsuperscript{78} Tile-gable graves are less commonly found with inhumation burials at Portorecanati, although they are not unheard of.\textsuperscript{79} The next most common type of grave for cremation burials are shaft graves left uncovered, where the cremated remains of the deceased were simply covered with the dirt when the fossa was filled in. Six urn burials, where the cremated remains were placed in a vessel and buried, attest to an alternate

\textsuperscript{75} The term comes from Festus, described in his De Significatu Verborum, 29: “bustum proprie dicitur locus, in quo mortuus est combustus et sepultus…”

\textsuperscript{76} For another significant example in Italy cf. Rébillard 2009 (Musarna); for continental Europe cf. Witteyer 1993 (Mainz-Wesenau); for Britain cf. McKinley 2000.

\textsuperscript{77} Some of the inhumation graves were so damaged that reconstructing their orientation and exact disposition was impossible.

\textsuperscript{78} See section on post-funeral activity below for more information.

\textsuperscript{79} For the frequency of the different types of graves at Portorecanati please refer to Table 1.
tradition of using a pyre not associated with the actual burial pit. The most common type of grave associated with inhumations are uncovered shaft graves. There is also a small number of graves in which the inhumed deceased was placed inside an amphora. Just as with cremation burials, some of the inhumation burials have inverted amphorae-libation tubes associated with them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave Type</th>
<th>Cremation</th>
<th>Inhumation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tile Gable</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncovered</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urn</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tile</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphora/Jar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone cover flat</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td><strong>140</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Grave types at Portorecanati

Five Occasions of Depositions:

Pre-Interment

For cremation burials those items that classified as having entered the funerary context during the pre-interment stage have evidence of exposure to fire. This exposure is clearly evident in glass vessels, which are twisted from the heat. For other objects, like ceramic vessels, the fire left clear burn marks on outside surfaces. The moment that objects from inhumation burials enter the funerary context is a bit more difficult to identify. For inhumation burials the condition of the objects are less indicative of pre-interment rituals than cremation burials. Instead, attention is paid to the possible actions,

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80 There is some evidence from a few such burials that the deceased was placed inside a wooden coffin, but the lack of any such evidence for most of the graves without covers suggests that the more common practice was to either place the decease in a shroud of some kind. Some of the bone “needles” as described by Mercando that were found with these burials might indeed have been used to pin a shroud in place (for other examples of this in Roman Italian cemeteries cf. Small and Small 2007, 195; Cipollone 2000, 202).

81 Fourteen such burials exist at Portorecanati and all of them are burials of children or infants. This form of burial was not uncommon for children in Roman Italy (Carroll 2011, 105).
or pathways, that led to the objects entering the grave. Those actions that most likely occurred prior to the placement of the inhumed deceased in the grave can be identified as pre-interment pathways. So, jewelry that adorn the deceased are considered pre-interment objects since it is assumed that they were placed on the individual prior to his/her interment in the grave. The same applies to articles of clothing that are attested by pins, buckles or buttons that were found on the body of the inhumed individual. Based on these criteria, 32 cremation and eight inhumation burials contain evidence of the pre-interment stage.

Because most of the cremation burials at Portorecanti are ad bustum, any objects placed on the pyre ought to be found somewhere within the cist where they fell. The burned and broken condition of the excavated artefacts shows that 32 graves were of this kind. Even if, as some scholars have argued, not all the items that are placed on a pyre retain evidence of burning, it seems that a minority (only 36%), rather than a majority, of cremations at Portorecanati involved the placement of vessels or other non-destructible objects on the pyre. This practice started around the beginning of the first century C.E. and continued to the end of the second century C.E. when cremation gradually gave way to inhumation as the preferred burial method of the Potentians.

In almost every instance, the type of items placed on the pyre was a vessel of some kind. The only notable deviations are two graves (PR 9 and 17) that also included a lamp or two in addition to ceramic or glass vessels. The most popular vessel for inclusion on the pyre was the unguentarium—almost exclusively made of glass. In the first half of

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82 Others may have included perishable items like flowers or food with no accompanying container on the pyre. Polfer 2000, 35.
83 Grave PR 383 is the earliest datable example.
the first century all but one of the graves datable to that period contained an
unguentarium in the pre-interment stage. Although the practice never died out, in the
second half of the first and first half of the second centuries other vessels—plates, vases
and cups as well as pitchers—appear in place of unguentaria or in conjunction with
them.\textsuperscript{84}

All but four of the 32 graves with evidence of the pre-interment stage are tile-
gable and in each of them the objects from this stage are exclusively found inside the tile
cover. This suggests that after the pyre had thoroughly cremated the deceased, the burnt
pit was meticulously sifted through in order to find the burnt objects, which were
subsequently placed in the center of the pit, alongside the bones of the deceased and any
new offerings and then covered. In most cases such a task would not have been easy,
since many of the pyre objects had been broken and lay scattered throughout the pit. In a
later work Mercando mentions that in many cases the burn marks found on the ceramic
vessels were not on contiguous surfaces, which is a clear indication that they had either
been deliberately broken into the pyre or the heat caused them to crack apart.\textsuperscript{85} Whatever
the cause, the individual sherds were found inside the cover in relatively close proximity
to each other.

One or two pieces of jewelry, placed on the deceased, is the only evidence of the
pre-interment stage in five of the eight inhumation burials (PR 82, 175, 195, 247 and
250). In each of these cases the single bronze ring placed on the finger is the only item
deposited with the deceased. Only three graves of the 137 graves with at least one object

\textsuperscript{84} For a more complete description of the types of objects found at each cemetery cf. Appendix I.
\textsuperscript{85} Mercando 1982, 112. She does not discuss this in the catalog of Portorecanati, however, she is adamant
about it in the introduction to her report on the Urbino cemeteries and she uses this as an indication of
similar practices between Urbino and Portorecanati.
(PR 117, 259 and 305) contain evidence of in situ clothing on the deceased. In PR 117 a silver fibula found on the right shoulder attests to this and in PR 259 a single bronze button on the chest. A series of small iron nails found between the feet bones of the deceased in grave 305 indicates that the individual was buried wearing hobnailed shoes.

That is not to say that other pieces of clothing were not found elsewhere in graves. In fact, in PR 117 a bronze belt buckle was found to the right of the deceased, but it is clear that it was placed there loosely, rather than adorning the individual. Unfortunately only PR 117 (first century B.C.E.) and 305 (second century C.E.), were dated by Mercando. PR 117 and 305 are the only ones in which additional items were placed during subsequent stages; in PR 117 a belt buckle, iron key and pin were deposited next to the deceased and in PR 305 a ceramic bowl and cup and a glass unguentarium was placed during the interment stage.

What emerges from this analysis of the evidence of the pre-interment stage at Portorecanati is less of a clear picture than a broad sketch of two different categories of graves. On the one hand are the 32 cremation burials, which are almost all tile-gable graves. The burials are characterized by the practice of two, closely related rituals: one associated with the placement of objects on the funeral pyre and the other with the placement of the collected burnt objects and new ones inside the tile cover. On the other hand are eight inhumation burials, only two of which is firmly dated. With only eight graves attesting to the practice, it appears that the adorning of the deceased in jewelry was not very widespread, at least in inhumation burials where it is possible to identify jewelry in situ, on the actual body.

**Interment Stage:**
For cremation and inhumation burials with covers, an object that was placed inside the cover alongside the remains of the deceased is thought to have been placed there during the interment stage. In most cases, however, inhumation burials at Portorecanati were left uncovered. For uncovered inhumation burials, an item that was carefully placed at the head, feet or along one side of the deceased is also thought to have been placed during this stage. It is possible that some of these objects were placed on top of a closed coffin that has since disintegrated, and so would have been placed during the post-interment stage. But the only way of identifying the presence of a coffin at Portorecanati is by the “halo” of iron nails that surround the body.86

Only three of the 137 graves with at least one object contain evidence that the deceased was buried in a coffin (PR 115, 134, 274). For these burials, attention is paid to where the items were found with respect to this halo and how they were placed. For instance, in PR 115, a glass unguentarium was found upright next to the deceased along with a single bronze as, both of which were inside the halo of iron nails. Their location and apparent careful placement close to the deceased strongly suggest that they were placed inside the coffin. In contrast, a ceramic olla and flanged bowl were found on their sides outside the halo of nails, suggesting that they had been placed on top of the coffin and subsequently fell when the wood disintegrated.

One-hundred and sixteen of the 137 graves with at least one object contain evidence of the interment stage. Of these 116 graves, 37 are inhumation and 79 cremation. This practice started at the cemetery’s beginning at the end of the third to the beginning of the first century B.C.E. and continued unabated through the second half of

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86 The halo refers to the line of nails that—after the wooden coffin disintegrated—fell around the body like a halo.
the second century C.E. Objects were placed during the interment stage in all different types of graves—from tile-gable to uncovered burials.

The most frequently occurring type of object are vessels—both ceramic and glass—which appear in 86 of the 116 graves. At Portorecanati, ceramic vessels appear as plates, bowls, cups, pitchers and a number of other different types, whereas glass vessels are almost exclusively unguentaria. In fact, glass was the preferred medium for unguentaria at Portorecanati, with only six graves containing ceramic ones. The practice of including vessels during the interment stage begins in the third to first century B.C.E. and continues until the end of the second century C.E. During the first century vessels are placed in both cremation and inhumation burials with regularity, but in the second century they are almost exclusively found in cremation burials (only four inhumation burials contain vessels in the second century C.E.).

No one type of vessel appears more often than another (see Appendix I for details on vessel types). Some vessel types appear and disappear over the course of the cemetery’s history, small ollae are primarily deposited in the first century C.E., although some appear in the first half of the second century. At the beginning of the second century cups—one handled and two handled—begin to appear more frequently than they did in the first century; just as ollae begin to disappear. Amphorae only appear in the beginning of the second century and remain a popular ceramic vessel to be placed during the interment stage until the end of the second century. In order to determine what, if any, significance lies in the appearance and disappearance of these different ceramic types it would be useful to shift to an analysis of the ceramic vessels’ functions.87

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87 It is difficult to explain the difference in the appearance of one type of ceramic vessel over another in any particular cemetery since their precise function in the Roman funerary context still remains hotly debated.
The benefit of a functional analysis in a study of ritual, where the actual function of the vessels can help reveal ritual actions that would otherwise go unnoticed, has been shown to far outweigh the threat of oversimplifying such a complex matter as the use of an ancient vessel.\textsuperscript{88} I propose to organize the vessels on the basis of four broad functional categories: vessels for liquids (pouring and drinking), vessels for solids, vessels as containers (small and large) and miscellaneous vessels.\textsuperscript{89} My hope is to organize the material in such a way that the general functions of these assemblages might be revealed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function of Vessel Assemblages</th>
<th>1\textsuperscript{st} Century</th>
<th>2\textsuperscript{nd} Century</th>
<th>Undated</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liquid (drink)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid (pour)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mix (solid and liquid)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink/Contain (unguentaria and amphorae)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contain (unguentaria)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contain (amphorae)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Frequency of Functional types for vessel assemblages

Taking into account the functions of the individual vessels, the graves can then be organized by the function of vessel assemblages (Table 2). If a grave contained a plate (solid) and a cup (liquid, drink) then that assemblage of vessels was considered to be mixed. This organization provides a way to evaluate the functional capability of the groups of vessels in each grave and how such functional groups changed over time.

The pitcher, for instance, is at once explained as being used for pouring libations during the funerary rites (Pitcher 2001, 260) and as having symbolic value for deposition with the deceased as a way of “quenching the thirst of the dead” (Invernizzi 2011, 115).

\textsuperscript{88} Cf. Rébillard 2009 and Polfer 2000 for the use of such a functional approach.

\textsuperscript{89} A similar way of organizing the ceramic assemblage was done by Vallet 2002, 111-123. For my purpose the types are assigned as follows: \textbf{Vessels for liquids; pouring:} pitchers, oinochoe, lagynoi. \textbf{Vessels for liquids; drinking:} One-handled cups, two-handled cups, vases, kantharoi. \textbf{Vessels for solids:} plates, bowls; ollae. \textbf{Vessels as containers; small:} unguentaria, amphoriskoi. \textbf{Vessels as containers; large:} amphorae. \textbf{Miscellaneous vessels:} incense burners.
Throughout the first century the vessel assemblages have a variety of functions; some graves containing large groups of vessels with different functions from plates for food and cups for drinking to pitchers for pouring (PR 132) while others only contain a single vessel for drinking (10 graves total) or eating (17 graves total). In yet others, vessels for containing—either glass unguentaria (14 graves) or amphorae (3 graves)—are the only vessels placed. Far more homogeneous assemblages, however, appear in the second century. Half of the graves (13) contain vessels with a mixed function of drinking and eating and a quarter (6) only contain unguentaria; either singly or in groups of two or more.

The number of vessels placed in each grave seems to fluctuate dramatically throughout the first century, with many graves only containing one or two vessels and others more than five (Table 3). However, during the second century, the diversity in the number of vessels found in each grave decreases, with most graves containing between one and four vessels (22 of the 25 graves dating to the second century). It is important to note that most of the graves at Portorecanati that actually contain vessels only contain one or two (49).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># vessels</th>
<th>1st century</th>
<th>2nd century</th>
<th>Undated</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Number of vessels in individual graves.

The next most common type of object placed during the interment stage are single bronze ases, which appear in 53 of the 116 graves (Table 4). In 10 graves dating throughout the course of the cemetery’s history, a single bronze as is the only item placed in the grave; in six of these instances, the burial rite practiced is cremation. In most
instances the single bronze as is found in conjunction with one or more vessels (37 graves). There doesn’t appear to be any particular chronological pattern in the appearance of coins since they are found in graves dating throughout the first and second centuries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Century</th>
<th>2nd Century</th>
<th>Undated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coin by itself</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coin with personal item</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coin with lamp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coin with vessel</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4:** Frequency of coins in association with different types of objects

At Portorecanati coins are always found in close association with the remains of the deceased, regardless of the burial rite practiced. In cremation burials the coin is always found near the center, either in or near the burnt bones and ash that was collected in the center of the covered space. In inhumation burials coins were generally placed in contact with the body, although rarely actually in the mouth of the deceased as the idea “Charon’s Obol” would have us believe. So, for instance, in PR 165 and 296 the bronze as was placed on the chest of the deceased and in PR 59 it was placed in the right hand. In some instances coins were not placed on the body, but instead are found to the side of deceased (PR 59 and 109).

Terracotta lamps were placed in 23 of the 116 graves with evidence of the interment stage (Table 5). Most of these graves are cremation burials, with only four inhumation burials containing a lamp (PR 27, 122, 134 and 198). It is rare for lamps to be the only object placed (only 2 graves), instead they mostly appear in conjunction with a ceramic or glass vessel; especially during the first century C.E. Coins and lamps are rarely found in the same assemblage during the interment stage, with only a single grave as evidence to the contrary (PR 62). Most of the time lamps appear either singly or in
pairs (17), with only a few instances of five or more lamps appearing in the same grave (2). Like vessels, lamps were placed throughout the covered grave, rather than in direct contact with the cremated remains of the deceased. In inhumation burials they are placed alongside the deceased (PR 122 and 134).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Century</th>
<th>2nd Century</th>
<th>Undated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lamp by itself</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp with Coin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp with personal item</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp with a vessel</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Frequency of lamps in association with different types of objects

The complex array of bronze and iron foil scraps, bone needles, and bronze jewelry that was discovered at the Northern Cemetery is all that remains of the accoutrements and personal belongings of those buried.\(^90\) Personal items were placed in 42 of the 116 graves with evidence of the interment stage and include personal belongings like bone needles and pieces of jewelry like bronze rings (Table 6). In the 11 instances where jewelry was included during the interment stage it was placed loosely in cremation or inhumation burials, rather than actually adorning the deceased, which would indicate a pre-interment action. In cremation burials personal items usually appear in conjunction with other items like vessels. This is in contrast to inhumation burials where a single iron strigil or perforated seashell can be the only item placed alongside the deceased (PR 118 and 116 respectively). With only one exception (PR 117), jewelry and other personal objects made of metal are bronze, rather than silver or gold.

\(^{90}\) Some of the unidentifiable bronze foil could have also been a part of the funeral bier or pyre, perhaps as decoration over the wood core; but it is impossible to tell due to the poor state of preservation and the lack of detailed publication by Mercando.
Up to this point my analysis of the five occasions has excluded any discussion of
demography. This is primarily because, of all the 394 graves excavated at Portorecanati,
only 41 contained sufficiently intact remains for identification at the time of Mercando’s
publication. And even with these, the physical anthropologist who analyzed the remains
was only able to provide hesitant information about the sex of the individuals and broad
age ranges. Of the 137 graves with at least one grave object, the human remains of only
17 graves were identifiable. With such a small sample it is no wonder that very few
trends are discernible in the sex and age of the deceased and the five occasions associated
with their burial.

There is, however, one possibly interesting pattern. Namely, of the seven
identifiable individuals whose grave items were only placed during the interment stage
over half of them are children or infants. The objects placed in these graves are ones
that appear with frequency in the graves of older individuals. So, in one grave, a bronze
as was placed in the infant’s hand, and two flanged bowls and two ceramic vases were
placed around the uncovered burial. This would suggest that the rituals associated with

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91 Capitonio was the individual who analyzed and published the demographic analysis of the remains. A re-
examination of the remains, like what was done at the two cemeteries of Urbino, would provide many more
samples for such an analysis.
92 Out of only 8 children and infants that were identifiable in the entire cemetery.
93 PR 183. This seems to be the case in most burials of children in Roman Italy, cf. Caroll 2011, 107.
The interment stage were sufficient for a proper burial of infants and children. That is to say, no additional rituals like those associated with the post-interment or post-funeral stage were necessary.\textsuperscript{94}

The analysis of this particular stage at Portorecanati has revealed that of all the five occasions at which objects could be placed, by far it was most common for them to enter the grave during the interment of the deceased. In fact, for 74 of the 116 graves with evidence of the interment stage, the only moment objects entered the funerary context was during this stage. This practice was independent of the rite of burial and occurred throughout the course of the cemetery’s history. The demographic evidence also points to the interment stage being the only moment at which objects were deposited in children’s graves.

There doesn’t appear to be any one combination of objects that most graves at Portorecanati contain. Instead, by organizing the 116 graves by the types of items placed, five different groups appear (Graph 1). The first three groups consist of those graves that contain no vessels of any kind but instead have personal items (10), a lamp (4), or a coin (16). The last two groups are those graves with vessels for pouring or containing liquids (i.e. pitchers, unguentaria and amphorae) (24) and vessels for eating and drinking (62).

I chose the presence or absence of vessels for eating and drinking as the dividing line because they appeared to be the common denominator of the 116 graves. The absence of such vessels in the other four groups signifies separate functional purposes. I chose to distinguish between vessels for eating and drinking and those for pouring and containing because of similar functional differences. Each of these groups can further be

\textsuperscript{94} These rituals will be explored in more depth in chapter 4 of this thesis.
subdivided in order to articulate the different combinations of objects. This organizational structure allows for a comparison between the interment stages of the different cemeteries in this study. It also highlights groups of graves that share similar ritual elements so that those graves that contain ceramic vessels for eating or drinking can be analyzed together. Similarly, those graves that contain no vessels but instead only have coins or personal items can also be explored separately.

The placement of personal items like bone needles, seashells and metal implements as the only objects is associated with the first group of graves. These items, which were placed loosely in the grave, are found in both cremation and inhumation burials. The second, and least common, group involved depositing a lamp, either by itself or in conjunction with a personal item (Table 7). The placement of a single bronze as without any accompanying vessels characterizes the third group and, like the first, is found in both inhumation (6) and cremation (10) burials (Graph 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Subcategory 1</th>
<th>Subcategory 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4: Lamp(s) and no vessels (4)</td>
<td>Only lamp(s) (2)</td>
<td>Lamp and personal item (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Group two and its sub-categories.

The fourth group of graves involves the placement of vessels for pouring or containing liquids and is found in inhumation (9) and cremation (15) burials (Graph 3). These graves can be further subdivided into five categories. The first four categories are those graves with vessels for containing and pouring liquids in addition to: personal items (5), lamps (1), coins (4), and coins and lamps (0). The fifth category consists of those graves that only contain vessels for containing and pouring liquids (14).

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95 Inhumation: PR 26, 155, 131, 274; Cremation: 11, 12, 373.
The actions behind the first four categories of group four are clearly distinguishable from one another, with the placement of a vessel clearly separate from the placement of a coin, lamp or personal item. It is more difficult to disentangle the actions behind the placement of multiple vessels. This is especially so since Mercando described the location of the objects no more specifically than “under the cover” or “near the arm”. Although she provided diagrams of different graves, the objects that are sometimes sketchily illustrated in them are not identified with the ones in her descriptions of the graves themselves. To further complicate the issue, the vessels were illustrated in the fragmentary nature in which they were found. All of this is to say that it is impossible to definitively distinguish different groups of vessels within the interment stage. Consequently, the fifth category of group four—only vessels for containing and pouring liquids—cannot be further subdivided.

By far the largest of the five groups is the one in which vessels for eating and drinking were placed. These 62 graves can be even further divided into five subgroups (Graph 4). The first are those that contain vessels for food and drink in addition to: personal items (12), lamps (8), coins (23), and lamps and coins (9). The fifth subcategory consists of those graves in which only vessels for food and drink were placed (10). Some of these subcategories primarily appear in one type of burial over another. The combination of ceramic vessels and personal items, for instance, is a custom that primarily appears in cremation burials. But for the most part, these different combinations appear in both cremation and inhumation burials. Most of the sub-categories of this fifth group of graves appear concurrently throughout the history of the cemetery. Unfortunately, like the graves that only contain vessels for containing and pouring liquid,
the large number of graves with only vessels for food and drink cannot be further subdivided by their location within the grave.

**Post-Interment Stage**

When deciding which objects were post-interment particular attention was paid to the sequence of actions that resulted in the placement of the objects in the funerary space. For those inhumation and cremation burials with covers, the placement of the covers marks the end of the interment stage and the beginning of the post-interment, and items that were placed outside the cover are therefore considered post-interment objects. It is much more difficult to identify the post-interment stage when graves were left uncovered since there is no retrievable evidence that distinguishes the interment of the deceased and any actions immediately following. In the other cemeteries in this study, where more attention was paid to the stratigraphy of the individual graves, those items placed in the shaft of the grave will be considered post-interment objects. Unfortunately, no such stratigraphic evidence is available for Portorecanati. So, those graves with evidence of the post-interment stage at Portorecanati are either tile-gable or flat tile graves.

Twenty-six of the 137 graves with at least one object contain evidence of the post-interment stage. Of these, four graves show evidence only of the post-interment stage. Eighteen of the 26 graves contain evidence of both the interment and the post-interment stages. The practice of depositing objects post-interment began in the beginning of the first century C.E. and continued until the middle of the second century. Only four graves (PR 29, 115, 121 and 171) are not tile-gable cremation burials. In those tile-gable graves the objects are placed either directly above the joining of the tiles or along the slope of
The objects that are found inside the cover, having been placed there during the previous interment stage, are a mixture of ceramic and glass vessels as well as personal items and coins.97

The kinds of objects placed outside of the cover are ceramic vessels, although the occasional lamp, coin or personal item was also deposited.98 Unlike with the ceramic vessels found during the interment stage and discussed previously, there do not appear to be any significant chronological trends in the appearance of different types. Throughout the course of the practice, ceramic plates, bowls, ollae, cups, pitchers and amphorae appear with frequency. Glass unguentaria, on the other hand, are conspicuously missing from those objects placed during the post-interment stage.

Aside from the absence of unguentaria, there is no noticeable difference in the types of objects that are deposited during the interment stage and those deposited in the subsequent post-interment stage. However, if we once more look at the functional capabilities of the different ceramic vessels, a pattern does appear that marks the two stages as very different. In the 18 graves where the two stages occur together, the objects deposited during the post-interment stage are overwhelmingly of a singular function: either for serving solids (12) or liquids (6).99 This is in stark contrast to the assemblages of vessels in the interment stage where the functions are almost always mixed.100

96 For the remaining 4 graves that are not tile-gable, the objects are placed elsewhere. For instance, in PR 115, the skeleton was surrounded by a “halo” of iron nails which Mercando interpreted as the remains of a wooden coffin. The ceramic olla and flanged bowl which were found well outside the range of this “halo” I interpreted as having been placed outside the coffin itself.

97 Similar assemblages as those found in those graves discussed in the previous section on the interment stage.

98 There are 7 graves in which a coin or personal item is placed outside the cover and always in addition to ceramic vessels.

99 Only one grave—PR 29—has ceramic vessels placed outside the cover that have a mixed function.

100 There are only three exceptions: PR 25, 40 and 48.
Post-Funeral

Those items that were found inside a libation device are considered post-funeral objects since they were clearly placed after the grave was closed. Six graves contain evidence of objects deposited during this occasion. In each case, the objects were found inside one of the amphorae or tile imbrices that also served as libation tubes. The wide variety of activities associated with this stage are given voice in the different types of objects found, from glass unguentaria (PR 21) to ceramic bowls (PR 187) and lamps (PR 10). There are too few examples to distinguish any notable trends in either the chronology or typology of the objects deposited.

Of course, this is not to say that the rituals that occurred after the funeral were not widely practiced at Portorecanati. In total, 46 of the Portorecanati graves have a structure for the pouring of libations. Fifteen graves have one inverted amphora; 16 have two imbrices put together to act like a tube; six have one imbrex-tube and one inverted amphora; five have two inverted amphorae; two have two imbrex-tubes; and one has two imbrex-tubes and one amphora. Since so many graves at Portorecanati have preserved some form of libation device, it would seem that post-funeral rituals occurred more often than these six graves with objects attest.

Miscellaneous

Although most of the grave objects at Portorecanati could be organized into the four occasions discussed above, there were two peculiar cases that should be discussed separately. In each case the objects entered the funerary space in one of the occasions discussed above. But the manner in which they seemed to have been used, or at least treated encourages a more thorough discussion. The items in PR 215, a tile-gable
cremation burial, seem to have been placed during the interment stage. However, an iron nail was found inside the ceramic olla. Although it is possible that the nail accidentally found its way into the vessel, the fact that the inside surface of the olla was burnt suggests that both objects were part of some ritual activity.

There is no other example of this in Portorecanati. Similar ollae-nail combinations have been found in other Italian cemeteries and have been interpreted as the remains of a ritual involving the burning of a sacrifice, a nail and a coin.101 Although no coin was found inside the olla, the pairing of the nail and olla suggests a similar ritual in PR 215. It is not clear if this ritual was practiced before the interment and subsequently placed inside the cover during the interment. Alternatively, the ritual could have been practiced once the cremated remains of the deceased were interred in the grave and was therefore part of the interment stage.

Another such interment ritual is revealed in PR 3 where a ceramic incense burner, which was placed inside the tile gable, shows evidence of burning on the inside of the bowl. While it is possible that the incense burner had simply been used previously in another context where it received the burn marks and was appropriated as a funerary object, the additional fact that it was placed upside down in the grave suggests that it played a part in some ritual. Additionally, the five lamps found in the grave were also placed upside down. Some have interpreted the inversion of grave objects within graves as an act symbolic of death.102 Similar cases of inverted lamps have been noted in the

101 Ceci 2001, 89 fig. 4. Via Fracchia cemetery grave 61; Via Nomentana grave 7.
102 Pellegrino 2001, 124.
Roman cemetery of the Via Ostiense at Acilia.\textsuperscript{103} Like the ritual associated with PR 215, it is not clear at what point in the sequence of the ritual the burning of incense occurred.

**Conclusion**

By far the interment stage is the most frequently occurring occasion at which objects enter the funerary space at Portorecanti. Occasionally, this stage can be the only moment at which objects were placed in the grave. However, many of the graves at Portorecanati contain evidence of more than one occasion. Taking into account these combinations of stages, the graves at Portorecanati can be organized into five separate categories: those graves with evidence of the pre-interment stage and interment stage; those with evidence of only the interment stage; those with evidence of the post-interment stage; those with evidence of the post-funeral stage and those that fit none of the above categories (Graph 5).\textsuperscript{104} Additionally, those 93 graves without any items at all represent in their own right a separate category of deposition where no grave items—or at least no non-perishable grave items—were placed at any point during the ceremony of the funeral.

**Urbino**

The ancient town of Urvinum Mataurense is situated approximately 35 kilometers away from the Adriatic coast, on a steep hill overlooking a valley through which the river Metaurus flows. The town is located in the southern region of Umbria, along the region’s border with Picenum. It was placed in a point of particular importance, overlooking the Via Flaminia which pierces the Apennines nearby to the west (fig. 6). The earliest

\textsuperscript{103} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{104} Twenty-six contain evidence of only the pre-interment and interment stage and the remaining 6 contain evidence of a mix of the two and one or more of the other occasions (e.g. pre-interment, interment and Post-Funeral etc.).
remains of the Roman municipium indicate that it originated sometime in the third century B.C.E., although the native Gallic Stellatine settlement was founded earlier than this. ¹⁰⁵

In the spring of 1972, following the enlargement of a curve in the Pesaro-Urbino road, approximately one kilometer away from the city, 92 graves came to light at the intersection called "Bivio della Croce dei Missionari". The road forks off on one side to Pesaro and to San Donato on the other. The graves were found in the very narrow strip of land between these forks. The area that was excavated revealed a dense section of a cemetery where many of the graves were found overlapping one another, making it difficult to distinguish one grave from another. The soil in which the graves had been created was extremely clayey, which further confused attempts at delineating individual fossae. ¹⁰⁶ In October of the same year, as the Soprintendenza was excavating the graves at the intersection, an additional 101 graves were discovered half a kilometer to the northeast following the excavation of a ditch by the Ministry of Public Works. Unlike those graves excavated at the crossroads, those found along the San Donato road were far less densely placed.

As with Portorecanati, the dating at these two cemeteries tends to be rather broad. This is especially the case in the cemetery of Bivio della Croce dei Missionari (hereafter Bivio), where the densely packed graves and clayey soil confounded a neater chronology. The generally small number of datable ceramic objects found at both cemeteries made relying on the grave items themselves—as had been done at Portorecanati—not as useful. The resulting chronology is therefore much broader than at Portorecanati with a large

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¹⁰⁵ Mercando 1982, 400.
¹⁰⁶ Mercando 1982, 110.
number of graves from both cemeteries simply being dated to “the second century” or “the third century”. The two cemeteries appear to have been used concurrently starting in the first century C.E. The cemetery of Bivio appears to have been more widely used in the first century than San Donato, with 28 graves (30%) dating to the first century compared to San Donato’s 11 (10%). The San Donato cemetery did not become more widely used until the second century C.E. Both cemeteries continued in use into the third century.

Just like all the cemeteries in this study, the passage of the centuries has left its mark on the two cemeteries of Urbino, with modern intrusions into the archaeological record destroying some of the graves. In the cemetery of Bivio the creation of a modern canal to the east partially destroyed two tombs. At the southwest corner of the excavated area, a stone wall running north-south was built over one grave and was itself subsequently cut through during the digging of an additional grave. In total, of the 92 graves that were excavated at Bivio, six were either destroyed or too disturbed to be included in this study. Of the remaining 86 intact graves, 64 contain at least one grave object. Although the graves are more densely packed at Bivio than at San Donato, there was far more intrusion into earlier graves at the latter than the former. Therefore, of the 101 graves that were excavated at the San Donato cemetery, nine of them were either destroyed or severely disturbed due to these ancient intrusions and are not included in this study. Eighty-six graves are intact at the Bivio cemetery and 93 at the San Donato cemetery.

**Bivio della Croce dei Missionari (fig. 7)**

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107 This wall post-dates grave BCM 76 but predates BCM 73, so it was probably built sometime between the first century and the first half of the second
About half of the graves at the Bivio cemetery are cremations (42) and the other half inhumation (44) burials. Unlike Portorecanati where the cremation burials were ad bustum, at the Bivio cemetery all of the cremation burials are secondary. That is to say, the burnt remains of the deceased were taken from a pyre site located somewhere separate from the burial location and were brought to the site of the grave where they were interred. Unfortunately the excavation did not reveal any likely ustrina, so it is uncertain whether the practice was to use a communal pyre site or whether multiple sites existed. As at Portorecanati, most of the inhumed individuals were laid supine, with their arms at their sides or crossed.

For cremation burials a variety of grave types are present at the Bivio cemetery, with the most common being a simple oval fossa in the center of which the cremated remains of the deceased were placed, uncovered (Table 8). The next most common grave type are graves a cassetta. These graves consist of a small square fossa where the cremated remains of the deceased were placed in the center and surrounded by four tiles to create a small chest. Such graves could be covered or left uncovered. In most cases, the cremated remains of the deceased were placed inside the cover, lacking a permanent container; only in two graves were they placed in urns before being deposited inside the cover. There are also four examples of tile-gable burials at the Bivio cemetery. There is far less variety in inhumation burials with the vast majority being

108 Both practices are attested throughout the western Roman empire. For permanent, communal examples cf. Black 1986 (Colchester), Polfer 2000 (Gaul and the Rhineland); for multiple ustrina at one site cf. Polfer 1993 (Luxembourg), Martin-Kilcher 1976 (Courroux, Switzerland).
109 This type appears with frequency in other cemeteries in Italy, cf. Pitcher 2001, fig. 3b (Nave, Italy).
110 Ibid. Also cf. Petru 1972, 12 fig. 3 (Emona).
111 It might be that in those graves where no evidence of a permanent container is evident, the remains might have been placed in a wooden box or cloth bag that has since disappeared.
interments in uncovered cists (40 graves). There are two inhumation graves in which the deceased was covered with tiles laid flat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave Type</th>
<th>Cremation</th>
<th>Inhumation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tile gable</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncovered</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tile</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oval fossa</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A cassetta</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregular fossa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Square fossa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tile-lined cist</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
<td><strong>44</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Grave Types at Bivio della Croce dei Missionari

Five Occasions of Deposition:

Pre-Interment

The same criteria used at Portorecanati to determine if an object was placed in the grave during the pre-interment stage are used at the Bivio cemetery. So, for cremation burials those items that are thought to have entered the funerary context during the pre-interment stage have evidence of exposure to fire. For inhumation burials, jewelry and accoutrements like buttons that were found in situ on the body are thought to have adorned the deceased and so were placed there prior to the interment stage. Based on these criteria, 16 cremation and three inhumation burials contain evidence of the pre-interment stage.

Most of the cremation burials at the Bivio cemetery are secondary; they were transported from the pyre site to be interred within the grave itself. Because of this practice, the information that can be gathered about the pre-interment stage is different than what was found at Portorecanati. Since no *ustrinum* was excavated, those objects that entered the funerary space during the pre-interment stage—by being placed onto the
pyre—are only known to us by those few examples that were taken from the pyre and placed in the grave. Therefore, what we hope to gain from these objects is not necessarily a reflection of the kinds of objects that were used during the pre-interment ritual itself, but rather what kinds of objects were thought necessary to be taken from the ashes and interred alongside the deceased.

Nineteen of the 64 graves at the Bivio cemetery contain objects that entered the funerary context during the pre-interment stage. The practice of including objects from the pre-interment stage with the deceased at the time of interment began towards the end of the first century and continued throughout the second; it ended sometime before the third century C.E. In every instance, the type of objects taken from the pyre and placed with the remains of the deceased are vessels of ceramic or glass. Ceramic bowls and plates were chosen from the pyre less often than glass unguentaria and other vessels.\textsuperscript{112} Never are lamps, coins or other personal objects taken from the pyre—if they were ever placed there in the first place.\textsuperscript{113} The practice of including burnt objects with the deceased in the grave was not a custom specific to any single type of grave structure, since the 19 examples come from graves of all different types. Like at Portorecanati, those graves with evidence of this stage almost always also show evidence of the interment stage as well.\textsuperscript{114}

Three inhumation graves (BCM 13, 51 and 84) contain evidence of the pre-interment stage. All three are uncovered graves that date to the second half of the second century C.E. A bronze armband placed on the right arm and a gold ring on the left hand

\textsuperscript{112} In 11 of the 19 examples of the pre-interment stage glass unguentaria were included as compared to 7 that included ceramic vessels.
\textsuperscript{113} At Portorecanati, only the occasional lamp was also placed in the pyre; never personal items.
\textsuperscript{114} Only in graves BCM 33 and 38 were the only objects found from the pre-interment stage.
was discovered on the infant in BCM 13. A gold and glass-beaded necklace was found around the neck of the adult male in BCM 51, and a bronze ring was found on the hand of the young man in BCM 84. Unlike at Portorecanati, additional objects were placed during the interment stage in all three graves, including vessels for eating and drinking as well as coins and lamps.

**Interment Stage**

Similar criteria used at the Portorecanati cemetery to determine if an object was included during the interment stage are used at the Bivio cemetery. So, for cremation and inhumation burials with covers, an object that is placed inside the cover alongside the remains of the deceased is thought to have been placed there during the interment stage. Mercando included almost no diagrams of the disposition of objects within the graves at the Urbino cemeteries. She augmented this lacuna with more in-depth descriptions of the graves and the locations of the objects. However, it is impossible to determine if any of the uncovered inhumation burials at the Bivio cemetery were placed inside a coffin since Mercando did not say where iron nails were located and there are no diagrams to help reconstruct their location. Thus, for those uncovered burials the proximity of the objects to the remains of the deceased is the only factor used to determine if the objects were placed during the interment of the deceased. Therefore, an item that was carefully placed at the head, feet or along one side of the deceased is also thought to have been placed during this stage.

Sixty of the 65 graves with at least one object contain evidence of the interment stage. Of these 60 graves, 29 are cremation and 31 inhumation. These graves span the course of the cemetery’s history from the first century to the third century C.E. All the
different grave types discussed earlier included objects during the interment stage. The most frequently occurring type of objects are vessels, which appear in 47 of the 60 graves. Unlike at Portorecanati, vessels for drinking, eating and pouring are made of both ceramic and glass; although unguentaria are once again exclusively made of glass (figs. 19 and 20). The placement of vessels during the interment stage began in the first century and continued throughout the course of the cemetery’s history. Both cremation and inhumation burials are just as likely to include vessels during this stage. Just as at Portorecanati, certain vessel types appear at different times in the cemetery’s history. For instance, the only amphora appears in the second half of the second century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function of Vessel Assemblages</th>
<th>1st Century</th>
<th>2nd Century</th>
<th>Undated</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liquid (drink)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid (pour)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mix (solid and liquid)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink/Contain (unguentaria)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid/Contain (unguentaria)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contain (unguentaria)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contain (amphora)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total # of Graves</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>47</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Frequency of Functional types for vessel assemblages

A greater percentage of second century vessel assemblages consist of unguentaria (8 of 24 graves, 37%) than vessel assemblages in the first century (2 of 20 graves, 10%) (Table 9). Overall, though, there is a wide dispersion in the functional types of vessels deposited during the first and the second century, but two types are chronologically significant: in the first century the number of assemblages with drinking vessels (6 graves or 30% of first century graves with vessels) and in the second century assemblages in which unguentaria appear (8 graves, 37%). Like at Portorecanati, the majority of graves
with vessels only contain one or two (Bivio 29 of 47 graves, 62%; Portorecanati 49 of 86, 57%) (Table 10).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># Vessels</th>
<th>1st Century</th>
<th>2nd Century</th>
<th>Undated</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Number of vessels in individual graves.

Coins appear in 17 of the 60 graves (28%) with evidence of the interment stage (Table 11). These are the only coins found in the Bivio cemetery. So, at this cemetery coins only enter the funerary context during the interment stage. In two instances (BCM 51 and 55) more than one coin appear in a single grave. In BCM 51 one of the coins is a dupondius—the only coin in the entire cemetery that is a higher denomination than a bronze as. Coins appear just as often by themselves as they do in conjunction with a vessel. When a vessel is included alongside a coin the burial rite is more often cremation (5 of the 7 instances) than inhumation. Like at Portorecanati, coins at the Bivio cemetery were placed in close association with the remains of the deceased. In the 10 inhumation burials that feature coins, the coin itself was most often placed on the body (BCM 13, 61, 65, 71, 84, 88), although it was also placed along one side (BCM 68, 71, 72) or above the head (BCM 51).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Century</th>
<th>2nd Century</th>
<th>Undated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coin with vessel</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coin by itself</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coin with Personal Item</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coin with Lamp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Frequency of coins in association with different types of objects

Seventeen of the 60 graves (28%) at the Bivio cemetery contain a lamp (Table 12). Unlike coins, lamps almost always appear in conjunction with a vessel (15 of the 17
graves, 88%), rather than by itself. In fact, in only one grave (BCM 28) does a lamp appear by itself without any accompanying objects. Although they appear in all different types of graves, lamps are mostly associated with cremation burials (12) rather than inhumation burials (5). Like at Portorecanati, lamps that are placed during the interment stage at the Bivio cemetery appear somewhere in the cover of the grave, or alongside the inhumed deceased.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Personal Effect</th>
<th>1st Century</th>
<th>2nd Century</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lamp with a Vessel</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp by itself</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp (no vessel) with Personal Effect</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp (no vessel) with coin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 12**: Frequency of lamps in association with different types of objects

Eleven of the 60 graves (18%) contain personal items of some kind (Table 13); most are inhumation burials (10). In BCM 82 and 85 personal items are the only objects placed during the interment stage. Like at Portorecanati, there is little evidence of precious metals at the Bivio cemetery, and the jewelry is either made of iron or bronze, although one grave contains remnants of glass beaded jewelry (BCM 85). In four graves the jewelry was placed loose within the grave, rather than adorning the deceased.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Personal Effect</th>
<th>1st Century</th>
<th>2nd Century</th>
<th>3rd Century</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal item alone</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewelry alone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Item and Jewelry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 13**: Chronological appearance of the types of personal Items in graves

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115 Note also the inhumation burial BCM 51 in which a gold and glass bead necklace was placed on the deceased prior to the interment stage.
Like at Portorecanati, the demographic information from the Bivio cemetery is fragmentary at best. Of the 60 graves with evidence of the interment stage, 28 contained sufficiently intact human remains to determine either the sex or the age of the individual.\textsuperscript{116} Only in 16 of these cases was both the sex and the age able to be determined. No trends in the age and sex of the individuals buried and the nature of the objects in the interment stage were discerned. One exception might be BCM 13 in which an infant was buried and accompanied by a game board, perhaps as a toy that the child might enjoy in the afterlife.

The analysis of this particular stage at the Bivio cemetery has revealed that of all the five occasions at which objects could be placed, the interment stage was by far the most common. This practice was independent of the rite of burial and occurred throughout the course of the cemetery’s history. Just as with Portorecanati, the 60 graves at the Bivio cemetery that contain evidence of this stage can be further subdivided by the types of objects often deposited (Graph 6). Two graves (BCM 83 and 85) form the first group; unlike at Portorecanati, where a significant number of graves only contained personal items, these two are the only graves evident of this practice at the Bivio cemetery. The second group involves the placement of a lamp with no accompanying objects (BCM 28) (Table 14). The third group of graves consists only of inhumation burials in which a single bronze as is placed (10), only rarely accompanied by a personal item or two (Graph 7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Subcategory 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4: Lamp(s) and no vessels (1)</td>
<td>Only lamp(s) (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Table 14:} Group two and its sub-category.

\textsuperscript{116} Eleven Adults; eight adolescents; eight infants and children; three elderly (two graves contained two individuals).
The fourth group of graves is characterized by the placement of vessels for the pouring or containing of liquids with no vessels for food or drink (Graph 8). This group appears in both cremation and inhumation burials starting in the second century C.E. Like the same group at Portorecanati, this group of graves at the Bivio cemetery can be further subdivided into five categories. The first four categories are those graves with vessels for containing and pouring liquids in addition to: personal items (2), lamps (1), coins (1), and coins and lamps (0). Far more often, however, graves from this group only contain vessels for pouring or containing liquids (9). Unfortunately, Mercando did not publish diagrammatic drawings of the graves from the Urbino cemeteries and so it is uncertain exactly where the objects were found within the interment stage. Therefore, this final group of graves cannot be further subdivided by identifying groups of vessels within the grave.

The fifth and most frequently occurring group are those graves that contain vessels for food or drink. This group appears in both cremation and inhumation burials and dates from the beginning of the cemetery’s history to the end of the second century C.E. These 34 graves can be even further divided into five subgroups (Graph 9). The first are those graves that contain vessels in conjunction with: personal items (3), lamps (12), coins (3), and lamps and coins (3). The last category consists of those graves that only contain vessels (13).

**Post-Interment Stage**

Like at Portorecanati, those objects placed outside the cover of the grave—either on top of the cover or to the side—are thought to have been placed there during the post-interment stage. Moreover, those graves in which objects were found in the shaft of the
grave are also considered post-interment objects since they entered the funerary context after the interment of the deceased but before the shaft of the grave was completely filled-in. Based on these criteria, only four graves exhibit evidence of the post-interment stage (BCM 15, 16, 37 and 44), and there are no graves in which all the objects are deposited during the post-interment stage. All of the graves are cremation burials. The graves date throughout the cemetery’s history. The items tend to be glass vessels and lamps, with only one ceramic bowl evident (BCM 44). Moreover, the objects were generally found directly above the cover of the grave. In one instance, two groups of unguentaria were found at different levels in the shaft of the grave (BCM 15). The preponderance of unguentaria suggests that the primary ritual activity involved in this stage was the anointing of the grave itself, rather than the consumption of any food or drink.

**Post-Funeral Stage**

Five graves contain objects that were deposited during the Post-Funeral stage (BCM 37, 43, 48, 50 and 53). The different types of objects from ceramic cups and bowls to iron nails, bronze coins and terracotta lamps attests to a variety of post-funeral rituals. In one tube alone a ceramic bowl, a lamp and a series of iron nails were found (BCM 48); in another grave two ceramic two-handled cups were found in pieces (BCM 37).

Once again, the presence of inverted amphorae-libation tubes indicates that other graves in the cemetery were equipped for the pouring of libations and any other commemorative activities. Inverted amphorae were used as libation devices in 21 graves at the Bivio cemetery. This sort of funerary structure appears to be most associated with the oval fossa cremation burials where the amphora is found in the center of the fossa,
often in direct contact with the cremated remains (BCM 28 and 30). They are also occasionally found directly inserted in the urns, which had been placed in the center of the *a cassetta* graves (BCM 5 and 6).

**Miscellaneous**

Graves BCM 43 and 39 contain, among the typical array of grave items and the remains of the deceased, bones of unidentified animals. In BCM 43 these bones are found inside the inverted amphora-libation tube and in BCM 39 mixed in with the cremated human remains. Although they both entered into the funerary context roughly along one of the four occasions discussed earlier, the actions involved represent specific aspects of ritual activity, namely the offering of or feasting on of animals.\(^\text{117}\)

**Conclusion**

Like at Portorecanati, the interment stage is the most frequently occurring occasion at which objects enter the funerary space at the Bivio cemetery. Just as at Portorecanati, many graves contain evidence of more than one stage. The graves at the Bivio cemetery appear in the same combination of occasions as the graves at Portorecanati: those graves with evidence of the pre-interment stage and interment stage; those with evidence of only the interment stage; those with evidence of the post-interment stage; those with evidence of only the post-funeral stage and those that fit none of the above categories (Graph 10). Additionally, 22 graves without any objects at all represent in their own right a separate category of deposition.

**San Donato (figs. 8-9)**

\(^{\text{117}}\) I will further explore the importance of these two graves in reconstructing ritual activity in the next chapter.
At the San Donato cemetery almost all of the cremation burials are secondary—like most at the Bivio cemetery. There are 71 cremation burials and only 22 inhumation burials at the San Donato cemetery. There are more cremation grave types than were found at the Bivio cemetery (Table 15), but the three most common types are a cassetta (27), uncovered shaft graves with oval fossae (15), and tile gable graves (11). Seven of the a cassetta graves contain vessels inside of which the cremated remains of the deceased were placed. There are also four a cassetta graves in which the cover is not made of tile but instead marble slabs, although the construction is the same as the tile ones. Most of the inhumation graves are uncovered shaft graves (12), and a few are tile graves (4) and others tile gable (6). Like at the Bivio cemetery, inverted amphorae were used as libation devices at the San Donato cemetery. Some of these amphorae-libation devices were further embellished with the addition of lead pipes, which are still preserved in some of the graves (e.g. SD 18). Of the intact graves at San Donato, 61 contain at least one good.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave Type</th>
<th>Cremation</th>
<th>Inhumation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tile Gable</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tile</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncovered</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A cassetta</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oval Fossa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregular Fossa with Vessel</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Square Fossa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lined Cist</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>71</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Grave Types at San Donato

Five Occasions of Deposition

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118 The only graves with evidence of *ad bustum* cremation are SD 44, 71, 72, 75, 78.
Pre-Interment

Using the same criteria as previously, only 10 cremation burials and two inhumation burials at San Donato show the pre-interment stage. With only 20% of the graves with at least one item containing evidence of the pre-interment stage (compared to 26% at the Bivio cemetery and 23% at Portorecanati) San Donato contains less evidence for this stage than any of the other cemeteries thus far studied. All of these graves also contain evidence of other stages, including nine in which the only other stage evident is the interment stage. The practice is found in graves dating to the end of the first century and those dating to the second century, although with so few examples it is difficult to make a more specific comment about the chronological development of the practice.

Over half of all the tile-gable graves in the San Donato cemetery are represented in this group of graves, suggesting that the rite of including objects from the pre-interment stage in the grave and the tile-gable graves are somehow related. The same has appeared at the two previous cemeteries where the vast majority of graves that contained evidence of these two stages together were tile-gable graves. The types of items taken from the pyre and included in the grave are ones similarly found at the Bivio cemetery. Ceramic vessels are included five graves and glass unguentaria in six. Lamps appear in a quarter of the graves (3), almost always in addition to some other object from the pyre.

SD 79 and 88 are the two inhumation burials with evidence of the pre-interment stage. Two armbands—one of bronze and the other of glass beads—were found on the left arm of the adult female in SD 79, which dates to the second half of the second century C.E. Two bronze rings were found on the left hand of the elderly male in SD 88, which dates to the second to third century C.E. Unlike at the previous two cemeteries,
there are no inhumation burials in the San Donato cemetery that preserve evidence that the deceased was clothed before burial.

**Interment Stage**

Following the same guidelines discussed previously, 53 of the 61 graves contain evidence of the interment stage at San Donato. Yet again the interment stage represents the most frequently occurring occasion at which objects can enter the funerary space. Of these 53 graves, 38 are cremation and 15 are inhumation burials, which span the course of the cemetery’s history. Like in the previously explored cemeteries, all different types of graves contain evidence of the interment stage, with no single type appear far more often than any other. In most cases at San Donato, the interment stage is the only point at which objects are deposited during the funeral. So, 42 of the 53 graves only contain evidence of the interment stage. Unlike at the previous cemeteries, a significant number of these 53 graves have associated demographic information. Twenty-four adults, five elderly individuals, one child and one infant were buried with items that were placed during the interment stage. About half of these are female (16) and the other half male (12) with three individuals whose sex was not determinable.

Like at Portorecanati and the Bivio cemeteries, the most common type of item placed during the interment stage were vessels. Plates, bowls and cups for drinking and eating are made of both ceramic and glass at the San Donato cemetery, although just like Portorecanati, most unguentaria are made of glass. Most graves with vessels included date to the second century with only three dating to the first century and seven to the third. Both inhumation and cremation burials are just as likely to include ceramic vessels. The age and/or sex of 22 individuals have been identified from these 39 graves.
with vessels. The ages range from adults (4), elderly (3), adolescents (4) and children/infants (8). Both males (5) and females (8) are represented. There doesn’t appear to be any significant trends in the age or sex of the individuals and the number nor function of the accompanying vessels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function of Vessel Assemblages</th>
<th>1st Century</th>
<th>2nd Century</th>
<th>3rd Century</th>
<th>Undated</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liquid (drink)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid (pour)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mix (solid and liquid)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink/Contain</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid/Contain</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contain (unguentaria)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contain (amphorae)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total # of Graves</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Frequency of Functional types for vessel assemblages

Unlike at Portorecanati where ollae only appear in the first century, at the San Donato cemetery they appear throughout the second century. In fact, ollae, bowls and plates are among the most common ceramic vessels deposited. The predominance of vessel assemblages consisting of vessels for food (12 graves) rather than for liquids (5) sets this group of graves at San Donato apart from the cemetery of Portorecanati (Table 16). Like at the Bivio cemetery where a large portion of second century graves contained unguentaria and amphorae, a similar phenomenon occurs at San Donato. More than the other cemeteries so far discussed, most graves with vessels at San Donato only contain one or two (San Donato, 72%; Bivio 62%; Portorecanati 57%) (Table 17).

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119 Graves SD 11, 63, 81 and 86 contain two individuals. SD 11 contains an adult and child; SD 63 contains an elderly male and adult female; SD 81 contains an elderly female and child; SD 86 contains an adult female and a fetus.
Eight of the 53 graves (15%) with evidence of the interment stage contain coins (Table 18). Half the time they appear in cremation burials and the other half in inhumation burials. Two of the four graves that contain vessels in addition to a coin are cremation burials and the other two are inhumation. Unlike at the previous cemeteries, in the four inhumation burials with coins, the coin itself is never placed in direct contact with the body. In two graves (SD 7 and 65) the bronze as was found loose in the fossa away from the body, in another grave (SD 79) it is found to the left of the skull and in the last grave (SD 6) it was placed to the left of the deceased’s arm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># Vessels</th>
<th>1st Century</th>
<th>2nd Century</th>
<th>3rd Century</th>
<th>Undated</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 17:** Number of vessels in individual graves.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st Century</th>
<th>2nd Century</th>
<th>3rd Century</th>
<th>Undated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coin with vessel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coin by itself</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coin (no vessel) with Personal Item</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coin (no vessel) with Lamp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 18:** Frequency of coins in association with different types of objects

Like coins, lamps only occasionally appear at the San Donato cemetery; 10 graves (19%) with evidence of the interment stage contain a lamp. All but one of these 10 graves (SD 80) are cremation burials and most of them were deposited during the second century (Table 19). The sex and/or the age of eight of these 10 graves were able to be determined: all of these individuals are either adult or elderly women. Like at the other cemeteries,
lamps are placed throughout the covered grave at the San Donato cemetery, not necessarily near the remains of the deceased.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Personal Effect</th>
<th>1st Century</th>
<th>2nd Century</th>
<th>3rd Century</th>
<th>Undated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lamp with a Vessel</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp by itself</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp (no vessel) with Personal Item</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp (no vessel) with coin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 19**: Frequency of lamps in association with different types of objects

The interment stage was the most common moment at which personal items were included in the funerary context at the San Donato cemetery (Table 20). Twelve of the 53 graves (23%) contain personal items like bone needles (SD 87) and bronze tools (SD 5). These graves are a mix of inhumation (6) and cremation (6) burials of different grave types. In six graves jewelry was placed loosely within the cover of the grave. Unlike at Portorecanati, the jewelry in three of the six graves is made of gold. Personal items—both personal belongings and accoutrements—more frequently appear in graves of women (9 graves) than on men (4 graves). However, the type of personal item does not appear to relate to the sex of the individual because bone needles and bronze or gold rings appear in both female and male graves.120

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Personal Effect</th>
<th>1st Century</th>
<th>2nd Century</th>
<th>3rd Century</th>
<th>Undated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal Item alone</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewelry alone</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Item and Jewelry</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 20**: Chronological appearance of the types of personal Items in graves

120 E.g. SD 87 is that of an adult male and includes two bone needles and a gold earring; SD 88 is an elderly male with two bronze rings and a bone needle.
Like in the other two cemeteries, the interment stage was the most frequent point at which objects entered the funerary context of the San Donato cemetery. Both cremation and inhumation burials practiced this custom throughout the course of the cemetery’s history. Multiple groups of graves can be distinguished from one another by the different combination of objects that were interred with the deceased (Graph 11).

The first group consists of those graves (4) with no vessels and where only personal items were included. This group includes both cremation and inhumation burials. The placement of a lamp either by itself or in addition to a personal item characterizes the second group (6) (Table 21). The third group of graves consists of those in which coins were placed (4), usually in conjunction with a personal item or a lamp (Graph 12). The fourth group of graves includes both cremation and inhumation burials and involved depositing one or two vessels for pouring or containing liquids (11) (Graph 13). Like the previous cemeteries, this group can be subdivided into five categories. The first four are those graves that contain vessels for pouring and containing liquids in addition to: personal items (2), lamps (1), coins (0), and lamps and coins (0). The fifth category includes those graves that only contain vessels for pouring and containing liquids (8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Subcategory 1</th>
<th>Subcategory 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4: Lamp(s) and no vessels (6)</td>
<td>Only lamp(s) (4)</td>
<td>Lamp(s) with personal item (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21: Group two and its sub-categories.

The fifth and most frequently occurring group consists of those graves in which vessels for food and drink in addition to: personal items (2), lamps (2), coins (4), lamps
and coins (0) (Graph 14). The last category includes those graves that only contain vessels for food and drink (20). These graves date from the end of the first century to the end of the second century C.E. The largest category of this group could be further subdivided if there was more information on the exact location of each vessel within the interment stage. Unfortunately, the reports on the San Donato cemetery lack any such information.

**Post-Interment Stage**

The same criteria that were used at the Bivio cemetery to determine if an object entered the funerary space during the post-funeral stage are used at the San Donato cemetery. Only one grave contains evidence of the post-interment stage. SD 13 is a tile-gable cremation grave. A bronze as, a single lamp and a few glass beads were discovered inside the cover and a complete amphora was found lying on its side at the foot of the grave, outside the tile cover. The grave dates to the beginning of the second century C.E. Neither the sex nor the age of the deceased was recoverable.

**Post-Funeral Stage**

In all, 56 graves contain some form of libation device. Occasionally lead tubes alone act as libation tubes (SD 34) or, like what was seen at Portorecanati, two imbrices put together were also used (SD 56). By far the most common form of libation device was the single inverted amphora. These devices appear to have been used throughout the course of the cemetery’s history. Despite the preponderance of libation devices at the San Donato cemetery, only three graves contain an object that was deposited in the libation device itself. Grave SD 35 is an *a cassetta* cremation grave dating to the second half of the second century C.E. Two ceramic plates and a glass unguentarium from the pre-
interment stage were deposited in the grave. Additionally, two bowls, two ollae, two amorphae and a lamp were also deposited during the interment stage. Discovered inside the inverted amphora-libation tube were a lamp and a bronze as. The other two instances each involve the placement of a single bronze as in the libation tube (SD 19 and 25). Once again, the presence of inverted amphorae-libation tubes and lead pipes indicates that the other graves in the cemetery were equipped for the pouring of libations and any other commemorative activities.

Miscellaneous

SD 93 is a tile-gable inhumation burial dating to the first century C.E. and contains a ceramic amphora and a glass pitcher and flask, which were positioned around the supine body of an adult female. Beneath the skull lay a small slate tablet on which rested a bronze tool of some kind. The tablet was clearly worked, with a smooth even surface. It is unclear when the tablet was deposited during the funerary ritual, although it was probably placed before the deceased was interred. The presence of the bronze tool directly on top of the slate tablet suggests that the tablet itself was not simply supposed to act as a pillow for the deceased.

Mercando identifies the tablet and tool as ritual devices, similar to one found in PR 22 of Portorecanati.\textsuperscript{122} However, unlike the one from Portorecanati, which was covered in odd symbols and talismanic letters, the one from San Donato is bare. Something similar is found in PR 93 at Portorecanati, which is a simple inhumation burial with no cover. Among the many grave objects deposited alongside the deceased, a small rock crystal tablet was found. Its location within the grave was recorded as being

\textsuperscript{122} PR 22 was not included in this study since the grave was severely damaged from modern intrusions.
alongside the deceased, rather than under the head.\textsuperscript{123} No associated bronze tool was found with the tablet in PR 93. It is not readily clear what the implications of the slate tablet are, nor even when it entered the funerary context. Certainly, since the objects are located below the body of the deceased, they were placed before the body was interred, but how long before is not certain. So, they could have been a part of a pre-interment ritual, one separate from the ritual of interment or they could have been associated with a ritual that initiated the interment of the deceased—as a means of sanctifying the burial site, perhaps.

**Conclusion**

Just as at the previous two cemeteries, rarely does one of the five occasions appear by itself. Instead, many graves contain evidence of more than one stage. The pre-interment stage and interment stage appear frequently together, and the post interment and post funeral stages almost always appear in conjunction with the interment stage (Graph 15). Just as at the other cemeteries, those 31 graves without any objects at all represent in their own right a separate category of deposition.

**Fano**

The site of Fano is located at the mouth of the River Metaurus, just north of Ancona along the Adriatic. Fano was located along the Via Flaminia, one of the main arteries leading from the southwest to the north towards Ariminum and beyond.\textsuperscript{124} Not much is known about the settlement history of Fano before the first century B.C.E. After the defeat of the Gauls at the Battle of Sentinum (Sassoferato) in 295 B.C.E. the region

\textsuperscript{123} Which was why I did not include grave PR 93 in the miscellaneous section in my discussion of the Portorecanati cemetery.

\textsuperscript{124} Mercando 1970, 208.
around Fano—and perhaps Fano itself—was colonized by Roman veterans. Although it is likely that Fano had some sort of settlement during the last two centuries B.C.E. it was not until the middle of the first century B.C.E. that the site is mentioned as Fanum Fortunae.\textsuperscript{125} Under Augustus the site became the colony Julia Fenestri.\textsuperscript{126}

In May 1969, during the construction of an apartment along the ancient Via Flaminia, 25 graves were discovered and excavated by the Soprintendenza (fig. 10). Eleven of the graves were aligned along the western edge of the excavation area and the remaining 14 along the eastern edge (fig. 11). Although there might have been more in the center, the area had been severely damaged by mechanized excavation (bulldozing) before the Soprintendenza arrived. Towards the northwest, only partially revealed by the excavation, was what appeared to be the remains of a monumental tomb. On the opposite side of the excavation area were the remains of a wall, presumably once delineating the cemetery and the Via Flaminia.\textsuperscript{127}

More than at any of the other cemeteries, the chronology of the graves at the Fano cemetery is broad. Mercando was unable to date nearly half of the graves and the other half she was only able to date to the second to third century C.E. The general lack of ceramics from these graves is primarily the cause of such vague dates. Despite this, it is clear that the graves at Fano are some of the latest graves in this study and can help provide some useful insight into any change in the appearance of the five different occasions during the late second and third centuries C.E.

\textsuperscript{125} Caesar, \textit{De Bello Civili} I.11.
\textsuperscript{126} Dall’Aglio and De Maria 2008, 41. The only major Roman monument known—the city wall—is believed to date to this period.
\textsuperscript{127} Mercando 1970, 208.
All the 25 graves at Fano held inhumation burials. Over half of these graves (15) are lined cist graves in which a rectangular fossa was lined with tiles, marble or concrete (two graves lined in concrete, five in marble, three in masonry and five in tiles). Another third of the graves (8) are cists with tiles placed flat over the cavity. There is only a single tile gable grave (F 8) and only one grave where the grave was left uncovered (F 18). Unlike at the other cemeteries so far analyzed, only a single grave has an associated libation device; an inverted amphora. (F 22).\textsuperscript{128}

**Five Occasions**

**Pre-Interment**

Seven graves at Fano contain no items at all. Of the remaining 18 graves, only four contain evidence of the pre-interment stage (F 1, 4, 5 and 18). In each case a piece of jewelry adorned the body of the deceased before interment. A single gold necklace around the neck of the deceased was found in both graves 4 and 5 while a bronze bracelet was found on the wrist of the deceased in grave 1. A bone hairpin was found behind the skull of the deceased in grave 18 and two silver rings adorned the fingers. Two of the graves (F 4 and 5) are marble-lined cist graves that date to the second to third century C.E. Grave 1 is an undated tile grave and grave 18 an uncovered shaft grave dated to the second century.

**Interment Stage**

Like in the previous cemeteries, those objects that were found carefully placed alongside the deceased, inside the cover, are thought to have entered the funerary context.

\textsuperscript{128}Unfortunately, no study has been done on the human remains of the Fano cemetery and so the following analysis will have to proceed without any sort of demographic data. Two graves did contain children (graves F 2 and 4).
during the interment stage. All but one (F 4) of the 18 graves with at least one item contains evidence of the interment stage. In 13 cases the objects were placed either at the feet of the deceased or near the leg. In the other instances the objects are placed near the head (F 6 and 18) or near the arm (F 12).

The most commonly appearing objects are vessels for containing or pouring liquids (nine graves with vessels for containing and three for pouring liquids). All but one of the graves with vessels (F 21) date to the second to third centuries C.E. The vessels for containing liquids include unguentaria and flasks and are always made of glass. In only three graves (F 12, 18, and 25) is the primary function of the vessels drinking. In most cases at Fano vessels appear either by themselves or in pairs (Table 22). The only instance that five or more vessels appear in one grave is grave F 22, the only tile gable grave at the Fano cemetery.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># Vessels</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Number of vessels in individual graves.

Lamps do not appear at all at the cemetery of Fano and coins only appear in five graves. In each case, the coin is placed in conjunction with other objects. In two of these instances (F 13 and 24) a single bronze as was found on the chest of the deceased. In grave F 21 the bronze as was found at the foot of the grave and in F 24 the location was unknown. The most notable appearance of coins is grave F 12. A marble-lined cist grave, F 12 contains a ceramic olla and a glass flask and juglet in addition to eight sestercii that lie in a pile at the feet of the deceased. In no other graves from all the cemeteries so far discussed have so many coins, and of such a high value, been found in a single grave.
The only personal items found at the Fano cemetery are pieces of jewelry, almost entirely made of silver or gold. These items appear in seven of the Fano graves, but in only three graves were they placed loosely in the grave and so during the interment stage (F 2, 20 and 22). In F 2, a gold bracelet was found on the leg of the deceased, having been placed there presumably as a personal token by a mourner. A similar action was behind the silver ring and glass beaded necklace of F 22 and the glass beaded necklace of F 20, since each piece of jewelry was found loose within the grave.

More than at the other three cemeteries so far discussed, the interment stage was the moment at which objects entered the funerary context. The different types of items placed during this stage are far less diverse than the other cemeteries, with only three different groups of graves evident, rather than five (Graph 16). Only one grave (F 2) attests to the first group in which no vessels were included and a piece of jewelry was placed on the deceased during the interment. Unlike at the previous cemeteries, there are no graves in which coins appear without a vessel of some kind and lamps do not appear at all at the Fano cemetery. The second group of graves consists of those graves in which one or two vessels for pouring or containing liquid were placed. With 12 graves belonging to this group, this group is the most common type at the Fano cemetery (Graph 17). Like at the previous cemeteries, this group can be further subdivided into five categories. The first four consist of those graves that contain vessels for pouring or containing in addition to: personal items (2), lamps (0), coins (3), and lamps and coins (0). The fifth and most frequently occurring category includes those graves that only contain vessels for pouring or containing liquids (7).
Unlike at the other cemeteries group three, which is characterized by the placement of vessels for food and drink, is less numerous than those graves that include vessels for containing or pouring liquid (Table 23). Moreover, rather than containing vessels for food and drink, these four graves only contain vessels for drinking liquids. This group can only be subdivided into two different categories: those graves that contain vessels for drink and a personal item (3) and those that contain vessels for drink and coins (1). Unlike at the other cemeteries, this group of graves did not include the addition of a lamp.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 3</th>
<th>Subcategory 1</th>
<th>Subcategory 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4: Vessels for drink (4)</td>
<td>With coins (1)</td>
<td>With personal items (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23: Group 3 and its sub-categories.

Conclusion

There is no evidence of the post-interment stage at Fano. Only two graves (F 5 and 22) have associated furniture that hints at a post-funeral stage, but no objects attest to this practice. The manifestation of the five occasions at the Fano cemetery is far different than the other cemeteries so far discussed. Instead of containing evidence of every stage, only the pre-interment and interment stages are evident. More so than at any other cemetery, the interment stage was the moment of choice for the placement of objects in the grave (Graph 18).

Miscellaneous Graves: San Vittore di Cingoli, Pergola, Piane di Falerone.

During the first years of the 1970’s a series of new construction projects in the Macerata region of Marche revealed a number of Roman graves. True to her diligence in publishing material excavated by the Soprintendenza, Liliana Mercando published the

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129 The amphora-libation device of F 22 and a fragment of a tufa headstone of F 5.
results of these brief rescue excavations in the foreword of her large catalog on the Portorecanati cemetery. In total 22 graves were excavated from four different locations. Because of the limited number of graves, I do not hope to recover any significant information about specific trends in the individual cemeteries. Rather, I am presenting them in this study in order to at least get a sense of the rituals practiced at sites in the interior of Picenum and Umbria. I would also like to determine whether they differ from Portorecanati, which is on the coast of Picenum, and from Fano and Urbino which are in Umbria.

San Vittore di Cingoli

San Vittore di Cingoli is located along a tributary of the Musone River, a little less than 50 kilometers from the Adriatic. Very few Roman remains have been identified beyond these graves. In April 1972, during the widening of a road to Val Musone, six cremation graves were discovered (fig. 12). Unfortunately half of them were severely disturbed from the modern incursion and so only three can be discussed. Grave 1 is an ad bustum burial in a rectangular fossa, somewhat similar to what is found at Portorecanati, and dates to the early first century C.E. Grave 1.1 consists of an urn in which the cremated bones of the deceased and four accompanying glass unguentaria were placed. This grave was found over the corner of the fossa of grave 1 and must have been constructed shortly following the interment of grave 1. The third and final complete grave is Grave 5 and consists of a plain rectangular fossa with no covering, similar to the plain

130Six graves from San Vittore di Cingoli, 6 from Pergola, 9 from San Severino and one from Piane di Falerone. All the graves from San Severino were severely damaged. Although there were a few whose covers remained identifiable, the grave objects found inside were so fragmentary that on occasions all Mercando could do was footnote that there were other items unidentifiable. Because of this, I will not include San Severino in my study.

131Mercando 1974, 103. A panel of mosaics was discovered in San Vittore di Cingoli.
oval fossa burials found at the Urbino cemeteries. A tile imbrex was found at the end of the fossa, perhaps serving as a libation tube or as a grave marker.

**Pre-Interment Stage**

Grave 1 and grave 5 contain evidence of the pre-interment stage. In both cases this comes in the form of the bone and bronze remains of what appears to have been the *feretrum*, or bier upon which the deceased was carried during the funeral procession and which was placed on the pyre during the cremation. In grave 1 the pieces of bone consist of carved decorative appliqués and rods and the bronze is a complex series of nails and chains. In grave 5 similar bone appliqués are found in addition to some figural carvings including a small rabbit. These fragmentary pieces are the only objects that attest to the rituals associated with the cremation. Similar bronze and bone pieces were found in graves 3 and 18 at Portorecanati.

**Interment Stage**

All three graves contain evidence of the interment stage. In grave 1, alongside the remains of the bier, a rich set of ceramic and glass vessels were deposited. Consisting of a ceramic pitcher, flanged bowl, plate and four glass unguentaria and a glass ladle the assemblage of vessels in grave 1 has a mixture of functions from serving and enjoying food and drink. The accompaniment of a single bronze as reminds us of similar groups of assemblages at Portorecanati where ceramic vessels of mixed function were deposited alongside glass unguentaria and a single bronze as (PR 8 and 59).

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132 Toynbee 1971, 46.
133 Also cf. Petru 1972, plate 8, fig. 73 (Emona); Almargo 1955, grave n. 58 (Ampurias, Spain). Because grave PR 18 is severely damaged, it was not included in my discussion of the cemetery of Portorecanati.
A series of eight glass vessels were deposited in grave 5 during the interment stage. Consisting of five juglets, two cups and a small olla, the primary function of these vessels appears to be the serving and consumption of liquids. Additionally, a series of glass paste game pieces were also found deposited with the deceased. The glass assemblage is similar to ones found in the Bivio cemetery as is the presence of a game board, which was also found in BCM 13. In Grave 1.1 the objects were only deposited during the interment stage. So, the four glass unguentaria were placed inside the urn alongside the remains of the deceased. The placement of only glass unguentaria during the interment stage also occurred at San Donato (SD 59) and Portorecanati (PR 12).

**Pergola**

In the summer of 1970, during the construction of a new road, a series of six graves was discovered (fig 13). One of the graves, the earliest one, was found inside of a circular complex whose foundations were of stone. Unfortunately, this and a few more of the graves were so damaged by modern intrusions that very little was able to be reconstructed from them. Of the remaining four that Mercando published, only two were complete enough to include in this study. Grave 3 is a flat tile grave that dates to the end of the first and the beginning of the second century C.E. Grave 4 is a simple cist grave with no cover and dates to the end of the second century. Both graves are inhumation burials.

**Interment Stage**

All the objects from graves 3 and 4 were deposited during the interment stage. Both graves have a mixture of ceramic and glass vessels and in both instances, the functions of the assemblages seems mixed with ceramic pitcher, plates, and cups. Grave 4
also contains a small glass flask. Such assemblages rich in ceramic vessels is reminiscent of many of the Urbino graves.\textsuperscript{134} The presence of similarly mixed ceramic functions suggests that similar ritual activities were practiced at both these graves and ones in Urbino. The similarity in these two cemeteries would make sense since Pergola is also located in southern Umbria less than 50 kilometers south of Urbino.

**Piane di Falerone**

Near a modern church in Piane di Falerone—a small town located between the Etemorto and Tenna rivers in southern Picenum—a single Roman grave was discovered during the construction of light poles (fig. 14). The grave consists of a single urn in which the cremated remains of the deceased had been placed. The urn was subsequently placed inside of half of an amphora. This unique grave type does not appear in any of the cemeteries so far discussed, but it is a known type in other Roman cemeteries.\textsuperscript{135} The grave was dated to the end of the first century B.C.E.

**Interment Stage**

Similar to grave 1.1 at San Vittore di Cingoli, the only objects deposited were a series of small glass unguentaria, which were placed inside the urn. The ritual of anointing the cremated remains, or at least of including such unguents in the grave is evident throughout the Marche region with examples now at Piane di Falerone, San Vittore di Cingoli, Portorecanati and San Donato.\textsuperscript{136} Aside from a few variations these few graves discovered from southern Umbria (Pergola) and central (San Vittore di Cingoli) and southern (Piane di Falerone) Picenum have revealed that the way in which

\textsuperscript{134} Cf. BCM 67 and 77 both of which date to the second half of the first century.  
\textsuperscript{135} E.g. at the Roman cemetery in Emona, cf. S. Petru 1971, fig. 7, grave n. 1171.  
\textsuperscript{136} PR 12; SD 59
the five occasions at which objects can enter the funerary context manifested themselves at the other three cemeteries are indicative of a wider regional trend.

**Conclusion**

By organizing the objects from each cemetery into the five occasions and presenting them in this chapter my hope was to determine if it was possible to see any significant differences in their manifestations. After reviewing the different occasions, a series of five different combinations of occasions appeared in most of the cemeteries (Graph 19). In every cemetery most of the graves contained evidence of the interment stage. In a significant number of these graves the interment stage was the only moment at which objects entered the funerary space. Additionally, all of the cemeteries contained evidence of the pre-interment stage, which was almost always accompanied by the interment stage. Each cemetery also had, in some form or another, at least one or two graves that had evidence of the post-funeral stage, although by far it was the least represented stage. The most significant difference, however, is in the manifestation of the post-interment stage. Portorecanati contained the most evidence of this stage, with 18% of the graves containing evidence of the post-interment stage compared to only 6% or less in the Urbino cemeteries and none in Fano.

There are also significant differences in the distinct manifestation of each stage. With so many of the graves from each cemetery containing evidence of the interment stage it is no wonder that the most notable differences between the cemeteries appears during this stage. Now that the interment stages from each cemetery have been organized into the same five groups of graves, the differences in the types of assemblages is evident (Graph 20). Group five, with vessels for eating and drinking, appears at all of the
cemeteries. But the peculiar make-up of this group differs from one cemetery to the next (Graph 21). The appearance of coins, lamps or personal items with ceramic vessels changes from one cemetery to the next. So at Portorecanati a significant number of graves contain vessels for eating and drinking and coins. This same combination, however, only rarely appears at the other cemeteries. A similar pattern emerges with lamps where vessels for food or drink and lamps frequently appear together at the Portorecanati cemetery and only rarely at the Bivio cemetery and not at all at San Donato or Fano. The reason for this might be that at the Urbino cemeteries, the placement of a coin or a lamp more frequently occurred independently of the placement of vessels for food or drink.137

Unlike group five, group four, which consists of graves with vessels for pouring or containing liquids remains fairly constant from one cemetery to the next (Graph 22). So, in those graves with vessels for pouring or containing liquids and no accompanying vessels for food, one or two unguentaria or ceramic pitchers are most often the only items placed. Occasionally a coin could also be included and, even less often, a lamp. In this group of graves, coins and lamps never appear in the same graves at any of the cemeteries.

The interment stage at the cemetery at Fano is the most different; completely turning on its head the patterns seen between the Urbino cemeteries and Portorecanati. Here vessels for pouring and containing liquids are the most frequently occurring grave object, rather than vessels for food or drink. Lamps are completely absent from the cemetery and large denomination coins occasionally appear in groups. These significant

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137At the Bivio cemetery, coins only appear in 2 graves with vessels
differences might be explained either by the later date of the cemetery or the different grave types.

There is no doubt that the five occasions appear in each cemetery in a different manner. Even when two cemeteries contain evidence of one occasion, significant differences in their manifestation can be discerned. Even the Bivio and San Donato cemeteries, which are located in the same town, display slight variations in the manifestation of the interment stage. Most of the differences seem to divide between Portorecanati, Urbino and Fano, the three major geographic groups in this study. These differences in not only when objects are used but what kinds appear most frequently during the funerals suggest variations in the rituals practiced at these cemeteries. In order to better explain these variances and to determine if they represent correspondingly significant differences in funerary rituals, I must first identify the rituals associated with each of the five occasions, which I will do in the following chapter. Afterwards, I will be better situated to determine if any regional or chronological variations in funerary rituals can be determined.
Chapter 4: The Rituals Practiced at the Marche Cemeteries

Introduction

The previous chapters have only tangentially addressed the issue of ritual, hinting at those associated with the cremation process during the pre-interment stage and the commemorative rites of the post-funeral stage. This chapter will examine the rituals associated with the five occasions identified in Chapters 2 and 3 together with evidence from literary sources. The purpose of the interpretation is twofold: to determine if each of the five occasions represent distinct and separate rituals (especially with regards to the interment and the post-interment stages) and to examine whether the manifestation of these rituals in each of the cemeteries indicates significant variations in funerary practices. It is important to emphasize that this chapter can only be an interpretation. Although many of the rites associated with the cremation of the deceased and the post-funerary rites of commemoration are attested in a number of ancient sources, the same cannot be said for the rites practiced at the moment of interment.¹³⁸ There will therefore be a noticeable difference as I discuss the pre-interment and post-funeral rituals and those associated with the interment and post-interment stages. More literary sources will attest to the rites of the former two than the latter two.

That is not to say that Roman literature provides a complete picture of funerary rituals; nor even an accurate one. Rather, funerary rites are often only coincidentally related by the author as part of a larger discussion and therefore often lack the kind of details that we, at least, would hope for. Previous studies have used the disparate

¹³⁸ See following pages for specific citations.
accounts to create a patchwork of Roman funerary customs.\textsuperscript{139} The inevitable result, however, is a synchronic account that is used to interpret graves that are both chronologically and geographically distant from the elite Roman authors writing in the Late Republican and Early Imperial city of Rome.\textsuperscript{140}

This study, too, is subject to the same dangers. Most of the literary sources that address the rites associated with the funeral itself date to the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E., with only a few dating later. So the literary evidence available for the following interpretation of funerary rites dates at least a century earlier than most of the graves in the Marche cemeteries. An additional issue is that most of the written sources relate rituals associated with extravagant funerals of distinguished Romans, not those of the more modest individuals that appear to make up the majority of those buried in the cemeteries in this study. Even knowing that the written accounts of funerals might be skewed by the distance of time, social status and wealth, I will still include them as a means to begin the discussion of the rituals evident in the Marche graves. Whenever possible these accounts will be accompanied by archaeological material from the cemeteries themselves and other similar cemeteries in Italy and the western provinces.

**The Pre-Interment Rituals**

The burial was only one part of the complex ritual actions associated with a death in the Roman world. Those rituals leading up to the funeral left little to no archaeological

\textsuperscript{139} Toynbee 1971. Toynbee acknowledges that the sources she brings to bear span the chronological and geographical breadth of the Roman Empire. She remains the only synthetic source that uses archaeological and literary evidence.

\textsuperscript{140} Bats 2002, who uses a confusing mixture of both Greek sources from the Classical period and Roman sources dating from the first century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. to interpret Iron age graves from Gaul (ca. third to first century B.C.E.). Polfer 2004, identifies the over reliance on literary sources as a significant difference between funerary archaeology of Classical periods and Proto-historical periods like the Bronze and Iron Ages.
evidence and so we are left almost entirely at the mercy of the written record.\textsuperscript{141} From Pliny the Elder we learn that a cypress branch was placed on the door frame of a house once a death occurred.\textsuperscript{142} It is thought that this was a way of both alerting people to the family’s loss and to warn people of the physical and spiritual contamination caused by the death.\textsuperscript{143} The corpse was washed and anointed with oils before being adorned and laid out on a bed for a period of time as preparations for the funeral were undertaken.\textsuperscript{144} Anointing means the touching of the corpse with the oils or perfumes. At this point in the funeral the purpose of this act probably had to do with hiding the odor of the body during the lying-in-state period and as a means of expressing one’s wealth. If the family could afford their services, professionals were available for the preparation of the body during the lying-in-state and the subsequent preparation of the funeral itself.\textsuperscript{145}

We are told that Roman male citizens were buried in a toga.\textsuperscript{146} Unfortunately, no similar garb for women is mentioned in Roman sources. Very little evidence was found at the Marche cemeteries to suggest that the corpse was clothed at all prior to burial. The reason might simply be that clothes like the toga—or a tunic for that matter—required no pins or other means of support and so their presence in the grave would have disappeared with the cloth itself. Evidence from each of the cemeteries suggests that the practice of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{141} The occasional representation of these rituals in art are the few exceptions and have been used to help understand these pre-funeral rites. For an early study on Roman death that incorporated depictions in art, see Toynbee 1971.
\item \textsuperscript{142} \textit{NH} 3.52.
\item \textsuperscript{143} For a discussion on the contamination caused by a death to those in the family see Lindsay 1998, 72-73; Bodel 2000. Festus-Paulus 1.69, a second century epitomizer of Verrius Flaccus’ \textit{De Significatu Verborum}, tells us of the \textit{suffito}—a ritual cleansing that the mourning family underwent after the funeral in order to purge themselves of the pollution of death.
\item \textsuperscript{144} Scriptores Historiae Augustae, \textit{Antoninus Pius} 5.1. This lying-in-state period was known as the \textit{collocare}, and in elite families it could last four to seven days.
\item \textsuperscript{145} Seneca \textit{Ben}. 6.38 tells us that the goddess of death was Libitina, and these professionals were called \textit{libitiniarii}. Martial Epigrams 10.97.3 also mentions \textit{pollinctores}, or undertaker assistants.
\item \textsuperscript{146} Martial, \textit{Epigr}. 9.57.8.
\end{itemize}
adorning the corpse—both women and men—with some form of jewelry occasionally occurred, although it was by no means ubiquitous. The almost complete lack of silver and gold jewelry at Portorecanati might suggest that the individuals buried were not as wealthy as those buried at the Urbino cemeteries, where most of the jewelry is either silver or gold. However, given the ubiquity with which only bronze jewelry is found throughout the cemetery’s history, it seems more likely to be a deliberate choice by the Potentians. Instead of necklaces, rings, bracelets and earrings of precious material, only one or two pieces of simple jewelry were sufficient to adorn a Potentian in death. In contrast, when those from Urbino and Fano chose to adorn their dead, it was customary to do so with more extravagant pieces of fine jewelry.

After the lying-in-state, a procession of mourners led the corpse, who lay either on a simple bier or sandapila\textsuperscript{147} or a more ornate feretrum,\textsuperscript{148} to the cemetery where s/he was cremated or inhumed. Such a funeral procession is depicted in a mid-first century B.C.E. funerary relief from Amiternum, Italy, which is located southwest of Marche (fig. 15). The deceased is shown lying on an ornate feretrum with carved handles and complete with a canopy. The carved bone and bronze appliqués and handles from graves 1 and 5 at the cemetery of San Vittore di Cingoli might have come from a similarly ornate bed. These two graves and the presence of similar objects in PR 3 and 18 at Portorecanati are the only attestations of similarly expensive processions practiced in the first century C.E. in both the coastal and inland regions of Picenum. The absence of similar evidence in the cemeteries in Umbria and the dearth of evidence throughout the

\textsuperscript{147} Suetonius De vita Caesarum, Domitian 17; Martial Epigr. 2.81 and 8.75.  
\textsuperscript{148} Varro De lingua Latina 5.166.
rest of Picenum suggests that most biers were made of simple wood with only the occasional bronze foil applied as decoration.\textsuperscript{149}

Once placed on the pyre, sources say that the body was again anointed with oil or other fragrant unguents.\textsuperscript{150} We know that spices and incense like cinnamon, cassia, saffron, frankincense and myrrh could also be included.\textsuperscript{151} The placement of these expensive items and the anointing of the corpse was as much a display of wealth as well as—we could imagine—a means of covering the smell of burning flesh.\textsuperscript{152} The very strict ideas of contamination—both physical and spiritual—that affected the family of the deceased suggests that anything, including any vessel used during a funeral, was also considered contaminated.\textsuperscript{153} It is therefore conceivable that after being used for a funerary ritual, a vessel would have been deposited on the pyre or in the grave. So, the deformed glass unguentaria from the cemeteries of Portorecanati and Urbino could attest to such ritual actions as the anointing of the body on the pyre. In this case, at the two cemeteries of Urbino, such anointing was consistently practiced throughout the course of cremation burials from the first to the second centuries C.E. At Portorecanati, the ritual anointing of the deceased on the pyre—or at least the placement of fragrant oils on the pyre itself—was especially important in the first century. Towards the end of the first century and into the second, ceramic vessels like bowls, plates and cups were frequently included in addition to glass unguentaria. It is likely that the ceramic vessels from the

\textsuperscript{149} The large quantity of unidentified bronze foil in the Portorecanati graves might have been part of embellished sandapila. e.g. PR 21, 22 and 28.

\textsuperscript{150} Valerius Maximus \textit{Memorable Deeds and Sayings} 4.6.3.

\textsuperscript{151} Pliny the Elder, \textit{HN}. 12.41.83; Statius \textit{Silvae} 2.6.84-93; Martial \textit{Epigr.} 11.54.

\textsuperscript{152} Scheid 1984. The author has himself seen the use of onions placed under the deceased during the wake as a means of covering up the stench.

\textsuperscript{153} Supra n. 7 of this chapter.
pre-interment stage at Portorecanati and Urbino contained food or maybe even incense or other fragrant items like flower petals.

Roman authors tell us that food like bread or fruit was occasionally included on the pyre. No actual food was found in association with the pre-interment stage at any of the cemeteries in Marche, but in the past two decades a greater interest in archaeobotanical remains has led to a better understanding of the types of flora and fauna associated with the cremation rituals from Roman Gaul and Britain. These studies are some of the most comprehensive archaeobotanical studies undertaken in the Roman world. Therefore, although they are outside of Italy, the results from the most important of these studies can still be used to provide a sense of how food could have been used during the burials in Marche.

In a study of 46 different sites from throughout Roman Gaul, A. Kreuz showed that in nearly half of them charred cereals—like wheat, barley, rye and millets—were recovered from inside *ustrina* and *ad bustum* burials. The presence of stalks as well as grains might indicate that the cereals were sometimes deposited as bunches. In about a third of the graves lentils and peas were also found. A few cemeteries had graves where pastries were evident and even fewer where spices were recovered.

Unfortunately archaeobotanical studies in Roman Italy have been few and far between and those studies that have been published over the decades are often only found in obscure Italian publications. Recently, however, there has been an attempt to

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154 Catullus *Poems 59* relates a comic scenario of a certain woman who stoops to steal her dinner from the half burnt pyre, only to be promptly wacked in the head by the servant of the undertaker.

155 Kreuz 2000 identified 43 published accounts of archaeobotanical studies in Iron Age and Roman graves in Central Europe. This number has certainly increased over the years. E.g. Lepetz and Van Andringa 2004.

156 Kreuz 2000, 46.

157 Rottoli and Castiglioni 2011, 496.
compile these sources and provide a summation of the research. Such a review of the material has been done for cemeteries in northern Italy, with 27 different sites and over 550 different funerary structures taken into account.\textsuperscript{158} Although not included in this important study, the cemeteries of the Marche region—being located less than 100 kilometers south of some of the sites—might have had similar floral and faunal remains. Being a preliminary study, much of the data compiled by Rottoli and Castiglioni can only be evaluated in broad terms since they lack detailed information about what kinds of material were found in what types of graves.

Most of the remains discussed had been carbonized by the pyre and so only represent those foods that entered the funerary context during the pre-interment rituals associated with the cremation of the body. Unlike in Gaul, most of the 27 cemeteries in northern Italy contained fruits and vegetables, with only about a third containing cereals. These fruits included grapes, dates, peaches and olives. Nuts were also frequently found in the graves, especially hazelnuts and walnuts, as well as pine nuts.\textsuperscript{159} Dates and grapes were found in all of the sites located south of the Po River, whereas pine nuts were rarely found outside of the northernmost group of cemeteries (fig. 16). The second most commonly found type of food was bread and pastries. These prepared foods were found in 17 of the 27 sites and were found in a variety of shapes and sizes suggesting that there was no single form of pastry that was most commonly placed.\textsuperscript{160} The authors point out that there is no evidence of feasting from the remains of the food. That is to say that all of

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid. loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{159} Ibid. 502-503.
\textsuperscript{160} Rottoli and Castiglioni do not specify which sites included bread and pastries.
\end{flushright}
the recovered carbonized nuts were still in their shells and there were no pits from consumed fruits found.161

Using this evidence from Gaul and northern Italy, it is possible to paint a broad picture of foods that would have been placed in the bowls and plates on the pyre at the cemeteries in Marche. Rather than being feasts of some sort, simple fruits like dates and grapes would most commonly have been included. Perhaps baked bread and shelled nuts—although probably not pine nuts—would also be placed in ceramic vessels and placed on the pyre. Although literary sources don’t explicitly state the reason for including food on the pyre during the cremation, it is almost certainly connected to a desire to provide sustenance to the departed on the journey to the underworld.162 The idea that the deceased not only wanted but needed sustenance is behind many of the post-funerary propitiation rituals that ancient writers frequently mention.163

The anointing of the body and the inclusion of oils and food on the pyre were all pre-interment rituals frequently practiced throughout the Marche region. Differences do appear, however, in the development of these rituals. So, the gradual increase in the appearance of ceramic vessels at Portorecanati during the second century might represent a shift from an emphasis on anointing to a greater interest in burning incense or food. This is in contrast to the Urbino cemeteries where it appears that these rites were practiced concurrently throughout the course of the history of the cemeteries.

Much more difficult to reconcile is the seemingly different ways in which these pyre goods were incorporated into the grave, during the interment stage. Most of the

161 Ibid. 500.
162 Hope 2007, 113. Alternatively, the food could have been intended as sustenance for the deceased while in the underworld itself, rather than for just the journey.
163 See below for more details.
difficulty seems to stem from the different types of burials at Portorecanati and the Urbino cemeteries. For *ad bustum* burials there was no need to pick and choose which objects to include in the interment stage since all the goods had fallen from the pyre into the cist. That is not to say that the pyre goods were ignored when the remains of the individual were interred. On the contrary, the meticulous care taken to retrieve the fragmented goods and place them alongside the collected cremated remains of the deceased suggests the opposite to be true. At the Urbino cemeteries, however, the exigency of having to take the burnt goods in addition to the cremated bones all the way to a secondary location probably meant that only the most easily recoverable items were taken from the pyre debris.\(^{164}\) The seeming difference between the goods from the pre-interment stage at the Urbino cemeteries and at Portorecanati probably stems more from the difference in the type of burial than a fundamental difference in the ritual inclusion of goods.

**Interment and Post-interment Rituals**

In the archaeological record the interment and post-interment stages are difficult to distinguish from each other, with the presence of a tile cover or a few layers of earth often providing the only identifiable barrier between the two. Part of the difficulty in isolating one from the other is that these two stages occurred in rapid succession during the funeral itself. In contrast, the pre-interment and post-funeral rituals took place in relative isolation—both physically and temporally—from the rest of the funeral, making clear identification easier.

\(^{164}\) Polfer (2000) came to a similar conclusion in her analysis of the pyre debris from secondary burials in Gaul.
Defining the two occasions as separate stages has proven a useful means of organizing the material, but it remains to be seen whether these two occasions actually represent separate rituals. Some types of goods like coins, lamps and personal items, which appear almost exclusively during the interment stage and not the post-interment stage, appeared in one stage far more often than in the other. In order to determine whether the actions behind the two stages are significantly different, therefore, it will be important to explore the ritual importance of the goods themselves. By then comparing the appearance of these goods in each stage, any significant differences in the rituals practiced at the cemeteries can be determined. Once the ritual significance of the different objects is discussed, I then will systematically explore the five groups of graves that I defined in the previous chapter.

**Personal Items:**

In addition to the jewelry that had been placed on the body of the deceased, probably before the lying-in-state period, additional pieces of jewelry were placed loose in the grave during the interment stage. These and additional items like bone needles, knuckle bones, and iron strigils were commonly placed near the remains of the deceased. The purpose of these items is difficult to identify. The customary interpretation is that they were belongings of the deceased in life and so were intended to accompany him/her to the underworld.\(^{165}\) However, just as a funeral itself is often as much about the mourners as it is about the mourned, so too should these objects be understood in terms of the actions of the mourners.

\(^{165}\) E.g. Ortalli 1998.
These items could be understood as personal tokens, each endowed with emotional power to both the mourners and the mourned.\textsuperscript{166} So the game set that was found in the grave of an infant in BCM 13, might not have been intended to accompany the infant to the afterlife (how could an infant play a board game after all?) but instead was placed there by the parents as a symbol of the infant’s lost childhood. The presence of so many seemingly trivial items like seashells and knuckle bones at Portorecanati can also be interpreted in similar terms. Very few of the seashells were actually perforated, meaning that many of them were not meant to be worn as jewelry. Rather than interpreting these items as belongings of the deceased, it seems likely that these items were actually tossed into the grave by the mourners during the interment rituals. The symbolic purpose of this remains unclear, but the actual action of throwing something into the grave itself might be a means of-affirming the boundary between the living and the dead.\textsuperscript{167} Alternatively, it could be analogous to the modern-day practice of tossing flowers onto the casket as it lies in the grave; a final farewell to the deceased.

Other personal items found at the graves have a more clearly ritual purpose. Oddly, only one terracotta figurine was found in all of the Marche graves.\textsuperscript{168} The terracotta bull was found on top of the tile cover of PR 46, in association with a ceramic olla and amphora. It seems that the figurine, therefore, was placed during the post-interment stage. Ramadori, in her brief exploration of Portorecanati for a catalog publication, posited that the figurine was perhaps used for some sort of ritual.\textsuperscript{169} The fact

\textsuperscript{166} Similar observations have been made by Polfer 2004 with respect to personal items in Roman graves.
\textsuperscript{167} See below on discussion of coins for a similar interpretation and sources.
\textsuperscript{168} A second figurine was found in PR 70: a terracotta figurine of a figure standing inside an aedicule. The grave was severely damaged and so was not included in this study.
\textsuperscript{169} Ramadori 2002, 169. She suggests that the figurine might be connected to the worship of the lares, as a votive object.
that the figurine was not placed inside the cover, where almost all other personal objects in the cemetery were placed, seems to support the idea that it served a ritual function. The actual ritual purpose of the figurine, however, remains uncertain.\footnote{Boone 2006, 150. Even after an analysis of the distribution of figurines from graves across the Empire, Boone was unable to firmly identify rituals associated with terracotta figurines in graves.}

The array of objects, from jewelry and figurines to bone needles and seashells that we consider personal objects, seem to have had equally diverse functions in the interment rituals. Their consistently close presence to the remains of the deceased suggests a close connection to the deceased him/herself. It is no wonder, therefore, that such items have often been interpreted as personal belongings of the dead. While this might be the case (perhaps the figurine was in fact the property of the individual buried in PR 46), it is important not to overlook the emotional aspect of the funeral itself. The death of a member of the family was not only a spiritually contaminating occasion, but also a trying one in which the family negotiated both the internal stages of mourning and the external religious ceremonies required to properly put to rest the dead. The personal objects were therefore imbued with multiple layers of meaning. As objects placed near the remains by the mourners, they acted as a symbol of loss and perhaps emotional release. As objects placed in the open grave by the living, they served to once more affirm the boundary between the living and the dead; a line that the mourners continuously trod during the funeral.\footnote{For a discussion on the dichotomy between life and death during a funeral see Scheid 1984.}

\textbf{Coins:}

More than any other kind of object associated with a Roman funeral, the coin appears with frequency in Greek and Roman literature. In most cases, a single obol was
said to be the toll for the ferryman, Charon. The placement of a coin, therefore, was a means of providing for the journey of the deceased into the underworld. Coins appear with frequency in Roman graves throughout Italy, indeed much of the Roman world.

Although most coins that appear in graves in Italy are bronze ases, there are usually at least a few examples of sestercii or, occasionally, gold solidi. For instance, in a select group of graves in suburban Rome, it was discovered that of the 72 coins analyzed 70.8% were ases and 6.9% were silver denarii. At Musarna, there were even more coins of a higher denomination with only half of the coins being bronze ases.

All but three of the graves from the Marche cemeteries that contained a coin had only a single bronze as (PR 221 contained two ases, BCM 51 contained one dupondius and one as and F 12 contained eight sestercii). The almost complete lack of any coin higher than an as at the cemeteries of Marche can be interpreted in a variety of ways. Firstly, it might be an indication of the low economic status of most of the individuals buried at these cemeteries. The implicit assumption underpinning this interpretation, however, is that the value of a coin in a funerary context resides in its inherent value as currency, as opposed to some other magical or superstitious association. In fact, the presence of a variety of coins in graves that are generally perceived as “poor” and the complete lack of the same coins in graves that are considered “richer” seems to confirm the ritual value of the coins rather than their inherent monetary value.

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172 Juvenal Satires 3.267. For a thorough analysis of the ancient literature on the role of coins in death see Stevens 1991.
173 All the sites so far discussed in this paper have coins associated with at least some of the graves. For an interesting and, at the time, paradigm-shifting analysis of coins in burials see Stevens 1991.
174 Ceci 2001, fig. 2, the coins were discovered during the excavations of the district IV of Rome during the 1990’s.
175 Rébillard 2009, note 20, 11 asses, 3 sesterces, 1 dupondius, 4 fractions and 3 unknowns.
176 E.g. PR 94 contains six vessels but no coins whereas PR 221 that contains two coins has no other goods. For similar occurrences at other Italian cemeteries see Massa 2001, 265, Lugone (Salo).
At Fano, single bronze ases were included in graves throughout the first and second centuries C.E. It isn’t until around the third century, with the eight sestercii in grave F 12, that there appears to be a significant variation in this practice. A look at similar occurrences outside of Marche might help to contextualize this seeming anomaly. In fact, the same changes in the appearance of coins in graves occurs in Roman Gaul, Spain and North Africa at roughly the same time. At the late Gallo-Roman cemetery of Turnacum, for instance, 60 percent of the graves that contained coins had more than one. Although it is generally the case that these coins are simple bronze ases, in some Germanic regions silver and gold coins also appear with frequency.  

The placement of a single bronze as, compared to numerous coins of a higher denomination represents a significant shift in the use of coins as grave goods. In the former instance the coin served a ritual role, one independent of the monetary value of the coin itself. However, the placement of multiple high denomination coins suggests that the value of the coins was paramount to the role they played in the funeral. It might be that in such instances like in F 12, the coins were placed not as a means of ensuring the proper journey of the deceased to the underworld but, instead as a means of exhibiting wealth and status. Whatever the meaning behind the ritual placement of coins in the graves, it is clear that in all of the cemeteries in this study such an action almost always occurred during the interment of the deceased. In fact there are only four instances in which the coin is not placed during the interment stage (PR 25, 126, BCM 16 and grave 1 at Cingoli Macerata).

177 ibid. 225-226.
The placement of a coin, usually inside the tile cover and somewhere near or on the deceased, was a common practice attested to at all of the cemeteries in Marche. The lack of an association between the perceived wealth of the dead and the placement of coins suggests that their value was derived from a ritualistic source that called for a bronze coin to be placed somewhere in close proximity to the remains. The coin seems to have had some sort of magical or talismanic value that made it particularly suited to placement in the grave, as a means of marking the space of the grave, that is, the space of the dead.\(^{178}\) It is only in the case of F 12, in the third century, that there appears to be a meaningful shift in the ritual use of coins in the Marche graves.

**Lamps:**

Whereas the role of coins in a Roman funeral has a robust literary tradition, the ritual significance of lamps is far less represented in the ancient sources. In fact, only one Roman author mentions the use of lamps during a funeral, and in this instance it was a means of lighting the way for the procession to the cemetery.\(^{179}\) Although there are no Roman sources that connect the use or placement of lamps during the interment of the deceased, the archaeological record clearly shows that lamps were commonly placed during the interment of the deceased in cemeteries throughout Roman Italy.\(^{180}\) The lamp could have signified the dichotomy between light and darkness and a lamp’s placement in the grave could act as a means for the living mourners to once more mark the boundary between life and death.\(^{181}\) Alternatively, leaving a lit lamp in the grave could have ensured that the dead was not left in the dark.

\(^{178}\) Stevens 1991, 229.
\(^{179}\) Martial *Epigr.* 8.75.
\(^{180}\) Ortalli 1998, 75-76 (Roman cemeteries of Sarsina and Voghenza).
\(^{181}\) Scheid 1984, 137.
Unlike the ritual placement of coins, which almost always occurred when the deceased was placed in the grave, lamps were placed during both the interment and the post-interment stages at the cemeteries of Marche, Italy. As part of the rituals of interment, lamps were placed throughout the grave, in no particular fashion. In the unique case of PR 3, the lamps were placed upside-down. In this instance, the burning of incense appears to have accompanied the ritual inversion of the lamps, as the presence of the ceramic incense burner attests. More so than any other grave object, the ritual placement of lamps in the grave appears to have been ancillary to the other rituals, since lamps are rarely the only items placed in the grave at any of the cemeteries.

It is not readily clear whether the role lamps played in the rituals of interment remained the same during the post-interment rituals. Lamps only rarely appear during the post-interment stage at Portorecanati (only in PR 24, 52 and 181), suggesting that the rituals associated with the post-interment stage rarely required their use. In contrast, in three of the five instances of the post-interment stage at the Urbino cemeteries, lamps are one of the only items placed outside the cover (BCM 15, 16, 53). In this regard the post-interment rituals of these two cemeteries differ, with lamps serving only a minor role in the rituals immediately following the interment of the deceased at Portorecanati and a significant role at Urbino.

**Unguentaria/Flasks:**

The anointment of the deceased occurred at multiple stages throughout the course of the funeral, from the lying-in-state to the cremation of the corpse. Some sources tell us that the remains—whether cremated or inhumed—were once more anointed with oils
after they had been placed in the grave. The presence of intact unguentaria in many graves suggests that such a practice occurred during the interment stage at all of the cemeteries in this study. However, it is also possible that the contents of the unguentaria were not used before their placement within the grave. Alternatively, a combination of the two instances might have occurred where some of the oil in the vessels was poured on the remains and the rest was left in the vessel, which was then placed carefully in the grave. If we had more details of the exact location of the goods within the graves then it might be possible to determine whether they were placed in the grave empty or full. For instance, if the unguentaria were found inverted, or lying on their sides it might suggest that they had been placed in the grave empty, after having been used. Without such information, the most that can be said is that unguents played a major role in a significant number of graves from each cemetery.

Whereas fragrant oils appear to have played a key role during the interment stage in many graves throughout Marche, the same practice only occasionally occurred during the post-interment stage. At Portorecanati unguentaria are conspicuously absent during the post-interment stage. In contrast, they are the most common items found during the same stage at the Bivio cemetery in Urbino. In BCM 15 several glass unguentaria were found at different levels in the shaft of the grave, suggesting that the mourners anointed the grave and deposited the empty vessels in the shaft as the grave was being filled-in. In two of the three graves in which unguentaria were found during the post-interment stage, additional unguentaria had been placed earlier during the interment of the deceased (BCM 15 and 53). In these graves it would seem likely that the unguentaria below the

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182 For the anointment of cremated remains see Tibullus 1.3, 5-8; on the anointment of inhumed remains see Petronius Satyr. 77-78.
cover served a different purpose than those placed outside the cover. Perhaps the former
were used to anoint the remains of the deceased and those found outside were used to
anoint the grave itself.

It seems that unguents might have played different roles during the interment and
the post-interment stage, although it is difficult to determine what these roles were. They
certainly played a primary role in the post-interment rituals at the Bivio cemetery. In
contrast, at the other cemeteries, unguentaria were primarily deposited during the
interment of the deceased, rather than during a post-interment ceremony. In these cases,
they might have been used to anoint the remains of the deceased.

**Vessels for Food and Drink:**

Vessels for eating and drinking, made of ceramic and glass, are by far the most
frequently placed grave object at the cemeteries of Portorecanati and Urbino. The
preponderance of these items in both the interment and the post-interment stages suggests
that food and drink played an important role at each moment in the funeral. The question,
however, is what role this was and whether or not they were used for different purposes
during the two stages. For much of the twentieth and early twenty-first century scholars
assumed that vessels placed in the grave had been filled with food for the deceased to
consume on the journey to the underworld.\(^{183}\) There has been a growing group, however,
that suggest that—like the unguentaria—the vessels found in the graves were used first
by the mourners and only then placed in the grave. In this scenario, such vessels represent
the remains of ritual feasting or drinking.\(^{184}\)

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\(^{183}\) Invernizzi 2011 (Casteggio); Percossi Serenelli 2001 (Portorecanati); Cipollone 2000 (Gubbio).

\(^{184}\) Ortalli 1998 (Voghenza and Sarsina); Tuffreau 2004 (Gallic cemeteries); Polfer 2004; Witteyer 2004
(Gallic cemeteries). Others take the middle ground and do not offer any interpretation one way or the other,
Rébillard 2009 (Musarna).
One of the catalysts for this debate is that the Roman literary sources are almost completely silent on the role of food and drink during and immediately following the interment of the deceased. In an essay on the role of food in ancient funerals, Hugh Lindsay chronicled the moments during the long period of mourning that sources say food was consumed. Unfortunately some aspects of the chronology are uncertain. The period of mourning known as the feriae denicales followed the funeral itself and was ended by the novemdial sacrificium—the ritual feast that took place nine days after the funeral at the site of the grave. One of the contentious points is whether the novemdial sacrificium is the same as the silicernium, which is described by Festus-Paulus as a funerary meal involving sausage. Lindsay suggests that the silicernium was a separate ritual that occurred at the grave and in fact ended the funeral itself. He argues that it would make sense for the silicernium to start the feriae denicales, and the novemdial to bring it to a close, also at the site of the grave. Such an organization provides a nice symmetry with a ritual feast (silicernium) at the grave starting the period of mourning, which would be ended by another ritual feast (novemdial sacrificium) also taking place at the grave site. Lindsay’s theory on the sequence of events has been generally accepted by other scholars as the best interpretation of the disparate accounts. If we are to accept Lindsay’s interpretation, then the silicernium is the literary evidence of food being consumed during the funeral. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine specifically

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185 Lindsay 1998.
186 Festus Paulus De Sig. Ver. 61. Cicero Leg. 2.22.55.
188 Lindsay 1998, 72.
189 Stirling 2004, 430.
when this feast would have taken place: during the interment of the deceased, immediately following or after the grave itself had been sealed.

Without literary evidence providing any clear sense of when or if food was consumed or sacrificed during the interment of the deceased, we are left with the archaeological record as our only guide. Unfortunately, excavations throughout the twentieth century—including those done by Mercando in Marche—rarely took the steps to carefully record the often minute presence of faunal remains in graves, although that has not stopped archaeobotanical studies from recovering some of the material from past excavations. In the last decade a wealth of studies have been published in an attempt to fill in the lacunae in our knowledge of floral and faunal remains in Roman graves.¹⁹⁰

Once more, studies from Roman graves in Gaul and North Africa might help to fill this gap in our knowledge of the Marche cemeteries. Evidence from outside of Italy indicates that food was placed in the grave during the interment stage of the funeral.¹⁹¹ In Roman Gaul, animal remains are frequently found still in the ceramic vessels in which they were placed.¹⁹² In an analysis of animal remains from Roman Gallic cemeteries, Lepetz and Van Andringa found that animal remains were included in between 30 and 50 percent of the graves at each cemetery.¹⁹³ The most frequent type of animal remains included were those of pigs, with chickens and cows also occasionally placed. Rather than the entire animal, most often only portions of the animals were included, especially

¹⁹⁰ e.g. Kreuz 2000; Bats 2002; Marinval 2004; Lepetz and Van Andringa 2004; Preiss, Matternes and Latron, 2005.
¹⁹¹ Frascone 1999 (Lyon); Castella 1999 (d’Avenches); Witteyer 2000 (Mayence); Stirling 2004 (North Africa).
¹⁹² Lepetz and Van Andringa 2004, 164.
¹⁹³ Ibid. 165.
parts of the head, shoulder and ribs. One can perhaps envision similar practices occurring during the burials in Marche.

Animal bones are the only remaining indication that meat was included in Roman graves. However, these remains only provide a partial picture since it is quite possible that cuts of meat without the bone were also included, but have long since vanished from the archaeological record. The same issue concerns any other form of food like grain, fruit and nuts, which often disappear unless they were carbonized from exposure to fire. The result is that while the archaeological remains from Roman graves clearly show that food could be placed during the interment stage, such evidence is fragmentary at best.

The question still remains as to whether this food was intended to nourish the deceased on the journey to the underworld or if it was the remnants of a funerary feast. The problem here is that we are left questioning the intent of the mourners, since there is rarely any solid evidence supporting one argument over the other. Certainly, one can argue that if the animal bones were found in situ, carefully placed in the ceramic vessels, then it is likely that the food was deposited in the grave, untouched by the mourners. However, this is rarely the case in most cemeteries. In their analysis of the floral and faunal remains in cemeteries in Northern Italy, Rottoli and Castiglioni discovered that food was never actually found inside a vessel, but instead scattered in the fossa. This might be because the food that had not been carbonized by the fires from the pyre simply decomposed over the centuries, leaving no trace behind. However, it can also be that

194 Ibid. 166 fig. 3.
196 Rottoli and Castiglioni 2011, 500.
there was never any food in the vessels to begin with and instead they were placed in the
grave empty, having been used by the mourners as part of a feast.

In the Marche cemeteries the lack of evidence of food present in the graves makes
any determination one way or the other almost impossible. Mercando recorded evidence
of food in only two graves. In BCM 39 the bones of an unidentified animal were found
mixed in with the cremated remains of the deceased. Their location would suggest that
rather than being placed in the grave during the interment stage the bones had been
included on the pyre as an offering during the pre-interment stage. The animal bones
found in the libation device of grave BCM 43 must have been placed there during one of
the post-funeral feasts, rather than during the funeral itself.

With the lack of hard evidence for food in the Marche graves, one must look at
the manner in which the vessels were deposited within the graves themselves.
Unfortunately, as previously mentioned with regards to the unguentaria found in the
graves, Mercando did not provide detailed descriptions or drawings of the disposition of
objects within the graves. Nevertheless, sufficient notes were provided on a few
occasions to make it possible to determine the manner in which the objects were placed.
For instance, in PR 112, the ceramic olla was found carefully placed inside the bowl, both
of which were found to the side of the deceased’s head. The fact that the olla was placed
in the bowl indicates that the bowl, at least, was empty at the time of interment. This
might mean that it had been the container for food that was consumed by the mourners
during the interment rituals. A similar situation is found in grave BCM 74 at the Bivio
cemetery. In this case, the pitcher was placed, inverted, into the mouth of the bowl,
suggesting that both vessels were empty before they were placed in the grave during the
interment stage. Unfortunately, these are the only examples that suggest the vessels placed during the interment stage were empty and therefore might have been used for the consumption of food and drink by the mourners at the time of interment.

There is not sufficient evidence to determine if the vessels were deposited in the graves with food for the journey to the underworld or as remnants of a meal. Instead, it seems that there might be a mixture of the two, with some of the vessels placed in the grave full of food for the deceased and others empty after being used by the mourners present at the funeral. Regardless, the sheer preponderance of vessels for food and drink at the Urbino and Portorecanati cemeteries clearly shows the importance of food and drink in the rituals of interment.

Similar challenges confront the interpretation of these vessels during the post-interment stage. The most significant evidence of the post-interment stage is at Portorecanati, where vessels for food and drink were placed in all 26 of the 137 graves that contain evidence of the post-interment stage. In 18 of these 26 graves, objects had been placed inside the cover during the interment stage. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the function of the vessels placed during the interment and the post-interment stages in these graves differs significantly. In the interment stage, groups of vessels with a mixed function were most commonly interred. In contrast, the groups of vessels placed during the post-interment stage in all of the 18 graves were either for drinking or eating, not a mixture of the two. The fact that the two different types of assemblages—interment on the one hand and post-interment on the other—had distinctly different functions suggests that the rituals associated with each differed as well.
Again, however, it is impossible to say for certain what these rituals were, without sufficient evidence of floral and faunal remains. It seems likely, though, that in these 18 graves the vessels placed during the interment stage were to give sustenance to the deceased and those placed above the cover were remnants of ritual eating or drinking. The fact that the vessels inside the cover were closer in proximity to the deceased suggests an intimate connection to the remains themselves. Similarly, that the vessels from the post-interment stage were placed outside the cover, away from the deceased, implies a closer association with the mourners. The different functions of the vessels supports this theory. The interment vessels were mixed, which would make sense for vessels intended to provide sustenance to the deceased (after all, one would need food and drink). In contrast, the post-interment vessels—being only single bowls or one or two cups—appear more like the remnants of a toast or a shared meal.

Similar arguments have been made for other graves in Roman Italy and Gaul, where vessels placed outside the cover were thought to be the remains of a funeral feast. For instance, in the cemetery of Sarsina, multiple crushed ceramic cups found in the shaft of a grave were interpreted as the mourners giving toasts and subsequently tossing the cups into the grave as it was being filled in with dirt.\(^{197}\) Witteyer suggests that the pitchers and bowls which were carefully placed on top of the cover of some graves in Gaul might be evidence of similar ritual activity.\(^{198}\) Given the location of the vessels at Portorecanati and each group’s different functions, it seems likely that the vessels placed during the interment stage were intended to provide sustenance for the deceased. In contrast, those placed outside the cover had been used by the mourners themselves.

\(^{197}\) Ortalli 1998, 70.
\(^{198}\) Witteyer 2004, 175.
This analysis of the ritual importance of the grave objects has revealed that the rituals associated with the interment stage and those of the post-interment stage differed quite significantly. Some objects like personal items, coins, and lamps appear almost exclusively during the interment stage. Each of these objects has a wealth of associated meanings that must have colored the choice of where (and when) to place them in the grave. The fact that the interment stage was ubiquitously chosen as the moment at which they were placed, rather than after the remains had been covered, suggests that the mourners themselves perceived these stages as separate. That is to say, the very fact that one stage was thought appropriate for the placement of certain items and the other not, indicates that the two stages represent two distinct ritual moments.

The situation is somewhat different with unguents and food and drink, which were used in both stages. That these objects were used differently during the two stages is suggested by the simple fact that they were placed at different physical points in the grave. With those objects placed outside the cover both physically and symbolically closer to the mourners and those inside the cover the deceased, the spatial separation of the different objects suggests separate functions. At Portorecanati especially, the vessels for food and drink that were placed on top of the cover probably once held food or drink that the mourners consumed. At the Bivio cemetery, the unguentaria that were found above the cover or in the shaft of the grave might have been used to anoint the grave itself.

Five Groups of Graves: Rituals of Interment

Rarely do these objects enter the grave as isolated items. Instead, as my discussion in the previous chapter on the five groups of graves has shown, different items
were successively placed in the graves as part of a larger ritual of interment. Some of these interment rituals were not as complex as others. The rituals associated with group one, in which only personal items were placed, is far less complex than those associated with group five, in which a series of vessels, coins, lamps and personal items could be placed.\footnote{By “simpler” and “complex” I do not refer to the relative importance of one or the other. Rather, the terms refer to the number of different actions that are thought to have created each deposit. The action of tossing in a bone needle is “simpler” than the many actions involved in putting vessels, personal belongings, lamps and coins in the grave.} Now that the rituals associated with each object have been enumerated, I can explore whether significant differences in the interment rituals can be discerned from the five groups of graves at each cemetery.

Group 1:

As was just explained, each of the different objects that appear in the graves brings with it separate ritual activities. It is the distinct combination of ritual actions—from the placement of a coin to the placement of a bowl—that create the different rituals of interment. In many ways the individual groups of graves, organized as they are by the types of objects that appear together, can therefore be understood as different ritual customs.\footnote{There is no chronological restriction to this term, since each of the different ritual customs of interment were practiced concurrently at the same cemeteries.} That is to say that each of these groups represent distinct practices that include similar ritual actions.

The first ritual custom of interment involves the placement of personal items close to the remains of the deceased. A practice that appears independent of the rite of burial, the placing of personal items as the only ritual action during the interment stage occurred only rarely in all the cemeteries. At Portorecanati, this ritual custom only occurred in 10 of the 116 graves (8%) with evidence of the interment stage. At the Bivio cemetery only
two graves (3%) attest to this practice and at the San Donato cemetery, four graves (8%). This practiced is evidenced at the Fano cemetery by only one of the 17 graves (6%).

Although the frequency of this custom is fairly constant across the board, the exact manifestation of the custom differs from one cemetery to the next. For instance, the personal items that were placed in those graves that exhibit this practice at Portorecanati tend to be personal belongings like bronze blades (PR 111, 169 and 359), a bronze mirror (PR 246), and iron strigils (118 and 146).201 In contrast, the personal items from the same group of graves at the Urbino and Fano cemeteries are primarily pieces of jewelry (BCM 83 and 85; SD 94; F 2) or small bone needles (SD 87). There are, however, a few graves at the San Donato cemetery that contain personal belongings like those found at Portorecanati, including bronze weapons (SD 39) and a clay weight (SD 54). It seems, therefore, that when the Potentians chose to only include personal items in the graves, they preferred to inter objects of significant importance; maybe they were once the personal belongings of the deceased or perhaps they served as personal tokens of the mourners. In contrast, this practice manifested quite differently at the cemeteries in southern Umbria where it was more common to place pieces of jewelry in the grave with the deceased.

Group 2:

The second ritual custom of interment involves the placement of lamp(s) with no vessels of any kind. Like the previous custom, this practice appears to have been independent of the rite of burial and appears in graves dating from the third to first century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. This custom was the least common in all the

201 See my previous discussion on “personal belongings.”
cemeteries except San Donato. At Portorecanati, only four graves (3%) attested to this custom and at Bivio only a single grave (2%). In contrast, six graves (11%) at San Donato provide evidence for this practice. Lamps were never included during the interment stage at Fano; indeed they do not appear at all in any of the graves.

These differences suggest corresponding differences in how lamps were used during the interment rituals at each cemetery. At Portorecanati, lamps appear almost exclusively as ancillary objects; they appear by themselves in only these four graves. It seems that the rituals associated with lamps at Portorecanati, while certainly important in the interment rituals, were only used in combination with other rituals. A similar practice appears to have been practiced at the Bivio cemetery. Only at the San Donato cemetery, do lamps more often serve as the only ritual associated with the interment of the deceased (and even then, only 11% of the graves attest this). In both the Portorecanati and the Urbino cemeteries the placement of lamps during the interment stage for this particular group of graves is often the only ritual action that occurs (Table 24). Alternatively, the mourners could also place personal items in the grave in addition to lamps.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Portorecanati</th>
<th>Bivio</th>
<th>San Donato</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lamps and Personal Items</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamps alone</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 24: Group two and its subcategories for the Marche cemeteries*

Group 3:

The third ritual custom involved tossing a single bronze as into the grave. At each cemetery, this particular custom occurred in a small number of graves dating from the first through the second century C.E. In 16 of the 116 graves (14%) at Portorecanati with evidence of the interment stage, the tossing of a coin into the grave was often the only
ritual action that occurred when the deceased was interred. At the Bivio cemetery, the same custom was practiced in 10 of the 60 graves (17%). This custom was less common at the San Donato cemetery, with only four of the 53 graves (8%) attesting its presence, and it is not evident at all at Fano.

Aside from slight differences in the frequency of this custom, it appears that it was practiced concurrently at both the Portorecanati and Urbino cemeteries. In contrast, the same custom is absent at Fano, where coins were only placed in a grave as part of a larger ritual of interment involving vessels. In most instances, the placement of a coin during the interment stage for this group of graves was the only ritual action that occurred (Table 25). Only occasionally did the mourners also include a personal item and even less often a single lamp.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Portorecanati</th>
<th>Bivio</th>
<th>San Donato</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coin and Personal Item</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coin and Lamp</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coin alone</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 25: Group three and its subcategories for the Marche cemeteries

Group 4:

Group four is characterized by the placement of vessels for pouring and/or containing liquids (Graph 22). This custom of anointing and pouring libations was practiced at the Portorecanati and Urbino cemeteries concurrently throughout the first, second and third centuries C.E. Moreover, it was practiced in all different grave types and in both inhumation and cremation burials. During these funerals the mourners did not consume liquid or food, nor did they include similar provisions for the deceased’s journey to the underworld. Instead, unguentaria, pitchers and amphorae were included.
It seems likely that the unguentaria had been used to anoint the remains of the deceased before being placed in the grave. In 14 of 24 graves from this group at Portorecanati, unguentaria are the only vessels found in the grave (Table 26). For these graves, then, the anointing of the corpse was the primary ritual action that occurred when the remains were interred within the grave. Pitchers were the only vessels placed in three graves (PR 37, 43 and 382), suggesting that the pouring of a libation as the only ritual of interment was not very common. Just as uncommon was the placing of amphorae as the only vessels. This is only attested by three graves (PR 14, 47 and 54). The amphorae probably contained wine; maybe to provide sustenance to the deceased on the journey to the underworld, although the lack of a cup to drink the wine would be problematic.\textsuperscript{202} In the other four graves from group four at Portorecanati the rites of anointing, pouring libations and the inclusion of amphorae were practiced together.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Vessels</th>
<th>Portorecanati</th>
<th>Bivio</th>
<th>San Donato</th>
<th>Fano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unguentaria/Flasks</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitcher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphora</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 26: Frequency of vessel types appearing alone in graves from group four*

A similar proportion of graves from group four at the Urbino cemeteries (6 graves at Bivio and 7 at San Donato) indicate that the primary ritual activity practiced was the anointing of the remains (Table 26). In almost every instance, amphorae were placed in addition to unguentaria or pitchers, rather than by themselves. In only five graves from all of Marche are they the only vessel placed in the grave.\textsuperscript{203} At Fano, especially,

\textsuperscript{202} It might be that wooden bowls or cups, which have long since disappeared, were provided in these few graves.

\textsuperscript{203} PR 14 (cremation), PR 47 (cremation), PR 54 (inhumation), BCM 54 (inhumation), SD 84 (cremation).
unguentaria and flasks were the most common objects placed during the interment stage. It isn’t readily clear why anointing played such a primary role at Fano. It might be that the imperative to anoint the remains of the deceased was more pressing with inhumation burials where the actual body was preserved. However, at the other cemeteries of Marche, there is not a clear relationship between anointing and the type of burial, with both cremation and inhumation burials attesting the practice.

At all the cemeteries, the anointing of the deceased or the pouring of libations was most often the only ritual action practiced for this group of graves (Table 27). Alternatively, personal items (11 graves in total), or coins (8) could also be placed. Only rarely was the ritual of anointing accompanied by the placement of a lamp (only 3 instances). Interestingly, the ritual inclusion of a coin, a lamp and the anointing of the deceased never occurred together in any of the graves in Marche.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Portorecanati</th>
<th>Bivio</th>
<th>San Donato</th>
<th>Fano</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vessels and Personal Items</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessels and Lamps</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessels and Coins</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessels, Lamps and Coins</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessels alone</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 27: Group four and its subcategories for the Marche cemeteries

Group 5:

The fifth, and by far most frequently occurring ritual custom of interment involved the placement of vessels for the consumption of food and drink. As was previously discussed, these vessels might have been full of food and drink to provide sustenance to the deceased on the journey to the underworld. Alternatively, they might have been used for ritual toasting and eating by the mourners. The graves at Portorecanati
with evidence of the interment and post-interment stage suggest that both rituals could have been practiced at a single grave.

The previous chapter has shown that the function of these different groups of vessels vary quite a bit even within a single cemetery, let alone across the region of Marche (Table 28). At Portorecanati, assemblages with a mixture of vessels for the consumption of food and drink are the most frequent (40% of the 62 graves with vessels for food and drink). In contrast, this same functional assemblage is the third most common at the Bivio cemetery (24%) and one of the least common at the San Donato cemetery (7%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function of Vessel Assemblages</th>
<th>Portorecanati</th>
<th>Bivio</th>
<th>San Donato</th>
<th>Fano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liquid (drink)</td>
<td>10 (16%)</td>
<td>5 (15%)</td>
<td>5 (18%)</td>
<td>4 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid</td>
<td>17 (27%)</td>
<td>9 (26%)</td>
<td>12 (43%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mix (solid, liquid)</td>
<td>25 (40%)</td>
<td>8 (24%)</td>
<td>2 (7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink/Contain (unguentaria and amphorae)</td>
<td>10 (16%)</td>
<td>6 (18%)</td>
<td>3 (11%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid/Contain (unguentaria)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>6 (18%)</td>
<td>6 (21%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>62</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28: Frequency of functional types for vessel assemblages of Marche cemeteries

It is difficult to interpret these seeming differences in the functional capabilities of the vessel assemblages at the Urbino and Portorecanati cemeteries. The danger of circular reasoning is a very real threat. For instance, it could be argued that a lot of what we’re seeing as significant differences in the function is a result of the number of vessels typically included in the graves. As discussed in the last chapter, more graves at Portorecanati contain five or more vessels than at the Urbino cemeteries (Table 29). So, one could rightly point out, a tendency to include more vessels in the grave would necessarily increase the frequency with which vessels with a mixed function appear.
Alternatively, it could be argued that the tendency to include vessels with a mixed function would increase the likelihood that more graves would include numerous vessels. Such discussions will inevitably devolve into a question of the chicken and the egg, or in this case the custom of including vessels of mixed function or the custom of including large groups of vessels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#vessels</th>
<th>Portorecanati</th>
<th>Bivio</th>
<th>San Donato</th>
<th>Fano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>29 graves</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29: Number of vessels in individual graves with vessels for food and drink.

That is not to say that broader differences cannot be explored without the threat of over-interpretation. One of the most striking differences is the complete absence of graves at Portorecanati with vessels for food and unguentaria for the anointing of the body. In contrast, this type of assemblage appears in 18% of the graves with vessels for food and drink at the Bivio cemetery and 21% of the graves at the San Donato cemetery. This seems to be indicative of a broader trend at the Urbino cemeteries where unguentaria—or the anointing of the corpse—and vessels for food and drink were frequently included during the same interment ritual (12 graves or 35% at Bivio and 9 or 32% at San Donato compared to only 10 or 16% at Portorecanati).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Portorecanati</th>
<th>Bivio</th>
<th>San Donato</th>
<th>Fano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vessels and Personal Items</td>
<td>12 (19%)</td>
<td>3 (9%)</td>
<td>2 (7%)</td>
<td>3 (75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessels and Lamps</td>
<td>8 (12%)</td>
<td>12 (35%)</td>
<td>2 (7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessels and Coins</td>
<td>23 (37%)</td>
<td>3 (9%)</td>
<td>4 (14%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessels, Lamps and Coins</td>
<td>9 (15%)</td>
<td>3 (9%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessels alone</td>
<td>10 (16%)</td>
<td>13 (38%)</td>
<td>20 (71%)</td>
<td>1 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30: Group five and its subcategories for the Marche cemeteries
The differences in rituals between Portorecanati and Urbino becomes even more apparent when one takes into account the other ritual activities that were practiced in addition to the placement of vessels for food and drink (Table 30). At Portorecanati, during the interment of 37% of the graves, the mourners deposited vessels for food and drink in addition to placing a single bronze as. This same ritual group is far less prevalent at the Urbino cemeteries where it only occurs during the interment of 9% of the Bivio graves and 14% of the San Donato graves. In contrast, the mourners at the Urbino cemeteries preferred to include food and drink in the graves as the only ritual action taken during the interment of the deceased.

One can get a sense of the nature of the interment practices of these two different locations by simply looking at the combination of rituals associated with this group of graves (Table 30). The rituals of interment at Portorecanati were far more varying, and involved a much more diverse group of ritual actions including the placement of coins (37%), lamps (12%), personal items (19%) and both coins and lamps in addition to vessels for food and drink (15%). In contrast, especially at San Donato, the rituals of interment at the Urbino cemeteries were less diverse. At the Bivio cemetery, only two different types of interment rituals were prominent: the first involved both the ritual inclusion of lamps and vessels, and the second only involved the placement of vessels. At the San Donato cemetery a single interment custom was dominant, in which only vessels for food and drink were interred with the deceased. Once again, the rituals practiced at the Fano cemetery were widely different from the other cemeteries, with only four graves attesting to the practice of including vessels for the consumption of food and drink.

Post-Funeral Rituals
Like the pre-interment rites, several different Roman authors mention rites that were practiced after the funeral. As previously mentioned, nine days after the funeral took place the family of the deceased came back to the site of the grave to participate in feast. Sporadic references to this novemdial sacrificium mention that, in addition to the feasting itself, libations of wine, milk, water and blood were made. Among the types of food consumed sources mention eggs, vegetables, beans, lentils, salt, bread and poultry.\textsuperscript{204} In addition to this feast, which acted as the culmination of the period of mourning, the annual festival of the Parentalia commemorated the dead through the banqueting and propitiations of food and drink at the grave.\textsuperscript{205}

Archaeological remains of these post-funerary activities have been found at cemeteries throughout Italy.\textsuperscript{206} For instance, in the funerary complex of a certain Publius Vesonius Phileros in the Porta Nocera cemetery of Pompeii, fragments of glass unguentaria and complete ceramic bowls and plates were found at the ground level of the funerary stele.\textsuperscript{207} The location of these vessels indicate that they were used by the family during post-funeral feasts like the Parentalia. At the Marche cemeteries, very few graves contain goods that attest to such post-funerary commemoration. However, especially in the Urbino and Portorecanati cemeteries, many graves are equipped with libation tubes, although no goods were found inside. This suggests that objects were rarely disposed of within the libation tubes. Instead, it was probably most common for liquid libations to be poured, which have left no traces today. Unfortunately, because no attempt was made to record the possible surface level at which these commemorative rites took place, the

\textsuperscript{204} Servius \textit{Ad Aen.} 5.78; Tacitus \textit{Ann.} 3.2, \textit{Hist.} 2.95; Juvenal \textit{Epigr.} 5.85.
\textsuperscript{205} Ovid \textit{Fast.} 2.533-70.
\textsuperscript{206} Ortalli 1998, 65 (Voghenza and Sarsina); Pitcher 2001, 260 (Nave); Rébillard 2009, 108, (Musarna).
\textsuperscript{207} Lepetz et al. 2011, 122-123 grave 2.
picture of post-funerary activities in Roman Marche is very incomplete. With what we have, it appears that post-funerary rites were frequently practiced at both Portorecanati and the Urbino cemeteries. Only a single libation device is evident at the Fano cemetery (F 22), and it is from a grave that dates to the second century; well before most of the other graves.

**Conclusion**

After identifying the different rituals associated with the kinds of objects that were placed in the graves, clear variations appear in the rituals practiced at the Portorecanati, Urbino and Fano cemeteries. During the pre-interment stage, these differences were primarily associated with the manner in which the body of the deceased was adorned. At the Urbino and Portorecanati cemeteries, the deceased was not frequently adorned. When s/he was, at Portorecanati simple bronze rings or earrings were preferred. In contrast, more extravagant gold, silver and glass-beaded necklaces, bracelets and rings adorned the dead of Urbino. The individuals of Fano followed the same practice as those of Urbino, with multiple pieces of rich jewelry adorning a single body.

The rituals of cremation are largely the same at the Portorecanati and Urbino cemeteries, with unguents and food frequently placed on the pyre. Some differences in the development of this tradition at the two locations is evident, though. At both locations fragrant oils were either used to anoint the body or to accompany the body on the pyre throughout the first and second centuries C.E. At Portorecanati, the ritual anointing of the deceased on the pyre—or at least the placement of fragrant oils on the pyre itself—was especially important in the first century. Towards the end of the first century and into the
second, ceramic vessels like bowls, plates and cups were frequently included in addition to glass unguentaria.

The five groups of graves defined in the previous chapter have helped to identify the different interment rituals of each cemetery. By evaluating each of these groups, it has become clear that the interment rituals practiced at the Marche cemeteries sometimes differ quite drastically. At Portorecanati the first ritual custom of interment involved the placement of personal objects like strigils and bronze weapons, with no vessels of any kind. In contrast, this same ritual custom at the Urbino and Fano cemeteries involved the inclusion of pieces of jewelry, placed loosely in the grave.

At Portorecanati the ritual placement of a lamp, without any vessels or coins, was not a very common practice. In general, lamps played an ancillary role in the rituals of interment at Portorecanati, where they were placed as part of additional ritual actions like the placement of vessels. In contrast, the placement of lamps in the Urbino graves was more often the only ritual activity that occurred during the interment stage. At Fano, lamps were completely absent during any stage of the funeral. The third ritual custom of interment—the inclusion of a single bronze as—was practiced at the Portorecanati and Urbino cemeteries in a very similar manner. For this group of graves, the placement of the coin was often the only ritual action practiced, although occasionally the mourners also included personal items or a lamp. Once more, this ritual custom appears differently at the Fano cemetery where the placement of coins only occurs as part of additional rituals of interment.

Without detailed information on the disposition of the goods that were placed during the interment stage, it is difficult to evaluate the final two ritual customs of
interment. By organizing the graves from the fourth custom by the type of vessel, we can see that the ritual importance of most of the vessels was the anointment of the remains. A few graves instead have pitchers for pouring libations and amphorae, which probably contained wine. Some other graves contained a mixture of these vessels. At both the Portorecanati and Urbino cemeteries, this custom generally just involved these actions, although occasionally the mourners also included a personal item or a coin. At Fano, especially, the anointment of the body while it lay in the grave was often the only ritual associated with the interment stage.

The fifth and most frequently occurring ritual custom involved the use of food and drink during the interment of the deceased. Although it is difficult to evaluate the differences in the functions of the vessels placed at each cemetery, some variations can be highlighted between the Portorecanati and the Urbino cemeteries. Notably, the interment ceremony of including vessels for food and then anointing the remains of the deceased is attested at the Urbino cemeteries, but never occurred at Portorecanati. In general, the interment rituals involving food and drink at Portorecanati were far quite varied, with additional rituals frequently accompanying them. In contrast, those of the Urbino cemeteries were rather standardized, in which no additional rituals accompanied the interment of the deceased beyond the placement of vessels for food and drink. Once more, the funerary rituals of Fano were far different from the other Marche cemeteries, with only scanty evidence of food and drink playing a role during the interment stage.

One of the most notable differences in funerary rituals practiced in Marche are the post-interment rituals. At Portorecanati, a ritual toasting and the consumption of small amounts of food were most commonly associated with the post-interment stage. Only
rarely did the mourners place lamps on top of the covers during these post-interment rituals. At Urbino, on the other hand, food and drink was rarely consumed, with the anointing of the grave the primary post-interment ritual; occasionally as the shaft of the grave itself was being filled in with dirt.

Perhaps because of the general dearth of evidence throughout Marche, there don’t appear to have been significantly different post-funeral commemorative rites practiced. Instead, the occasional vessel or lamp were thrown into libation devices that accompanied many of the graves at the Portorecanati and Urbino cemeteries. More often, the food and drink itself would be tossed in and the containers probably left at the graveside or taken back with the family. Only at Fano is there a complete absence of evidence for this stage.

The evidence from the post-funeral stage introduces the notion that objects in the graves do not always provide a complete picture of all the actions that occurred. The numerous graves without any objects also highlight this issue. At Portorecanati 93 graves (39%) contain no grave objects compared to 22 graves (26%) at Bivio, 31 (33%) at San Donato, and 7 (28%) at Fano. These numbers are in fact not as high as many other cemeteries throughout Italy, where it is not uncommon for over half of the graves excavated to contain no objects at all.\textsuperscript{208} It is possible that the lack of objects in the graves attests to the custom of not including items during the burial. However, it might also be the case that perishable items—like food placed in baskets, wooden bowls or in no containers at all—were included but have since disappeared.

\textsuperscript{208} Catalano et al. 2006, 561-562: in all but two of the 11 excavated cemeteries of suburban Rome, over half of the graves contain no godos. Falzona, Olivanti and Pellegrino 2001: 131: in the necrópolis of Fralana (Acilia) just west of Rome, 17 of the 30 graves contain no grave items.
This chapter has shown that significant differences in the funerary customs and rituals of the Marche cemeteries existed. However, the reason behind these differences in funerary rituals remains to be seen.
Chapter 5: Conclusion

It is now evident that each community in Marche practiced its own peculiar form of funerary rituals. Many of the differences in these rituals seem to fall along regional lines, with those practiced at Portorecanati differing from those at the Urbino cemeteries. Whereas these two cemeteries exhibit at least some similarities, Fano is often completely different, even from nearby Urbino. In order to understand the origin of some of these differences, the chronological development in the rituals at each site will be explored first. Doing so might help to elucidate the seeming anomalous rituals of Fano. Once this is done, the differences between the Umbrian cemeteries of Urbino and the Picenian cemetery of Portorecanati can be more closely examined.

Chronological Phases:

For much of this study the various chronological changes in the rituals at each cemetery have not been systematically stated, although some of these developments were explored in Chapter 3. In fact, four broad chronological phases are identifiable by the changes in funerary rituals practiced at each cemetery. The first phase is the Republican period, from the third to the first century B.C.E. Unfortunately, just a handful of graves from Portorecanati provide the only evidence for this phase (PR 114, 117, 122, 144) in all of Marche. These graves are all inhumation burials, and only PR 117 has evidence of any stage other than the interment stage. The assemblages from these four graves suggest that the primary activities of this phase involved the interment of personal items. A silver fibula from PR 117 is the only non-bronze jewelry in the entire cemetery. This suggests
that the tendency to adorn the dead in rich jewelry may have been an earlier practice that
died out in Portorecanati by the first century C.E., at which point all the jewelry adorning
the dead is either iron or bronze. Three of these four early graves also included a single
vessel, although they differ in function: a ceramic unguentarium, an olla and a plate. PR
122, which is dated to the end of the first century B.C.E. is the earliest grave in Marche
attesting the ritual inclusion of a lamp and coin.

Most of the funerary rituals in the cemeteries—like the many interment rituals and
the post-interment rituals at Portorecanati and Urbino—developed during the first century
C.E. and continued throughout the second. There were, however, slight changes that
occurred from one century to the next and so allow for two distinct phases to be
identified: the second and third phases respectively. These changes primarily occur in the
types of vessels that are placed during the interment stage. For instance, throughout the
first century at Portorecanati some graves contained vessel assemblages with five or more
vessels of mixed function while in yet others only single cups or bowls were placed. This
diversity in the number of vessels in each grave—coupled with a diversity in vessel
function—suggests that a variety of interment rituals were practiced during the first
century. Or, at the very least, the same sort of rituals were practiced in a variety of ways,
with some being more elaborate than others. A similar situation is apparent at the Urbino
cemeteries where the vessel assemblages of first century graves tend to be functionally
diverse.

However, during the second century, a shift in the form of the interment rituals is
apparent in all of the cemeteries. This third phase differs slightly from one cemetery to
the next. At Portorecanati this phase is characterized by a decrease in the number of
vessels and the functions of the vessel assemblages. Instead of assemblages with a variety of functions—some for only eating and some for only drinking—the majority of the second century assemblages have a mixed function. This standardization of the vessel assemblages suggests that the rituals themselves became more homogenous in the second century, with rituals involving the placement of bowls and cups together becoming the most common across the cemetery. Also during this period, the rituals of the pre-interment stage changed, with a greater tendency to include food and drink on the pyre during the second century than in the previous phases.

At the Urbino cemeteries a similar shift occurs, but instead of assemblages with a mixed function, unguentaria become the most popular vessels placed in second century graves where they were rarely placed during the first century. This suggests that the anointing of the remains of the deceased became an important interment ritual at the Urbino cemeteries in the second century. This ritual gradually came to dominate the interment rites of the Umbrian cemeteries and characterizes the fourth and final stage. This last stage began sometime at the end of the second or beginning of the third century and is primarily attested by the Umbrian cemeteries, especially Fano. There are only seven graves from San Donato that date to this period and provide an example of how the ritual of interment changed. In four of these graves the ritual of anointing and pouring libations was clearly dominant, as the presence of unguentaria and pitchers attest.

At Fano, where most of the graves date around the third century, these rituals of anointing and libation-pouring occurred in far more graves than the placement of vessels for the consumption of food and drink. This last phase—clearly attested by the Fano cemetery—also saw other transformations in rituals, with lamps no longer playing a role
in the funeral, or at least not a part of the objects placed in the grave. Although coins continued to be placed in the grave, their purpose changed during this last phase. Instead of a single bronze as placed near or on the remains of the deceased, now multiple, high-denomination coins were included in the grave. At all the cemeteries the other stages, like the post-interment stage, remained relatively unchanged during the first two centuries C.E. but completely vanished during the third.

**Picenum and Umbria: Cultural Antecedents**

While the drastic difference between Fano and the other cemeteries can be explained in terms of chronological developments, the same cannot be said for the Urbino and Portorecanati cemeteries. Many of these differences seem to break along regional lines, with Portorecanati and the miscellaneous cemeteries of inner Picenum exhibiting rituals different from those found at the Urbino cemeteries in southern Umbria. In fact each of the pre-interment, interment and post-interment rituals at the cemeteries in these regions differ in varying degrees from each other. Both Umbria and Picenum have rich histories of habitation, and so some of these funerary rituals might stem from pre-Roman Picenian and Umbrian antecedents.

It might help to delve a little deeper into the regional history of southern Umbria and Picenum in an attempt to find cultural differences between the two regions. As was explained in the introduction, the pre-Roman culture of both Umbria and Picenum were greatly affected by the encounters with outside peoples like the Etruscans, Gauls and—at least for Picenum—the Greeks of Magna Graecia. Although it is sometimes difficult to quantify the degree to which these interactions caused outside cultural traditions to
become imbedded within the cultures of Umbria and Picenum, there is little doubt among scholars that some of these traditions were in fact adopted.

Some of the funerary practices of the Etruscans may have been adopted by the Umbrians, even as far away as south-central Umbria. For instance, at the Umbrian cemetery of Plestia, which was used from the ninth to the third centuries B.C.E., the excavators identified the development of the funerary banquet in the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.E. as stemming from growing Etruscan contact. Many of the graves of this period are characterized by the placement of a rich assortment of banqueting material, including bronze and ceramic vessels, as well as wealthy accoutrements of finely worked bronze. For the following centuries, similar grave objects dominate wealthy Umbrian burials.

It is difficult to say how much of this funerary culture persisted in Roman Umbria. A mixture of historical sources and archaeological research suggests that significant pre-Roman settlements existed where the later Roman towns of Urvinum Metaurense and Fanum Fortunae were built. This would suggest that these earlier funerary customs of the Umbrians would have been well-established at these sites, even after the Roman culture came to dominate. However, when one tries to trace earlier customs to these Roman burials, such cultural origins become less tangible. Some comparisons might be drawn between the form of the Iron Age Umbrian burials at Plestia and those found in the later Roman cemeteries of Urbino. For instance, most of the

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209 Bradley 2000, 85-86; Bonomi Ponzi 1997. Plestia is one of the largest pre-Roman Umbrian cemeteries to be excavated and might help to shed light on some of the earlier funerary rites of the region. In the earliest period (Late Bronze Age) both inhumation and cremation burials occurred together, but by the Iron Age inhumation was the primary form of burial. Most of these inhumation burials consisted of a simple stone-lined cist grave.

210 Bradley 2000, 86.

211 See above.
inhumation burials of the Urbino cemeteries are lined-cist graves, similar to those found at the Plestia cemetery. At Portorecanati, in contrast, most of the inhumation burials are either tile, tile-gable or uncovered shaft graves (perhaps a Picenian tradition?). It is difficult to discern any additional similarities between the Roman Umbrian and early Umbrian burial practices. Perhaps if we had earlier graves at the Urbino cemeteries it would be easier to trace such funerary customs.

Despite our inability to explicitly cite Umbrian burial practices that persisted into the Roman period, it certainly appears that the Urbino cemetery was part of a distinctly regional burial culture of Roman Umbria. The *a cassetta* burials, which are ubiquitous at the Urbino cemetery and non-existent at Portorecanati, frequently appear in nearby cemeteries like Gubbio, Voghenza and Rimini. Moreover, just like at the Urbino cemeteries, similar glass bowls and cups were frequently included in the Gubbio graves. Although I cannot apply the same rigorous methods to these cemeteries in order to highlight the different ritual stages, some broad similarities in the rituals practiced at these cemeteries and the Urbino ones can be made. For instance, there is little evidence that post-interment rituals were practiced at the Gubbio cemetery, although some evidence of this practice is evident at the Voghenza cemetery. The similar grave types and the types of objects included in the burials, in addition to the lack of post-interment rituals suggests that these cemeteries share a common funerary tradition; one perhaps originating in pre-Roman Umbria.

Most of what we know of the Piceni before the Roman conquest comes from the rich cemeteries excavated throughout the region. The cemeteries of Novilara and

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212 Cipollone 2000 (Gubbio), Ortalli 2001 (Cispadana region).
213 Dell’Orto 2001, 85.
Numana Sirolo, which date from the ninth to the fourth centuries B.C.E. provide a glimpse of the funerary culture of the ancient Piceni. In many ways they are similar to those of the Umbrians at Plestia, with evidence of banqueting in the form of ceramic and bronze vessels. However, the graves of the men are especially noteworthy for the ubiquity of weapons and other martial paraphernalia.214

It is important to note, however, that unlike Urbino and Fano, Portorecanati does not appear to have as ancient of roots as these Umbrian sites.215 In fact, the graves at Portorecanati exhibit closer ties to graves at cemeteries near the city of Rome and farther south than to any early Picenian cemeteries. For instance, just like at Portorecanati, the graves of Musarna, located just northwest of Rome, are primarily tile and tile-gable graves. Also like Portorecanati, a number of these graves contain numerous ceramic vessels and the only glass vessels tend to be unguentaria.216 Similar grave types appear at other southern Italian cemeteries like Vagnari, in Apulia.217 Moreover, both Portorecanati and Musarna contain a significant number of ad bustum cremations.218 Again, however, it is difficult to analyze the rituals of these other cemeteries in an attempt to connect them to Portorecanati. Nevertheless, the similarity in the grave types and the types of objects used in the graves might suggest that they share a common funerary culture.

This brief foray into the possible regional origins of the different funerary rituals at the Urbino and Portorecanati cemeteries has posed more questions than it has answered. There are just too many issues that have not yet been addressed in the

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214 Ibid. 86.
215 Percossi 2012 explores the Republican and pre-Roman roots of Potentia.
218 Interestingly, this form of burial is more associated with northern Italian cemeteries, which suggests possible Gallic antecedents.
scholarship of Roman burial rituals in Italy, especially with regards to regional trends. There is no doubt that the Urbino and Portorecanati cemeteries exhibit different funerary rituals, the most significant of which is the different post-interment rituals. When post-interment rituals occurred at the Urbino cemeteries, they most often involved the anointing of the grave and/or the placement of a lamp on the cover. In contrast, the placement of food and drink—or the ritual consumption of it—characterizes the more frequently occurring post-interment rituals of Portorecanati. Additional regional differences are apparent in the manner in which the dead were adorned: in the Umbrian cemeteries the deceased were richly adorned, but at Portorecanati the dead were only occasionally adorned in bronze or iron jewelry.

It is possible that these ritual differences derived from earlier, regional practices; the long pre-Roman traditions might have allowed for Umbrian antecedents to more easily persist into Roman Urvinum Metaurense and Fanum Fortunae. The same cannot be said for Potentia, which was colonized by Roman veterans, who brought with them a western Italian funerary custom, which blended with the Picenian customs, which themselves had been greatly influenced by the southern Italian customs of Magna Graecia.

**Identifying the Dead**

The final question that naturally needs to be asked is who the people buried in the cemeteries were? As previously discussed in Chapter 3, the age and sex of relatively few individuals were determinable. With only 17 individuals identified at Portorecanati and none at the miscellaneous cemeteries, any sort of demographic information from the Picenian cemeteries would obviously be skewed. This leaves us with the Urbino
cemeteries, in which the physical remains were more extensively studied. It appears that men are slightly more represented than females in the cemeteries, with children and neonates significantly under-represented; especially given the probably high infant mortality rate of the period.\footnote{At the Urbino cemeteries, considering all of the graves including those damaged and not included in this study, 21 females and 24 males were identified. For an introductory discussion on demographical studies in classical archaeology see Morris 1992, 70-102.} A similar phenomenon has been recorded a numerous Roman period cemeteries and, indeed, cemeteries from throughout antiquity.\footnote{Rébillard 2008; see Carroll 2011 for a discussion of infant and children burials in Roman Italy.} These results suggest that, like other regions in the Roman world, infants and children were only infrequently buried in cemeteries of Marche.

It is no easy task to extrapolate the social status of those buried from the graves. If the quality of the graves were to be used as an indicator of the wealth of those buried then the graves in these cemeteries represent a broad swath of society, with some buried in simple uncovered graves with no accompanying goods and others adorned in gold and silver jewelry and buried in marble-covered graves. However, it has been convincingly shown that the graves and their contents are not necessarily accurate representations of the economic status of the deceased.\footnote{See Chapter 2 and 4 for more discussion on this topic in relation to the Marche cemeteries.} Without a better method, not much can be said as to the social status of those buried beyond the fact that many of the deceased—especially those who were adorned in gold and silver jewelry—certainly had at least some form of disposable income and so were not destitute.

The anthropological analysis of the human remains at the Urbino cemetery help to shed some light on the lives of those buried. Remarkably, it was discovered that 89% of the adults identified had at least one bone lesion, which could have been caused by a
number of factors including arthritis, infections, trauma, and dietary deficiencies.\textsuperscript{222} Twenty-one percent of the adults buried at the Urbino cemeteries experienced some form of trauma, from blunt-force trauma to blade wounds; a rate that is relatively high for similar populations during the Roman era.\textsuperscript{223} This and the high rate of other lesions caused by arthritis suggests that the lives of those buried were strenuous. It seems likely that those buried at Urbino worked as farmers or had similar vocations where intense physical labor was the norm. It is possible that those buried at Portorecanati, whose graves exhibit similarities to the burials at Urbino, were of a similar social status.\textsuperscript{224}

**Conclusion**

There is no wonder why cemeteries have so long been an attractive source of information for scholars seeking to understand the cultural, religious and social landscape of the Roman world. The assortment of objects from coins to the ceramic vessels were imbued with the significative meanings of the rituals of which they were a part and can theoretically be used to retrieve the form of the rituals themselves. This, at least, served as the premise of this thesis, as I attempted to use the excavated material—the figurative bread crumbs—to not only retrace the actions of the mourners but to organize these actions into distinct groups. These groupings—the occasions at which objects could enter the grave—have proven to be a useful method for systematically organizing the disparate objects. They proved to be broad enough to encompass most of the actions involved

\textsuperscript{222} Paine et al. 2009, 193-194. The lack of similarly rigorous analysis at other Roman Italian cemeteries makes any comparisons of the quality of life between those at Urbino and elsewhere in the Roman world very difficult. \textsuperscript{223} Ibid. 197. \textsuperscript{224} Indeed Ramadori 2001 thought that the Potentians were citizen farmers.
immediately before, during and after the burial. In isolation, each stage represents a
temporal and physical point at which distinct ritual actions occurred.

It might help, as a summation, to enumerate the different actions that make up
each of these stages. Pre-interment rituals could be as simple as preparing the body for
burial and, for cremation burials, the cremation of the body without any accompanying
goods being placed on the pyre. Alternatively the mourners could adorn the deceased in
jewelry and/or anoint the remains as they lay on the pyre. The most extensive pre-
interment rituals also called for the inclusion of bowls and plates full of nuts and fruit to
be burnt alongside the deceased.

Interment rituals in Marche were the most varied and could be as simple as
burying the deceased, uncovered, in a plain cist grave with no accompanying ritual
actions taken. From this simple form of burial arises numerous variations, listed below in
ascending order from the least to greatest number of ritual actions:

1. Include personal items within the grave.
2. Place a coin, often by itself but occasionally in addition to personal items.
3. Place a lamp, only rarely by itself, instead often in addition to a personal item or
   occasionally a coin.
4. Anoint the remains of the deceased and/or pour libations and leave the vessels in the
   grave during the interment stage.
5. The mourners could anoint the deceased and/or pour libations in addition to doing
   one of the following:
   i) Place personal items in the grave.
   ii) Place a coin in the grave.
iii) Place a lamp in the grave.

iv) Place a lamp and coin in the grave.

6. Place vessels for food or drink (maybe after consuming some of it themselves) within the grave. Only occasionally was this accompanied by the anointing of the remains of the deceased.

7. The mourners could place vessels for food or drink in addition to doing one of the following:

i) Place a personal item(s) in the grave.

ii) Place a coin in the grave.

iii) Place a lamp in the grave.

iv) Place a coin and a lamp in the grave.

The rituals that happened after the interment of the deceased were much less varied and occurred far less often than the previous ones. Post-interment rituals could be as simple as the placement of a single lamp or unguentarium (especially at the Urbino cemeteries) or a single cup or bowl (Portorecanati) or they could be as complex as all four of these actions done together. The post-funeral rituals are much less difficult to determine. Without having excavated the original surface level of the graves, we don’t know if any funerary feasts occurred at the sites. The libation devices and presence of objects within some of them do, however, indicate that the propitiatory libations could have been poured, possibly during one of the commemorative events.

When each of these stages—and the various actions that constitute each stage—are analyzed together, in the aggregate, one gets an idea of the larger rituals of burial in Roman Marche. As was discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, most burials only consisted of
rituals of interment, which varied from one cemetery to the next (Graph 19). The remaining graves attest to different combinations of rituals. During a significant number of burials from each cemetery, some form of pre-interment and interment rituals were practiced. Occasionally, especially at Portorecanati, burials consisted of both interment and post-interment rituals. Lastly—primarily during the first three chronological phases—commemorative rites were practiced at the site of many graves in Marche.

That is not to say that the method of dividing the material into these five occasions does not have its faults. Firstly, the method is only as good as the techniques of excavation and, often more importantly, the quality of the recording and cataloging of the objects and their location within the graves. If attention is not paid to the disposition of the objects then these groupings become useless. Secondly, the differentiation between the interment and post-interment stages can very easily become elided, with the difference between objects from one stage and the other often only being the placement of a tile cover. It is sometimes difficult to say for certain if the two stages were indeed perceived as separate rituals by the mourners (the actors) themselves. It might be that in some cases it was only a matter of the mourners off-handedly deciding to place the objects—which they had used during the interment stage—outside the cover.

This brings up the last cautionary assessment of this method: interpreting the meanings behind the actions of the mourners. The death of a loved one in Roman Marche was just as emotionally shattering as it is today. The manner in which the mourners disposed of the body was certainly shaped by the broader culturally—and probably regionally—defined customs. This fact alone allows for this sort of study to take place since there is a certain degree of homogeneity in the actions of a funeral that can be
traced from one grave to the next. However, the personal proclivities of mourners, the
unique desires of the deceased and the small anachronisms inherent in any human action
are impossible factors to take into account.

Some questions still remain unanswered, either because they were outside the
scope of this paper or because there was not sufficient information at hand. For instance,
although chronological developments in the rituals were determined, no topographical
patterns emerged when I mapped the graves that attested similar rituals. Instead, graves in
which similar rituals were practiced appear scattered throughout the cemeteries, rather
than clustered together as one might imagine. Perhaps further analysis of the landscape of
each cemetery would help to elucidate this phenomenon. Another issue that ought to be
addressed is the relationship between grave types and the rituals practiced. In Chapter 3 I
showed that tile-gable graves were far more likely to have evidence of post-interment
rituals than any other grave type. However, it remains to be seen whether this represents a
significant relationship or simply a coincidence.

It is with this inevitable feeling of incompleteness in mind that this study of the
burial rituals of Roman Marche concludes. There is no doubt that the peoples of Potentia,
Urvinum Metarense and Fanum Fortunae shared many ritual customs, although each
seems to have had their own particular variations. The rituals unique to Fano can be
explained by the later date of the cemetery and probably represent changing burial
practices in third-century Marche. The differences in the other cemeteries are more
difficult to define. Centuries of cultural interactions, forced immigrations of entire
peoples and the eventual conquering of the region by the Romans have left Umbria and
Picenum a confluence of traditions. Although it might be impossible to disentangle the
quagmire of earlier cultural influences, this study has shown that the Roman funerary customs in this region involved a complex and diverse collection of rituals. Hopefully future research in Roman funerary rituals in the Italian peninsula will help to further contextualize these diverse rites.
Appendix I: Grave Objects in Marche, Italy

The following appendix is a comprehensive list of the objects found in the graves in the Marche cemeteries discussed in this thesis. It is organized by the types of objects, from ceramics and glass to lamps and personal items, in the expectation that the tables and brief descriptions of the types of objects will help to contextualize the information presented in the previous chapters. It is not my intention to provide a comprehensive study of the grave objects themselves, which would require not only access to the items but also far more time than is allotted for this thesis.

Ceramics:

The vast majority of the ceramic vessels from the Marche graves are of local manufacture, with a reddish fabric and varying sizes of inclusions from small to large (for description of the fabrics cf. Mercando’s excavation reports). Rarely were terra sigillata vessels found in any of the cemeteries, with Portorecanati containing the most examples (Table 3). Parallels for all the ceramic types can be found in Vallet 2009, 112-123 (Musarna) and Cipollone 2000, 331-342 (Gubbio).

Mercando distinguished between fine and coarseware vessels in each of the Marche cemeteries. The former includes the thin-walled vases predominant at Portorecanati and which only occasionally appear in the Urbino cemeteries. These vases could be either undecorated or embellished with incised or barbotine decoration. Other fine-ware vessels include the thin-walled, one-handled and two-handled cups that appear in both the Urbino and Portorecanati cemeteries. All of the one-handled cups were left undecorated, but the two-handled ones frequently have barbotine decoration. Also in this group are the occasional thin-walled bowls, which appear more often in the Urbino
cemeteries than at Portorecanati. The most frequently appearing fine-ware vessels are the ollae and somewhat larger ollae, which were found in all of the Marche cemeteries. These vessels range in size from 7 to just over 10 cm tall.

The coarse-ware vessels include the plates, bowls (thicker-walled) and pitchers of local manufacture. A variety of different types of amphorae appear in the Marche cemeteries. Monsieur 2007 compiled a list of the different types at the Portorecanati cemetery and how they were used in the entire cemetery.

**Portorecanati**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Pr-I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>P-I</th>
<th>P-F</th>
<th>Misc./Unkn.</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amphora</td>
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<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>One-Handled Cup</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-Handled Cup</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla/Olletta</td>
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<td>1**</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2***</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total # of Vessels</strong></td>
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<td><strong>151</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>229</strong></td>
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Table 1: Types of ceramic vessels. Pr-I: pre-interment stage. I: interment stage. P-I: post-interment stage. P-F: post-funeral stage. Misc./Unkn.: miscellaneous graves/unknown stage.

*Oinochoe (3), platter (1), lagynos (1), incense burner (1), basin (1) and stewpot (1)
**Askos
***kantharos (1), incense burner (1)

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<tr>
<th>Types of Vessels</th>
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<th># Graves</th>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>Flanged Bowl</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>One-Handled Cup</td>
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Table 2: Frequency of ceramic types at Portorecanati

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<tr>
<td>Flanged/footed Plate</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unguentarium</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
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<td>17</td>
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Table 3: Terra sigillata vessels at Portorecanati

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Table 4: Types of ceramic vessels at Bivio della Croce dei Missionari

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*Basin (1)  **Beaker (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Vessels</th>
<th>#</th>
<th># Graves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amphora</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Flanged Bowl  2  2
One-Handled Cup  7  6
Two-Handled Cup  7  3
Olla/Olletta  9  9
Pitcher  10  9
Plate  11  7
Flanged/footed Plate  0  0
Unguentarium  0  0
Vase  3  3
Other  2  2

Table 5: Frequency of ceramic types at Bivio

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terra Sigillata Type</th>
<th># Vessels</th>
<th>Grave #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dragendorff 24/25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragendorff 17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragendorff 15/17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragendorff 18/31</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragendorff 31</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragendorff 35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragendorff 36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragendorff 46</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Terra sigillata vessels at Bivio

**San Donato**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Vessels</th>
<th>Pr-I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>P-I</th>
<th>P-F</th>
<th>Misc/Unkn</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amphora</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanged Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-Handled Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-Handled Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla/Olletta</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitcher</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanged/footed Plate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguentarium</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td>1*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total # of Vessels</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Types of ceramic vessels at San Donato

*Flask (1)
Table 8: Frequency of ceramic types at San Donato

**Fano**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Vessels</th>
<th>Pr-I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>P-I</th>
<th>P-F</th>
<th>Misc/Unkn</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amphora</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanged Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-Handled Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-Handled Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla/Olletta</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitcher</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanged/footed Plate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguentarium</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total # of Vessels</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Types of ceramic vessels at Fano

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Vessels</th>
<th>#</th>
<th># Graves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amphora</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanged Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-Handled Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-Handled Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla/Olletta</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitcher</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanged/footed Plate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguentarium</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Frequency of ceramic types at Fano
Miscellaneous Graves: San Vittore di Cingoli, Pergola and Piane di Falerone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Pr-I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>P-I</th>
<th>P-F</th>
<th>Misc/Unkn</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amphora</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanged Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-Handled Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-Handled Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla/Olletta</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitcher</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanged/footed Plate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguentarium</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total # of Vessels</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: Types of ceramic vessels at the miscellaneous cemeteries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Vessels</th>
<th>#</th>
<th># Graves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amphora</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanged Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-Handled Cup</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-Handled Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla/Olletta</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitcher</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanged/footed Plate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguentarium</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Frequency of ceramic types at the miscellaneous cemeteries

Conclusion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Vessels</th>
<th>PR</th>
<th>BCM</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Misc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amphora</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanged Bowl</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-Handled Cup</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-Handled Cup</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla/Olletta</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitcher</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 13: Types of ceramic vessels at the Marche cemeteries. Notice that there are far more different types of ceramic vessels at Portorecanati than at the cemeteries in Umbria. Thin-walled vases in particular appear frequently at Portorecanati but only rarely at the Urbino cemeteries and not at all at Fano.

**Glass**

Most of the glass vessels are colorless with varying degrees of green, blue and white. The vast majority of the glass vessels from the Marche cemeteries are candlestick unguentaria. In 1990, G. de Tommaso compiled a catalogue of all the different types of glass unguentaria found in Roman Italy, from which I have compiled the table below, providing a list of these different types of unguentaria found in the Marche and some of the graves in which they were found (Table 14). All of these are common types found throughout the Italian peninsula. For similar glass vessels from other Italian cemeteries, see Rébillard 2009 (Musarna) and—especially for comparanda for the Urbino cemeteries—see Cipollone 2000 (Gubbio).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>de Tommaso Type</th>
<th>Portorecanati</th>
<th>Urbino</th>
<th>Fano</th>
<th>Misc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 7</td>
<td>PR 134</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 10</td>
<td></td>
<td>BCM 15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Piane F. t. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 31</td>
<td></td>
<td>SD 70, 74</td>
<td>F11, 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 32</td>
<td></td>
<td>BCM 41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 33</td>
<td>PR 12, 17, 203,</td>
<td>BCM 11,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60, 61, 64,</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>66, 86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 34</td>
<td>PR 10, 55, 125,</td>
<td>BCM 50,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>132, 274, 305</td>
<td>53, 58, 66,</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 35</td>
<td>PR 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BCM 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 41</td>
<td>PR 134</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14: De Tommaso types of glass unguentaria in the Marche cemeteries. The graves listed are examples, not a comprehensive list of all the graves containing particular types of unguentaria.

Portorecanati

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Pr-I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>P-I</th>
<th>P-F</th>
<th>Misc/Unkn</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaker</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>Flask</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juglet</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>85</td>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Types of glass vessels at Portorecanati (figs. 39 and 40 for the beaker and flask, which were the only non-unguentarium glass vessels at Portorecanati)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>#</th>
<th># Graves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aryballos</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flask</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juglet</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguentarium</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 16: Frequency of glass vessel types at Portorecanati

**Urbino**

**Bivio della Croce dei Missionari**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Pr-I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>P-I</th>
<th>P-F</th>
<th>Misc/Unkn</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aryballos</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaker</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flask</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juglet</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguentarium</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total # Vessels** | **20** | **59** | **12** | **0** | **0** | **91**

Table 17: Types of glass vessels at Bivio.

**San Donato**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>#</th>
<th># Graves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aryballos</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flask</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juglet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguentarium</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Frequency of glass vessel types at Bivio
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>#</th>
<th># Graves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aryballos</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flask</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juglet</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguentarium</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Frequency of glass vessel types at San Donato

**Fano**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Pr-I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>P-I</th>
<th>P-F</th>
<th>Misc/Unkn</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aryballos</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flask</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juglet</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguentarium</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total # Vessels</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 21: Types of glass vessels at Fano

*Baby Feeder (1)
Table 22: Frequency of glass vessel types at Fano

Miscellaneous Graves: San Vittore di Cingoli, Pergola and Piane di Falerone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Pr-I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>P-I</th>
<th>P-F</th>
<th>Misc/Unkn</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aryballos</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaker</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flask</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juglet</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguentarium</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total # Vessels</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23: Types of glass vessels at the miscellaneous graves
*Bab Feeder (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>#</th>
<th># Graves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aryballos</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaker</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flask</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juglet</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olla</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguentarium</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vase</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24: Frequency of glass vessel types at the miscellaneous graves

Conclusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>PR</th>
<th>BCM</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Fano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aryballos</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Flask  1  0  6  10
Juglet  0  1  5  1
Olla  0  0  2  1
Plate  0  4  2  0
Unguentarium  85  73  25  5
Vase  0  1  0  1
Other  0  0  0  1

Table 25: Frequency of glass vessel types in the Marche cemeteries. Note that the Umbrian cemeteries have many more types of glass vessels. At Portorecanati, glass is primarily reserved for unguentaria. This is clearly not the case at the other cemeteries.

**Lamps**

The tables below follow the same organization as those for ceramic and glass vessels. All of the lamps are mold-made and contain a variety of images formed on its discus with themes ranging from gods and goddesses to erotic and images of animals. For more information on the different themes see the original excavation reports of each cemetery; Mercando provided tables, organized by the types of images for all the lamps excavated. For the lamps excavated at Portorecanati see also Ramadori 2001 in which the author discusses lamps in terms of both the figural themes and their spatial distribution across the entire cemetery. Lamps are only found at the Portorecanati and Urbino cemeteries.

**Portorecanati**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Pr-I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>P-I</th>
<th>P-F</th>
<th>Misc/Unkn</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td>3*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>56</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Vogelkopflampen (2), Hellenistic (1)
### Urbino

**Bivio della Croce dei Missionari**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>#</th>
<th># Graves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 9</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 21</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 27: Frequency of lamp types at Portorecanati

---

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Pr-I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>P-I</th>
<th>P-F</th>
<th>Misc/Unkn</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 5</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 9</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 11</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 21</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>Other</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28: Types of lamps at Bivio.

*Unknown (1), Bailey II, Q 967 (BCM 11; also found in PR 123)

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>#</th>
<th># Graves</th>
</tr>
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<td>15</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Dressel 9</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dressel 19</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dressel 21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29: Frequency of lamp types at Bivio.

---

**San Donato**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Pr-I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>P-I</th>
<th>P-F</th>
<th>Misc/Unkn</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 5</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 9</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 30: Types of lamps at San Donato

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>#</th>
<th># Graves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 31: Frequency of lamp types at San Donato

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>PR</th>
<th>BCM</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 9</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressel 21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 32: Types of lamps at the Marche cemeteries. Notice that at the Portorecanati and Urbino cemeteries certain lamp types are more frequent (Dressel 9 at Portorecanati and Dressel 5 at the Urbino cemeteries).

Personal Items: Marche Cemeteries (fig. 41 for bronze tools)

In many cases the kinds of personal items (like seashells, knucklebones and bronze objects like mirrors) are now quite fragmentary and the recording of their presence within the grave was also quite cursory. Because of this, instead of comparing the number of objects from each cemetery, the graph below illustrates the number of graves in which different types of personal items appear. The objects are organized into three different groups: personal (including personal belongings or other non-jewelry), jewelry, and clothes (for objects attesting the presence of clothing). Because most of the personal objects were placed in the grave during the interment stage (cf chapter three), the graph does not take into account the five occasions of deposition. Rather, the
cemeteries are presented together, so that comparisons can be made in the appearance of specific types of personal items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th># PR Graves</th>
<th># BCM Graves</th>
<th># SD Graves</th>
<th># F Graves</th>
<th># Misc Graves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone Needle</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knucklebone</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirror</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seashell</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strigil</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tool</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapon</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td>2****</td>
<td>1******</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1*******</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jewelry</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armband</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bracelet</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earring</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass Beads</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necklace</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ring</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1**</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clothing</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Button</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belt Plate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fibula</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2***</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1******</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 33: Types of personal items at the Marche cemeteries.
*Iron Key, Figurine
** Bronze pendant
*** Hobnails, Bronze pins
**** Bronze bell, clay weights (BCM 11), carved bone container and game set (BCM 13)
***** Clay weight (SD 54)
****** Hairpin (18)
******* Game set (grave 5 Cingoli Macerata)
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**Graphs**

**Graph 1:** The 116 graves with the interment Stage organized by types of goods
1: Graves with only personal items
2: Graves with Lamps and no vessels or coins
3: Graves with Coins and no vessels
4: Graves with vessels containing or pouring liquids
5: Graves vessels for eating and drinking

**Graph 2:** Group 3 further subdivided
1: Coins with personal items
2: Coins with lamps
3: Coins by themselves
**Graph 3:** Group 4 further subdivided.
1: Vessels only with personal items
2: Vessels with lamps
3: Vessels with coins
4: Vessels with coins and lamps
5: Vessels Only

**Graph 4:** Group 1 further subdivided.
1: Vessels only with personal items
2: Vessels with lamps
3: Vessels with coins
4: Vessels with coins and lamps
5: Vessels only
Graph 5: The Five occasions at Portorecanati
1: pre-interment and interment stage
2: interment stage alone
3: post-interment alone and with interment stage
4: post-funeral and interment stage
5: miscellaneous
There are also 5 graves in which the stages were not able to be determined

Graph 6: The 60 graves with the interment Stage organized by types of goods
1: Graves with only personal items
2: Graves with Lamps and no vessels or coins
3: Graves with Coins and no vessels
4: Graves with vessels containing or pouring liquids
5: Graves vessels for eating and drinking
**Graph 7:** Group 3 further subdivided
1: Coins with personal items
2: Coins with lamps
3: Coins by themselves

**Graph 8:** Group 4 further subdivided.
1: Vessels only with personal items
2: Vessels with lamps
3: Vessels with coins
4: Vessels with coins and lamps
5: Vessels Only
**Graph 9:** Group 5 further subdivided.
1: Vessels only with personal items
2: Vessels with lamps
3: Vessels with coins
4: Vessels with coins and lamps
5: Vessels Only

**Graph 10:** Five Occasions at the Bivio Cemetery
1: Graves with pre-interment and interment stage
2: Graves with only interment stage
3: Graves with post-interment stage
4: Graves with post-funeral stage
5: Miscellaneous
Graph 11: The 53 graves with the interment Stage organized by types of goods
1: Graves with only personal items
2: Graves with Lamps and no vessels or coins
3: Graves with Coins and no vessels
4: Graves with vessels containing or pouring liquids
5: Graves vessels for eating and drinking

Graph 12: Group 3 further subdivided
1: Coins with personal items
2: Coins with lamps
3: Coins by themselves
**Graph 13:** Group 4 further subdivided.
1: Vessels only with personal items
2: Vessels with lamps
3: Vessels with coins
4: Vessels with coins and lamps
5: Vessels Only

**Graph 14:** Group 5 further subdivided.
1: Vessels only with personal items
2: Vessels with lamps
3: Vessels with coins
4: Vessels with coins and lamps
5: Vessels Only
**Graph 15:** Five Occasions at the San Donato Cemetery  
1: Graves with pre-interment and interment stage  
2: Graves with only interment stage  
3: Graves with post-interment stage  
4: Graves with post-funeral stage  
5: Miscellaneous  
There is also 1 grave in which the stages were not able to be determined

**Graph 16:** The 17 graves with the interment stage organized by types of goods  
1: Graves with only personal items  
2: Graves with vessels for containing and pouring liquid  
3: Graves vessels for eating and drinking
**Graph 17**: Group 2 at Fano subdivided
1: Vessels only with personal items
2: Vessels with lamps
3: Vessels with coins
4: Vessels with coins and lamps
5: Vessels Only

**Graph 18**: Five Occasions at the Fano Cemetery; grouped by combination of occasions
1: Graves with pre-interment and interment stage
2: Graves with only interment stage
3: Graves with post-interment stage
4: Graves with post-funeral stage
5: Miscellaneous
**Graph 19:** Each cemetery organized into the combinations of the Five Occasions.
1: Pre-interment and interment
2: Interment only
3: Post-interment alone and with interment
4: Post-funeral and interment
5: Miscellaneous

**Graph 20:** The interment Stage at each cemetery organized by types of goods
1: Graves with only personal items
2: Graves with Lamps and no vessels or coins
3: Graves with Coins and no vessels
4: Graves with vessels for pouring libations or anointing
5: Graves vessels for eating and drinking
**Graph 21:** Group 5 at the cemeteries
1: Vessels only with personal items
2: Vessels with lamps
3: Vessels with coins
4: Vessels with coins and lamps
5: Vessels Only

**Graph 22:** Group 4 at all cemeteries
1: Vessels only with personal items
2: Vessels with lamps
3: Vessels with coins
4: Vessels with coins and lamps
5: Vessels Only
**Figures**

*Figure 1*: Map of Roman Italy, with Regio V (Picenum) and VI (Umbria). Black line roughly represents modern Marche, Italy (adapted from http://www.mitchellteachers.org/WorldHistory/AncientRome.html).
**Figure 2:** Location of cemeteries. (Top to bottom, left to right): Urbino (Urvinum Metaurense), Fano (Fanum Fortunae), Pergola, Cingulum (San Vittore di Cingoli), Portorecanati (Potentia), Piane di Falerone (Falerio) (Perna 2012 fig. 28, 411).

**Figure 3:** Flow diagram representing the processes intermediate between funerary activities and the archaeological recovery of mortuary traces (adapted from O’Shea 1984, fig. 2.1, 27).
Figure 4: Location of Northern Cemetery of Portorecanati in relation to settlement of Potentia (cemetery in diagonal-lined box at top) (adapted from Vermeulen 2012, fig. 1, 341).
Figure 5: Plan of the Northern Cemetery (adapted from Percossi Serenelli 2001, fig. 38).
Figure 6: Map of Urbino (outlined) and location of the Bivio cemetery (1) and the San Donato cemetery (2) along the road marked by black line (adapted from Mercando 1982, fig. 1, 111).
Figure 7: Bivio Cemetery (adapted from Mercando 1982, fig. 3, 122-123)
Figure 8: Plan of San Donato Cemetery (adapted from Mercando 1982, fig. 107, 240-241).
Figure 9: Detail of central portion of San Donato (adapted from Mercando 1982, figure 107, 240-241).

Figure 10: Fano cemetery (circle) in relation to city of Fano itself (adapted from Mercando 1970, fig. 1, 209).
Figure 11: Plan of Fano cemetery (adapted from Mercando 1970, fig. 2, 210).

Figure 12: Location of graves excavated at San Vittore di Cingoli (shaded region) (Adapted from Mercando 1972a, fig. 20, 104).
Figure 13: Location of graves excavated at Pergola (shaded region along “strada Provinciale”) (adapted from Mercando 1972a, fig. 2, 90).

Figure 14: Location of graves excavated at Piane di Falerone (shaded area near ‘A’) (adapted from Mercando 1972a, fig. 63, 168).
Figure 15: Marble relief from Amiternum. The deceased lies on the bier, proceeded by hired musicians and mourners (Toynbee 1971, fig. 11, 30).

Figure 16: Map of finds of dates in Roman cemeteries in Northern Italy, note the concentration of the find spots in the five sites south of the Po river (Rottoli and Castiglioni 2011, fig. 6, 502).