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# Cremation among the Lucanians\*

MAURIZIO GUALTIERI

(Pls. 59–60)

## Abstract

The excavation of a Classical cemetery at Roccagloriosa in Lucania has provided evidence for some unusual burials with funerary pyres. The practice of cremation is discussed in connection with representations on vases, and heroic overtones are suggested.

The available archaeological evidence indicates that cremation was not a major burial practice among the Italic populations of Southern Italy,<sup>1</sup> and it certainly was of secondary importance in the Greek colonies along the coast of Magna Graecia in the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>2</sup> The presence, however, of *ustrina* (the charred remains of pyres, sometimes with burial in situ or, more often, with secondary cremation burials) in such areas as Samnitic Capua,<sup>3</sup> Lucanian Paestum<sup>4</sup> and the hinterland of Metaponto<sup>5</sup> points to the growing popularity of cremation during the fourth century B.C. It is, therefore, of special interest to examine the evidence for a peculiar kind of cremation adopted in the course of the second half of the fourth century B.C. at Roccagloriosa in western Lucania (ca. 30 miles SE of Paestum).<sup>6</sup>

The La Scala cemetery at Roccagloriosa, at least the part which has so far been explored, was situated

in a natural saddle of the Capitenali crest and limited to the east by a precipitous drop (pl. 59, fig. 1). The scattered trench graves covered with tile roofs occupied a wide, flat area. At the north and south ends of the central area, near the rock defining the "saddle," two walls of limestone blocks separated the two extremities of the "saddle" from the rest of the necropolis (ill. 1). The enclosure at the northern end, formed by a line of squared blocks set in two courses, contained the remains of two large pyres, T. 23 and T. 25 (pl. 59, fig. 2); the central part of each was covered by a cist of limestone blocks (ill. 2). The cremation in T. 25 (set just in front of chamber tomb 24, with some blocks of the latter still bearing traces of burning) may have included a funeral bed or wooden coffin decorated with gilded terracottas of Tarentine type (pl. 59, figs. 3–4).<sup>7</sup> The offerings, set on the pyre or in the area around it, included a variety of vases and a group of metal objects among which are six iron spits and an iron fire-dog (pl. 59, fig. 5). A lekane and black glaze salt cellars date the burial to the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.

About a meter west of T. 25, remains of a similar, slightly larger burial (T. 23; ca. 3.5 × 4.0 m.) may be

\* A version of this article was presented at the 82nd General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in New Orleans, December 1980. The following abbreviations are used:

*Antiche Civiltà Lucane* *Atti del Convegno di Studi, Oppido Lucano, 5–8 Aprile 1970* (Galatina 1975).  
*Atti Taranto* (followed by serial number and year) *Atti del Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* (Taranto).  
*EVP* J.D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting* (Oxford 1946).

<sup>1</sup> For a general discussion of the problem, see G. Davies, "Burials in Italy up to Augustus," in R. Reece ed., *Burial in the Roman World* (CBA Report 22, London 1977) 13–15. Also, *DarSag* s.v. Funus, 1366–1409.

<sup>2</sup> Good discussions of the typology of cremation burials found in the cemetery of a Greek colony in South Italy are in P. Orsi, "Locri Epizephirii-Necropoli Lucifero," *NSc* 1911, Suppl., 3–5; *NSc* 1913, Suppl., 47; *NSc* 1917, 160; "Megara Hyblaea-La Necropoli," *MonAnt* 1 (1889) 773–74. Also instructive in showing a general increase in cremation burials and *ustrina* during the late fourth-third century is the preliminary report on the Hellenistic necropolis at Reggio Calabria: E. Galli, *NSc* 1942, 166–234 (see his fig. 3 for a plan of the excavated burials). The growing use of cremation in the third century is well documented in various areas of Central and South Italy: for the Esquiline

cemetery in Rome and some burials at Palestrina and Tuscolo, see *Roma Medio Repubblicana - Aspetti Culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei secoli IV e III a.C.* (catalogue of the exhibition, Rome 1973) 188–96 (Esquiline), 270–72 (Palestrina), 305–307 (Tuscolo).

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to W. Johannowsky for this information.

<sup>4</sup> A. Greco Pontrandolfo, *DialAr* n.s. 2 (1979) 46.

<sup>5</sup> J. Coleman Carter, personal communication. To be considered, although strictly speaking outside the area of Magna Graecia, is the evidence from the hinterland of Gela reported by P. Orlandini, *ArchCl* 20 (1968) 152–54, with statistical table showing the relative frequency of the two rituals.

<sup>6</sup> A preliminary report on the 1976–77 excavations is in *NSc* 22 (1978) 383–421; see also the preliminary report of the 1978 season, including a general description and plan of T. 23 and T. 25, *NSc* 24 (1980) 103–109. For some general comments on the cremation burials, see *Expedition* 22 (Spring 1980) 41–42. For a general description of the site, see D. Ridgway, *JHS-AR* 1981–82 (forthcoming).

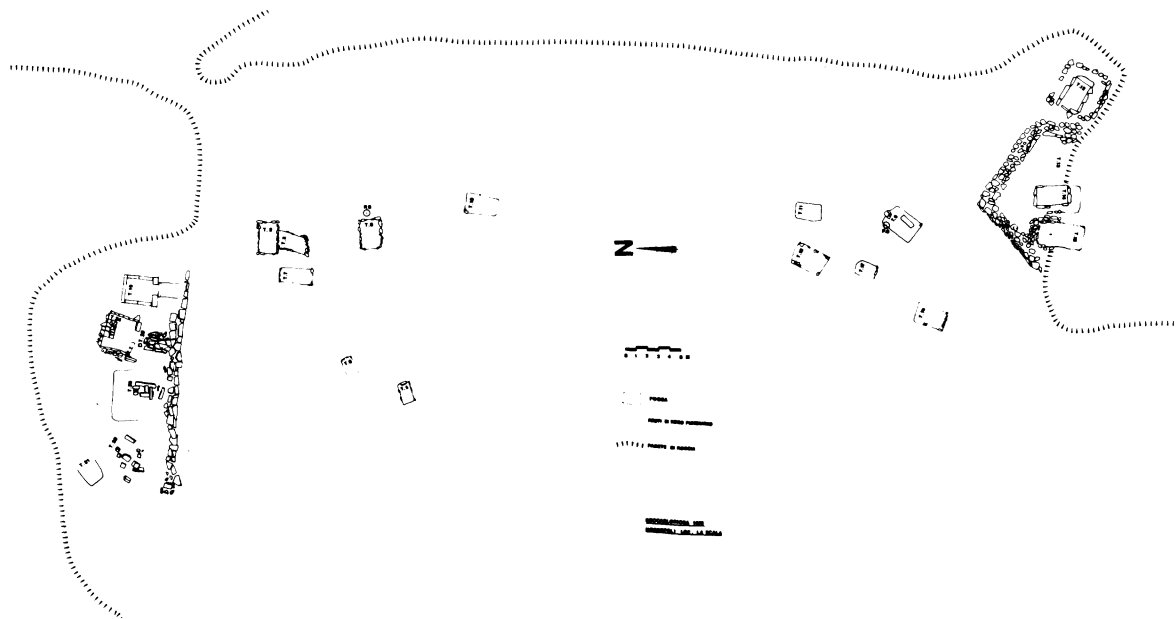
<sup>7</sup> R. Lullies, *Vergoldete Terrakotta Appliken aus Tarent* (*RömMitt* EH 17, 1962) pl. 3; considering their quality, the Roccagloriosa pieces may well be imports directly from Taras. For finds of similar terracottas in funerary contexts, see R. Bartoccini, *NSc* 1936, 131 (from Taranto); Greco Pontrandolfo (supra n. 4) 48–49 (from Paestum).

used to infer further details of the cremation ritual. Two large coarse ware amphorae found at the north-eastern corner of the cist (pl. 59, fig. 6; pl. 60, fig. 7) probably held water to put out the fire at the end of the cremation ritual.<sup>8</sup> In addition, the cist that lay on the central part of the charred remains of the pyre appears to have been built to protect the bones found within it, since the offerings were found scattered throughout the area around the cist. They included a bronze belt with zoomorphic clasp and a bovine head rhyton (pl. 60, fig. 8), together with other standard types of vases which date the burial to the second half of the fourth century.

In the enclosure at the southern end of the cemetery area, the remains of a large pyre (T. 13) between the dromos of chamber tomb 12 and tomb 14 (of the type

*a cassa*) covered an area of ca. 4.0 × 4.0 m. with a thick layer of charcoal (ill. 1; pl. 60, fig. 9). No cist protected the remains of the cremated body found on the surface of the charcoal layer, although the area used for the pyre had been clearly set off from the rest of the enclosure by two smaller stone walls. Heavy traces of burning on the bedrock floor and on the rock at the south side of the enclosure testify to the intensity of the blaze and the size of the pyre. A skyphos of early Gnathian ware helps date the burial to the third quarter of the fourth century.

The most unusual features of these pyres are the size of several and the stone cists built on the charred remains of two.<sup>9</sup> Some elements of similarity can be found with primary cremation burials covered by a mound or built tomb in Archaic Greece,<sup>10</sup> and there is



Ill. 1. Rocca Gloriosa, plan of La Scala cemetery

<sup>8</sup> Hydriai, however, are more common in the fifth and fourth century painted representations of the quenching of Herakles' pyre: infra n. 15. It is to be noted that coarse ware is conspicuously missing in the Rocca Gloriosa burials except for the two large ollae in T. 6.

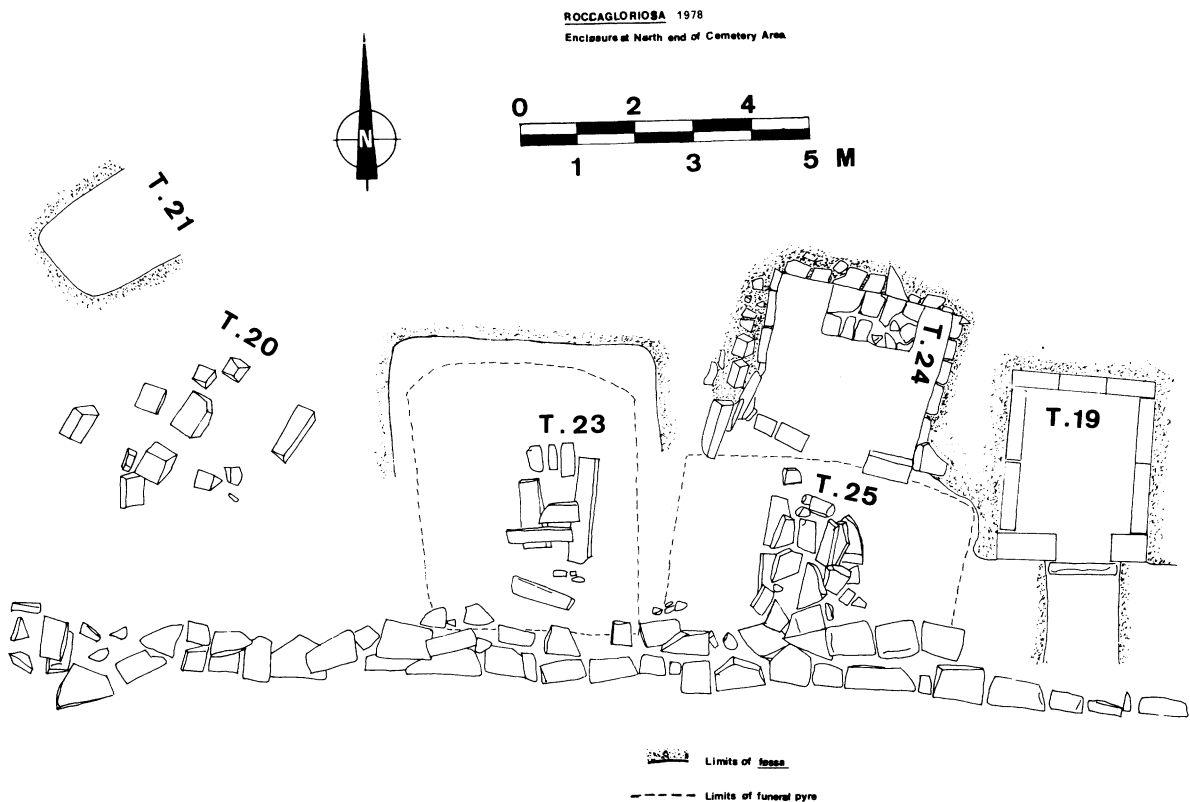
<sup>9</sup> The only evidence so far recorded in South Italy for a "monumental" cremation burial with built tomb, datable to the fourth century, is presented by E. Galli in *NSc* 1932, 323–24 (Laos). But Galli's report may contain misinterpretations of both the original structure of the burial and its date (as stated by P. Guzzo in a seminar on "Définitions des rapports entre la Lucanie interne et la côte Tyrrhénienne" held at the Jean Bérard

Institute, Naples, June 1980). There is also some scanty and equally controversial evidence that the "princely" burial at Armento (in inner Lucania) dated to the end of the fourth century, which included a gold crown with the dedication of Kreithonios (now in Munich), entailed a cremation: *Antiche Civiltà Lucane* 64–65 (A. Lipinski), 92–94 (M. Lejeune).

<sup>10</sup> D.C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London 1971) 73–74, 81–82; although the authors mention that "primary cremation graves familiar from the Archaic period continue into the Classical virtually unchanged, except for a noticeable tendency toward simplification" (98), no specific examples are cited for the latter period. For a good reconstruction of the

a general resemblance to the princely graves in Macedonia<sup>11</sup> and Salamis on Cyprus.<sup>12</sup> The latter are on a more monumental scale, but such parallels do indicate a revived interest in cremation with an apparent ceremonial character in some areas of the late Classical Greek world. In addition, a group of mythological representations on fourth century Italiote vases, depicting log-built pyres, are probably relevant. An Apulian calyx-krater from Taranto, attributed to the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos (early fourth century), shows an original depiction of a myth which is

found in slightly different versions on later Italiote vases.<sup>13</sup> Alkmene is seated in grief on a log-built pyre which Amphitryon, her husband, has lit to punish her for her infidelity (pl. 60, fig. 10). As noted by Trendall in discussing a later and more detailed representation of the scene,<sup>14</sup> although the given version of the story may owe something to the *Alkmene* by Euripides, there is no ancient authority for the introduction of the pyre. The log-built pyre, appearing in South Italian vase painting with features that are familiar, although not common, in Attic vase painting,<sup>15</sup> would



III. 2. Roccagloriosa, plan of enclosure at N end of cemetery area

elevation of the pyre and mound, see A. Garcia y Bellido, *ArchEspArq* 37 (1964) 61 fig. 15.

<sup>11</sup> C. Picard, "Usages funéraires grecques récemment révélés en Macédoine. . .," *RA* 1963, 188-93; fig. 9 with plan of tomb and pyre. Connections between Macedonia and Apulian monumental burials have been pointed out by R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *DialAr* 1 (1967) 338-39.

<sup>12</sup> V. Karageorghis, *AA* 1966, 247-55, fig. 62; *RA* 1969, 57-61.

<sup>13</sup> The calyx-krater from Taranto (IG 4600) is described in *RVAp* 1, 36; a good reproduction is K. Papaioannou, *L'Art grec* (Paris 1972) pl. 119.

<sup>14</sup> A.D. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery* (London 1936) 56. For the literary references, see L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris 1924) 242-45.

<sup>15</sup> In particular see the rendering on Myson's vase in the Louvre (no. 197), depicting Kroisos on the pyre: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 238; E. Pottier, *Les vases antiques du Louvre* (Paris 1922) pl. 128. Slightly different seem to be the pyres depicted in some scenes of the apotheosis of Herakles: P. Mingazzini, "Le rappresentazioni vascolari del mito dell'apoteosi di Herakles," *MemLincei* 342 (1925) 417-85; according to Mingazzini (p. 482), the introduction of the pyre in the representation of the myth occurs at the end of the sixth century B.C. (list of such representations on pp. 441-42). See also G.M.A. Richter, *AJA* 45 (1941) 370 figs. 9-10. Only one such representation shows a log-built pyre of the type under discussion: C. Clairmont, *AJA* 57 (1953) 87-88, pl. 45.

seem to be an original Italiote motif. On a later Paestan bell-krater signed by Python,<sup>16</sup> with a more detailed version of the same scene (pl. 60, fig. 11), the artist has attempted to distinguish between the altar on which Alkmene is seated and the burning pyre just in front of it. Here some iconographic sources are clearly discernible, particularly for the representation of the two female figures<sup>17</sup> in the act of extinguishing the pyre. The latter detail seems to have been borrowed from some representations of the apotheosis of Herakles, which show the burning pyre.<sup>18</sup> Last, and perhaps most pertinent to the sepulchral pyres discovered in Lucania, is an Apulian mascaroon krater in Naples by the Darius Painter<sup>19</sup> with a detailed representation of the crucial moment of Patroklos' funeral as described in *Iliad* 23 (pl. 60, fig. 12). The central scene, with Achilles slaying one of the Trojan captives in front of the pyre built for the cremation of Patroklos,<sup>20</sup> seems to reproduce the Italiote rendering of the motif of the log-built pyre which, in the other known representations (all Etruscan or Faliscan), was replaced<sup>21</sup> by a tumulus or other sepulchral monument.<sup>22</sup> It is the only extant "Greek" depiction of the story, which must be connected with the popularity

<sup>16</sup> BMF 149, Trendall (supra n. 14) 56–57. For the possible literary connections, see C. Robert, *Archäologische Hermeneutik* (Berlin 1919) 275–77; M. Gigante, *Atti Taranto* 6 (1966) 85–87; E. Keuls, *Atti Taranto* 15 (1975) 452, with comments on the context of the scene. For a simplified representation on a slightly later Campanian hydria, see A.D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* (Oxford 1967) 231, pl. 90. Stylistic and iconographic discussion of the three vases with the story of Alkmene is in J. Dörig, *Jdl* 80 (1965) 154–57.

<sup>17</sup> Identified as the Hyades by Trendall (supra n. 14) 56, while they had been called "personifizierte Wolken" by Robert (supra n. 16) 277. See the discussion in *EVP* 104–105.

<sup>18</sup> Trendall (supra n. 14) 56 and n. 3. Trendall relates the act of quenching the pyre on Python's vase to a volute krater in Naples (Caputi 260), illustrated in O. Stumpfe, *Die Heroen Griechenlands* (Münster 1978) 236. Stumpfe, in his discussion of the scene on the Naples krater, connects the representation of the two female figures in the act of extinguishing the pyre to the description of Homer, *Iliad* 23.250–55. Mingazzini (supra n. 15) 441–42, gives a list of vases with depiction of the pyre and the act of quenching; the latter detail seems to appear at the end of the fifth century.

<sup>19</sup> Naples, Museo Nazionale 3254; M. Schmidt, *Der Dareiosmaler und sein Umkreis* (Münster 1960) 32–34, with stylistic comments on the vase. See also A. Rocco, *ArchCl* 5 (1953) 177–79.

<sup>20</sup> For the subject, see *EVP* 88–91; for a thorough discussion of Patroklos' funeral and the major elements of its ritual, see A. Schnapp in J.P. Vernant ed., *L'Idéologie funéraire. La mort et les morts dans les sociétés anciennes* (Cambridge, in press). For the painted version of the episode in Italiote vase painting, particularly the scene of the Trojan captives, see J.-M. Moret, *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique Italiote. Les mythes et leur expression figurée au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana 14,

which the episode acquired in the second half of the fourth century in Etruscan art. Also, what seems to be the latest of the Etruscan representations, on a Praenestine cista dated ca. 300 B.C. (the so-called Révil cista), is exceptional in the use of the log-built pyre in the background; this may reflect the lasting influence of the Italiote tradition.<sup>23</sup>

The original and sometimes unusual depictions of these myths in South Italian vase painting<sup>24</sup> appear to be contemporary with the use of large cremation pyres for individual burials in a dynamic area of non-Greek South Italy, Lucania of the fourth century B.C.<sup>25</sup> The South Italian vase painters betray an interest in heroic pyres which some groups of the native inhabitants of Magna Graecia were actually adopting in their elaborate funerary rituals. The "heroic" overtones of such rituals among the Lucanians are even more evident in the Roccagloriosa cremation burials. First, their particular siting within the cemetery area is noteworthy: they were limited to the space inside the two enclosures with chamber tombs and were found at the extremities (north and south) of the cemetery area (ill. 1). Second, the pyres are significantly larger than most *ustrina* of the fourth century, and the

Rome 1975)(*non vidi*). Possible Hellenistic illustrations and Roman derivations are discussed in *EAA* 5, s.v. Patroclo, 990–92 (L. Guerrini).

<sup>21</sup> The term "replaced" seems justified by Beazley's hypothesis that all known representations of the scene derive from one (Greek) archetype, depicting the pyre in the background: *EVP* 91. Beazley defines the prototype as Greek, without further discussion, although the episode is unknown in Attic vase painting. M. Torelli, in R. Bandinelli, *L'Arte nell'Antichità Classica* 2 (Turin 1976) 154, seems to envisage the prototype as deriving more specifically from Magna Graecia. For recent analysis and dating of the paintings in the François tomb at Vulci, see M. Cristofani, *DialAr* 1 (1967) 186–219.

<sup>22</sup> Beazley (*EVP* 91) regards the presence of a stone tomb or tumulus with a monument, in the Etruscan depiction of the myth, as "Etruscan substitutes for the Greek pyre." Rocco (supra n. 19) 178, on the other hand, considers interchangeable the tumulus with the pyre on Patroklos' vase and describes the depiction of the pyre as "rogo simbolico e convenzionale, e quasi equivalente al tumulo" (the meaning of "quasi" here is hard to understand).

<sup>23</sup> *EVP* 90; A. Birchall and P. Corbett, *Greek Gods and Heroes* (London 1974) pl. 64; G. Foerst, *Die Gravierungen der praenestinischen Cisten* (Archaeologica 7, Rome 1978) 38–58 (*non vidi*).

<sup>24</sup> For the complex and multi-faceted problem of the derivation and funerary use of the scenes represented in South Italian vase painting, see the summary and clear statement of issues by E. Keuls, *AJA* 84 (1980) 111–12. See also P.E. Arias, *ParPass* 33 (1978) 314–20.

<sup>25</sup> A general picture of the material culture of the Lucanians in the fourth century may be found in *Antiche Civiltà Lucane* 26–28 (D. Adamesteanu), 53–56 (E. Lepore).



cist of limestone blocks on the central part of the charred remains of the pyre is so far unknown in South Italy. Third, the nature of some of the offerings, including the gilded terracottas in T. 25, the bovine head rhyton in T. 23 and some votive terracotta objects from T. 13, set the cremation pyres apart from the other burials found at La Scala.

The special characteristics of the cremation burials indicate their connection with a select group of the population. If the connection can be maintained, the adoption of the cremation ritual can be linked with other developments in Lucania of the fourth century B.C.: a marked process of social differentiation and the concomitant emergence of local elites.<sup>26</sup> It is these groups which would have found the "heroic" overtones of the cremation ritual expressive of their position in society, and which would have wished to provide themselves with backgrounds and traditions suitable to their new status.<sup>27</sup>

Finally, and very meaningful indeed, the geographical area where the cremation ritual has so far been revealed can be considered, by the mid-fourth century, as part of the hellenized *paralia* (to use Strabo's definition),<sup>28</sup> a fact confirmed by the nature of many of the grave goods found at La Scala. Within the context of the *paralia*, however, the Lucanians settled in the Rocccagloriosa area still maintained close ties with the material culture of the *mesogaia*, as witnessed by the conservative aspects of their burial practices.<sup>29</sup>

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#### ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPENDIX\*

The analysis of skeletal material from three funeral pyres at Rocccagloriosa, illustrated by Gualtieri, provides useful information concerning ritual behavior in antiquity, as well as insights into important problems

<sup>26</sup> *Antiche Civiltà Lucane* 54–56 (E. Lepore); M. Torelli, "Greci e Indigeni in Magna Grecia," *Studi Storici* 18 (1977) 45–61.

<sup>27</sup> B. d'Agostino, "Grecs et indigènes sur la côte Tyrrhénienne," *Annales* 32 (1977) 14–18; *MonAnt* 49, ser. misc. vol. 2 (1977–1979) 60–62.

<sup>28</sup> Strabo 6.1–2. On the differences in material culture between the Lucanians of the *paralia* and those of the *mesogaia*, see E. Lepore, *Atti Taranto* 10 (1970) 548–49.

<sup>29</sup> M. Gualtieri, "Two Lucanian Burials from Rocccagloriosa," in T. Hackens and R. Holloway eds., *Crossroads of the Mediterranean* (Proceedings of an international colloquium held at Brown University, May 8–10, 1981, in press). Some of the most remarkable aspects are the hoarding of metal objects for funerary

in the analysis of human skeletal material recovered from archaeological contexts. The fragmentary skeletal material from Tombs 13, 23 and 25 was examined in May 1982 to determine if it was human or animal, and if this material had been burned. Detailed documentation on the skeletal analysis will be published elsewhere, but a summary of results is appended here.

TOMB 13: MATURE ADULT MALE. The largest amount of skeletal material recovered from any of the three "cremations" derived from this tomb. Five boxes of materials from this cremation were in storage and each was culled for bone. Bone appears throughout the area, with cross-fits indicating some slight disturbance in the tomb, but no more than would be expected from decay, rodent entry and collapse. The vast majority of the bones represent a single adult human. Gender was determined to be male on the basis of large femora (e.g., right head diameter ca. 51 mm, mid-shaft diameters: ant.-post. 33, lateral 31 mm), a masculine right ilium and distal end of a right humerus, the generally heavy long bone midshaft sections (e.g., right ulna) and half of a right patella. Although a precise age cannot be determined for this person, the configuration of the sacral and lumbar surfaces, the anterior surface of the patella and other features suggest that this individual died at an age greater than 40 or 50 years.

Of particular note is the absence of any indication of a head. Since the mandible and teeth as well as the thicker bones of the skull generally are represented among the remains of cremations, their absence here is of special concern. Possibly these remains were missed in excavating. In fact, no evidence of the clavicles and scapulae was found, although these bones are far less likely to be preserved. Given the large volume of bone which did survive, however, the absence of any trace of the cranium must be given careful attention, and the possibility that no head was present must

use, e.g., in T. 6 (dated 400–390 B.C.) and in T. 9 (dated mid-fourth century B.C.) and some of the grave types.

\* I would like to thank Professor M. Gualtieri for his aid in initiating this research and for making appropriate arrangements for this study to be conducted. A special debt is owed Professor W. Johannowsky, Archaeological Superintendent for the provinces of Salerno, Avellino and Benevento, for granting permission to inspect the skeletal remains in June 1982. Thanks are due the editors of this Journal and F. Minervini for their many useful suggestions regarding the presentation of these data. The interpretations and information included are the responsibility of the author alone. Partial funding for this research was provided by a travel grant from West Chester State College and a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

be considered. The skeletal material from about the middle of the chest to the region of the lower legs is extremely well represented. Of significance is the fact that a great deal of the surviving bone appears to be unburned and that which is burned is charred rather than incinerated, as is usual in cremations where remaining bone and ash are placed in an urn for final deposition. The extent of survival of this person's remains permits some inferences about the mortuary program.

The first problem is why some of the bone is charred, while other portions of the skeleton were minimally affected by the fire. The difference is so striking that at first this evidence appeared to reflect two separate burials, i.e., a cremation and an inhumation. Tabulation of each piece of identifiable bone demonstrates that only one person (male) is represented and that those bones in the region of the pelvis were left almost untouched by the fire. The bones at the upper and lower margins of this uncharred pelvic zone show a singed or toasted transition into those parts of the skeleton on either side which clearly are charred. The unburned area extends from about the waist (the region of the second or third lumbar vertebra) down to the middle of the thighs (femora).

This unusual state of bone preservation, for which no precedent is known, could result from several factors. The funerary pyre may have been of such small size as to be incapable of consuming the entire corpse and vitrifying the skeleton, or the fire was not allowed to burn to completion. The vast amounts of intact charcoal suggest the latter. This abbreviated cremation can be explained by Gualtieri's thesis that the fire had been quenched at some point before exhaustion.

The second possible explanation for the uncharred bone may be seen in the archaeological context. The unburned part of the skeleton corresponds to a portion of the body which may have been covered by a large girdle or protective skirt. The remains of bronze plates probably reflect a highly decorated and possibly protective garment worn by the principal. If backed by leather and padded by fabric, this piece of the costume could have served to retard the action of the fire sufficiently long to have resulted in the pattern of burning described above.

A further peculiarity in the pattern of charring evident from these bones also may be explained by an item of costume. Five fragments of ribs manifest no evidence of burning, but all are stained green from contact with copper or bronze. In addition, three rib

fragments and two vertebral spine pieces, all charred, as well as two unburned vertebral spine pieces show the hues characteristic of post-mortem impregnation with copper salts. The girdle or skirt may have had a bronze-lined flange or extension to cover the lower part of the back. Alternatively, another item of dress or some other accoutrement placed with this person on the pyre may have protected some portion of his back from the fire.

The skeletal evidence also permits reconstruction of the type of pyre. The dorsal surface of the left humerus clearly is more charred than the ventral surface. This suggests that this individual lay supine on the pyre, and that little or no flammable material was piled above the body. Therefore, the corpse was not enclosed within the pyre. The extent of the conflagration prior to the postulated quenching may be seen in more than the volume of unburned material found within the tomb. Four fragments believed to derive from the left fibula have been burned to a gray-white color similar to that of bones recovered from complete cremations. Other bones of the lower legs show the extensive charring which characterizes the other burned areas of the skeleton, but at least one extremely hot- or long-burning region can be detected. No bones of the hands or feet were identified.

**TOMB 23: MATURE ADULT; MALE(?).** The charred remains of a single adult are represented by the several lots of bones recovered from this tomb. They clearly represent an adult, but a specific age cannot be assigned. One of the cranial fragments includes a suture suggesting an age of a least 40 years. Had this person been younger, the junction of these cranial bones probably would have split through the action of the fire.

Gender is more difficult to determine than in the burial from Tomb 13, despite the presence of pieces of the cranium and a mandibular fragment. The size and robusticity of the surviving fragments suggest that the individual was male. The pattern of burning in this case suggests that relatively intense combustion occurred in the vicinity of the pelvis, but by and large extensive charring appears relatively uniform throughout the length of the body.

**TOMB 25: ADULT MALE.** A small collection of cremated bone was recovered from this tomb. The relatively large pieces, all of which are burned and fire cracked, indicate that this cremation was longer in duration

than either of the two described above. In addition, many of the surviving bone fragments are coated with calcareous layers suggesting that these remains lay exposed in an open limestone chamber for a considerable period of time.

Moderate to heavy charring is evident on the dorsal surfaces of many of the surviving pieces of bone. This observation reinforces the less conclusive evidence from Tomb 13 that the bodies had been placed in a supine position on top of the pyre, rather than enclosed within the combustible materials. As with the remains from Tomb 13, no trace of skull, mandible or teeth is to be found among the skeletal remains recovered, but the vertebrae bear no indications of a decapitation. Therefore, we must infer that the skull was in place at the time of cremation.

The gender of this individual was difficult to determine, but measurements of several bones conform closely to the same measurement on each of the other individuals discussed in this report.

A few animal bones were found in Tombs 13 and 23, none in Tomb 25.

#### CONCLUSIONS

1. Each of the three tombs included the remains of one mature adult male.

2. Although no traces of a head were found among those remains recovered from Tomb 13 and Tomb 25, the evidence from the latter suggests that no ritual removal took place.

3. The series of "partial cremations" offers an extremely important example of a type of mortuary program previously unreported in anthropological literature. The degree of charring of the bone in general, as well as the relatively minimal effect on unexposed bone and the large quantities of charcoal not burned to ash, reflect a style of cremation which might not be detected by an analyst working without knowledge of the archaeological context.

4. The skeletal evidence from these three burials supports Gualtieri's contention that water was used to quench the fires before cremation was complete.

5. The limited amount of animal bone suggests that these finds were associated by entirely accidental means and that no deliberate attempt had been made to include all or parts of any animal with these cremations.

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FIG. 1. Rocca gloriosa, general view of La Scala cemetery from N



FIG. 2. Rocca gloriosa, view of enclosure at N end of cemetery area



FIG. 3. Rocca gloriosa, T.25. S. edge, gilded terracottas in situ

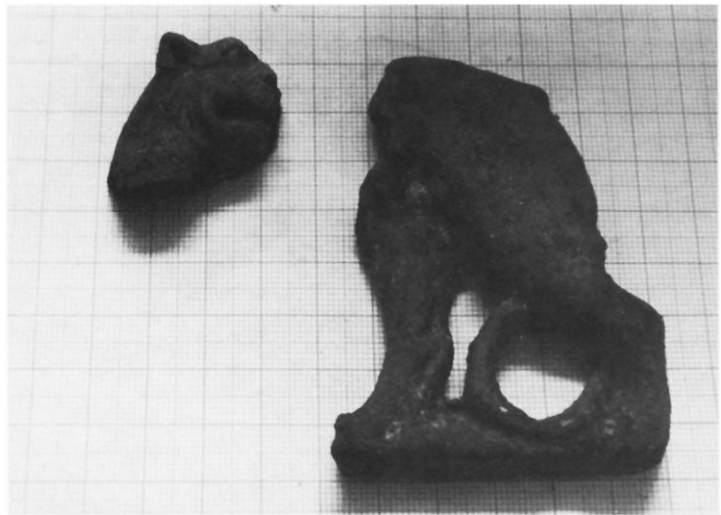


FIG. 4. Rocca gloriosa, T.25, detail of terracotta appliqué



FIG. 5. Rocca gloriosa, T.25, iron spits and firedog from pyre



FIG. 6. Rocca gloriosa, view of T.23. Enclosure wall in foreground; one of two amphorae in situ in NE corner of cist. (Scale 1.60 m., small scale 0.20 m.)





FIG. 7. Roccagloriosa, T.23 after removal of most of the cist. The second amphora is visible in the NE corner. (Scale 1.60 m.)

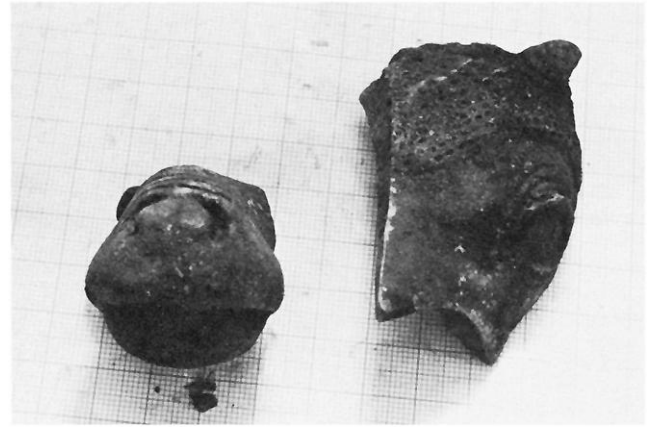


FIG. 8. Roccagloriosa, T.23, fragments of bovine-head rhyton found on remains of pyre

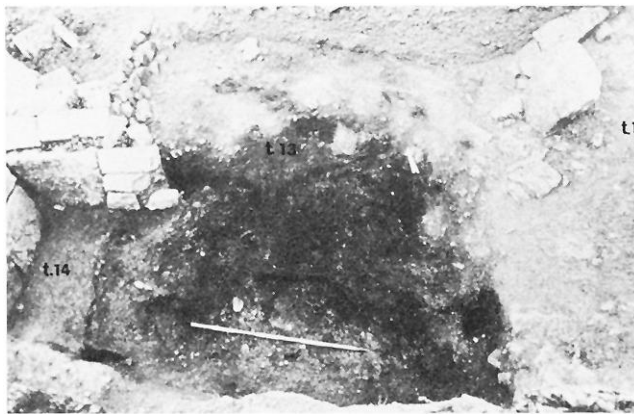


FIG. 9. Roccagloriosa, T.13, general view of charred remains of pyre. (Scale 1.60 m.)



FIG. 10. Calyx-krater (Taranto IG 4600), central scene. (After Papaioannou, *L'Art Grec* pl. 119)



FIG. 11. Bell-krater (BMF 149), central scene. (After Charbonneau, Martin and Villard, *Classical Greek Art* [London 1972] fig. 372)

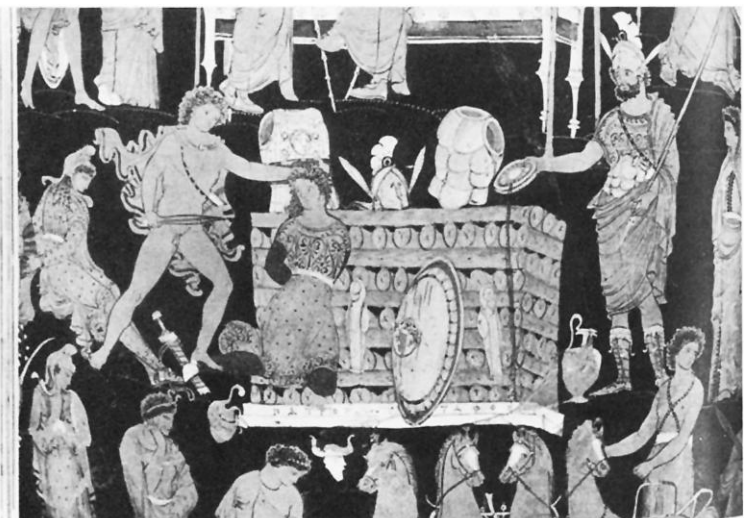


FIG. 12. Mascaron krater (Naples 3254), detail of central scene. (After Charbonneau et al., *Classical Greek Art* fig. 364)