

Changing Identities, Changing Positions: Jewellery in Palmyrene Female Portraits

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Introduction

The elaborateness of Palmyrene portraits is striking and they offer a unique glimpse into the local portrait tradition during an era of increasing Roman influence. The portraits which were located inside funerary buildings surrounding the city, draw attention and affect their viewers through for example the use of arm and hand gestures as well as different executions of drapery. However, this is also the case with jewellery worn by Palmyrene women. The large quantity of jewellery worn by the women is characteristic of the Palmyrene portrait tradition and only few parallels can be found outside of the city. Jewellery is a strong part of the female identities expressed in the portraits and the main aim of this article is to investigate jewellery and position in female portraits from Palmyra. The changes in jewellery, what it did in the portraits, and how it was used, especially together with the female body and clothing, will be examined.

Previous Research

In the typologies of H. Ingholt and M. A. R. Colledge concerning Palmyrene portraits, they both included observations on changes in jewellery.² The items of jewellery which proved to be especially advantageous

in the dating of Palmyrene portraits were the brooches and earrings. H. Ingholt divided the portraits into three overall groups, group I (AD 50-150), group II (AD 150-200), and group III (AD 200-273).³ The jewellery ascribed to group I is small circular earrings worn along the rims of the ears, bunches of grapes and trapezoidal brooches.⁴ In group II he placed earrings with horizontal bars, dumbbell-shaped earrings, no earrings, trapezoidal brooches, circular brooches and geometric-shaped brooches, and ascribed to group III are dumbbell-shaped earrings, circular brooches and geometric-shaped brooches.⁵ In his book from 1976 M. A. R. Colledge divided brooches and earrings into further categories and used them in his overall typology.⁶ Moreover, other scholars such as D. Mackay, M. Gawlikowski, J. Chehadé, B. Deppert-Lippitz, L. Palmieri and G. Zenoni have expanded further on the typologies on jewellery of H. Ingholt and M. A. R. Colledge.⁷ Therefore a decent impression of the typological changes in jewellery is established. Nonetheless, it has to be underlined that typologies are strong simplifications of the actual diversity of jewellery in Palmyra which can, for example, be observed in brooches and necklaces. In Palmyra jewellery is found in a large variety of appearances and often it finds individual combinations in the various portraits. Therefore, the ty-

1. The data on the Palmyrene reliefs I address in this article is from the Palmyra Portrait Project database. The Palmyra Portrait Project is directed by Rubina Raja, Aarhus University. The project, and my position as a PhD Scholar, is generously financed by the Carlsberg Foundation. <http://projects.au.dk/palmyraportrait/>.

2. See Ingholt 1928; Colledge 1976.

3. See Ingholt 1928.

4. Ingholt 1928, 91-92.

5. Ingholt 1928, 91-92.

6. Colledge 1976, 255.

7. Mackay 1949; Gawlikowski 1966a; Chehadé 1972; Deppert-Lippitz 1987; Palmieri 2010; Zenoni 2010.

Fig. 1: Stele with female and girl, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 1085 (© Palmyra Portrait Project. By permission of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek).



pologies are not very useful in the investigation of the variety of jewellery, but only to understand the overall chronological changes.

Changes in Jewellery

It is suggested that female portraits cannot be dated based only on the amount of jewellery worn, and more research on the different types of jewellery is needed.⁸ In this article I do not aim to refine typologies; instead I want to explore why the jewellery repertoire changes, how it is used and which role it possesses in the portraits. Scholars claim that an increase in the jewellery worn by women occurred during the 2nd century AD analogous with an increase in the finances of the city through rising trading activities.⁹ Nonetheless, large amounts of jewellery can be observed in the early stelae portraying women and re-

veal that jewellery held a prominent position already in these early period portraits (fig. 1).¹⁰ However, in the early loculus reliefs dated to the 2nd half of the 1st century AD the amount of jewellery worn by women decreased (fig. 2).¹¹ Only during the 2nd century AD the amount of jewellery worn again increased, but the frequency of portraits with larger amounts of jewellery also grew and this became more intense in the 3rd century AD (fig. 3).¹² Thus, large amounts of jewel-

8. Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 188; Heyn 2012, 440.

9. Seyrig 1936; Mackay 1949, 170; Morehart 1956-1958; Deppert-Lippitz 1987, 180; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 187-188; Palmieri 2010, 38.

10. Chehadé 1972, 75. Early stelae, see Tanabe 1986, 298, no. 267, 300, no. 269; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 211, no. 210; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 84, no. 42.

11. From the 2nd half of the 1st century AD are two dated female loculus reliefs, see Ingholt 1928, 52-54, PS 30; Ingholt 1966, 464, fig. 6; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 42-43, no. 1-2. Early loculus reliefs, see Ingholt 1928, 52-54, PS 30; Ingholt 1966, 464, fig. 6; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 166, no. 169, 222-223, no. 218; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 42, no. 1, 43, no. 2; Rumsey 2009, 97.

12. See Ingholt 1928, 69-73, PS 43, 131-132, PS 374; Abdul-Hak 1952, 229-231, no. 20; Tanabe 1986, 290, no. 359; Schmidt-Colinet 1992b, taf. 73b; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 182, no. 183; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 126-128, no. 81-83; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 163, cat. 215, fig. 177; Pasinli 2001,



Fig. 2: Loculus relief with Abînâ, AD 96, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 1057 (© Palmyra Portrait Project. By permission of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek).



Fig. 3: Loculus relief with female, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 1069 (© Palmyra Portrait Project. By permission of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek).

lery are already witnessed in the early stelae, but only from the latter 2nd century AD the phenomenon spread to a majority of the female portraits. It can indeed partly be ascribed to an increase in finances during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, as argued by other scholars.¹³

In the early stelae, women are wearing earrings, necklaces, brooches, bracelets and ankle clasps.¹⁴ Moreover, in these early portraits, a further part of the female adornment is a decorated band or cloth worn across the forehead. In the first loculus arm clasps and finger rings first occurred.¹⁵ During the 2nd half of the 2nd century AD, the types of jewellery changed which

continued throughout the 3rd century AD.¹⁶ Chains and pendants decorated headgear or hair, and small pendants can be attached in the hair on one or both sides of the headgear or across the front of the ears (fig. 4).¹⁷ Thus, new types of jewellery were added continuously during the period of production. Some of the jewellery types worn by women in the early stelae and early loculus reliefs are argued to hold a Greek or

cat. 217.

13. Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 188; Heyn 2012, 440.

14. See Tanabe 1986, 298, no. 267, 300, no. 269; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993 211, no. 210; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 83, no. 40, 84, no. 42.

15. See Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 166, no. 169, 222-223, no. 218; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 121-122, no. 77;

Rumsey 2009, 97.

16. Portraits from AD 150-200, see Ingholt 1928, 135, PS 401, 135-136, PS 408; Parlasca 1990, 142-143, abb. 16; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 95, no. 52; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 53, cat. 62, fig. 164. Portraits from AD 200-273, see Ingholt 1928, 85-86, PS 52; Wartke 1991, 77, cat. 6; Schmidt-Colinet 1992b, taf. 34, 35; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 170, no. 173; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 124, no. 79; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 77, cat. 102, fig. 203.

17. Ingholt 1928, 142, PS 448; Parlasca 1990, 142-143, abb. 16; Wartke 1991, 79, cat. 8; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 232, no. 225, 243, no. 236; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 110-111, no. 67; 150, no. 114; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 77, cat. 102, fig. 203.

Hellenistic character such as the necklace with a row of pointed pearls, the necklace with small pearls shaped as acorns, or the earrings in the shape of bunches of grapes.¹⁸ In the 2nd half of the 2nd century AD, these types fell out of use and types observed across the entire Roman Empire came into use that may include more stones and can especially be seen used in Palmyrene brooches and necklaces.¹⁹ Similar changes in jewellery types during the 2nd century AD are observed across the entire Roman Empire for example in Britain, Fayum, and Italy.²⁰ Thus, from the evidence, it can be deduced that the changes in jewellery in the portraits were highly influenced by an exchange and transmission of ideas between Palmyra and areas they came into contact with.²¹ The changes in types of jewellery can also be witnessed in the graves and jewellery placed as grave goods find strong equivalents in the portraits.²² This further suggests that the jewellery worn by women in the portraits were inspired by items of jewellery worn by women in the Palmyrene society.

Prestige and Changing Female Roles

The quantity of jewellery worn by women in their portraits is an indication of their wealth. M. Heyn argues that the portraits of women wearing larger amounts of jewellery are supposed to display the wealth of their family and thus the amount of jewellery worn is a direct visual reference to the wealth of the individual portrayed.²³ It can safely be assumed that jewellery

18. Higgins 1961, 155-156, 169; Pfeiler 1970, 13-59; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 70; Palmieri 2010, 35, 37-38, 43; Zenoni 2010, 48-52. See notes 9, 10 and 13.

19. Higgins 1961, 181; Pfeiler 1970, 61-103; Palmieri 2010, 37-43; Zenoni 2010, 48-52. See note 15.

20. Pfeiler 1970; Chehadé 1972, 94. See for example Higgins 1961; Stefanelli 1992; Doxiadis 1995; Borg 1996; 1998; Johns 1996; Walker and Bierbrier 1997; Boatwright 2005; Carroll 2012; Roberts 2013.

21. Also see Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 72; Palmieri 2010.

22. For a broader examination of jewellery in Palmyrene female portraits, see Krag (forthcoming, chapter 5).

23. Heyn 2008, 178; Heyn 2012, 440-441. Other scholars claim



Fig. 4: Female head, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 1091 (© Palmyra Portrait Project. By permission of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek).

was used in female portraits to signal wealth and prestige, and to establish a position through these aspects that strengthened the social status of the women portrayed. This can further be witnessed in stelae or small reliefs with reclining women where jewellery can be depicted in jewellery boxes, and in reliefs with reclining women the box can be held by female servants (fig. 5).²⁴ In these reliefs, the social position of the

that women are used to increase the prestige of their husbands and families (Bartman 2001; D'Ambra 1996, 2000). See also Mackay 1949, 170; Deppert-Lippitz 1987, 180; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 151, 187-188; Palmieri 2010, 38.

24. Abdul-Hak 1952, 229-231, no. 20 (the large box might be



Fig. 5: Stele with standing female, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 1030 (© Palmyra Portrait Project. By permission of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek).

women is strongly underlined through the additional display of jewellery. Moreover, traces of pigments are sometimes found on items of jewellery and suggest that they were produced in expensive metals and they

wanted to include this aspect in the portraits (fig. 6).²⁵ Furthermore, a few portraits hold evidence that stones were inlaid in brooches, necklaces, pendants or finger rings, and elements can be attached to, for example,

for female utensils and jewellery); Kraeling 1961-1962, 14-18, pl. XIV; Tanabe 1986, 464, no. 438; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 86, no. 44, 134, no. 88; Ingholt Archives, PS 1096.

25. Ingholt 1928, 84-85, PS 51, 144, PS 462, 147, PS 483; Tanabe 1986, 395, no. 364; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 121-122, no. 77; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 164-165, cat. 218, fig. 205.

earrings.²⁶ When larger quantities of jewellery in female portraits became more common during the end of the 2nd century AD, the display inside of funerary buildings had generally altered. An increase in different types of portrait versions such as sarcophagi, banqueting reliefs, wall paintings, freestanding sculpture and stelae brought different ways of portraying individuals and created different experiences.²⁷ This might suggest that the increase in jewellery worn by women during the late 2nd century and the 3rd century AD was further encouraged by the increasing change and competition in the display.²⁸ Thus, a strong awareness of position and display within the funerary buildings is evident in the changing portraits in which jewellery also came to hold a strong role. Therefore, adornment in female portraits increased the power of the display and women came to draw strong attention through the jewellery they wore.²⁹

Moreover, the increase in jewellery reflects changing ways in expressing identity in Palmyrene funerary portraits. The rise in the amount of jewellery in the individual portraits is by A. Sadurska argued to display a rising female emancipation in Palmyra, as symbols of the household, the spindle and distaff, went out of use roughly at the same time.³⁰ Furthermore, women increasingly became owners of sections of funerary buildings and gained more influence in these matters.³¹ The argument of A. Sadurska is very convincing; however, in research on women in antiquity, the term emancipation is ambivalent and unjustified. What can be deduced from the Palmyrene archaeological material is that the position of women in the society grew stronger when the previous importance



Fig. 6: 'The Beauty of Palmyra', Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 2795 (© Palmyra Portrait Project. By permission of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek).

of tribes in epigraphy shifted to an increasing importance of the individual families during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.³² During this period, women received increasing power in society and they are recorded as sellers and buyers of sections of funerary buildings, or heiresses of these, and moreover smaller religious dedications by women increased.³³ It appears that when the importance of family units, of which wom-

26. See for example Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 110-111, no. 67, 121-122, no. 77. Attached to earrings, see Ingholt 1928, 134-136, PS 404, PS 408.

27. See Ingholt 1928; Colledge 1976, 58-87; Parlasca 1984a; Parlasca 1988; Tanabe 1986; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993; Sadurska and Bounni 1994.

28. Reclining women, see Abdul-Hak 1952, 229-231, no. 20; Schmidt-Colinet 1992b, taf. 72a, 72c, 72e, 73b.

29. See also Olson 2008, 96-97.

30. Sadurska 1996, 286.

31. See Cussini 1995; 2005.

32. Decline in inscriptions referring to tribe and clan, see Colledge 1976, 20; Dijkstra 1995, 152; Dirven 1999, 25; Yon 2002, 66-72.

33. Legal affairs, see Cussini 1995; 2005. Altars, see Dijkstra 1995, 127-128, 151-153.



Fig. 7: Female in mourning attire accompanying her daughter, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 1025 (© Palmyra Portrait Project. By permission of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek).

en were an important part, increased so did the importance and roles of women in other aspects of society.

Women without Jewellery

Women portrayed without jewellery is rarely seen and even smaller girls are frequently wearing jewellery.³⁴ 16 portraits, excluding sarcophagi boxes, portray women without jewellery (fig. 7).³⁵ In several of the

portraits women are portrayed together with their children and in these scenes the mothers can wear no items of jewellery.³⁶ These portraits indicate that there are other ways to gain prestige and position in the portraits; in this case it was the children themselves. The women depicted in an act of mourning identified by their exposed chest with scratches, often accom-

34. See Ingholt 1928, 20-22, PS 2; 75-77, PS 46, 130, PS 363; Higuchi and Izumi 1994, 78-79, pl. 49; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 68-69, cat. 95, fig. 17; Meischner and Cussini 2003, 102-103, no. 3.

35. See Ingholt 1928, 62-63, PS 37, 75-77, PS 46, 119-120, PS 252, 120, PS 260, 139, PS 424; Starcky 1955, 41-42, pl. XIX, no. 1; Tanabe 1986, 367, no. 336; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993,

45-46, no. 4, 132, no. 86; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 127-128, cat. 168, fig. 162, 163-164, cat. 216, fig. 195; Charles-Gaffiot et al. 2001, 345, no. 154; Heyn 2010, 646, app. 2, cat. 6; Ingholt Archive, PS 851, PS 937, PS 939.

36. 10 of the portraits are with family, and 5 of these are mourning mothers. See Ingholt 1928, 75-77, PS 46; 119-120, PS 252, 120, PS 260; Starcky 1955, 41-42, pl. XIX, no. 1; Tanabe 1986, 367, no. 336; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 132, no. 86; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 163-164, cat. 216, fig. 195; Heyn 2010, 646, app. 2, cat. 6; Ingholt Archive, PS 937, PS 939.

pany their deceased children and seldom wear jewellery.³⁷ In few portraits they can wear a brooch and perhaps earrings, but most often they do not wear jewellery.³⁸ When the mourning mothers accompany their daughters, the latter always wear more items of jewellery.³⁹ In this way, jewellery was used to bring attention to the deceased daughters in the display. It can thus be deduced that attention could sometimes be brought to the primarily deceased through the amount of jewellery they wore, and that the adornment of women accompanying their deceased children was less significant. In these portraits, the jewellery was used to signal wealth, but certainly also to visually highlight the deceased person; the individual commemorated.

Positions on the Body

Jewellery was increasingly displayed on the torso which includes numerous necklaces running across the neck and chest, and the brooch. In the early Palmyrene portraits the necklaces were placed high on the chest, but they expanded to a larger area of the torso during the 2nd century AD (fig. 8).⁴⁰ The upper necklaces are often simpler than the necklaces that are situated further down on the torso. The necklaces sit-

uated lower on the torso are large and more time was certainly devoted to carve these necklaces revealing the awareness of display in the portraits.⁴¹

One necklace is highly significant. It is a long necklace composed of a wide chain with large links or oblong beads and has several medallions attached portraying small busts. So far it only occurs in 14 female portraits and all are dated to the 3rd century AD (fig. 8).⁴² The busts are mostly women inferred from the draping of their clothing and they have indications of breasts. In Palmyra miniature busts are also encountered on the headgear of priests.⁴³ A small bust of a boy, an adult male or a priest is often portrayed on the front of the priestly headgear (fig. 9). M. Gawlikowski suggests that the small bust on the priestly headgear represent ancestors.⁴⁴ But did the small busts have the same meanings in male and female portraits, and is this evidence of a female religious participation? Only men are portrayed on the priestly headgear, but on the necklaces worn by women almost only women are depicted, and they appear to hold different meanings. Furthermore, armless busts frequently occur on the lower part of sarcophagi in the funerary sphere and these are of family members identified by epigraphy.⁴⁵ The female busts on neck-

37. On mourning women in Palmyrene funerary portraits, see Krag (forthcoming, chapter 4); Krag and Raja 2016.

38. See Ingholt 1928, 132-133, PS 378, PS 383, 145, PS 468; Wartke 1991, 72-73, cat. 2; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 76, no. 31; Pasinli 2001, cat. 217.

39. See Ingholt 1928, 132-133, PS 378, 145, PS 468; Wartke 1991, 72-73, cat. 2; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 132, no. 86; Pasinli 2001, cat. 217; Heyn 2010, 646, app. 2, cat. 6; Ingholt Archive, PS 939.

40. Early, see Amy and Seyrig 1936, pl. XLVII; Abdul-Hak 1952, 243, no. 34; Wartke 1991, 72-73, cat. 2; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 211, no. 210; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 70, no. 26; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 98, cat. 133, fig. 173, 144-145, cat. 190, fig. 158. Late, see Ingholt 1928, 147, PS 483, 149, PS 496; Parlasca 1990, 142-143, abb. 16; Wartke 1991, 77, cat. 7; Schmidt-Colinet 1992b, taf. 34, 35; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 182, no. 183; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 126, no. 81; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 77, cat. 102, fig. 203, 146-148, cat. 195, fig. 247.

41. See Ingholt 1928, 147, PS 483, 149, PS 496; Parlasca 1990, 142-143, abb. 16; Wartke 1991, 77, cat. 7; Schmidt-Colinet 1992b, taf. 34, 35; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 182, no. 183; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 126, no. 81; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 77, cat. 102, fig. 203, 146-148, cat. 195, fig. 247.

42. See Schmidt-Colinet 1992a, 120-122. Also see Ingholt 1928, 147, PS 483, 149, PS 493, PS 495; Michalowski 1964, 87-88, no. 20; Sadurska 1977, 153, no. 101; Tanabe 1986, 394, no. 263; Wartke 1991, 77, cat. 7; Schmidt-Colinet 1992b, taf. 34, 35, 72b-d, 72f, 73a-b; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 127, no. 82; Ingholt Archive, PS 987.

43. See Ingholt 1934, 33-36, pl. VIII.2; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 119, no. 75, 145, no. 104; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 108-109, cat. 148, fig. 46.

44. Gawlikowski 1966b, 95.

45. See for example Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 12-13, cat. 3, fig. 239, 37-39, cat. 41, figs. 222-224, 86-88, cat. 120, figs. 231-236, 89-90, cat. 121, fig. 246. See also, Schmidt-Colinet 1992a, 120.



Fig. 8: Female wearing a necklace with medallions, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 1054 (© Palmyra Portrait Project. By permission of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek).

laces could perhaps also be of ancestors? This would give the women a high position in the graves and draw attention to them; both through jewellery and references to ancestors. However, on the sarcophagi both men and women are frequently representing the lineage, but on the necklaces worn by women, the busts are dominantly of women. Thus, it is hard to claim that they hold the same meanings.

The small female busts can wear a *kalathos* or a turreted crown. Gad or Tyche of Palmyra is wearing this type of headgear when she is depicted on tesserae and in religious reliefs.⁴⁶ Therefore, it is suggested that the small busts of women on necklaces are representing

46. See Ingholt et al. 1955, no. 207, 277, 278, 280, 418, 419, 426, 510; Parlasca 1984b, fig. 4, 5; Schmidt-Colinet 1992a, 120-121.

Fig. 9: Male priest wearing a modius, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 1034 (© Palmyra Portrait Project. By permission of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek).



the city goddess of Palmyra.⁴⁷ A. Schmidt-Colinet claims that the necklace refers to the profession as an *Agoranomos* in charge of the marketplace and that this was held by one in the family of the woman wearing the necklace.⁴⁸ He identifies the small busts as priests

47. Ingholt 1928, 145; Schmidt-Colinet 1992a, 121.

48. Schmidt-Colinet 1992a, 121.

and suggests that they are representations of priests in the family and that women wearing these necklaces could be worshippers or priestesses of Gad or Tyche.⁴⁹ However, as pointed out previously the small busts are women, not men. Furthermore, we have no evidence of priestesses in Palmyra, not in sculpture or

49. Schmidt-Colinet 1992a, 121.

epigraphy, and it is highly unlikely that the women wearing the necklaces are priestesses.⁵⁰ More likely it is the city goddess of Palmyra represented on the necklaces which underline a Palmyrene identity in these portraits. The necklaces do not indicate that women were involved in religious activities. Instead, the small busts on necklaces represent the city goddess and were worn by women in their funerary display. This established a strong position within the funerary buildings drawing on a local and religious identity.

Jewellery and Clothing

Certain types of jewellery are used in connection with clothing and these types are thus also a part of the clothing.⁵¹ Brooches, headdress chains and headdress pendants are the only pieces that are part of the clothing and furthermore they are produced in a local tradition. Most of the other items of jewellery in the female portraits can frequently be found across the entire Roman Empire and displays the large trading network Palmyra was part of.⁵² Thus, a different aspect of jewellery can be inferred when it is used directly with clothing. In previous research on dress in the Roman provinces, it has been put forward that it can be used to signal traditional values, ideas and identities.⁵³ In other regions of the Roman Empire local variations of brooches frequently occur such as in Britannia, Rhine and Moselle rivers, Pannonia and Fayum.⁵⁴ Moreover, in other areas where brooches,

headdress chains and pendants are found, they similarly find very local appearances.⁵⁵ Thus, jewellery is a strong visual element that can be used to signal local identities.

In Palmyrene portraits women often wear a brooch which secure the himation on their left shoulder. In the period from the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD, covering the production period of Palmyrene portraits, the appearance of the brooch changed much. Close to 100 different variations of the brooch can be encountered in the portraits of Palmyrene women, but roughly ten overall shapes are inferred.⁵⁶ The types are: A) trapezoidal body with a lion, rosette or round finial, B) house-shaped, C) oval or ellipse-shaped, D) figure riding an animal, E) circular enclosing a geometric shape, F) circular enclosing a beaded/plaited inner or outer ring, G) circular enclosing a rosette, H) circular plain, I) circular with circular grooves, J) geometric shape with or without curving sides. B, C, D and G all occur very seldom in the portraits.⁵⁷ Furthermore, several of the brooches can hold pendants such as three strings with a pearl or ribbons with keys. The keys are rendered in different sizes; the early keys are P-shaped and later they become straighter, rendered as an L-shape.⁵⁸ The keys are claimed to point to women as holders of keys to houses, funerary buildings, jewellery boxes, or to the gates to the afterlife, and no general agreement is reached on their meaning.⁵⁹

50. A. Sadurska and A. Bounni identifies a woman as a priestess because she stirs in a bowl with a branch and due to her male hairstyle and is thus involved in ritualistic activities (Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 28. See also Sadurska 1996, 286). This is probably not the case as pointed out by other scholars (Kaizer 2002, 237, n. 134; Yon 2002, 169, n. 28).

51. For a further investigation on jewellery used with clothing in Palmyrene female portraits, see Krag (forthcoming, chapter 5).

52. See Higgins 1961, 181; Pfeiler 1970; Palmieri 2010, 37-43; Zenoni 2010, 48-52.

53. Wild 1968; Wild 1985; Johns 1996; Pászótkai-Szeóke 2000; Rothe 2009; Carroll 2001; 2010; 2012; Stewart 2010.

54. See for example Borg 1996; 1998; Johns 1996; Walker and

Bierbrier 1997; Pászótkai-Szeóke 2000; Boatwright 2005; Rothe 2009, 36-37, 54-55; Carroll 2001; 2012.

55. See for example Cumont 1926, pl. XXXI, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLI.1; Rostovtzeff 1938, pl. XIV.1; Rostovtzeff et al. 1939, 205-206, pl. XXIII; Deppert-Lippitz 1987, 180; Mathiesen 1992; Dirven 2008.

56. The different types and variations have been found among the portraits in the Palmyra Portrait Project database.

57. For a further investigation of brooches and local markers in funerary portraits, see Krag (forthcoming, chapter 5).

58. Early keys, see Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 33, cat. 33, fig. 136, 44-45, cat. 44, fig. 139; Higuchi and Saito 2001, 28-34, pl. 3-5, 8-10. Later keys, see Tanabe 1986, 397, pl. 366; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 74-75, no. 30, 101, no. 57.

59. Ingholt 1928, 61; Gawlikowski 1966a, 414; Colledge 1976, 70; Drijvers 1982, 720 (keys were intended to open the gates

In portraits from the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD, the brooch has a trapezoidal body and the finial is either an animal, a rosette or round (fig. 2).⁶⁰ The body of the brooch is decorated with vegetal or geometric patterns and frequently the decoration is surrounded by a beaded panel. The trapezoidal brooch disappeared in the 3rd century AD including the custom of attaching keys to the brooches. Throughout the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, the brooch changed a lot and many different types were used in the portraits. The brooch is often circular and can enclose geometrical figures such as pentagons, octagons, beaded bands or circular grooves (figs. 3, 6, and 8).⁶¹ Moreover, during the 2nd and 3rd centuries strings with pearls were more frequently attached to the brooches that were sometimes used to highlight the left breast below the brooch.⁶² In this way, attention was brought to aspects of the female anatomy and sex through the brooch.

Brooches are strong markers of a local Palmyrene identity and they are a strongly individualised element in the portraits. Scholars have noted that brooches found in Palmyra overall are different from brooches found in other locations and that a local production of brooches can be inferred.⁶³ L. Palmieri, however, points to the use of Greek and Roman elements of decoration such as the acanthus.⁶⁴ A. Sadurska and A. Bounni claim in their catalogue from 1994 that the brooch with a figure riding an animal is imported; the brooch can be found in two portraits

from the city.⁶⁵ The type might indeed be inspired by Greek predecessors as well as various motifs used as decoration, but both silversmiths and goldsmiths are attested in epigraphy and furthermore unworked glass is found in the city.⁶⁶ Therefore, it is likely that jewellery was produced in Palmyra and is seen in for example brooches in the portraits.

Headdress chains and pendants never became widespread in the portraits, but when they are worn by the women, it is in an interaction with the headgear (fig. 4).⁶⁷ However, the pendants can further rarely be attached directly to the coiffure.⁶⁸ The chains are most often composed of circular pendants joined by beaded elements, but other variants are inferred such as a ribbed band with a central oval pendant, or a chain with small dumbbell-shaped pendants.⁶⁹ The central pendants can be circular, oval, rectangular or square and small strings with a single bead can be attached to the lower pendant. More frequently headdress chains and pendants work together with textiles that are in a local Palmyrene tradition. The headband, or sometimes cloth, worn across the forehead is a dominant and characteristic aspect in the portraits and it was in use throughout the entire period the portraits are produced. The headbands were produced in textile as the texture of the fabric is now and then rendered on both sides of the head.⁷⁰ Thus, the head-

of heaven); Parlasca 1988, 216-220; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 67; Ploug 1995, 91; Balty 1996, 438; Sadurska 1996, 286; Finlayson 2002-2003, 229; Heyn 2010, 635.

60. See Ingholt 1928, 91; Gawlikowski 1966a; Colledge 1976, 70; Palmieri 2010, 35.

61. See Ingholt 1928, 92; Gawlikowski 1966a, 416; Colledge 1976, 71; Chehadé 1972, 50-54; Palmieri 2010, 35.

62. See Ingholt 1928, 131-132, PS 374, 149, PS 496; Böhme and Schottroff 1979, 3-7, 36-37, taf. II; Wartke 1991, 77, cat. 7; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 243, no. 236; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 95, no. 52; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 96, cat. 129, fig. 186; Heyn 2010, 651, app. 4, cat. 17.

63. Gawlikowski 1966a, 412; Deppert-Lippitz 1987, 190.

64. Palmieri 2010, 38.

65. Abdul-Hak 1952, 243, no. 34; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 159-160, 187, cat. no. 209, fig. 160.

66. Ingholt 1928, 71-72; Higgins 1961, 181-182; Chehadé 1972, 93; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 95; Inv. III, 23, 27.

67. See Ingholt 1928, 79-81, PS 49, 131-132, PS 374, 149, PS 496; Kraeling 1961-1962, 13-18, pl. V, VIII; Wartke 1991, 77, cat. 7; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 182, no. 183; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 100, no. 56; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 57-58, cat. 71, fig. 184, 77, cat. 102, fig. 203, 174-176, cat. 232, fig. 248.

68. See Ingholt 1928, 140, PS 431, 142, PS 448, 143, PS 454; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 232, no. 225; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 110-111, no. 67.

69. See Tanabe 1986, 382, no. 351; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 121-122, no. 77, 127, no. 82.

70. See Ingholt 1928, 55-57, PS 31; Colledge 1976, 62, 70, pl. 63; Wartke 1991, 72-73, cat. 2; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 83, no. 40; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 32, cat. 31, fig. 134; Ingholt Archive, PS 770.

bands were not produced in metal as has previously been suggested but were made of fabric with an embroidered panel, either band or full scarf.⁷¹

Early textile headbands were plain, but rather quickly vertical grooves divided the bands into plain panels; occasionally the panels are decorated with a cross.⁷² In the 2nd century AD, the bands were more often divided into panels by vertical beaded bands and the panels received more elaborate decoration such as floral motifs, vegetal motifs or geometric patterns.⁷³ In the graves a large amount of textiles, both imported and locally produced, are found and have strong parallels to the patterns in the headbands.⁷⁴ Therefore, both headbands and head cloths are also highlighting a local social position such as observed with brooches. C. Finlayson claims that the headbands are references to the tribes or clans that the women belonged to and that these can be divided into 16 different tribes.⁷⁵ Furthermore, she suggests that the specific decoration of the headband was passed down through the female line.⁷⁶ In the early portraits, only the plain headbands or headbands into panels were in use for a fairly long period of time. But were the necropoleis only used by few tribes in the early period, as only a few types of headband decoration are found? Rather the headbands or head cloths are a further element supporting the increasing elaborateness of jewellery and textiles over time and they mark a local Palmyrene female identity.

71. See Chehadé 1972, 75; Finlayson 1998, 126-138; Finlayson 2002-2003, 226; Palmieri 2010, 36. Scholars have previously suggested that the headbands were produced in metal, see Mackay 1949, 165; Dentzer-Feydy 1993, 73.

72. For an investigation of head bands in Palmyrene female portraits, see Krag (forthcoming, chapter 5).

73. See Ingholt 1928, 63-64, PS 38; Wartke 1991, 72-73, cat. 2; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 182, no. 183; Hvidberg-Hansen and Ploug 1993, 62-63, no. 8, 102, no. 58; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 34-35, cat. 36, fig. 178, 109-110, cat. 149, fig. 149, 111-112, cat. 153, fig. 228, 143-144, cat. 188, fig. 159.

74. See Pfister 1934; 1937; 1940; Schmidt-Colinet and Stauffer 2000.

75. Finlayson 2002-2003, 224.

76. Finlayson 2002-2003, 224.

Conclusion

In Palmyra jewellery certainly was used to create and establish a position for women in aspects of representing wealth and status. A change from few women wearing large amounts of jewellery, to many women wearing large amounts is evident and new types were introduced continuously. These changes corresponded with an increase in wealth through an expanded trading centre, changing roles for women in the society and the inclusion of new customs and identities. Some women are not wearing jewellery at all or only very few items, and these are often depicted together with their deceased children. Their children are, however, often wearing jewellery, some larger amounts, and in this way jewellery could be used to highlight the primary deceased and the role of the women as mourning. During the 2nd century AD, the necklaces began to seize a larger area of the torso and in the 3rd century AD some of the necklaces could include medallions with busts and these were often women. The necklaces appear to depict the city goddess and thus these necklaces highlight the Palmyrene identity of these women. However, position was not only established through jewellery as an object of wealth. Jewellery, which is used in interaction with clothing, is of a more local character than the rest of the items of jewellery which can, more or less, be observed across the entire Greek and Roman Worlds. Especially the brooch, headdress chains and pendants, as well as the decorated headband or cloth, communicate a local Palmyrene identity. The jewellery established a position for the women wearing these; both in relation to a Palmyrene identity, both in relation to a wider Roman Empire including the large trading realm they became a part of and through which fashions in jewellery also came to be exchanged.

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