Archaeological Finds of "Brass" Instruments in Funerary Contexts

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der vorliegende Beitrag bietet einen Überblick der Funde von Blasinstrumenten aus Metall, die im Mittelmeergebiet in Gräbern aufgefunden wurden. Die Hauptfrage ist, ob diese Grabbeigaben auf die musikalische Tätigkeit oder sogar auf den Beruf der verstorbenen Person hinweisen oder ob sie eine andere, symbolische Rolle erfüllten. Näher betrachtet werden in diesem Rahmen zwei Beispiele: die Gräber von Tuscania (Etrurien, 6.–4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) und Lamia (Griechenland, 4.–2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.). Die Bedeutung dieser Funde für die musikarchäologische Forschung besteht vor allem darin, dass sie zu den wenigen Fällen dokumentierter Fundkontexte zählen. Um einen Vergleich zu ermöglichen, werden weitere römerzeitliche Gräber mit Funden von Musikinstrumenten/Klangerzeugern in die Diskussion einbezogen.

1 INTRODUCTION

In previous meetings of our study group the problem of the provenience of artefacts of interest for music archaeologists has already been discussed[1]. This paper aims to focus only on the category of finds of metal[2] wind instruments from the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The state of preservation of the artefacts made it necessary for scholars to advance identifications between different categories of evidence in order to get as close as possible to the 'ancient reality'. I will mention only two situations. First: for each of the names of the instruments mentioned by the ancient written sources, scholars searched among pertinent ancient depictions and real archaeological finds[3]. The attributions were occasionally discussed, but generally accepted and rarely replaced. The *cornu*-finds from Pompeii have been named, firstly *tuba*, then *bucina* and finally *cornu*[4]. Second: the finds of real musical instruments, once identified, were "restored". Due to the fact that the better-preserved finds were found at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the restoration-process was more of a reconstruction. The end product was an assemblage based on information from various sources. Major importance was given to the depictions[5], sometimes without considering the differences in dates and circumstances of the use of the musical instrument.

The ancient metal horns and trumpets were of considerable dimensions and were therefore recycled after their use was discontinued (already in the Roman and Late Roman periods). This helps to explain the fact that most fragments of musical instruments have been found in metal deposits, collected to be melted down[6]. So far, musical instruments found in contexts other than metal deposits are very rare. Among the most interesting archaeological complexes are the graves. Even if the first thought would be to identify the deceased as a musician, thus explaining why a musical instrument was part of the grave inventory, the situation can be different from case to case, depending on the kind of musical instrument as well as on the other items in the grave inventory[7].

The preciousness of the material of the musical instruments of copper alloy and possibly of the instruments themselves might have been an impediment for putting instruments in the grave inventory. Another important factor might have

1 Lawson 2006 (with further literature).
2 The material was rarely analysed and the results are puzzling. It seems that some parts of the instruments were made of brass, some of bronze. For an analysed item and the discussion see Alexandrescu (in press b); Pinette 1993, Cat. No. 97.
3 E.g. Behn 1912.
4 See Alexandrescu 2004; Meucci 1985, 383 (with bibliography), 386–387.
5 See Behn 1912; Alexandrescu 2004; Alexandrescu 2006, 209–210.
6 Alexandrescu (in press a).
7 See Psaroudakēs 2006; Lawson 2006, 5 (with further literature).

been the question of property: to whom did the instrument belong, and in what relationship did the deceased stand with the owner? Those details are difficult for us to assess, even basing ourselves on a well-preserved and well-documented archaeological context. As for the military musicians, it is very probable that the military unit retained the instrument, since it was the property of the state. Only the mouthpiece might be found in the grave, because it was made for each individual player and could eventually be placed in the grave of the deceased musician. However, for the over 300 military musicians recorded in the funerary inscriptions, no grave was documented; only their grave stones have been found, most of them having been reused.

Of special music-archaeological interest is the archaeological context, including all the other artefacts and monuments related to the grave. Those can be of various categories and types: depictions, inscriptions (or other written evidence, e. g. on papyri) and, finally, real instruments. This paper will discuss mainly the third category.

2 GRAVESTONES AND OTHER FUNERARY MONUMENTS (Figs. 1–3)

Our main sources for specific "musicians", as well as for the names of represented instruments, are the depictions on grave markers (of various kinds). Starting with late antiquity, the big stone-blocks were reused for different purposes. We cannot necessarily reconstruct the find-spots or the archaeological context of the grave. Due to the early archaeologists' attention to the inscriptions and not to "small finds" – or even bones – any additional information from the funerary complexes (if those were actually intact at the time of discovery), is in most cases lost. Sometimes the monuments themselves are no longer available and the record can be very confusing. I shall present here, shortly, the case of a funerary monument with representation and inscription, found in Rome in the 17th century and published for the first time in the same period.

3 THE FUNERARY MONUMENT OF M. IULIUS VICTOR

In the middle of the 17th century C. Bartholinus visited Rome and the collection of antiquities of G. Bellori. In his work on ancient musical instruments Bartholinus describes two reliefs from this collection: one on a terracotta plate, showing a theatre mask and a *syrinx*, the other bearing the depiction of a man holding an instrument and pointing to another at his right, identified by the inscription on the stone as M. Iulius Victor, a former member of an association of *lituus*- and *cornu*-players[8]. In the small format book of Bartholinus (Fig. 4) the lines of the inscription are positioned on the top, bottom and left side of the representation field. The same depiction is taken over in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL VI 33999).

However, in Bellori's publication that appeared about five years later (his original publication was very popular and therefore republished), the monument is depicted in a different manner. On Plate VIII of his book (here Fig. 5) the elements of the relief shown by Bartholinus are present (but with sides reversed), the lines of inscription are positioned only on the bottom and top borders, and both the relief and inscription are shown as if forming the front of an imposing funerary altar. In the left corner of the representation field the group of mask and panpipes is seen. It seems that on this plate Bellori combined two items of his collection into one single monument.

F. Bonanni chose the figure of M. Iulius Victor as a model to present the ancient *lituus* in his 1723 "Gabinetto armonico"[9]. We see the man in the same posture as on Bartholinus' drawing, holding the instrument and his arms in the same manner (Fig. 6). Only the second instrument and the inscription are missing. The musician is now placed in a sort of landscape. The documentation phases presented above are not too problematic and this example is not unique. There are even bigger and better known monuments that had a similar research history. In this case the problem was raised by the particular theories and interpretations given to the relief and by the generalizations based on them regarding players of wind instruments in Rome. It was postulated that the civilian musicians were active also in theatre due to the depiction of mask and panpipes. Furthermore, the mention of *collegium liticinum cornicinum* in the inscription was considered a criterion for dating the monument to the 1st century B.C., because the written sources mention the republican *centuria* of the *cornicines liticines* or *cornicines tubicines*. The fact is that in the written sources of that time no *collegium* was mentioned; moreover, further details of name and style were left completely unconsidered. New epigraphic evidence from Rome, however, even if the monument of M. Iulius Victor (of whatever shape) is still lost, made possible a new examination of the case. It

8 Bartholinus 1679, 410.
9 Harrison/Rimmer 1964, Fig. 11.

was possible to point out the existence of civilian musicians in Rome, organized in *collegia,* probably starting with the early Empire, which filled musical assistance jobs for ceremonies and processions of various kinds[10].

There are many funerary monuments of different types (stele, sarcophagi, etc.) preserved for Roman-period musicians (military and civilian)[11]. The identification of musicians playing the same or similar instruments in the army and as civilians in the city, bearing most probably the same name, will require further research efforts. Each relief, with or without a preserved inscription, as well as each inscription with or without relief, has to be considered and analysed for itself and with respect to the particularities of the workshop, region, customer etc. A further fact, which has not been always realised by scholars, is that a musical instrument and/or musical scenes and persons playing were depicted (by Greeks, in the Hellenistic world, by Etruscans and Romans) on funerary monuments of deceased persons without musical activity. In those cases, the musician or the musical instrument is fulfilling a secondary role, apparently a symbolic one, being only "tools" or elements in a composition with a broad significance[12].

The grave of a musician is identifiable by the gravestone with a depiction of the deceased with his instrument or of the instrument only, or by the gravestone with an inscription mentioning the profession of the deceased, sometimes without any representation. Researchers until now have considered separately or even exclusively the epigraphy or the depictions. Therefore the discussions have been dominated by statistics; the individuals were hardly considered, if at all. This situation was caused by the treatments applied to stone materials during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. It was this that interested the 'pioneers' in the field in the 19th century or earlier. The context of discovery was deemed less important, if at all registered or considered.

4 THE FINDS OF METAL WIND INSTRUMENTS

Bronze was very important and expensive or rare enough to be collected and recycled. The probability of providing the deceased with any items of bronze, especially large items, is therefore small. If there is such a case, the question is why did this happen? Research into the reasons is obligatory. Bronze items, with the exception of bronze statues, were at first not as sought after as the stones with reliefs or inscriptions. Nowadays the metal items found are increasingly a result of metal-detectors. Metal is more and more looked for, excavated, and put up for sale. After coins, weapons, sculptures and so on, big items such as musical instruments, especially the better-preserved examples, are real treasures[13].

There are also a few exceptions. In order to illustrate my argument I shall present two examples. The first one is the grave chamber of the Etruscan family of the Vipinana, at Tuscania, excavated in 1839. The second one is a grave in Lamia, in Thessaly, found in 1998.

4.1 'TOMBA DEI VIPINANA' NEAR TUSCANIA

Starting with Vincenzo Campanari (1772–1840), the Campanari family carried out extended and very fortunate excavations between 1828 and 1845 in Etruria (in the region between Vulci, Bomarzo, Tuscania, Poggio Buco, Ischia di Castro and Falerii Novi)[14]. Beside their relations to the Vatican and the scientific institutions of their time in Italy and abroad[15], relevant for the discussion here is the interest of the Campanari – the father and his three sons[16] – for the display of their discoveries, for making them known to the public in a manner as attractive as possible, and for putting the archaeological artefacts in their reconstructed original surroundings[17]. Due to their efforts, starting in 1837,

10 Alexandrescu 2004.

11 A 3rd century sarcophagus from Aquincum (CIL III 10501), with inscription mentioning the *hydraularius* (player of the water-organ) of the legion and his wife, also a musician. CIL XII 832: the sarcophagus of Iulia Tyrannia, who lived 20 years and 8 months, emplaced by her grandfather and her husband. In this case several musical instruments are depicted in the relief fields on both sides of the field with the inscription, but no specification of the musical activity or interests of Tyrannia is made in the text; the only thing mentioned is that she enjoyed higher education. CIL X 4915: "[...] I am Iustus, named after my mother and not after my father / I was born from a poor father, rich only by his fame / Playing the *tibiae* for marking the changes in the battle [in the arena, the author], I made by my music the gladiators grasp their arms and I stimulated them by my tunes".

12 Alexandrescu 2007, 33–46.

13 See Alexandrescu (in press b).

14 Colonna 1978, 81.

15 Vincenzo Campanari was member of several archaeological societies and associations of his time: *Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, *Istituto Romano di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, *Società Colombari* in Florence and *Accademia Calamense* from Neapel.

16 Carlo (1800–1871) led excavations, Secondiano (1805–1855) was a lawyer and led the research and the publications, Domenico (1808–1876) was active in the British art market. On the Campanari family see Dennis 1948, 459; Colonna 1978 (with bibliography) and Buranelli 1991, 45–47.

17 Colonna 1978, 82–85.

the Etruscan antiquities found in the tombs excavated by the Campanari at Vulci were shown to the public in England in a tremendous exhibition at Pall Mall, for which Secondiano Campanari wrote a catalogue[18]. At the same time in Rome, Pope Gregorius the XIXth inaugurated at the Vatican the *Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*[19], which included displays of the finds from the Campanari excavations.

According to several descriptions from that period, the exhibition in London was a success and was also the starting point for a travel trend to Etruria[20]. G. Dennis (1814–1889), English diplomat and scholar, visited Etruria during 1842 and 1847, together with the painter Samuel James Ainsley, and wrote thereafter his book "The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria"[21]. Furthermore, after the exhibition the Campanari extended their trade in antiquities to France, England, Germany and Spain. The *Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* in Rome, using the good relations between Secondiano Campanari and E. Gerhard, documented and published the discoveries of the family before they were put up for sale in the European markets[22].

In January 1839 Carlo Campanari conducted excavations in Tuscania, near the Etruscan town of the same name, in a place called 'Il Calcarello' and discovered the grave of the Vipinana family[23]. In the vaulted grave-chamber (the vault, once supported by three columns, had, at the moment of digging already collapsed) were found 27 stone coffins, arranged in two circles: one of women and girls in the middle, and one of men[24]; in the center of the chamber was the *cippus* of the grave bearing an inscription. The identification of the family was made possible by the inscription on the front, over the entrance into the grave-chamber[25]. The aristocratic family of the Vipinana used the grave-chamber and the adjacent spaces over the generations. The archaeological material said to come from the grave allows an identification of funerary activity in a younger period (1st–2nd century A.D.) as well[26]. Scholars dated the coffins between the end of the 4th century and the middle of the 2nd century B.C.[27] Some of the coffins had an inscription and the color of the coffin-decoration was also preserved[28]. The younger, simpler urns were not documented but are registered in the list published by Jahn. He mentions also pottery, statuettes, lamps and coins (one with the legend "Divus Augustus"). There were also, and this is actually the reason I have chosen to present this grave, a "significant number" of fragments of metallic tubes (no exact number is mentioned), some of them lightly curved, considered by Jahn to eventually belong to *litui*[29].

In their garden in Tuscania, the Campanari-family reconstructed the grave-chamber (Fig. 7), with the intention of offering to the interested public a permanent exhibition[30]. Due to the intention to make it open to the public, 17 coffins were exhibited in the garden (Fig. 8), and only 10 coffins were in the grave-chamber (Fig. 9) together with various small finds like pottery, lamps, chandelier-elements etc. (originals and replicas)[31].

The finds from the grave-chamber were sold all over Europe and there are some inventory lists and drawings preserved which enable the identifications[32]. Information on the exact location within the grave is not preserved. Furthermore it is not certain if the so-called reconstruction of the grave in the Campanari-garden (Fig. 9) paid attention to the details of the discovery. However, the musical instruments were not considered in the reconstruction (for we cannot find any reference to them) and their belonging to the grave inventory is known only from the various lists.

In Etruscan grave-chambers with wall paintings, the musical instruments, conventionally called *cornu* and *lituus*[33], are depicted (painted or in relief) on the wall with the entrance on the both sides of the door (Figs. 10–11)[34]. We can only imagine that, in the Vipinana-grave the musical instruments and some other artefacts, this time real ones, were hung on the walls[35], in the manner depicted in the mentioned graves from Tarquinia and Cerveteri. For one of the sarcophagi from the Vipinana-grave, in the reconstructed version, the

18 See Colonna 1978, 82, Note 5.
19 On the convention between Vincenzo Campanari and the Vatican see Buranelli 1991.
20 Colonna 1978, 82–85; for the newest literature see Haack 2006, 61, Note 34.
21 The book of Dennis, in two volumes, was very successful. Published in London in 1848 and 1878, it had a third edition in 1883.
22 See Buranelli 1991, 46–47.
23 Colonna 1978, 92–93; Steingräber 1981, 409–411.
24 Jahn 1839, 23. The identification was made based on the representation on the lid; Jahn makes a detailed description only for 12 sarcophagi.
25 Jahn 1839, 24; Dennis 1948, 458–460. The inscription was already noticed in the 16th century (Colonna 1978, 99).
26 Colonna 1978, 100.
27 Colonna 1978, 112–113; Steingräber 1981, 409–411.
28 Jahn 1839, 25.
29 Jahn 1839, 28.
30 Colonna 1978, 92.
31 Dennis 1948, 461–465.
32 Jahn 1839, 23–25; Colonna 1978; Buranelli 1991, 52; Haack 2006, 62, Notes 39–40.
33 Alexandrescu 2004.
34 Cerveteri, 'Tomba dei Rilievi' (Steingräber 1985, Cat. No. 9); Tarquinia, Tomba Gollini (Steingräber 1985, Cat. No. 69.)
35 The reconstruction of the grave-chamber, as we see it in the drawing from the book of Dennis, might have been put in the display by the Campanari brothers for exhibition reasons.

description by the visitors from that period (Dennis and Ms. Hamilton Gray) mentions the skeleton with weapons[36] in the lidless coffin being placed in the centre of the grave-chamber.

Most probably the musical instruments from this grave-chamber were not provided for the afterlife of the musician buried there but were an expression of the wealth of the family of one of the first persons buried in the chamber, possibly a magistrate. In several Etruscan tombs with wall-paintings, pairs of *cornua* and *litui* are depicted. On the sarcophagi from the 4th century B.C. with the representation of the procession of the magistrate, there are also players of *cornu* and *lituus* as part of the escort of the magistrate. In the Vipinana-tomb, there seems to have been also a sarcophagus with a magistrate procession, now lost[37].

Regarding the musical instruments from the grave (Figs. 12–15) acquired by the British Museum in 1839, it was possible to observe several details (such as the positioning and the techniques of the joining-points, the shape of the mouthpiece etc.)[38], which enabled the identification of further instruments and mouthpieces from European collections as being of "Etruscan type"[39].

It is certain, however, that the instruments in the British Museum suffered several restorations and attempts to put them together. Those have not been documented on paper and the photographic documentation is also partially lost. Therefore it is not certain that the two "better looking" instruments (Figs. 12–13) are more than assemblages of tubing parts that fit together. It is not clear if the instrument was large enough to have a crossbar or if it was a smaller, simpler variant.

Based on the depictions of *cornu* on the walls of funerary chambers in Tarquinia and Cerveteri it is possible to assume a variant for the fixing of the crossbar on the inner part of the tubing, without a continuation on its outer part (as is usual for younger items of Roman date). Even though the provenience of the Etruscan instrument in the museum in Villa Giulia[40], thought to come from a grave, is not clear, and even though the dimensions are much smaller, this is a possible analogy.

4.1.1 Lituus-finds from Etruscan graves

During the 19th century excavations in Vulci, more or less contemporary with the work of the Campanari family, a 1.40 m long musical instrument called '*lituus*' was found in a grave. The name was due to its shape, and it was acquired for the Feoli collection which later came into the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco at the Vatican. It is now displayed there in the permanent exhibition. In the literature it was for a long time identified as found in *Caere*/Cerveteri. There is no further information preserved about the context of the discovery.

With one exception, the finds of identified Etruscan *litui* came from the antiquities trade into museums or private collections[41]. During excavations in Cività (Tarquinia), in the context of a votive deposit from the 7th century B.C.[42], together with weapons, a *lituus* was found, intentionally broken by its having been folded it in three parts.

Due to the scarcity of the evidence, there are only some hypotheses possible. As our information comes mainly from the depictions on sarcophagi and urns as well as on bronze vessels, the circumstances of finding the real instruments have to be 'reconstructed'. *Cornu* and *lituus* are shown, both for Hellenistic as well as for Roman times, to lead the processions and to be used in warfare. Even if this situation is similar to the one from the Roman period, it seems that the presence of instruments in Etruscan family-graves is to be understood as an expression of their wealth and prestige, that is, they were able to hire or to sustain a group of musicians as well as to give those valuable instruments to their deceased as grave inventory. For the time being, there is no evidence known for the identification of any musician in these Etruscan graves.

Further, there is no Roman period grave with documented archaeological context that has in its inventory a musical instrument[43].

4.2 THE *SALPINX* FROM GRAVE VIII IN LAMIA, THESSALY

One might say that we must accept less then optimal archaeological situations from which only one-sided studies are retrievable. There are several graves without any hope of restoration of their archaeological context, even after having researched the archives and after making visits to more than one museum housing collections

36 See Colonna 1978, 93.
37 Jahn 1839, No. 9.
38 Wardle 1981, No. 22–26; Jackson 2000, Fig. 67; Alexandrescu 2004.
39 Length 1.34 m, mouthpiece length 8–9 cm, exterior diameter of the lip 2.75 cm (Alexandrescu 2004).
40 Baines 1976, Pl. 2.4; Wardle 1981, Cat. No. 21.
41 Alexandrescu 2004.
42 Bonghi Jovino 1987, 72–75.
43 A possible exception might be the grave No. 6 from Dunaujváros/Intercisa, where a bone or ivory mouthpiece is said to have been found (now lost). However, the authors of the publication mention the uncertain conditions of recovering the inventory items of this grave from an antiquities seller (R.-Alföldy 1957, Cat. No. 179; Sági 1957, 617).

known to have acquired finds from a particular region.

As rare and precious as a musical instrument might be, the proper publication of inventories, archaeological conditions, and so on are a priority. For example, in the beautiful exhibition catalogue from the *Musical Instruments Museum* in Berlin, organized by the *Hellenic Ministry of Culture*, there are 13 finds from graves[44] without any further information on the archaeological circumstances, inventories, and so on. The finds have been taken out of their contexts in order to suit the needs of the exhibition. An excuse might be: these are new finds (even though this is not valid for all of them) and the focus is on the instruments themselves. For an exhibition, however, all additional information can be of interest to the viewing public, when these items are presented not only as musical instruments but as parts of grave inventories that were intended (for whatever reason is a further question) to accompany the deceased in the afterlife. By separating the instruments from their contexts, the whole picture of the person who played the instrument and his public, of the person who purchased the instrument or made it, is simply destroyed and ignored. Artificial selections of this kind are unreasonable.

About the grave VIII from Lamia we learn only that the grave goods were dated between the second half of the 4th and the middle of the 2nd century B.C.[45] The fragmentarily preserved trumpet (Fig. 16) consisted of a bronze piece (the bell-section) and a further fragment of bone (called in the catalogue "the mouthpiece") with a metal ring, which would have reinforced the pieces when joined. The catalogue mentions only the length of the two elements assembled (0.40 m). Together with the fragments was found a chain with rings of different diameters at both ends.

The find from Lamia is important primarily because it is among the few ancient wind instruments from sepulchral contexts found during systematic excavations. The organological observations and the dating of this instrument are also useful for the analysis of at least two further fragments of similar instruments, preserved now in Milan and Boston, Mass. (Figs. 17–18)[46].

5 THE BENEFITS OF DOCUMENTED ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

The benefit of working with documented archaeological contexts is self-evident, but all associative information must be valued as well. Our chosen examples point out the necessity of this approach.

The pits from Bernard (Vendée) found in the second half of the 19th century at a place named "Troussepoil", in a region where a Roman *vicus* and a *villa* have been revealed, where partially excavated. Identified by the excavator as grave-pits[47], the bone remains have not been analysed in order to determine whether they are human or animal. The artefacts were dated between the 2nd and the 4th century A.D. The newest excavated pits from the site made possible the identification of those complexes as being of a non-funerary nature[48], without being able, however, to identify their function. Ultimately it may be the case that these were reused former extraction pits (?) of the late Roman period. The discussion and the theories on the pits themselves are not of concern here. What is important is the way the authors of the digs chose to document their work. In pits XVII and XX, L. Baudry found two mouthpieces (Figs. 19–22). He opined that the trumpets were originally very short because of the length of the mouthpiece (the length of the two items is of 14 respectively 15 cm); he further interpreted both pits as being graves of musicians, in which the musical instruments would have been deposited after having been intentionally damaged as a sign of grief[49]. Even if his theories are shown by later research to be erroneous, the find-spots and contexts of the two mouthpieces are among the very few to be preserved. Furthermore, the later publication does not mention the fragments of musical instruments at all.

The second case presented here are the finds of some kinds of idiophones in the graves of girls and young women (dated between the late 2nd to the 4th centuries A.D.) in a region north of the Alps (*Gallia Belgica*, *Germania*)[50]. The problem concerned the identification of the items. Are they real musical instruments or are they artefacts with apotropaic functions? Is there a possible relation between those idiophones (Figs. 23–25) and the

44 Andrikou *et al.* 2003, No. 10, 12, 53, 54, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 70, 73, 74, 75 (instruments of different categories). Of interest is the frequency of graves with musical instruments in the necropolis of Arta/Ambrakia.

45 Andrikou *et al.* 2003, No. 68, from Greece, Lamia, grave VIII/1998 (presently, the finds are preserved in Lamia, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. M 7953, M7905a–d, M 8054a–b).

46 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Frederick Brown Fund, Inv. No. 37.301; Milan: Meucci 1993, 9–10, with Note 6; Maioli 1996, illustration on page 9. The instrument in Boston, Mass., is presented as an entirely preserved one (see Fig. 17), but there are several open questions about its provenience and repairs (discussion in Alexandrescu 2004).

47 Baudry/Ballereau 1873, 146–153, 171–181.

48 Provost *et al.* 1996, 72–88.

49 Baudry/Ballereau 1873, 309.

50 Martin 1991, 51–57; Tamboer 1999, 53–54; Vendries 1999, 194–195.

similarly shaped *sistra* from the cult of the Egyptian goddess Isis? Were the deceased professional musicians or dancers[51]? The answers to all those questions are far from being entirely solved. M. Martin and Chr. Vendries listed over 15 more or less well-documented graves for this region, characterised by rich and valuable grave-inventories. It is a question of pursuing a music archaeological survey in regions with as yet unidentified similar finds in order to verify the thesis of their restricted regional appearance (e.g. additional Danubian provinces or former Roman territories in Africa). The interesting observation made by Vendries is that these kinds of idiophones are never depicted on contemporary monuments of the region[52].

During the last two meetings of the Study Group we had the opportunity to learn about graves with lyres from classical Greece[53] as well as about the group of Anglo-Saxon graves of musicians from England[54].

6 CONCLUSIONS

The examples presented here make clear the need for setting new focuses for our future research. The overviews proposed in this paper point out the fact that the relatively small number of documented examples of graves of musicians reflects the state of the research rather than the reality of the investigated period.

We should not be surprised that research scholars, in general, have been cautious not to give more than the minimum necessary importance to individual finds. Yet each observation must not only be verified, but should also be analysed by placing it in a broader context in order to be able to draw major conclusions. There is neither a requirement nor any certainty that a researcher will find similar pieces of information in separate categories of investigation that can, in the end, be merged into a general or larger picture. The very lack of evidence for one instrument in one region or in one category of sources can be also an instructive result that can be explained and that may require further investigation.

For the time being, due to the lack of evidence, it is not possible to draw any conclusions regarding the treatment thus far applied to "brass" instruments of ancient musicians. Further open questions await special studies that will deal primarily with the archaeological contexts and their interpretation, such as the social status of the musician, the society, and the role played by music in it. Finally, a special contribution is to be expected from corroborative studies with ethno-archaeology in order to get nearer to the realities of specific periods, regions and populations. The results of such investigations will surely also benefit museums and exhibitions, which will then be able to display artefacts in their more meaningful specific contexts and not only in the very general category of every day life.

51 Grünewald 2005, 127, No. 16 (grave from Heßloch).
52 Vendries 1999, 195.
53 Psaroudakēs 2006.
54 Lawson 2006.

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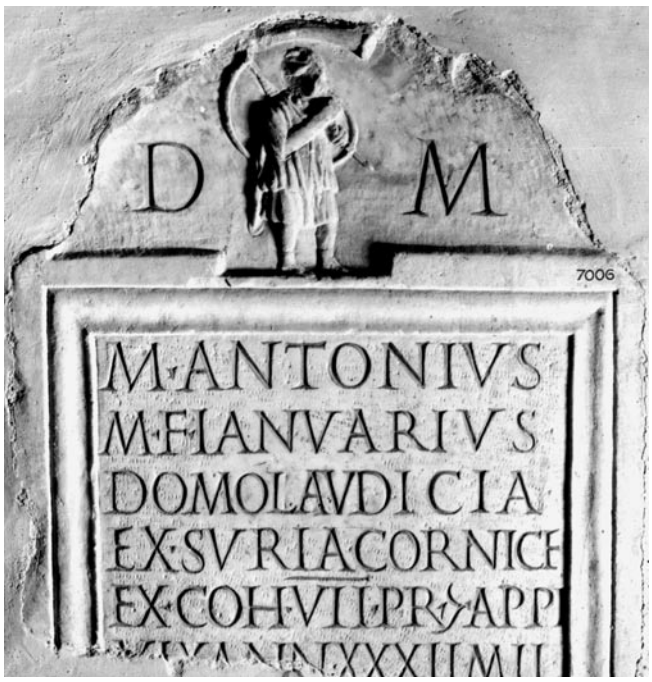

Fig. 1 Gravestone of the *cornicen* M. Antonius Ianuarius, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria. Photo: Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu.

Fig. 2 Gravestone of the *tubicen* Aur. Salvianus, from Chersones, now in Moscow (after Akimova 1987, No. 152).

Fig. 3 Gravestone of a *tubicen*(?) from Autun (after Espérandieu No. 1875).

Fig. 4 Funerary monument of M. Iulius Victor (drawing after Bartholinus 1679, 405).

Fig. 5 Funerary monument of M. Iulius Victor (after Meucci 1985, Fig. 1).

Fig. 6 Funerary monument of M. Iulius Victor (after Harrison *et al.* 1964, Fig. 11).

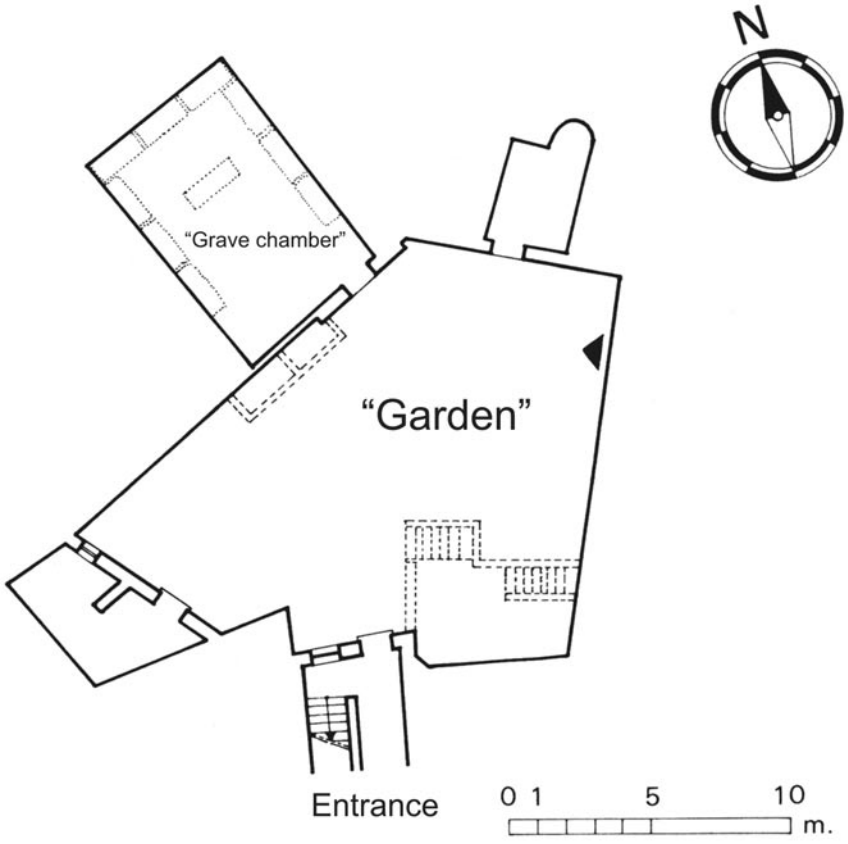

Fig. 7 Sketch of the Campanari house and garden in Tuscania, with the reconstruction of the Vipinana-grave-chamber (after Colonna 1978, Fig. 5).

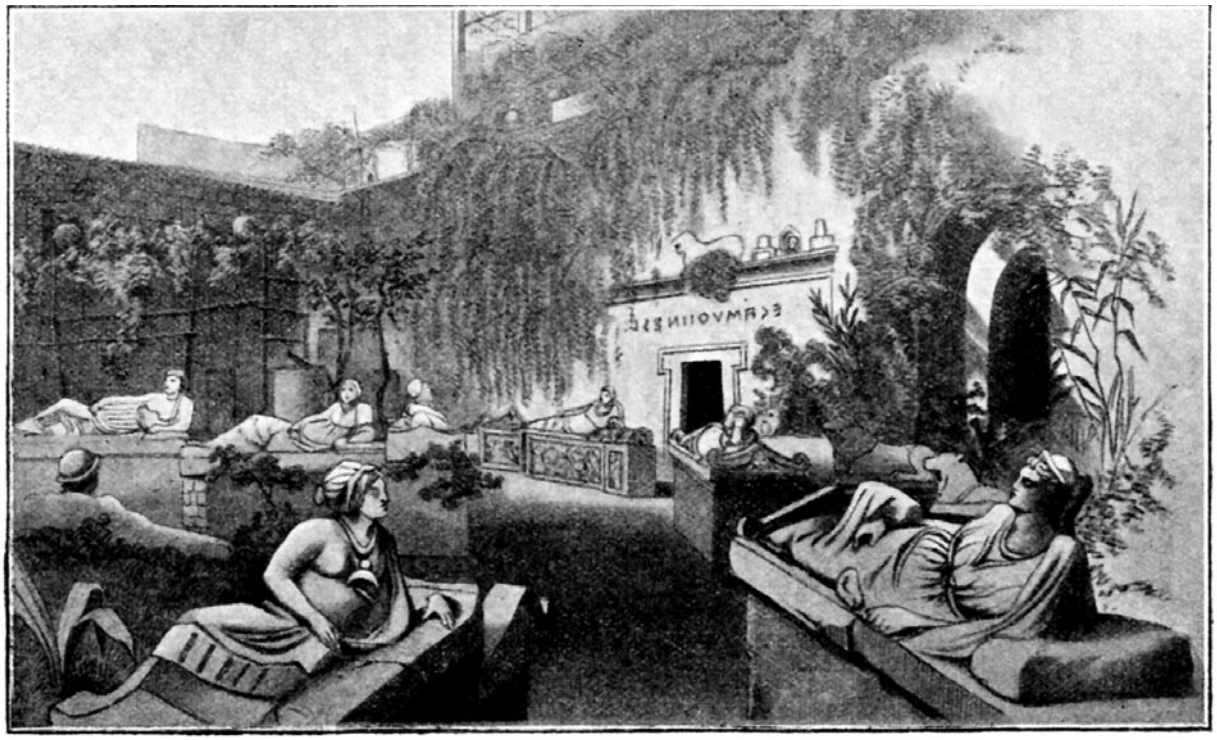

Fig. 8 Drawing of the garden of the Campanari family with the entrance to the reconstructed Vipinana-grave (after Dennis 1948, 460).

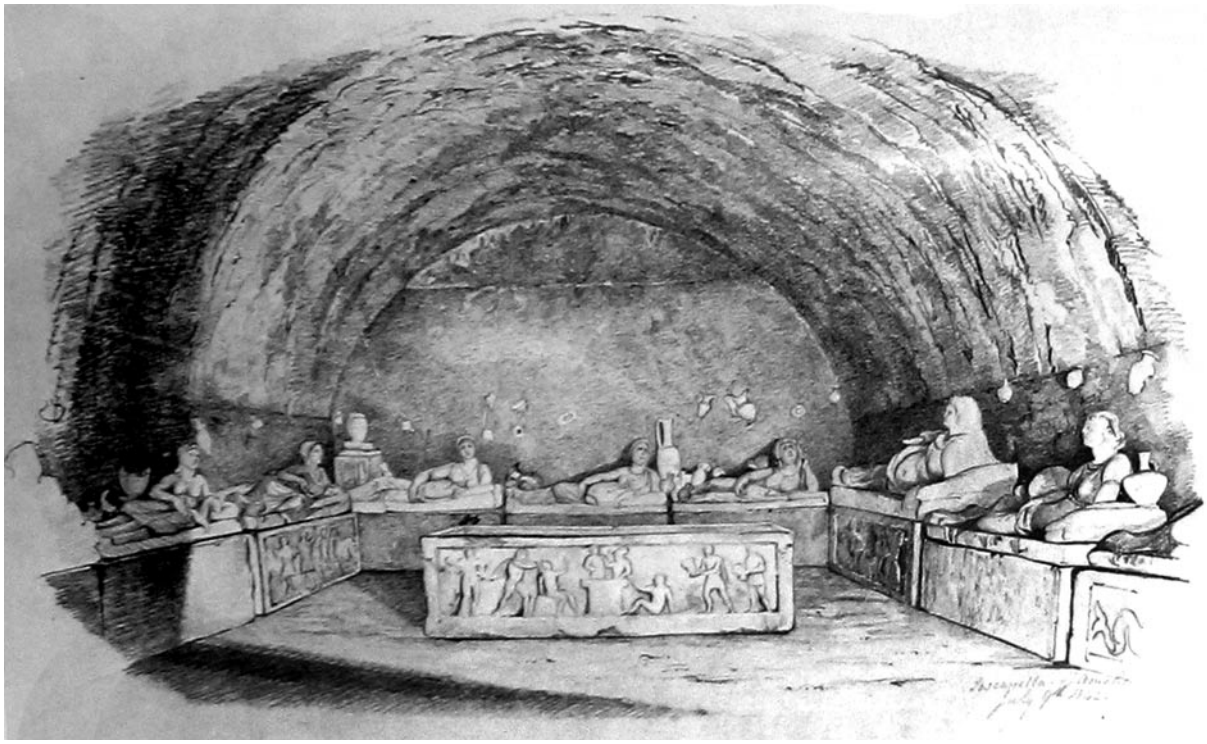

Fig. 9 Drawing of the interior of the Vipinana-grave (after Colonna 1978, Pl. XXIII).

Fig. 10 Cerveteri,Tomba dei Rilievi, detail of the entrance wall
(after Steingräber 1985, No. 9, 271, Fig. 7).

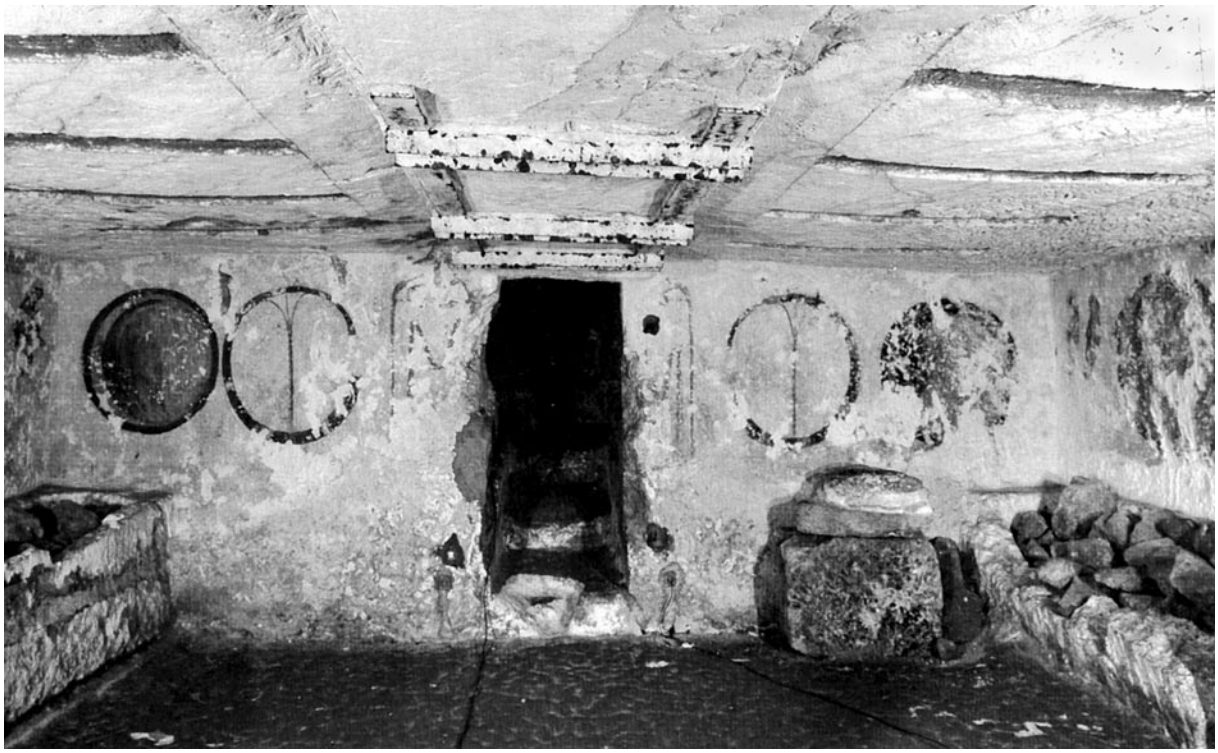

Fig. 11 Tarquinia, Tomba Giglioli, detail of the entrance wall (after Steingräber 1985, No. 69, 317, Fig. 163).

Fig. 12 One of the musical instruments found in the Vipinana-grave, now in London, British Museum. Photograph by Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu.

Fig. 13 One of the musical instruments found in the Vipinana-grave, now in London, British Museum. Photograph by Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu.

Fig. 14 Fragments of further musical instruments found in the Vipinana-grave, now in London, British Museum. Photograph by Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu.

Fig. 15 Detail of the fragment with mouthpiece shown in Fig. 14. Photograph by Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu.

Fig. 16 Musical instrument from a grave from Lamia (after Andrikou *et al*. 2003, No. 68).

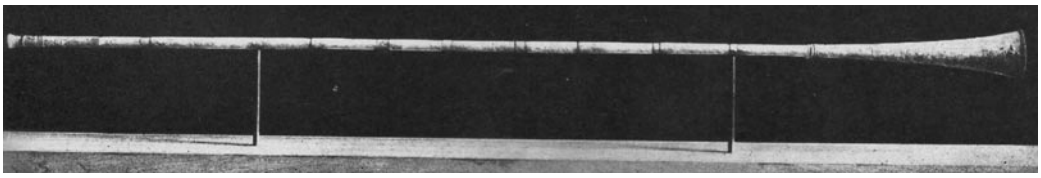

Fig. 17 Musical instrument in Boston, Mass., Museum of Fine Arts (after Caskey 1937, Fig. 1).

Fig. 18 Some of the elements of the musical instrument from Fig. 17 (after Caskey 1937, Fig. 3).

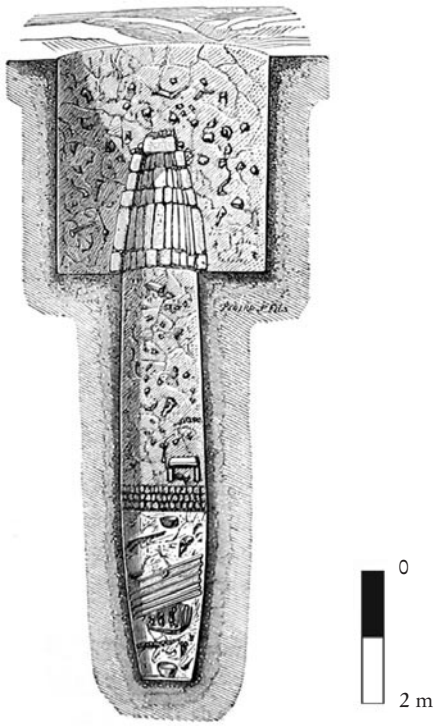

Fig. 19 Pit No. XVII from Bernard (Vendée) (after Baudry *et al.* 1873, 146).

Fig. 20 Pit No. XX from Bernard (Vendée) (after Baudry *et al.* 1873, 170).

Fig. 21 Mouthpiece from pit No. XVII from Bernard, length ca. 14 cm (after Baudry *et al.* 1873, Fig. 2).

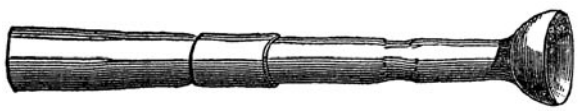

Fig. 22 Mouthpiece from pit No. XX from Bernard, length ca. 15 cm (after Baudry *et al.* 1873, Fig. 2).

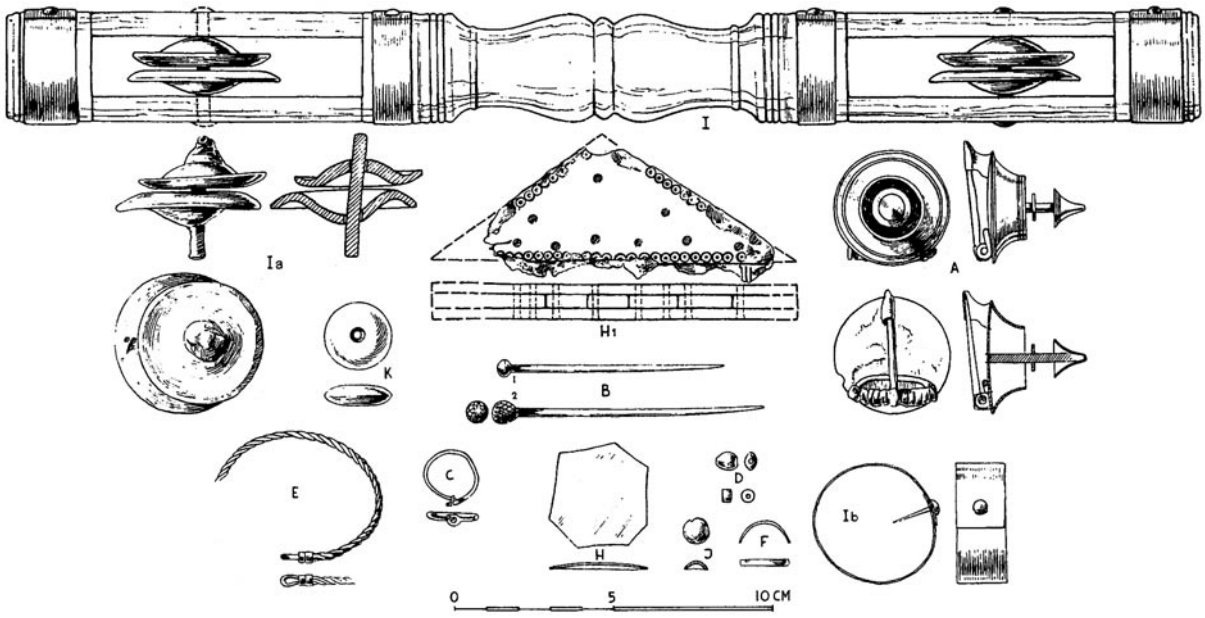

Fig. 23 The inventory of the grave No. 405 (1957) with idiophone from Nijmegen (after Martin 1991, Fig. 24).

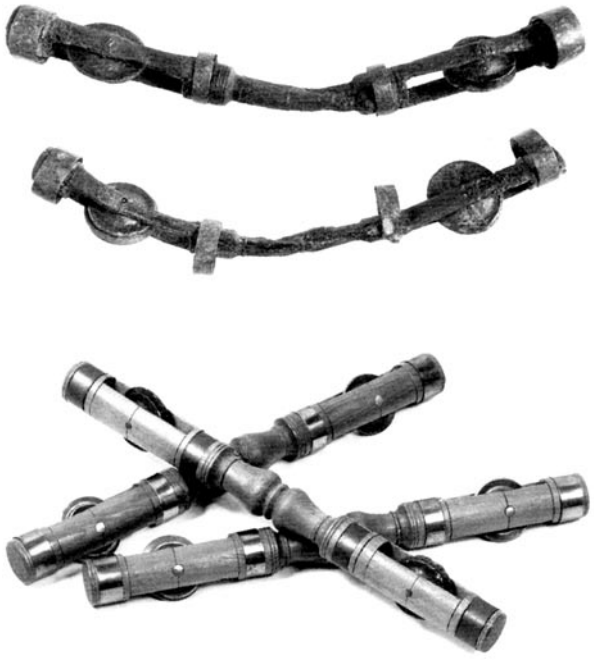

Fig. 24 Idiophone from the grave from Nijmegen – original and reconstruction (after Jurriaans-Helle 1999, Fig. 9).

Fig. 25 The idiophone found in the grave No. 552 from Krefeld-Gellep (after Jurriaans-Helle 1999, Fig. 88).