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Francisco B. Gomes

Catarina Costeira

Anna Maria Desiderio

Arianna Esposito

Giacomo Bardelli

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Chapter 5: Clothing, Identities and Politics

Exploring Dress, Gender, and Bodily Capital through Pre- and Protohistoric Funerary Contexts: Case Studies from Southwestern Europe

Francisco B. Gomes, Catarina Costeira, Anna Maria Desiderio, Arianna Esposito, and Giacomo Bardelli.

Keywords: gender, bodily capital, funerary contexts, social communication, social hierarchies

1. Introduction

While uneven in their scope and reach, studies of dress and dress complements (fibulae, belt buckles, buttons, etc.) have a significant tradition within the broader study of the pre- and protohistory of Mediterranean Europe. Many of these studies, however, have had a strong focus on the typology of the dress complements and ornaments themselves, either as chronological indicators, ethnic markers, or both. In more recent years, however, a shift in research agendas has ushered in the introduction of new perspectives and new ways of thinking about dress and bodily adornment.

This contribution explores one such perspective in particular — namely, the concept of bodily capital and its application to the interpretation of gendered regimes of dress — through selected case studies. Said case studies hail from two areas with strong traditions of research on dress and dress complements — the Iberian and the Italic Peninsulas (Figs. 1 & 2).

Regarding the former, examples from the Chalcolithic (see below, section 3.1.1) and the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages of Southern Portugal (section 3.1.2) illustrate the evolution of regional regimes for the accumulation of bodily capital over time and show how these can highlight the gendered dynamics behind the sociopolitical development of communities in this area between the 3rd and the 1st millennia BC. For the latter, the examples of protohistoric

Campania, with a focus on Pontecagnano and its surrounding area (section 3.2.1), and the Archaic Period in the Picenum, with a focus on the site of Numana (section 3.2.2), illustrate the role of dress, and especially female dress, in displays of bodily capital. These have far-reaching implications which go beyond the local and regional scale and must be set against the backdrop of the increasing connectivity of Mediterranean communities throughout the 1st millennium BC.

As will be seen, all these case studies offer insights and clues on how to approach dress and its relationship to both embodied identities and lived experiences of gender (but also status) from different and innovative angles. Before delving into them, however, it seems useful to start by briefly reviewing the development of theoretical and methodological approaches to dress in archaeological research, and to set out the conceptual framework of this study by briefly discussing the notion of bodily capital, its origin and potential applications for the topic at hand.

2. Bodily capital and the interpretation of dress and gender in pre- and protohistoric funerary contexts

«Because it produces, maintains and sometimes contests the social relations that exist between people, dress is not something that happens *in* society, it *is* society.»¹

The archaeological study of dress has been substantially transformed over the past few decades.² The introduction of new theoretical and methodological frameworks has attempted to supersede the traditional, typology-based approaches characteristic of Culture Historical research³ to offer more complex and nuanced readings of the social, political, and cultural significance of dress and dress complements for past societies.

The new interpretive frameworks arising from the scholarship of the 1980s and 1990s⁴ can be broken down into two major groups. On the one hand, a close-knit range of theoretical interpretations can be grouped under the general designation of *semiotic approaches*. The basic tenet of these approaches is the idea that costume and dress are a form of communication, and that they are used to signify and make manifest specific social discourses and identity constructs. They project the individual's role within the structure of a given society and thus help reproduce (or, in some cases, challenge) the social order.⁵

While still highly influential today, these semiotic approaches were questioned and challenged by a second major group of theoretical contributions, which, despite their complexity, can be generically designated as *performance-based approaches*.⁶ Strongly inspired by Judith Butler's work on gender,⁷ these approaches to dress question the idea that social identities exist in an idealized abstract form, and that they are merely expressed and communicated through costume and personal adornment. Instead, these approaches posit that identities are created, negotiated, challenged, and transformed by the daily performance of specific sets of actions, including the wearing and displaying of certain garments and certain bodily adornments.

The latter set of approaches can, in turn, be tied in with a range of new theoretical readings which

have been developing in the past few years, inspired by New Materialism⁸ and the so-called ontological turn in the social sciences.⁹ Such approaches attempt to dissolve the traditional object/subject divide by positing that human and non-human agents co-constitute and co-create the material and social worlds in which they move.¹⁰

Despite the changing focus of these different approaches, some theoretical and analytical tools have proven to have an enduring and broad appeal. One such tool is Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice and his concept of *habitus*,¹¹ the conceptual resilience of which may well reside in its capacity to breach the divide between the more idealistic, semiotic approaches, and the more recent material-oriented ones. This is achieved by emphasizing the constitutive social role of embodied practices, while exploring how the repetition of certain actions and ways of being in the world also communicate messages and knowledge about the social order and how to navigate it.

Yet another aspect of Bourdieu's thinking which has had an enduring appeal, and which can be productively applied to the archaeological study of dress, is his theory of capital and distinction.¹² This conceptual framework emphasizes the way in which certain practices, as played out in social fields, accrue different types of capital, which go beyond economic capital and extend to symbolic, cultural, and social capital.

In the specific case of this contribution on dress, it is particularly useful to consider the idea of bodily capital,¹³ developed by several researchers working within the Bourdieusian conceptual framework. While this concept has been used in slightly variable ways by different authors,¹⁴ for the purpose of this discussion it can be defined as a specific form of social capital which is accrued in and through the body in the framework of practices specifically related to it,

¹ Martin & Weetch 2017, 3.

² A seminal work in this regard is Roach-Higgins & Eicher 1992; for recent and comprehensive syntheses, see Martin & Weetch 2017; Lullo & Wallace 2020; Mattson 2021; Ruiz Zapatero 2022.

³ See Martin & Weetch 2017, 2–5.

⁴ E.g. Roach-Higgins & Eicher 1992.

⁵ For an anthropological perspective, see Turner 2012 [1980].

⁶ See Mattson 2021, 4–6.

⁷ Butler 1993.

⁸ Coole & Frost 2010.

⁹ Holbraad & Pedersen 2017.

¹⁰ Olsen 2010; Olsen *et al.* 2012.

¹¹ Bourdieu 1972; 1980.

¹² Bourdieu 1979.

¹³ Connell & Mears 2018; see also Crossley 2001, 91–119; Wilkis 2015.

¹⁴ For an overview, see Connell & Mears 2018.

to its appearance and to its performance. It is worth pointing out here that dress, together with personal adornment and bodily care, constitute some of the most archaeologically visible facets of bodily capital accumulation strategies, and can be discussed as such.

In this contribution, the issue of bodily capital — its accumulation, display, and deployment — will be addressed specifically through the lens of funerary contexts. The data offered by funerary assemblages on the composition and articulation of dress, as inferred from preserved complements and the occasional textile, is in fact key to accessing the role that costume and personal adornment played in building the social *personae* of specific individuals and groups and in carving their roles in society.¹⁵

It can, of course, be argued that the funerary record does not necessarily mirror the practices and identity expressions of daily life (see below, 3.2.2), but what is undeniable is that, for many of the communities in the periods discussed here, the tomb was a true *semiosphere* — an intentional assemblage saturated with meaning.¹⁶ The funerary record therefore remains one of the most relevant contexts for accessing data on the specific strategies underlying the accumulation and deployment of bodily capital, and the role of dress in said strategies.

Of particular concern for the present discussion is the intersection between bodily capital and gendered identities. The data from mortuary contexts allows for an in-depth exploration of the ways in which dress and bodily adornment were linked with the construction of specific gender expressions, and of socially and ideologically laden notions of masculinity, femininity, and potentially other more nuanced gender identities.¹⁷

Looking at such gender norms and expressions through the lens of bodily capital allows not only for a discussion of gender roles in a specific cultural and historical context, but also of issues of social reproduction, as well as of the more general structure of society in terms of social networks, kinship, and matrimonial principles, and individual and group property, among others (see below).

While space and the case study format chosen for this contribution precludes any in-depth exploration of the broad range of issues which may arise from interpretations derived from a bodily-capital-oriented

analysis, the contexts discussed here will exemplify some of those issues, and explore specific instances in which the study of dress can be seen as a gateway to more encompassing approaches to issues of embodied experiences and identities. The joint discussion of the case studies will stress the commonalities and specificities of different bodily capital regimes and strategies, while pointing the way for future research along this promising conceptual line.

3. Case studies

3.1 *The Iberian Peninsula*

3.1.1 *Bodily capital – images of social inequality and power in the 3rd millennium BC on the southwestern Iberian Peninsula*

Research on dress and fashion in the southwestern Iberian Chalcolithic (roughly corresponding to the 3rd millennium BC) is still in an exploratory phase. This is due, to a large extent, to the scarcity of garments and textile remains in the archaeological record, as the geological and climatic conditions in this territory are adverse for their preservation. However, with the significant intensification and modernization of archaeological work in the southwestern regions of the Iberian Peninsula in recent decades there has been an increase in the number of identified textile remains. These textiles were made of linen woven in plain weaves, or tabbies, white or reddish in color, and have been identified mostly at funerary sites, sometimes associated with metallic weapons.¹⁸

The small size of these textile remains makes it difficult to reconstruct the overall garments and accessories used by the societies of southwestern Iberia, but their similarity with the material used for the better-preserved pieces identified in the more arid regions of the southeast, such as the two exceptional linen tunics from Cueva Sagrada, Murcia,¹⁹ reinforces the evidence for the complexity and versatility of the fabrics produced during the Chalcolithic in this region.

The limitation of the available textile remains encourages the study of other materials more readily available in the archaeological record, such as adornment elements and representations of human figures

¹⁵ Stig Sørensen 1997; Arnold 2021.

¹⁶ Baray 2009, 197–198.

¹⁷ Stig Sørensen 1997; Arnold 2021.

¹⁸ Soares *et al.* 2018; Gleba *et al.* 2021.

¹⁹ Ayala 1987; Rivera & Obón 1987; Alfaro 1992; 2005.



Fig. 1: Sites on the Iberian Peninsula mentioned in the text: 1 – Almonda Cave System (Cascais, Estremadura); 2 – S. Pedro do Estoril (Cascais, Estremadura); 3 – Casal do Pardo (Palmela, Estremadura); 4 – Roça do Casal do Meio (Sesimbra, Estremadura); 5 – Vinha das Calças 4 (Beja, Baixo Alentejo); 6 – Monte do Bolor 1–2 (Beja, Baixo Alentejo) 7 – Montelirio (Castilleja de Guzmán, Seville); 8 – Cueva Sagrada (Lorca, Murcia).

in different types of media (both small mobile representations and larger representations, such as megalithic stelae). Due to their morphology and decorative features, the latter offer insights regarding the ornamentation and performance of the human body.

On the southwestern Iberian Peninsula, the 3rd millennium BC is marked by demographic growth and the intensification of social complexity, which can be tracked archaeologically by the high number and diversity of ditched sites, open installations, and settlements encircled by walls, often built on top of hills, and diverse funerary monuments (karst cavities,

pit graves, *hypogea*, dolmens, *tholoi* type monuments) with great architectural and occupation dynamism.²⁰ Investment in the monumentalization of territories also grew during this period, and is especially manifest in the construction and maintenance of funerary spaces, in which a multiplicity of practices for the treatment and manipulation of bodies and their remains is recorded.

The communities that built and inhabited these sites show significant evidence for regional and trans-regional interaction, with strong Mediterranean connections. These are well reflected by the presence of

²⁰ Andrade *et al.* 2021.



Fig. 2: Sites on the Italian Peninsula mentioned in the text: 1 – Pontecagnano (SA, Campania); 2 – Pithekoussai (NA, Campania); 3 – Monte Vetrano (SA, Campania); 4 – Cuma (NA, Campania); 5 – Capua (CE, Campania); 6 – Oliveto Citra (SA, Campania); 7 – Cairano (AV, Campania); 8 – Sala Consilina (SA, Campania); 9 – Veio (RM, Lazio); 10 – Ardea (RM, Lazio); 11 – Fossa (L'Aquila, Abruzzo); 12 – Vetulonia (GR, Tuscany); 13 – Incoronata, Metaponto (MT, Basilicata); 14 – Torre Galli (VV, Calabria); 15 – Sirolo-Numana (AN, Marche); 16 – Pitino di S. Severino Marche (MC, Marche); 17 – Belmonte Piceno (FM, Marche); 18 – Grottazzolina (FM, Marche); 19 – Cupra Marittima (AP, Marche).

raw materials (like ivory and amber) and foreign artifacts, many of which related to the treatment and adornment of the body, which are recorded mainly in funerary contexts.²¹ Social differentiation became more visible, but the criteria behind it are difficult to define archaeologically, making it challenging to characterize the nature of the elites that emerged on the southwestern Iberian Peninsula during the 3rd millennium BC.

The versatility and diversity of the textiles used at this time very likely made it possible to expand the means of everyday and funerary symbolic communication, not only locally, but also at the regional and interregional levels, due to the transportability of these materials, which made them easy to exchange.

The individual character of clothing, as a transforming element of the human body, played an important role in changes in social and power relations between individuals, which are particularly clear in burials of the mid-3rd millennium BC. Indeed, not only do the spaces and contexts of death become more restricted in social terms at this time, but the human body seems to preserve its individual integrity,²² with elements directly associated with clothing or body adornment becoming more frequent.²³

On the southwestern Iberian Peninsula, buttons, made mostly from sperm whale ivory,²⁴ have been identified in Beaker-period burials dated to the end of the 3rd millennium BC. They present diverse morphologies (oval, conical, rhomboid, pyramidal, with lateral appendages), and some of them have a V-shaped perforation (Fig. 3). These elements are normally recorded as isolated finds or in small assemblages, except for three funerary monuments in which larger concentrations of these artifacts were recorded, namely the artificial caves (*hypogea*) of S. Pedro do Estoril²⁵ and Casal do Pardo,²⁶ and the Almonda cave system.²⁷ Unfortunately, in all these contexts there is a lack of contextual and spatial data and analyses that could accurately position the buttons in the graves, and thus allow the reconstruction of the garments in

which they were incorporated. In the case of the S. Pedro do Estoril tomb, available drawings record the location of the buttons, showing that 11 of them were discovered in a row, but not associated with specific burials²⁸ (Fig. 4), which makes their functional interpretation difficult.

The function of perforated pieces for attachment seems quite straightforward. However, pieces with more complex morphologies and lacking perforations could have been applied for garment decoration, in line with what has been proposed for other stone or gold ornaments.²⁹ The lack of proper data on the contexts from which the buttons were retrieved and the difficulty in associating them with specific burials makes gender analysis impossible for the time being.

The study of adornment artifacts, such as pins or beads, suffers from the same limitations listed for buttons. Without well-defined archaeological contexts it is harder to demonstrate their association with funerary clothing. In the case of bone pins, their functionality at the 3rd-millennium sites of southwestern Iberia has been analysed only superficially, as they have been unanimously interpreted as hair decorations, despite their diverse characteristics and morphologies. Beads, in turn, tend to be associated with necklaces and bracelets, and only rarely has their connection to clothing been considered, even when very significant concentrations are identified in burials. Some of the most remarkable examples of the relationship between beads and clothing are the burials of seven female individuals in the Great Chamber of the Montelirio Tholos (Seville), as the multiple concentrations of shell and amber beads, with different characteristics and positions, suggests they were incorporated into different garments, accessories, and tapestries.³⁰

During the 3rd millennium BC, human representations can be identified in multiple media,³¹ and they frequently present geometric motifs (zigzags, triangles, rectangles, lines, dots, among others), usually organised in bands, which seem to decorate the body

²¹ Valera 2017; Rios & Liesau 2011.

²² Garrido Pena *et al.* 2005, 429; Neves 2019; Valera 2021, 90.

²³ Pau 2016.

²⁴ Zilhão *et al.* 2022.

²⁵ Leisner *et al.* 1964; Leisner 1965, 274.

²⁶ Leisner *et al.* 1969.

²⁷ Zilhão *et al.* 2022.

²⁸ Leisner 1965, 274.

²⁹ López Padilla 2006.

³⁰ Díaz-Guardamino *et al.* 2016, 347–349; García Sanjuán *et al.* 2019.

³¹ Valera 2021; Andrade *et al.* 2021.

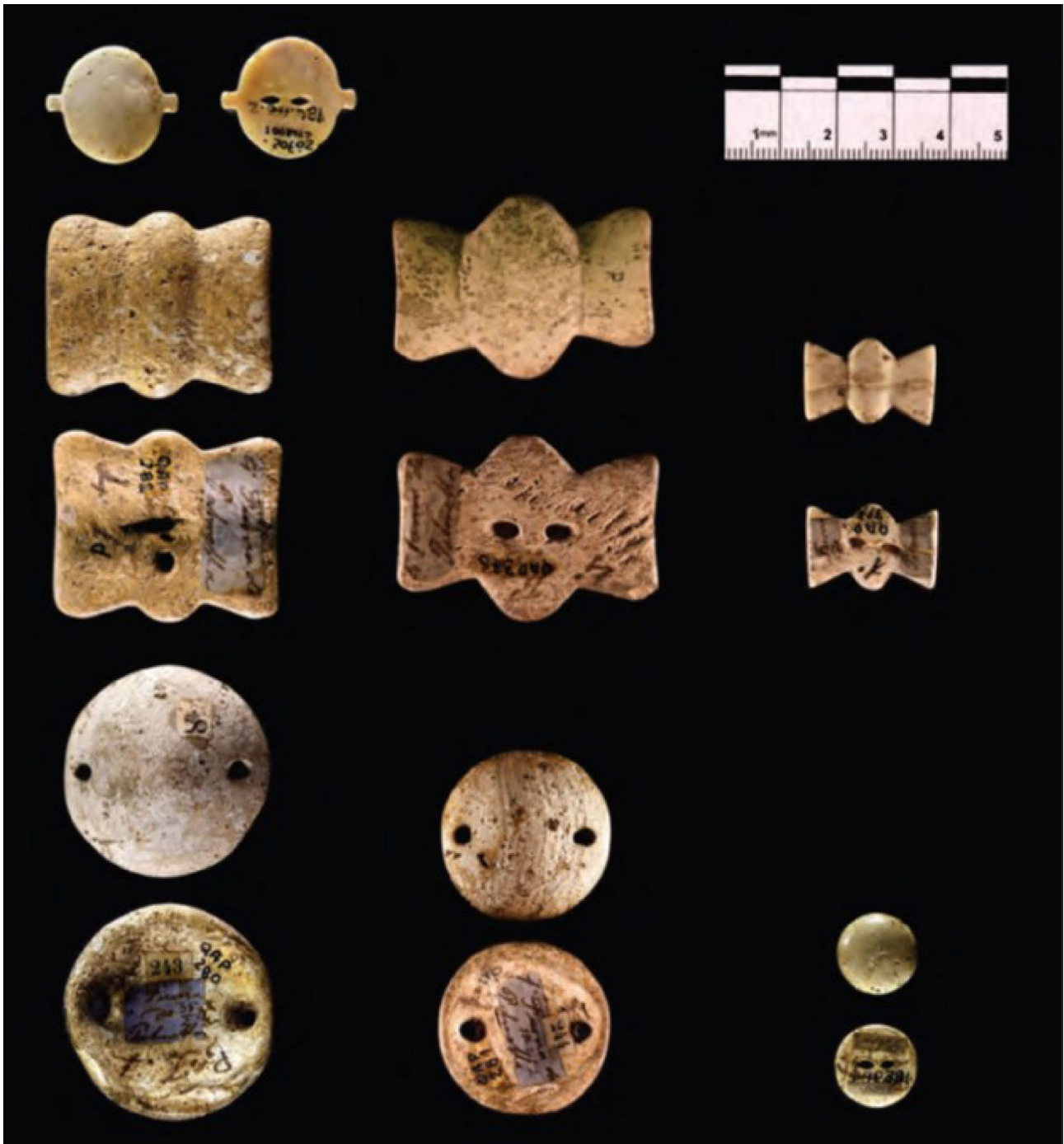


Fig. 3: Buttons retrieved from the necropolis of Casal do Pardo/ Quinta do Anjo (Palmela, Estremadura) (after Gonçalves *et al.* 2018).

of the figures. Some of the more recent experimental work dealing with the reconstruction of Chalcolithic looms from the southwestern Iberian Peninsula³² show that it is possible to use them to create fabrics with geometric patterns like those identified on anthropomorphic figures and on some ceramic containers.

The integrated analysis of all the archaeological remains mentioned above demonstrates the importance of textile technology and products for the construction and display of social inequality, and for the distinction of some individuals during the 3rd millennium BC. The criteria for this differentiation, in terms of gender and age, are still poorly defined.³³ However,

³² Rozzi 2018; Priola 2023.

³³ Sanjuán *et al.* 2018.

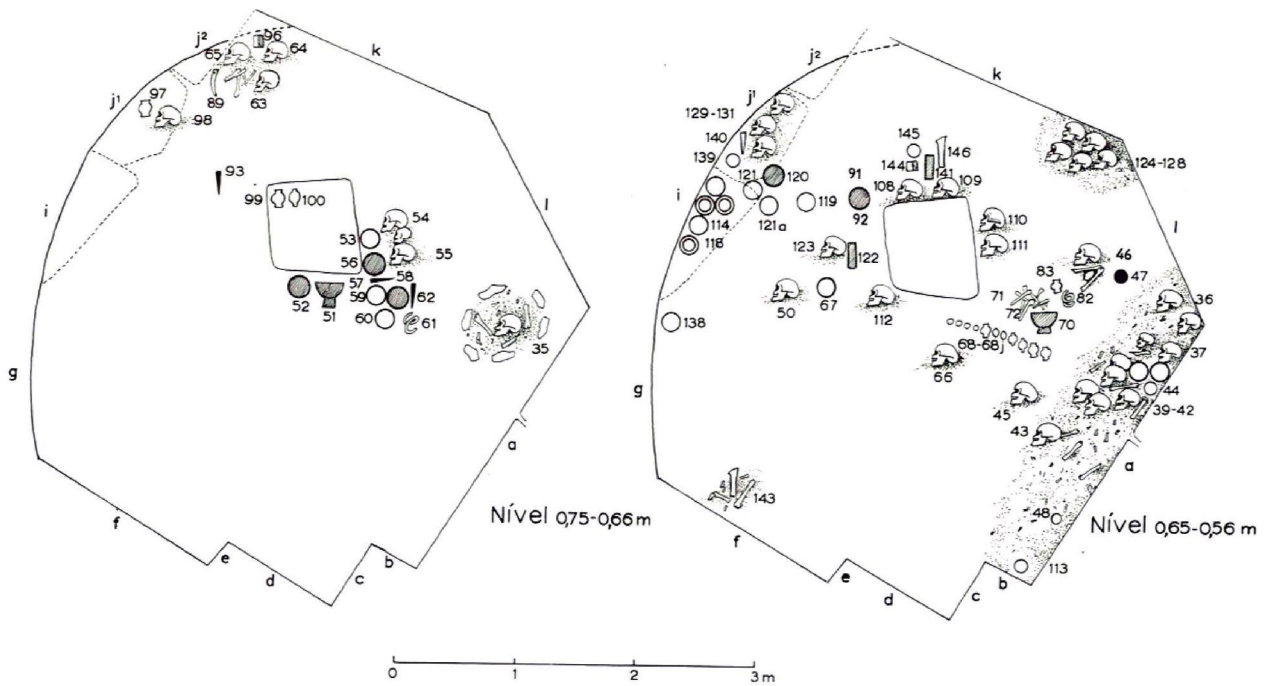


Fig. 4: Detailed distribution plan of the funerary offerings documented in the hypogeum 1 of São Pedro do Estoril (Cascais, Estremadura) (after Leisner 1965).

some evidence seems to demonstrate that a symbolic reinforcement of the male body was taking place at the end of the 3rd millennium BC, associated with symbols of power,³⁴ a trend that would become more pronounced throughout the Bronze Age.

3.1.2 *The body politic? Dress, gender, and bodily capital in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages of southwestern Iberia*

Current knowledge about the style and patterns of dress during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages of southwestern Iberia is limited by several factors, chief among which is, once again, the prevalence of environmental conditions which are not conducive to the preservation of textile remains.³⁵ However, some indirect evidence does allow for a discussion of the role of dress in the construction of discourses of status and power, but also of gendered identities, which played a key role in the fabric of regional communities.

In southwestern Iberia, the Late Bronze Age (c. 13th/12th – 9th/8th centuries BC) was marked by a

growing social hierarchization, supported by complex ideological systems made up of a web of discourses and practices, among which dress and personal appearance seem to have played a key role. This period was also characterised by a growing trans-regional connectivity, as local communities developed increasingly regular contacts with both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean networks.³⁶

The dress, personal adornment, and bodily care regimes of local communities seem to have reflected both these spheres of interaction. In fact, gold jewelry and some bronze accouterments seem to reflect Atlantic models,³⁷ but as the contacts with the Mediterranean increased, so did the impact of dress styles and fashions ultimately hailing from the 'Inner Sea'. These can be traced primarily through the introduction and eventual local re-elaboration of different fibulae models, in particular the *ad ochio* and elbow models.³⁸

While funerary contexts of this period are poorly known, both the iconographic evidence of the so-called "warrior-stelae"³⁹ (Fig. 5) and the data provided by some rare burials, such as those of Roça do

³⁴ Valera 2021.

³⁵ For existing remains, see Alfaro 2012: 341–342; Marin-Aguilera *et al.* 2019.

³⁶ Ruiz-Gálvez 1987; 1993; Celestino *et al.* 2008.

³⁷ Coffyn 1985; Perea 1991, 95–139; Perea 1995; Bottaini 2012, 348–350.

³⁸ Gomá 2019; Gomes *in press*.

³⁹ Celestino 2001, 185–210; Díaz-Guardamino 2009.

Casal do Meio,⁴⁰ strongly suggest that these dress elements were associated with high-status male individuals. They are part of a broader array of traits associated with their social *personae* which are shaped by a prevalent warrior ideology, possibly as a corollary of the process which, as mentioned above, started in the late 3rd millennium BC.

It is worth noting that those traits also include a complex set of practices relating to bodily appearance, which can be inferred from the representation on the aforementioned stelae of elements such as razors, mirrors, combs, and tweezers,⁴¹ which also appear occasionally in burials and settlements.⁴² These elements suggest a bodily regime aimed at projecting an idealised self-image — what Paul Treherne called “the warrior’s beauty”.⁴³ This evidence shows an emphasis during this period on the construction and representation of a specific ideal of masculinity, in which corporality — including dress — played a key role.

Towards the end of this period, the dynamics of contact between southwestern Iberia and the Mediterranean shifted considerably due to the arrival to the Atlantic Far West of the Levantine groups we have come to know as the Phoenicians, who established direct trade, but also sociopolitical relations with the local communities, and eventually settled along the southern coast of the Iberian Peninsula.⁴⁴

A discussion of this new geopolitical scenario, and the transformations it triggered, is beyond the scope of this study. However, it can be noted here that, in the new social, political, and cultural landscape which developed during the Early Iron Age (c. 9th/ 8th – 6th/ 5th centuries BC) there was a continued focus on the body as a *locus* for the construction and display of identity, through clothing, adornment, and bodily care. In particular, the renewed role of funerary practices and spaces as arenas for the negotiation and display of social discourses affords us with some snapshots of the roles of clothing, and personal appearance more broadly, in such identity building and affirming processes.

Regarding clothing, the main available body of evidence is formed, once again, by the metallic dress complements, which include fibulae and, for the first time, metallic fastenings for belts and sashes, as well as some other fastenings and embellishments, such

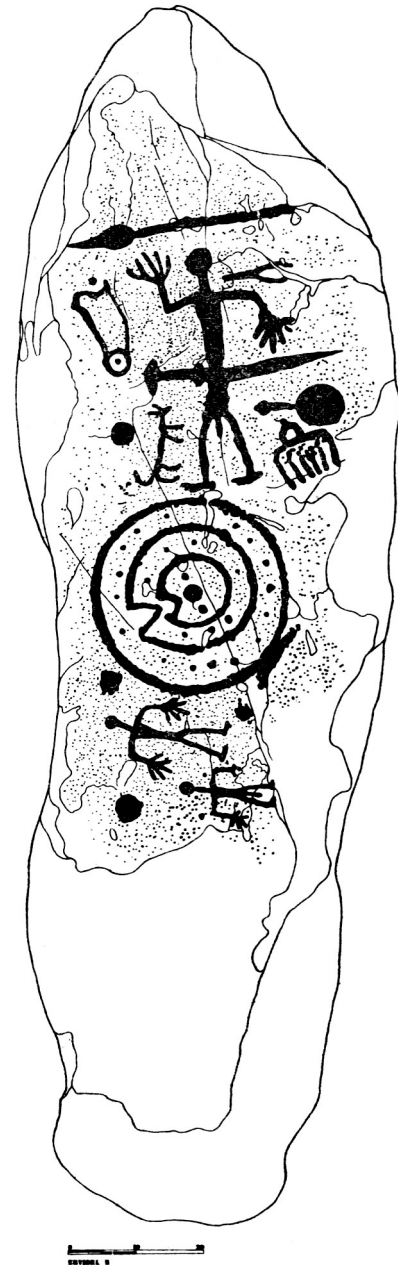


Fig. 5: Late Bronze Age warrior stela of Ervidel (Aljustrel, Lower Alentejo) showing part of the typical array associated with presumably male warrior figures of this period (after Gomes & Monteiro 1977).

as buttons.⁴⁵ The models of these dress complements show broad, macro- and in some cases transregional distribution patterns, which seem to point to the existence of a shared language of status, power, and

⁴⁰ Spindler *et al.* 1973–1974.

⁴¹ Celestino 2001, 163–171.

⁴² See also Vilaça 2009.

⁴³ Treherne 1995.

⁴⁴ Arruda 1999–2000; Aubet 2009; see also contributions in Botto 2014; 2018.

⁴⁵ Arruda *et al.* 2022; see also contributions in Graells *et al.* 2022.

(social) identity operating at a large scale, most likely at the level of the broad networks created and mediated by the Phoenician presence. Personal appearance — including again clothing, adornment, and bodily aesthetics — seems therefore to have played a significant part in this shared language.

The study of the patterns of use of dress complements in funerary contexts — especially those from the recently excavated enclosure necropolis of the Beja Region⁴⁶ — offers some suggestive insights into their gendered associations.⁴⁷ Belt and sash fastenings, in particular, seem to have a strongly gendered distribution, as the so-called “Celtic” belt buckles (associated with profusely decorated belts in hide materials) are generally found in male burials, while the “Tartessian” belt buckles (perhaps the fastenings of woven belts or sashes) appear overwhelmingly in female burials.⁴⁸

As for the fibulae, their gendered associations are less clear-cut, although a preferential association with male attire can be detected.⁴⁹ However, some data seem to suggest that this association is stronger for older fibulae models (*e.g.*, double-spring fibulae) but grows increasingly flexible with time, to the point that at some sites the late “Orientalizing” models (*e.g.*, early “annular Hispanic” fibulae) are distributed almost equally among burials of both sexes.⁵⁰

All in all, the data from funerary sites seem to indicate that, contrary to the Late Bronze Age, in which, as mentioned earlier, special emphasis was put on male attire as part of a broader construction of masculinity associated with warrior ideology, during the Early Iron Age a more readily identifiable investment in the attire of both sexes can be identified.

This observation can be further contextualised by briefly considering the issues of adornment and bodily care. In fact, at many funerary sites, and especially those of the rural communities of Southern Portugal, there is also a strong concentration of adornment elements, including exotic materials (glass,

faïence, carnelian, and amber beads)⁵¹ and gold and silver jewelry in female tombs.⁵² Likewise, in some contexts an array of elements relating to bodily care can be found, including cosmetic kits or elements thereof (*e.g.*, tweezers)⁵³ and perfume containers,⁵⁴ which are now, in the Early Iron Age, overwhelmingly associated with female burials too (Fig. 6). This suggests a shift in social emphasis from male to female bodies, which also explains the increased archaeological visibility of female dress.

This change should be interpreted in light of the internal dynamics of these communities. As a hypothesis, it can be related to changes in the local and regional political economies, and more specifically to a shift in the strategies of accumulation of symbolic capital in the form of bodily capital.

In the Late Bronze Age, such strategies seem to have focused primarily on male bodies, as they were at the core of the pervasive “warrior ideology,” which acted as a social glue and as the guiding principle of representation not just of individual, but also very likely of social and collective identities. During the Early Iron Age, the focus seems to have shifted towards female bodies.

In rural areas, this may be due to the rise of small, probably kinship-based sociopolitical units, in which the role of women was enhanced as the glue ensuring social cohesion. On the other hand, the fragmented nature of rural sociopolitical landscapes meant that each group’s social reproduction was contingent on matrimonial exchanges, which potentially put women (and their bodies) at the forefront of inter-group ties, thus strengthening their role in the representation of the group and the projection of its identity and agendas.

In urban contexts, within which this process is harder to track, it can potentially be explained by the consolidation of social hierarchies and the development of established and hereditary leadership roles. This entailed a corresponding shift away from the contingent identity of the leader(s) and his

⁴⁶ The most extensively excavated and informative of these necropolises include Vinha das Calças 4 — see Arruda *et al.* 2017 — and Monte do Bolor 1-2 — see Soares *et al.* 2017. For other published cases, see the contributions in Jiménez Ávila 2017, and also Melo *et al.* 2022.

⁴⁷ Gomes in press b.

⁴⁸ López 2008; Ferrer & de la Bandera 2014a; see also contributions in Jiménez Ávila 2017.

⁴⁹ Torres 2008a; Ferrer & de la Bandera 2014b; see also contributions in Jiménez Ávila 2017.

⁵⁰ Torres 2008a, 532–535.

⁵¹ Gomes 2014.

⁵² Celestino & Blanco 2006; Almagro-Gorbea 2008; Correia *et al.* 2013; de la Bandera & Ferrer 2014; see also contributions in Jiménez Ávila 2017.

⁵³ Torres 2008b; Jiménez & Lorrío 2019; see also contributions in Jiménez Ávila 2017.

⁵⁴ Gomes 2016–2017.



Fig. 6: Detail of Tomb 47 of the necropolis of Vinha das Caliças 4, housing the burial of an adult female individual which shows several of the typical features associated with the bodily regimes of women in this area as expressed in funerary settings: dress (a so-called “Tartessian” belt buckle), adornment (two heart-shaped bracelets and bead necklace) and bodily care (a toiletry set) (after Arruda *et al.* 2017).

performative adherence to a specific ideal of masculinity, and towards ideas of lineage and the transmission of leadership, perhaps coated in religious connotations,⁵⁵ through the bloodline. This would again have entailed a renewed focus on reproduction, which would have extended the existing strategies of the accumulation of bodily capital to also encompass women and female bodies, as part of the very mechanisms of power transmission.

3.2 The Italian Peninsula

3.2.1 Revising dress code. Cross-cultural contacts, mobility, and economic relations issues in protohistoric Campania.

Material culture plays a key role in reconstructing aspects of the identity of ancient communities. Its conservative character or, on the contrary, its deviation from the norm, may signal the transformation and evolution of the society in relation to contacts and exchanges with other communities. In this section, we will focus on the relationship between elements of burial costume and cross-cultural contacts, mobility, and integration issues, particularly in women’s dress, taking protohistoric Campania as a case study.

From the end of the 8th century, Campania (Fig. 2) was occupied by several ethnically and culturally different communities. The relations that these communities had with each other quickly stimulated the formation of hybrid or mixed cultures.⁵⁶ Indeed, the

⁵⁵ Almagro-Gorbea 1996.

⁵⁶ Beginning in the 8th century BC, ancient Campania was a melting pot of various cultures and peoples, especially Greek communities, local populations, and Etruscans — see Desiderio & Esposito 2020 with bibliography.

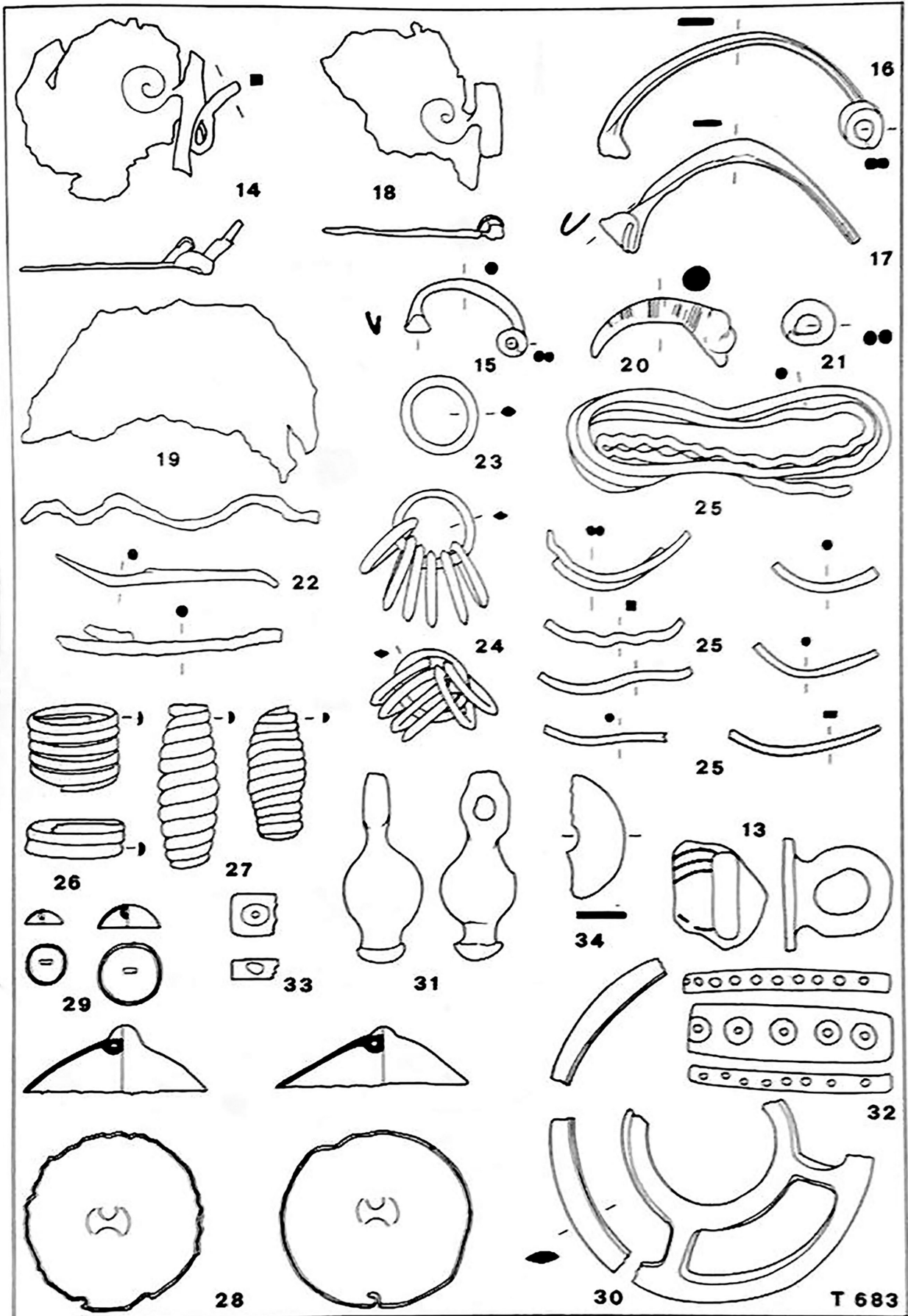


Fig. 7: Grave goods from T. 683 (from Gastaldi 1998, tab. 10).

openness towards external regional environments ensured that ornamental elements were actively used in identity construction, and in representation on an individual, a collective, and an ethnic level.⁵⁷ Dress code and clothing accessories could be selected, combined, and modified to claim social links. In the female burials, the exceptional local variability of the sets of ornaments can be attributed to very different factors, including ethnicity, social status, and gender, but also to economic relations and to mobility phenomena.

3.2.1.1. Pontecagnano

The starting point of our analysis is the site of Pontecagnano. It played an essential role in the proto-historic Campanian landscape. Several studies have shown that the community was permeable and received elements of allochthonous origin from the first phases of the Iron Age (middle of the 9th century BC) onward.⁵⁸

Tomb 2066 in the “suburban” necropolis of Pagliarone, 3 km east of the main center, has been interpreted as that of a woman based on the funerary assemblage.⁵⁹ The deceased was clothed in a rich funerary costume, decorated with small bronze studs and rings. Seven bronze fibulae formed a head ornament, closing a veil. She also wore a bronze pendant and ring, and a series of amber and glass paste beads. A rich set of spinning and weaving tools in *impasto* marked her eminent status, underlined also by the exceptional presence of a bronze spindle.

While the spindle “simply” defines the deceased as a woman, the presence of several instruments and, above all, spools, could express her active role in the technological process of textile production.⁶⁰ The presence of work tools, symbols of the power over material resources and working processes, as well as a rich and complex personal *parure*, denote an important female individual in the local society, recognised as

such in this funerary setting: Origin, status, and gender are made explicit by the richness of the clothes and hairstyle, and underlined by the tools that connote the economic role played by this woman in the community.

In this context, also in the Pagliarone necropolis, we can single out tomb 683 (Fig. 7) — a female cremation in a biconical vase dated to the middle of the 9th century BC.⁶¹ The abundance of fibulae testifies to the richness of the funerary costume. In addition to the presence of spindle whorls and a bronze spindle, her rank is also underlined by the richness of an *impasto* pottery service and a bronze cauldron of Cypriot manufacture. In this case, a generation after tomb 2066, the economic role of the deceased in tomb 683 and her position in the Mediterranean exchange circuits is emphasised by the presence of this exotic cauldron:⁶² Was it a diplomatic gift?

The exchange system intensified in the first half of the 8th century BC with the rise of Pithekoussai, followed by the *apoikia* of Cumae.⁶³ At the same time, at Pontecagnano, we can observe the gradual hierarchization of society, and the transformation of territorial planning, with new forms of mobility and settlement. The funerary evidence allows us to identify the development of a prominent social group. One of the most important female burials of this phase is tomb 7178 (S. Antonio eastern necropolis).⁶⁴ The deceased was adorned with bronze spirals, placed near the head, a silver ring, and a rich necklace made of amber and glass paste. The *parure* also included ten large bronze fibulae and, above all, a fibula with a serpentine iron bow, which, at Pontecagnano, was more common in the male costume during this phase. However, this find must be treated with relative caution. Combinations of both types of fibulae are attested at Veii, Pontecagnano, Sala Consilina, Fossa, Incoronata, and Torre Galli. In many cases, the graves with both types of fibulae belong to adult women.⁶⁵

⁵⁷ Desiderio & Esposito 2021; 2022, both with bibliography.

⁵⁸ Cerchiali 2013, 140–141; Gastaldi 1998, 163.

⁵⁹ Gastaldi 1998, 139–142.

⁶⁰ Gleba 2009, 105; Gleba 2013. In addition, the women’s accomplished craftsmanship level must have been a source of pride, also perhaps gratified by the display of special jewelry such as spindle pendants, made of amber or *impasto*, which were particularly widespread at Narce, or the pectoral necklace composed of 14 spools of *impasto* (see tomb 1914 of the Eastern Necropolis of Pontecagnano, owned by INA CASA); Pitzalis 2016, 68 and n. 25.

⁶¹ Gastaldi 1998, 88–90.

⁶² Desiderio & Esposito 2022, 349.

⁶³ Esposito 2018.

⁶⁴ d’Agostino & Gastaldi 2012, 422–424.

⁶⁵ d’Agostino & Gastaldi 2012, 447; Meo 2022, 149, Fig. 12.6 (tomb 544).

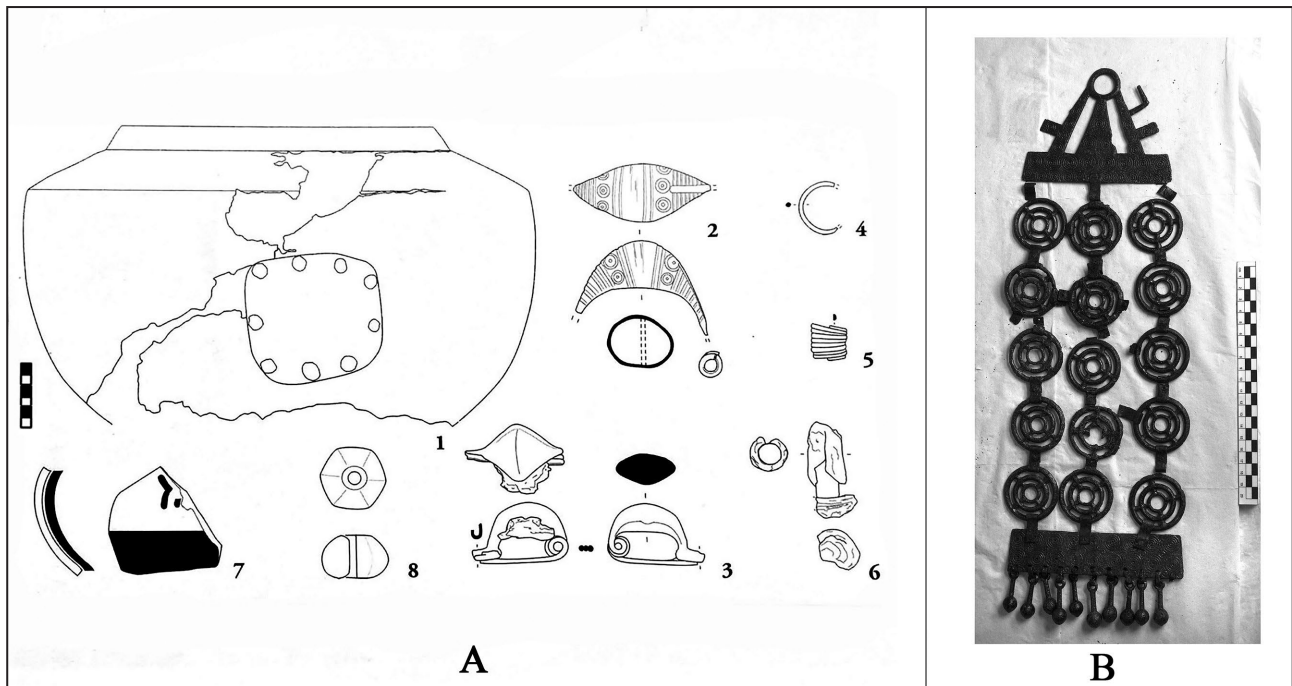


Fig. 8: A. Grave goods from T. 111 (after Cerchiali *et al.* 2012–2013, 105, Fig. 3); B. Bronze pendant from T. 9211 (after Pellegrino *et al.* 2017, 253, Fig. 23).

3.2.1.2. Sites of the Ager Picentinus

During phase II (780/70–730/20) the community of Pontecagnano underwent notable social changes. The suburban site of Pagliarone was abandoned; at the same time, in the Ager Picentinus, new coastal and river ports of call were created at strategic nodes of maritime and land communication to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the intensification of trade. These include Monte Vetrano (3 km north of Pontecagnano).⁶⁶ The bone remains from tomb 111 are of an adult female individual. The bronze fibula found in this tomb (Fig. 8A, 2) is one of the earliest examples with a so-called bow *a sanguisuga cava*, a technique that helps to save metal. The type is also attested at Pithekoussai, but comparisons are also possible with specimens from Vetulonia and Ardea.⁶⁷

In tomb 74, the role of the deceased was marked by a rich ensemble of ornaments in bronze, silver, and gold (rings, a scarab amulet, and a necklace), accompanied by a set of imported bronze vessels, referring to the sphere of sacrifice and banqueting. A bronze distaff-sceptre, with a probable ritual function, has a

parallel in T. 386 from Fornaci in Capua. An ex-voto — a model of a Nuragic boat, probably kept as an ancestral heirloom — renewed and exalted the ceremonial role of this high-ranking individual.⁶⁸ It is part of a large-scale exchange system between East and West, mediated by the elites of Monte Vetrano. The eminent social level of this woman, indicated by the set of imported metal vessels, recalls the contemporary “princely” tombs of Pontecagnano.⁶⁹

The funerary variability illustrates the complex dialectic between conservatism and novelty. These two tombs are highly illustrative of the “mixed world”, linked by relationships of *syngeneia* which characterised the Tyrrhenian elites of the 8th century BC, beyond ethnic differences. The hierarchies controlled micro- and macroregional circuits — both internal and coastal — in which mobility phenomena were taking place. Tombs 24, 68, 127, and 130, for instance, from different burial areas, contained ornaments, weapons, and ceramic vessels that referred to Central and Adriatic Italy, the Apennines and the Oenotrian territories of Calabria and Lucania.⁷⁰ Once again, it is mainly the female burials that illustrate these phenomena of

⁶⁶ Cerchiali 2013, 142; Cerchiali *et al.* 2012–2013, 73.

⁶⁷ Cerchiali *et al.* 2012–2013, 81, notes 51–55.

⁶⁸ Cerchiali *et al.* 2012–2013, 74.

⁶⁹ d’Agostino 1977; 1999; Desiderio & Esposito 2022, 352.

⁷⁰ Desiderio & Esposito 2020, 147–148; Cerchiali 2013, 144–146.

mobility through the display of personal clothing. The immigration of women and groups seems a more likely possibility than the mere import of exotic goods.

3.2.1.3. *Revising dress code: On female mobility at Pontecagnano*

The immediate visibility of female burials with complex *parures*, foreign to the local repertoire, suggests the greater mobility of women. The work of M. Cuozzo on the eastern necropolis of S. Antonio has shown that matrimonial exchanges are only one of the possible forms of integration.⁷¹ The intensification of specific features of the material culture of Oliveto Citra-Cairano — a cultural facies of the mid- and upper-valley of the Ofanto River — is an expression of its adopted funerary strategy, which aimed to create a new identity acting competitively as an alternative to the dominant identity.

Different levels of integration define two groups of non-native origin, located in the Biblioteca and Archaeological Promenade sectors of the western necropolis of Pontecagnano.⁷² The cases of tombs 3875 (Biblioteca) and 9211 (Promenade) are illustrative: both women are accompanied by indicators of role and function. In tomb 9211 (Fig. 8B), the prominent status of the deceased was also marked by a pendant worn at the waist. It brings together heterogeneous parts from different cultural areas of Southern Italy into an original composition. The creation of this very specific form was a long process of selection to create an unusual product with a strong connotation of identity, certainly, but also relational: in fact, allowing the object to be composed of elements that can be traced back to different cultural areas underscores her role in the circuits of commercial and/or family exchange.⁷³

The objects of female adornment (often in combination with pottery) functioned as signs deployed in a system of non-verbal representation. They reveal a bond and cohesion of an ethno-social nature, a form of integration, in short, that did not deny its distinction

from the host community.⁷⁴ These objects were the expression of extensive commercial and cultural contacts within the framework of a strong Mediterranean connectivity. The rich combination of the ornaments and pottery had to be, above all, an expression of the economic availability of the groups to which these women belonged.

In matters of female adornment and clothing, women may/must have adopted specific forms of funerary representation, adapting them in certain precise situational and relational conditions to create, negotiate, challenge, and transform their own identity through different types of capital (economic, symbolic, cultural, and social).

We should certainly reassess the role of women as economic actors, to the extent that the textiles themselves were able to contribute to the creation of trade alliances between local and Mediterranean aristocracies.⁷⁵

3.2.2. *Fibulae are Forever. Rich female burials of the Archaic Period from the necropolis of Numana (prov. Ancona, Italy)*

Among the studies dedicated to the Iron Age cultures of pre-Roman Italy, the last two decades have witnessed a growing interest in the archaeology of Picenum (corresponding approximately to the current day Marche region).⁷⁶ Considering the main sites of this region, the case of Numana is particularly noteworthy. This settlement on the Adriatic coast experienced an extremely dynamic development during the Archaic period due to its favorable geographical position.⁷⁷ Presumably, this center, and Picenum in general, gained importance in the amber trade during the 6th century BC.⁷⁸ Moreover, Numana, like Adria and Spina, developed into one of the most important players in Adriatic maritime trade between the 6th and 5th centuries BC, strengthening its relationship with Greece,⁷⁹ as well as its possible role as an intermediate node for long-distance contacts with northern Italy and the Hallstatt world.⁸⁰

⁷¹ Cuozzo 2003.

⁷² Desiderio & Esposito 2020, 150–152.

⁷³ Cerchiai 2013, 148; Pellegrino *et al.* 2017, 255.

⁷⁴ Cuozzo 2015.

⁷⁵ Gleba & Laurito 2017.

⁷⁶ For a complete overview see the contributions in Frapiccini & Naso 2022.

⁷⁷ Landolfi 2000; Shefton 2003; Finocchi 2018.

⁷⁸ Naso 2013, 260; Bardelli 2021a.

⁷⁹ Baldoni 2020; Landolfi 2022.

⁸⁰ Naso 2007; Egg 2021; Egg 2022.

The importance of Numana is reflected by the development of a local elite from the late 7th century BC onward, as revealed through the study of the local necropolis (c. 2,000 tombs, almost all completely unpublished). This is still our main source for reconstructing the past of this center, since finds from the settlement are very few and the written sources hardly mention Numana. As at other Picene sites, such as Belmonte Piceno, Cupra Marittima and Grottazzolina, some female burials stand out because of their opulent grave assemblages, characterised especially by the presence of a great quantity of metal and amber finds. When known, the biological sex of the deceased has usually been found to coincide with the archaeological gender.⁸¹ The latter is indicated by several markers in the grave assemblages — namely weapon sets for the men, and numerous adornment elements, and spinning or weaving tools for the women. The typological and contextual analysis of the adornment artifacts allows, in some cases, the reconstruction of the appearance of the costume and to highlight local specificities in the burial custom, which are still subject to interpretation.⁸²

In this regard, two famous funerary contexts from the necropolis of Numana have been investigated in recent years: The “Circolo delle Fibule” — a group of nine tombs inside a large circular ditch, dating between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 5th century BC;⁸³ and the “Tomba della Regina” — an extremely rich female burial complex inside a 40m wide ditch from the end of the 6th century BC, which represents the most important discovery in Numana to date.⁸⁴ As with other female tombs of the necropolis of Numana, those of the “Circolo delle Fibule” (tombs 2, 6, 8, and 11⁸⁵) and the “Tomba della Regina” are distinguished by the extremely high number of fibulae forming part of the attire of the deceased — up to several hundred specimens, which were placed above and around the body, thus

revealing a burial custom almost without parallel in the whole of pre-Roman Italy.

Maurizio Landolfi has already highlighted some similarities between the “Tomba della Regina” and the older female burials at Numana, without, however, examining them in detail.⁸⁶ A thorough investigation of the grave assemblages has revealed that fibulae and other elements of attire were selected and placed in the tombs according to specific rules, most likely referring to recurring patterns of the local clothing, which indicated differences in the status, rank, or age of the deceased.⁸⁷

Some clear similarities between the “Tomba della Regina”, and tombs 11 (beginning of the 6th century BC) and 2 (c. mid-6th century BC) of the “Circolo delle Fibule” can be identified. They primarily concern the position of the body, and of some of the finds. According to the local custom, the three women lay on the right side in a crouched position, and were buried with hundreds of adornment elements, with some types of fibulae and pendants represented by the repeated deposition of several specimens. What is striking is the fact that some objects were located in specific places within the burial pit. This mainly concerns some types of fibulae, as well as composite pendants made of different materials, mainly bronze, amber, bone, and glass (Fig. 9).

Surprisingly, most of the fibulae did not lie on the body of the deceased but were lined up in several rows above their heads. Fibulae with larger dimensions were found either far away from the body, as in the case of the oversized fibulae with a bronze wire bow and large amber disc,⁸⁸ or they were carefully arranged in the area between the buried person’s upper left arm and chest.

In the case of the large fibulae with amber disc, a possible link with a complex hairstyle of the deceased has been hypothesized.⁸⁹ However, it is not possible to assume that such a hairstyle was replicated in the

⁸¹ An exception is represented by the so-called “Tombs of the Amazons” in Belmonte – Weidig 2016; Weidig 2017, 86–87.

⁸² On Picene dress, see Percossi 2004. For Belmonte, see Weidig 2016; Weidig 2017, 78–89. For Cupra Marittima, see Percossi & Frapiccini 2004, 99. For Grottazzolina, see Annibaldi 1960; Lucentini & Mancini 2004.

⁸³ Bardelli 2021b; 2022a; 2022c.

⁸⁴ Landolfi 1997; Landolfi 2001; Bardelli & Vollmer 2020; Bardelli *et al.* 2022.

⁸⁵ The numbering in Roman numerals was proposed on the occasion of the exhibition of a selection of the grave assemblages in San Severino Marche, and reflects a preliminary chronological ordering of the tombs — Vighi 1972, 19–26. Here, the original excavation numbering of the graves in Arabic numerals is preferred. Since no skeletal remains are preserved, the only information available on the gender and age of the deceased is inferred from the grave goods and the size of the pits.

⁸⁶ Landolfi 2004.

⁸⁷ See, more extensively, Bardelli 2022b; 2022c, 316–321 and 327–331.

⁸⁸ On these fibulae, see Bardelli 2021a, 17–20; 2022c, 142–145.

⁸⁹ Baldelli 1999.

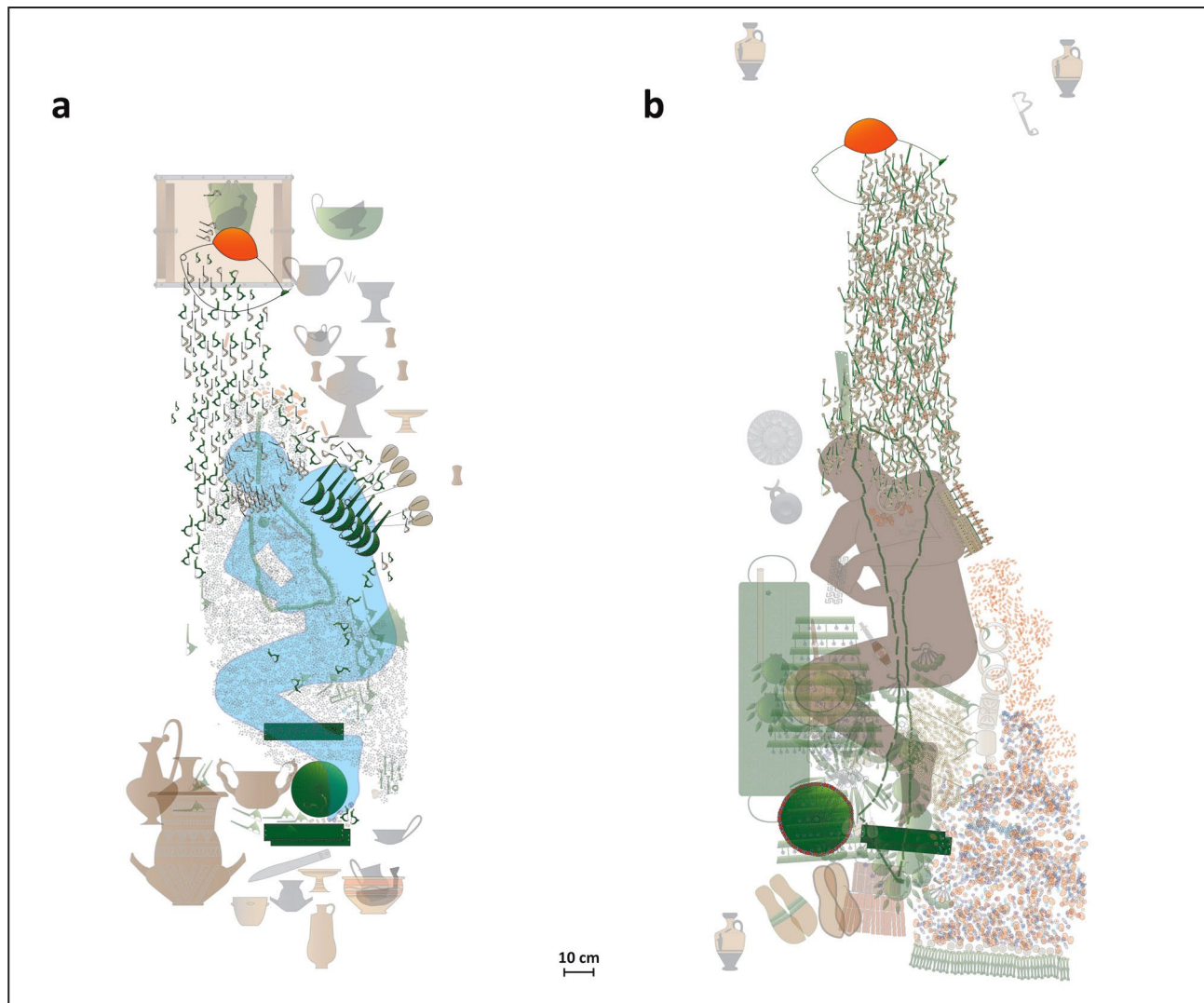


Fig. 9: Schematic comparison of the deposition of some objects in Tomb 2 of the “Circolo delle Fibule” (a) with the “Tomba della Regina” from Sirolo-Numana (b). Fibulae with amber disc, those above the head and on the left arm as well as some bronze adornments beyond the legs are highlighted. – (G. Bardelli).

tomb, since these fibulae are too far from the head, and seem rather aligned with the series of fibulae laid beyond the skull. Instead, it is likely that all these specimens were connected to a support, either of fabric or some other type of organic material (*e.g.* leather), which has not been preserved. Rather than accessories directly related to the clothing of the deceased, it seems that they belonged to a kind of ritual garment for the display of many fibulae, although it remains difficult to formulate precise hypotheses on how this was possibly worn. As for other fibulae with large dimensions, their position between the chest and the left upper arm of the body is probably related to the fastening system of a shroud (Fig. 10).

The composite pendants, on the other hand, were placed below the chest or the legs. In addition, other common features can be identified, regarding, *e.g.* spinning and weaving tools, or objects related to banqueting and the preparation of meat. In general, there is an impression of a codified staging of the bodies of the deceased and their accessories within the tomb, which makes a reconstruction of the local dress independently of the rules of the burial ceremonies much more difficult than at other pre-Roman sites.

The large number of fibulae is absolutely outstanding. The possession of such an exaggerated number of specimens is exclusive to Numana and finds parallels only at other Picene sites, like Pitino di S. Severino and Belmonte.⁹⁰ While some fibulae were part of

⁹⁰ Sena 2022; Dall’Osso 1915, 45; Weidig 2017, 81–83.



Fig. 10: Detailed view of the fibulae placed between the upper left arm and the chest of the deceased in tomb 11 of the “Circolo delle Fibule” from Sirolo- Numana. – (Archive SABAP Marche - AN PU).

the funerary adornment or must have served as fastenings for a shroud, most specimens in fact did not have the usual function as garment clasps, but seem to have served a purely decorative purpose, maybe with symbolic features. Also, the number of fibulae in the graves is not regular, but seems to have been conditioned by some criteria. Tomb 2 and tomb 11 of the “Circolo delle Fibule” contained a little more than 400 fibulae each, while in the “Tomba della Regina” alone approximately between 800 and 1,000 specimens were found. As a further comparison, tomb 54 from “Circolo B” of the Colle di Montalbano-Cimitero necropolis of Numana should also be mentioned, where about 90 fibulae were discovered;⁹¹ or tomb 1 from the area “Ex-Frontalini” at Sirolo, with 120 fibulae.⁹²

How can the difference in the number of fibulae between tombs be explained? Undoubtedly, the

possession of many specimens can be interpreted first and foremost as an indicator of status, since all the above-mentioned female tombs are by far more sumptuous than other tombs of the necropolis, including male burials.⁹³

Another possible solution is to interpret the difference in the number of fibulae as an indicator of rank, which would be conceivable, at least in the case of the “Tomba della Regina”. A higher rank, of course, also entails the possession of special accessories — such as the polymateric pendants mentioned above and the large fibulae with amber disc — or the addition of important objects, such as metal vessels or imports. There can be various reasons for these differences, ranging from belonging to an important family (or family group) to having a prominent role — also religious or political — in the local society.

Furthermore, it is possible that the number of fibulae and the possession of some specific types are both indicators of the age of the deceased women: Tomb 8 of the “Circolo delle Fibule” (second half of the 6th century BC) contained a little under 250 fibulae, while tomb 6 (second half of the 6th century BC) contained about 50 fibulae. The typology of the grave goods and the dimensions of the pits most likely indicate that tomb 8 belonged to a young girl, while tomb 6 contained an infant. In any case, the expressions of status, social rank, and age are often closely interconnected, and difficult to distinguish only on the basis of the evidence from funerary contexts.

In conclusion, the detailed study of these female burials from the Numana necropolis offers the possibility of analyzing a considerable amount of data regarding the local funerary ritual, while revealing the enormous richness and variety of adornment elements of these Picene women. Nevertheless, it remains more problematic to reconstruct the appearance of the local dress in a plausible manner, as the particular code of the funerary ritual did not provide for the arrangement of the bodies with the accessories as they were possibly worn in everyday life. An impression of the bodily capital of these women can therefore only be guessed through the cases of extreme accumulation of accessories within the funerary contexts, which mirror complex mechanisms of exhibition and iteration of the rank and role that these women had in their life.

⁹¹ Baldelli 1999.

⁹² Landolfi 1986, 399.

⁹³ Many fibulae were placed in male tombs as well. For an overview of the male burials of the “Circolo delle Fibule”, see Bardelli 2021b.

4. Discussion and conclusions

The case studies presented above, despite their obvious differences, highlight a number of interesting commonalities, as far as the study of the display of bodily capital through dress in the past is concerned. On the one hand, they illustrate the by now well-recognized role of clothing and costume as a system of communication through which the members of a group can signal and project their identity on different levels, both within and beyond the group.

In this particular regard, the case studies presented here offer insights into the ways in which dress complements and ornaments were deployed as social markers in the framework of socially negotiated and recognizable visual codes, acting as tools of non-verbal communication, which transmit information about the social order, and the individual's (and the group's) position in said order. This process gains particular significance in intercultural contexts, such as protohistoric Campania but also Early Iron Age southern Portugal, as it can be deployed to negotiate and navigate the tensions arising from the contact between groups with different cultural backgrounds. In the case of Numana, the peculiar funerary rite highlights the role of some prominent women by intentionally exaggerating their bodily capital in terms of ostentatious practices.

On the other hand, however, the insights offered by these case studies go beyond this semiotic analysis and offer illuminating examples of the possible nexus between socio-political structures, the gender constructs underlying those structures, and the rise of different regimes of accumulation and display of bodily capital, which can be traced through the study of dress and adornment.

It is in fact remarkable how, despite differences in their chronological and geographical scope, the cases analyzed in this contribution show how the prevailing social and ideological structures of each analyzed community, marked by its own development and geopolitical circumstances, led to gendered strategies of representation with clear ideological overtones. In the case studies covered here, the late 3rd and 2nd millennia BC are marked by a growing emphasis on male bodies — an emphasis which can, in fact, be traced in many other European contexts — while the 1st millennium BC contexts, whether Italic or Iberian, show a much more pronounced focus on female bodies.

Such an emphasis can and should, of course, be explained in different ways for each of the analysed contexts, but from the joint analysis undertaken here

it becomes clear that issues of social reproduction and female mobility feature heavily among the probable explanations for this new focus on female bodies. This observation should, on the other hand, make us reflect on the issue of who appropriates and profits from the bodily capital accrued in the bodies of the elite women considered here — is it themselves or, more likely, their family and extended social circle? These are issues that need to be explored on a much more localized scale, an exploration which is well beyond the scope of this study.

The importance of the geographical scale of analysis is another interesting conclusion from the case studies presented here. In fact, through their discussion it has become apparent that an assessment of the ways in which dress and costume operate on a semiotic level can only be fully understood when superimposing multiple scales of analysis. Indeed, several of the examples featured above show instances of very localized dress practices which, however, develop and gain full sense only when viewed against the broader, regional, and trans-regional setting of each community.

This multi-scalar nature of the discourses articulated through dress take a particularly interesting significance when they are analyzed from the point of view of bodily capital accumulation. In fact, all the historical settings analyzed above show, to a greater or lesser extent, that the incorporation of exotic materials and allochthonous models of dress complements and adornments played a key role in the structuration of bodily regimes of representation. This fact can be interpreted in different, complementary senses, as both a display of wealth and status directed at the community itself, and as a display of connectivity within broader networks through the deployment of a shared (if at times highly “glocalized”⁹⁴) language of status and power.

All in all, the case studies presented here highlight the potential of bodily capital analysis not just for an assessment of the role of dress and adornment in structuring, negotiating, and displaying social roles and hierarchies, but also to foreground the gendered dynamics which are too often overlooked when focusing primarily on status- or ethnicity-based affiliations and expressions. Further data and research are still needed to understand the embodied experience of such dynamics, but the case studies offered here will hopefully stimulate new work along this line and contribute to further development of the theoretical and methodological framework for the analysis of the critical role of dress and adornment in the performance of gendered and embodied identities.

⁹⁴ For a review of the meanings and debates around the concept of “glocalization”, see Roudometof 2016.

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