The Value of Things: Textiles in the Iron Age

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Abstract

The aim of this chapter is to examine how value is attached to things, and the ways in which archaeologists can recognise value. To do so, the value of textiles is examined in the early aristocratic societies of Iron Age Europe through a case study of central and northeast Italy from 720 to 580 BCE. Here, the position is taken that value is a judgement people make about things based in desire, and desire is grounded in the effects things have on and for people in their cultural milieu (Harris 2017). It is proposed that there are five principle factors that underlie the desirability of things: material properties, expense and exclusivity, conspicuous sensory appeal, life histories of the objects, and fungibility (standardised products that are given, traded or act as currency). Judgements of desirability are based in wider individual and society values, and evident to archaeologists through the material culture of the epoch.

The value of things

The meaning and origin of the value of things has been studied intensely across the humanities and social science. In 'The philosophy of money' Simmel argued that value was found in what people hold as desirable, and for which they are willing to sacrifice other things, their time, and to take risks to have and accumulate (Simmel, Bottomore, and Frisby 1978). In studies of living societies, it is broadly recognised that value is not only found in materials, but is alive through the desires and actions connected to those things (e.g.Graeber 2001, Douglas and Isherwood 1979). People judge things as desirable within holistic systems of thought, action, belief and materials; and values may be perceived differently across society. As well, value is mainly relational, one thing may be more or less desirable than something else; this is referred to as ordinal ranking. These observations have proved enduring because the value of things is not fixed, but is constantly evolving according to fashion and circumstance.

Archaeologists, working without the testimony of participants, identify why and how past people desired things through the material manifestations of thoughts and actions. Value is attributed to objects that are rare, have exotic origins or were made with high levels of crafting. Wealth, as an accumulation of valuable things, is recognised in the selection of goods placed in a well-furnished burial or those things transported in a ship's cargo (e.g. Bartoloni 2000, Monroe 2010). From an economic perspective, value is seen in the balance of supply and demand (Wijngaarden 1999). Archaeologists usually encounter value in those objects and materials that are well preserved in the archaeological record: coins, precious metal or stone axes. These have proved effective ways of recognising valuable things. However the weakness of these approaches is that value is presented as fixed and

immutable and certain categories of material and object are treated as valuable while others are not.

In the last decade, approaches to the materiality of value have turned to the relationship between people and things. This has brought archaeologists' attention to the significance of judgement, knowledge, material agency and the situational value of things (Bokern and Rowan 2014a). In turn, archaeologists' evaluation of value has diversified and is recognised in a wider range of objects, people and places (Papadopoulos and Urton 2012, Bevan and Wengrow 2010). With growing interest in material agency, the concept of value is understood in the effects of things and the way objects enable action, as much as in their intrinsic value based on material, form and function (Bokern and Rowan 2014b, 4). Approaches such as James Gibson's theory of affordances have been influential in drawing attention to the way an environment affords certain opportunities for people, surfaces and substances (Gibson 1977, 67-8). Archaeologists working with Actor-Network theory have applied the concept of affordances and object agency to how objects enable people to act (Van Oyen 2015, 66). Such approaches connect the physical world with people, and the relationship between people's intentions enacted through objects. If this is taken back to concepts of value, where value is a judgement based on desire, then value is also in the effect of things.

Approached this way, value is found in the things people want, and people want things because of what they enable them to do, be and become. This can be seen in the emotional and physical fulfilment in life, as culturally defined. On this basis, it is argued here that value is a judgement people make about things based in desire, and desire is grounded in the effects things have on and for people throughout societies. It is proposed there are five principle ways that people desire objects (Harris 2017). These are 1) material properties, 2) expense and exclusivity, 3) items with conspicuous, sensory appeal, 4) the biography or life histories of objects, and 5) as fungibile products that are in some way standardised (summary in Tab. 1). The purpose of these principles is to provide a methodological framework to explore the value of things within a contextual analysis of the time and place to which they belong. These principles will be applied to appraise the value of textiles in the Iron Age societies of Etruscan and Venetic Italy in the Orientalizing period, 730-580 BCE.

Etruscan and Venetic Italy, 730-580 BCE
The late 8th to early 6th century BCE (730-580 BCE, *Seconda età del Ferro*) in central and northern Italy is referred to as the Second Iron Age or Orientalizing period: a Mediterranean wide cultural phenomena that involved the intense transportation of goods and people, and that heralded major technological and social developments (Sannibale 2013, 99). An emerging aristocracy were engaged in long distance trade, people started to live in early urban centres, and the wealthiest buried their dead in monumental tombs with lavish grave goods (Riva 2010, Leighton 2013, Bietti Sestieri and De Min 2013, 48, Perkins 2014, 63-6). If we consider the tempo of human life, the change in relationships in cities and the growth in

wealth, these decades were a time of considerable attainment, much of which came through the production, possession and circulation of material goods (Gras 2000, 14). With hierarchy comes servitude. The archaeological record is dominated by the material culture of the elite through their elaborate burials and self-representation; however there are hints at the less wealthy, the servant class and possibly slavery, which is attested from at least the 6th century BCE in Central Italy though it may have started earlier (Benelli 2013,450). In this complex mix of changing circumstances, and with much centred on the production, circulation and consumption of desirable goods, how was value attached to things? And importantly, how can value be recognised in archaeological remains and what was the significance of value across the social matrices? In the following sections, the five principles of value outlined above (Tab.1) are applied to consider the desirability of one area of material culture, textiles, in central and northeast Italy during the late 8th to early 6th centuries BCE.

Textiles as effective materials
As a first principle of value, things are desirable for their material properties. Materials properties have effects. In addition, properties are not fixed but relational, they depend on the environment and individual, a concept known as affordances (Gibson 1977, 67). The effect of materials, and for that reason their desirability, is situational and according to the individual.

What properties made textiles desirable materials? Textiles are defined "large, thin sheets of material made from fibre, which are soft and floppy enough to be used as coverings for people and things" (Barber 1991, 5). Fibres are the primary materials of textiles and have a significant effect on the properties of the finished textiles. Analysis of preserved textiles from central and northeast Italy in the Pre-Roman Iron Age demonstrate that most were made from sheep's wool (*Ovis sp*.) and fibres from the flax plant (*Linum usitattissium)* (e.g.Gleba 2017, Stauffer et al. 2002).

Here we consider two sets of remarkably preserved wool garments. At the Villanovan necropolis at Lippi, Verucchio, Emilia Romagna, alongside other textiles, two semi-circular shaped wool mantles were placed in Tomb 89, a well-furnished man's burial dated c.700 BC (Von Eles 2002b, 273-275; Stauffer 2012, 2002). Both mantles are made from single, large textiles and of sufficient size to wrap around the upper body of an adult man (Stauffer 2012, 244-8). Woven in one piece using fine wool threads in a weave structure called 2/2 twill, they are shaped like a segment of a circle; both are little over 250 cm in length and approximately 80cm wide (Stauffer et al. 2002, 216). There are small holes where fibulae were attached, showing they were worn in life and not made exclusively for the burial (Stauffer 2012, 249). Their size, shape and drape suggest they were worn as lightweight, open upper body garments. This type of mantle is worn by two men in a scene painted on clay panels from the Boccanera Tomb, La Banditaccia, Cerveteri, dated 560-550 BCE, in a scene thought to represent deities (Fig. 1). Here wool textiles were desirable for their ability to be woven into large, fine, smooth fabrics and worn as lightweight garment

with elegant drape and texture, as found in the tombs of the wealthy and later represented on deities.

Another remarkable find of wool clothing are two pairs wool leggings (inner and outer leggings) and socks (inner shoes) found on the Riesenferner / Vedretta di Ries mountain pass, Bolzano/ Bozen, radiocarbon dated 794-499 BCE (Bazzanella et al. 2005, 152). The two pairs of leggings are approximately 60cm long, circumference 34cm of tubular shape with a flap at one end to tuck into footwear. They are patched and darned and the only dyed yarn is the stitching on the knee patch (Bazzanella et al. 2005, 154). The outer leggings, are woven with a twill weave, like the Verucchio mantles, however they are thicker textiles; the inner leggings are woven in plain weave (also called tabby). Wearing layered, wool-twill, patched and darned legwear at high altitude, suggests these textiles were desirable for their insulative, mildly elastic properties (Harris 2010, 107, tab. 18.3). The wool leggings were effective materials to keep the feet and legs warm in the cold mountain passes. The Riesenferner / Vedretta di Ries legwear is indicative of the type of textile clothing that was probably very common and highly desirable across society, a staple of rich and poor, in contrast to the luxurious materials of the Verucchio mantles. The contrast of these garments suggests how value was attached to wool textiles in the Iron Age through its many material properties. For textile clothing that wraps and encloses the body both in relation to the physical and social environment is a fundamental source of value, and was widely appreciated across Iron Age society.

Expense and exclusive textiles

In the second principle of value, it is proposed that things are desirable due to their expensiveness and exclusivity. Things may be expensive due to their rarity, quality or quantity, which consume resources of materials, skill and labour. Expense is relative, it depends on the resources people have available; what is expensive to a servant may be of no consequence to an aristocrat. Expense makes objects exclusive, and exclusive objects are desirable due to limited accessibility. Exclusive items are accessible only to the most wealthy, for this reason they may become signs of authority and legitimacy, with the effect of creating a legitimising power (Joyce 2000, 70-1).

What makes textiles expensive? Analysis and experiments of spinning and weaving times demonstrates the significance labour required to produce textiles (Costin 2013, Jarva and Lipkin 2014, Olofsson et al.2015). An onerous aspect of textile labour is the production of yarn (thread). In experiments with a drop spindle, two spinners who participated in experiments for the Centre for Textile Research in Copenhagen (CTR), spun 50 metres of wool yarn in one hour using an 8g spindle whorl on a drop spindle (Olofsson et al. 2015, 85). While all textiles require yarn, some textiles are denser and require more than others. The Verucchio mantles are woven using an average of 14 threads per cm in the warp, and 24 per cm packed into the weft (Stauffer et al. 2002, 216; Stauffer 2012, 244-9). The outer leggings from

Vedretta di Ries are woven in herringbone twill with fewer yarns per centimetre of weaving (Bazzanella et al. 2005, 154). The inner leggings are woven in plain weave using 18 threads per cm in the warp and 7 threads per cm in the weft (Bazzanella et al. 2005, 154). This means the Verucchio mantles, using finer yarns, required two to three times more yarn to weave than the Vedretta di Ries legwear. Not only did this require more time to spin, but also more time to weave as the shuttle passes through the warp two to three times more often to produce the same length of textile. The progressive expense from coarse to fine textiles, simple to elaborate can be ordered in a sequential scale, low to high; a feature known as ordinal ranking. The desirability of the mantles with their fine textiles and minimal wear, is that they mark the wearer out as someone with the means to have new, high quality textiles that required more labour to produce than coarse or reused textiles.

As well as in quality, value is also found in quantity. The Etruscans owed their international power to control of the sea; the wealth of the aristocracy of the Veneto depended on trade along the Adriatic. Based on the representation of sails on Etruscan ceramics, from the early 7th century BCE, a variety of galleys (oared ships with square sails), from swift war ships to ample-hulled cargo ships, circulated in the Mediterranean (Casson 1994, 36-41; Bruni 2013, 770-771, fig. 40.5, 40.7) (Fig. 2). As in Classical times, sails were likely made of cellulosic fibres such as flax, and woven from strong textiles (Whitewright 2007, 289). The expense and exclusivity of sails was in their size, and hence the natural and human resources and organisation of labour required to make them. Estimates of resources show the huge amount of work required to produce sails (see Bender Jørgensen 2012).

The reconstruction of a sewn fishing boat following the mid-6th century BCE wreck Jules-Verne 9 found in Marseille, required around 5 km of thread for the sails, which took 3000 hours of sewing, plus further textiles as wadding to protect the wooden joints and seams (Pomey and Poveda 2018, 50). The fifth century BCE Greek *trireme*, with hull sizes of 36-41metres (Rankov 2013, 90–91) is estimated to require 119m^2 of cloth for the main and foresail (Dimova et al. 2021). The Etruscan cargo ships of the Orientializing period were smaller than a *trireme*. Estimations of the amount of labour required to weave *trireme* sails suggest that it took around 18 months to produce the yarn and one year to the weave (Dimova et al. 2021The Grand Ribaud F, a cargo ship wrecked off the coast of Provence in the early fifth century BCE, was carrying 7-800 amphorae of Etruscan origin and had an estimated a hull size of 22-30m (Long, Gantès and Rival 2006; Petrarulo 2012 120-121).). As the hull of the Grande Ribaud F is estimated as a third smaller than a *trireme*, it may be anticipated that the sails took around two thirds of the time to produce. Galleys of the Orientalising period, such as the Grande Ribaud F, were exclusive items due to the extensive labour and material resources required to make and manoeuvre. Ships, with their significance for trade, as well as for defence and attack at sea, were one of the key means to control resources and power, hence highly desirable.

Conspicuous, sensory textiles

Things are desirable when they appeal to the senses in an agreeable way. This aligns to concepts such as beauty, art and aesthetic (Porter 2012, 4-6). Alfred Gell's 'Technology of Enchantment' emphasised the effect of dazzling technological achievements as a way to induce emotional responses in other people, and as a result, influence social interactions (Gell 1992). When considering textiles of 7th century BCE Italy, indicated by those deposited in burials or depicted in representation they were often splendid, brightly coloured, lustrous and embellished with decorative tablet woven boarders, sparkling beads and fastenings.

At Poggioverde, a settlement of the minor aristocracy outside Veii, as elsewhere in Etruria and Latium, traces of textiles in women's graves show that the clothing included a long linen tunic, applied glass and amber beads and wool twill cloak with decorative tablet woven borders fastened with fibulae. Around the head of one woman, miniature fibulae were used to fasten a thin veil of fine quality wool fabric (De Cristofaro and Piergrossi 2017, 68-70). The lustre and colour of the fabrics combined with the shine of metal, amber and glass suggest a sparkling and splendid costume, which has been compared to the goddesses' costumes in Homer (De Cristofaro and Piergrossi 2017, 76).

The Verucchio mantles were similarly splendid, the colours, textures and embellishments on these mantles were bright and eye catching. The 2/2 twill weave structure creates a faint diagonal texture, enhanced by alternating thread sets in warp and weft to create a checked sheen called a spin or shadow pattern (Stauffer et al. 2002, 216). Mantle 1 contains traces of purpurin, a plant dye with a vibrant red colour (Vanden Berghe in Stauffer 2012, 247). Mantle 2 has traces of red and yellow dye compounds that create a red-orange colour (Stauffer 2012, 248-9, Stauffer et al. 2002) (Fig. 3). Both have colourful and decorative tablet woven borders. They were embellished with amber along the curved edge. On the first, there are remnants of stitching which once attach hundreds of small amber cone-shaped beads, on the second, paired stitch holes attached a row of large amble knobs (Stauffer 2012, 247). As if this were not splendid enough, Mantle 1 was covered with multiple, decorative metal fibulae (Stauffer 2012, 244).

The bright colours and textures of clothing were transferred in imagery. The terracotta seated statues from the Tomb of the Five Chairs, Chiusi, Cerveteri c. 640 BCE are depicted wearing diagonally checked tunics and mantles that fasten on the right shoulder (Bartoloni 2000, 172-3, cat. no.124-5). The tunic is painted white with red borders and the semi-circular or triangular mantles are painted red with orange borders (Fig. 4). The conspicuous sensory appeal of textiles was used to enhance their value, not only due to the skill and resources required to achieve these effects, also in the ability of these bright, splendid textiles to enchant and create a dazzling spectacle both as worn in life and as part of magnificent burials. Where textiles are used as clothing, they became a strong personal statement that was integral to social interactions. These textiles are not only desirable for clothing, they are desirable because of their sensory appeal.

Textiles biographies

Things are desirable because of the people, places and ideas connected to them; and the effect of these networks in creating and demonstrating social networks. Object biography was developed in social anthropology to investigate economic exchange, originating from the concept of personal biographies to describe the birth, life and death of an artefact (Appadurai 1986, Kopytoff 1986). In archaeology this broadly translates as the production, use and deposition or discard of an object. Archaeologists have developed several iterations of this approach including life histories and recently, itineraries or trajectories of things (Hahn and Weis 2013, Van Oyen 2015, 66). A significant point to take from these approaches is the potential to investigate the web of social relationships surrounding objects (Joy 2009, 540-1). A similar concept recognises how the trajectory (or potential) of an object shapes its future possibilities; this network of actors maintains a products stability (Van Oyen 2015, 66-70).

In central and northeast Italy during the Orientalizing period, textile production is predominantly associated with women. On a richly carved throne placed in Verucchio Tomb 89, there are scenes interpreted as men and women wool working, women weaving at an upright loom, and women carrying out obscure tasks protected by guards (Von Eles 2002a, Bonfante 2013, 430). In four scenes of textile production on a bronze rattle (*tintinnabulum*) from the Tomb of the gold, Arsenale Militare, Bologna, 8th century BC (Morigi Govi 1971, Ræder Knudsen 2002, 226) (Fig.5), women prepare the warp, distaff, spin and weave. They are seated on thrones, indicating special status. In a scene on bronze bucket (*situla*) from tomb 244, Montebelluna-Posmon necropolis, Treviso, 6th century BCE, two women spin with drop spindles; the pictorial story is interpreted as centring on the husband and wife of high ranking families (Ruta Serafini and Zaghetto 2019, 56-7, 71, fig.5). It was not only women of status who worked textiles. Spindle whorls, spools and distaffs were placed in Early Iron Age graves across central and northeast Italy (Fig. 6). In Osteria dell'Ossa necropolis, Latium Vetus (IIA1-IVB, ca.950-580 BCE), textile tools were found in 212 of 595 (36%) of tombs; while at Veii, Quattro Fontanili (IB-IIC, ca.900-725 BC) in Etruria, textile tools occur in 132 (21%) of the burials (Lipkin 2013, 19). Taken broadly, tools in graves appear to two patterns. Single spindle whorls occur in burials with female attributes (understood both through osteological and grave good evidence) of all ranks and diverse ages, albeit with cemetery specific and regional variations (Lipkin 2013, 20). While most women's burials contain spinning and weaving tools and include women of varied status, the presence of multiple tools suggests the elevated the status of some women, regardless of age (Lipkin 2013, 22). Spinning tools in burials may signify ideological concepts of womanhood (Gleba 2008, 174, Lipkin 2013, 20). The gender and status of textile producers highlights the different ways people were connected to textiles.

Through investigating object biographies, there are hints at how the value of textiles varied across society, with glimpses of how textiles may be valued by those of different gender, status, and situation. What value were textiles for women? Where written texts

exist in the Eastern Mediterranean, noblewomen such as Penelope and Helen gained fame and renown *(kleos)* through their weaving (Mueller 2010). Their textiles gifts had a heightened value because they wove them. In 8th and 7th century BCE Etruria and Latium, it is suggested that in dress women represented the status of their families and were themselves a valuable resource (De Cristofaro and Piergrossi 2017, 76). What value were textiles for men? For men, textiles were a resource that came mostly through women, servants and slaves of their household, or via trade. The Verucchio mantles, most likely conceived and made by women, would have passed from women's hands, to be worn by a man. After being worn in life, the two mantles were folded and placed in the tomb along with the other desirable grave goods (Stauffer 2012, 254, fig.10-7, Stauffer et al. 2002, 216, 220). What value textiles for a town? If the immense effort to produce a ship's sails relied on women's, servant's and slave's labour, then they are part of the network of people and resources creating the strategic connections and trade networks for the town's inhabitants. What this seems to indicate is that textile products, and the skills and resources to produce them, may have had value to aristocratic women's networks, but they may also have been part of sytems of exploitation.

Standardised, fungible textiles

Those goods that are standardised, which can be readily substituted one for another, are described as fungible. Fungible goods operate in systems of exchange because there is a means of quantifying equivalence based in measurement (Papadopoulos and Urton 2012, 3-5; Renfrew 2012, 253). Trade, gift exchange and barter all incorporate standardised products of negotiable value and equivalence. The desirability, and hence value, of standardise products is that they are effective in facilitating transactions which are fundamental in bargaining for goods, and trading one for another.

Across the Mediterranean and Near East from at least the second millennium BCE, literary evidence and inventories testify that palaces and temples had textiles assets that were traded, given as gifts, accumulated into dowries, and even offered as ransoms (see summary: Gleba 2014). In the absence of substantive written sources in Etruria and the Veneto during the Orientalizing period, the role of textiles as standardised products and items of equivalence must be evaluated from material culture evidence. In representation, the repetition of certain dress combinations; three quarter to ankle length tunic and shaped mantle for men, long tunic and headscarf for women (Bonfante 2003, 32-3, figs. 4-6, 11, 14-16) is evidence not only of identity, but also that textiles required in dress were consistent, if varied, products. For example, the Verucchio mantles are a similar size. Mantle 1 is 257cm long and 82cm wide, and was originally a few cm larger. Mantle 2 is 259cm long and 79cm wide (Stauffer et al. 2002, 216). In consumption, the similar size of the two mantles may be in part because they were woven to fit the same man. The similar

shape and colour of the Verucchio mantles to those in representation, as those worn by the men in the plaque from Boccanera Tomb, La Banditaccia, Cerveteri, 560-550 BCE (Fig. 1) raises the possibility that to weave and dye a mantle of a certain quality was a known quantity of work. Was a mantle a type of standardised product?

The quantity of textile involved for the textiles to cloth a household or sails means these were collaborative efforts, involving more than one weaver, possibly multiple household units and their dependents. The Classical sources refer to sail makers as sail-stitchers, because sails were stitched together from multiple textiles (Spantidaki 2019). Evidence of rare fragments of Roman sailcloth provide an idea of the technical specification of sails, as relatively coarse textiles woven from plant fibre yarns (Dimova et al. 2021 in press). Textiles woven to the same specifications then stitched into sails may be another example of standardised textiles. The evidence for standardised textiles in central and northeast Italy in the Orientazling period is inconclusive, yet it is important to investigate these possibilities. Standardised or fungible products of the 7th and 6th centuries BCE in central Italy, such the amphorae in the Grand Ribaud F shipwreck, or *aes rude* uncoined metal (Murgan 2014, 66-7), were part of systems of trade, exchange and cult offering; roles also associated with textiles.

Conclusion

The Iron Age textiles of central and northeast Italy, 730-580 BCE, offer a rich opportunity of how archaeologists can examine the value of things in past societies. Textiles are an example of value found in materials that perish, that can be produced in many places, and in small quantities of goods that circulate widely. Through applying five principles of object value, the evidence is examined from multiple perspectives. This methodological device draws out a comprehensive range of possibilities, covering economic, aesthetic, societal and material goals.

Taking a definition of value where value is a judgment based in the desirability of things based in their effects, the archaeologist is tasked with examining how, why and by whom certain textiles were desirable in these aristocratic and early urban societies. By emphasising the relationship between people and things, it is easier to see how value exists in many forms and why it fluctuates. As materials, textiles were ubiquitous in clothing. This is recognised in the widespread tools of production and the represent of textile clothing in paintings and statues. As clothing, textiles were valued for their material properties, whether as working clothes to protect the body from the hostility of a cold, mountain environment, or as appropriate dress for the body in the competitive circles of social elites. This demonstrates how textiles were valuable across the social matrices, not only in stores of the wealthy. Through tracing object biographies, value is found in the way textiles create and stabilise social relationships. In central and northeast Italy 730-580 BCE these networks are recognisable in the ideological and practical position of textile production as women's work. Through this dynamic it is possible to question the desirability of textiles in creating and stabilising marriage partnerships, households, and even the power and influence of

towns in the interconnected Mediterranean cultures (*koine*). Here textiles are desirable not only for what they are, but in how they connect people and create dependencies. In production, it is possible to recognise relational value, and how textiles were more expensive and exclusive than others. The exclusivity of a ship's sails is a prime example of how time and resource consuming textiles products provide an exclusive access to power, to transport goods, and to defend and attack at sea. For those textiles that were traded, whether locally or long distance, their fungibility provided a resource through which to obtain other items, and turn one resource into another.

Value judgements depend on the overarching values of the societies to which people contribute and belong. For central and northeast Italy in the Orientalizing periods, such value would have depended on the situation and ambitions of the individual or unit, whether aspiring aristocrat, servant or slave, according to gender, age and the ambitions, household or town. The ubiquity of textiles in Iron Age Europe suggests all people had an interest in textiles, all people valued textiles in one way or another. The role of the archaeologist is to be able to recognise these varied perspectives, and through this understand how value changes because the effects, roles and purposes of objects change according to time, place and person.

Acknowledgments

Principle	Desirability	Effect
1. Material properties	Objects are desirable for their material properties. Properties are relational; it may be that a property is more effective and desirable in one context, less so in another.	The value of material properties is that it enhances a person's capacity to be or act in a given situation.
2. Expense and exclusivity	Objects can be expensive due to their rarity, relative quality or quantity, whether in materials, skills of the creator, or other factors. Expense makes objects exclusive, and exclusive objects are desirable due to limited accessibility.	The value of exclusive objects is that they enhance and justify the dynamics of power, legitimacy and order as they demonstrate connections, networks and acquisition ability.
3. Conspicuous, sensory appeal	Objects are desirable when they appeal to the senses in an agreeable way.	The value of objects with conspicuous, sensory appeal is in their ability to bring pleasure, and to influence the perception and behaviour of others.
4. Life history or biography	History or biography enhances object desirability when it creates connections between people, places or ideas that are themselves desirable.	The value of object biography is that it attaches other people to the object, a factor which extends networks and relationships.
5. Fungibility	Objects are desirable when they are part of an established, standardised system of exchange.	The value of fungible objects is that they can be readily exchanged for goods and services, because they systemised the transfer of payment, debts and obligations.

Table 1. Desirability and effects; the five principles by which objects are valued (Harris 2017, 683, tab.1).

Figures

Fig. 1. Two men, far left, wear light-weight, decorated mantles and tunics. Women wear tunics and cloaks or veils of varied length, texture and colour. Scene interpreted as the judgement of Paris. Painted clay tablets, Boccanera Tomb, La Banditaccia, Cerveteri, Height 98-102 cm. Museum No. 1889,0410.1-5 (©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved).

Fig. 2. Ship with sail represented in dark brown on a white ground on a jug (*oinochai*). Attributed to the Pittore delle palme, active in Tarquinia 700-675 BCE. Museum No. 71.114. (© Museum of Art and Archaeology University of Missouri-Columbia)

Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the textile of Mantle 2 from Tomb 89, Lippi Necropolis, Verucchio. The original mantle was embellished with amber and fastened with decorative metal fibulae (Reconstruction of the Verucchio Mantle woven by weaver Anna Nørgaard, technical analysis and weaving description by conservator Lise Ræder Knudsen, PhD. Image © S.Harris, with kind permission).

Fig. 4. Textured, coloured tunic and mantle represented on the ceramic statues of the Tomb of the Five Chairs, Cerveteri, c.625-600 BCE. Height 54.61cm. Museum No. 1873,0820.637. (© The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved)

Fig. 5. Bronze rattle (*tintinnabulum*) from the Tomb of the Gold, Arsenale Militare, Bologna, dated c. 630-600 BCE. Height 11.5 cm (Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna, © Archivio Fotografico del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna).

Fig. 6. Grave goods including amber distaff and spindle, bone weaving tools, ceramic spools, spindle whorls, bone, amber and blue glass beads. Tomb 3, Le Pegge Necropolis, Verucchio, 7th century BCE. (Image © S. Harris courtesy of Verucchio Museo Archaeologico).

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