

Session 1A: Open Session Current Archaeological Research in Anatolia

Burned Out: Contextual and Volumetric Analysis of Hearths and Ovens at Bronze Age Kaymakçı, Western Anatolia

Catherine B. Scott, Brandeis University, and Christopher H. Roosevelt, Koç University

Over six years of excavations at the second-millennium B.C.E. citadel of Kaymakçı in western Anatolia, hearths and ovens have emerged as one of the most common feature types. Some of these burning features appear to be quite large installations (perhaps reaching 2 m in diameter), involving complex construction techniques and multiple phases of reuse. They are found in diverse contexts throughout the site, including within apparent domestic buildings, in open-air activity areas and courtyards, and in close association with fortifications. Using the Kaymakçı Archaeological Project's innovative born-digital spatial recording system and intensive sample collection strategies, we have been able to collect robust data on these features and their surroundings. Here, we present a preliminary typology of oven and hearth features found at the site, their relationships to surrounding architecture, features, and artifacts, and evidence for change in the way they were constructed over time. We also present 3D, volumetric models of some excavated features—which allow for digital reconstruction and re-excavation—and review associated scientific studies currently in progress that will allow us to improve understanding of these features in the future. Finally, we consider parallels with other contemporary sites in the eastern Mediterranean and present preliminary interpretations for how such burning installations were incorporated into social life at Bronze Age Kaymakçı.

Tracing the Western Frontier of the Hittite Empire: Results from the Polatlı Landscape Archaeology and Survey Project

Müge Durusu-Tanrıöver, Bilkent University

The historical accounts of the Hittite Empire, a Late Bronze Age imperial system that dominated large parts of modern Turkey and northern Syria, paint a troubled picture for the western frontier. Textual sources demonstrate that repeated military campaigns, negotiations and treaties shaped the encounters between the local communities and the empire, while the archaeological footprint of these encounters have rarely been investigated. Polatlı Landscape Archaeology and Survey Project (PLAS) is a new fieldwork initiative in west-central Turkey that aims to explore the archaeological signature of the Hittite Empire in its archaeologically under-studied western frontier, as well as the material culture of contemporary local communities. In its 2019 pilot season, PLAS extensively and intensively surveyed distinct geological and settlement areas, including Hacituğrul Höyük, a large Iron Age center 22 km northeast of Gordion, also featuring Late Bronze Age materials. This paper aims to report on the results of this first season, as well as introducing the larger, long-term research agenda, questions and methods of this new project.

A rigorous research program on the legacy data collected in earlier excavations from the region accompanies the fieldwork component of PLAS in order to produce a more comprehensive view of the region in the Late Bronze Age. The paper will also report on the new research being conducted on such legacy collections and concludes that the western frontier of the Hittite Empire was a complex network of communities in the Late Bronze Age, meriting further investigation.

Late Bronze IIB Period at Tarsus-Gözlükule, Turkey

Elif Ünlü, Boğaziçi University

The transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age in the eastern Mediterranean is one of the most debated periods in archaeology, marked by the collapse of regional powers, a shift from urban and centralized organization to a more rural one, migrations, and an overall heterogeneity in material culture. In Anatolian chronology, Late Bronze IIB levels, which denote the period after the collapse of the Hittite Empire, span this transitional period. With new excavations in the region, as well as in central Anatolia, the heartland of Hittite political power, a more detailed and nuanced narrative is emerging, which indicates that these were not simple processes.

In 2001, Boğaziçi University of Istanbul initiated an excavation and research project at Tarsus-Gözlükule. These excavations have exposed the Late Bronze IIB stratum in several trenches. In this talk, I summarize the stratigraphy of this level with a specific focus on the pottery and present ceramics that have been selected from stratigraphically good contexts, securely dating the material to the post-collapse period on the site.

Preliminary results show that the Plain and Cooking Wares show continuity with the earlier Late Bronze IIA period, where there is a strong Central Anatolian influence on the pottery repertoire. Along with these, locally made Late Helladic IIIC type pottery is also encountered, which is a novelty at the site. This suggests that two very different approaches to eating and drinking traditions coexisted on the settlement during the Late Bronze IIB period. The results show that strong continuity in certain aspects of the material culture is evident amidst sudden shifts in demographics and also possibly economic orientation.

Late Fourth Century B.C.E. Pottery Assemblages of Patara: Some Considerations on Local and Regional Ceramic Classes

Erkan Dundar, Kahramanmaraş Sutcu Imam University

Recent investigations at Patara reveal that the city played a crucial role as a communications node during the formation of the Hellenistic era. As one of the most important cities in ancient Lycia, Patara furnished an essential harbor to several inland communities in the basin of the Xanthos River, including Xanthos, Tlos, and Pinara. Since 2013 our excavations have revealed the foundations of a garrison bastion and numerous houses at the Tepecik mound of Patara. The results of five excavated loci reveal architectural and ceramic remains that shed light on the development of Patara and the surrounding region. Among these are two rooms,

two semi-open kitchen areas and a pantry. Destroyed simultaneously by fire, all six loci contained in situ closed ceramic contexts.

One of the areas destroyed by the fire appears to be a *gynaikonitis*, based on its location and finds. The excavation yielded numerous small finds (such as pyramidal loom weights, lead and terracotta figurines, large numbers of metal objects, etc.), as well as black-slipped *kantharoi*, *skyphoi*, echinus bowls, *olpai*, rolled-rim plates, fish plates, casseroles and transport amphorae. Together with Attic imports, we identified regional and locally produced finewares, including some from Rhodes.

Another room that was destroyed by the fire appears to have functioned as a pantry to the *gynaikonitis*. This room survives to the east of *gynaikonitis*. It contained storage and service vessels such as mortaria, hydrias and amphorae, as well as various kitchen utensils (such as iron meat hook and lead cauldron) used for food preparation.

The work in this sector of the Tepecik mound thus far indicates that the destruction of the buildings occurred immediately after 310 B.C.E. These closed contexts will play an important role in the creation of a late fourth-century B.C.E. ceramic chronology and typology for the entire region of Lycia, something that is poorly understood. Equally important it reveals that Persian garrison fortresses accommodated domestic facilities for women.

Fieldwork at Amos, 2019

Mehmet Gürbüzler, Mugla Sıtkı Kocman University, and *Asil Yaman*, University of Pennsylvania

Amos is a Rhodian *deme* located at Asarcık in Turunç, Marmaris (southwestern Turkey) today. The city situated at Bozburun Peninsula is also known as Carian Chersonessos in ancient sources. The intensive archaeological surveys at Amos and its vicinity started in 2019 as a multi-disciplinary expedition. This research is designed to identify, document, and investigate the long-term settlement pattern and land use from antiquity through the medieval periods at Amos. This paper aims to present some archaeological data from 2019 fieldwork and share the first observations on the research.

Monuments to Civic Memory: Text and Topography of Two Hellenistic Fountains in Western Anatolia

Christina DiFabio, University of Michigan

This paper examines two Hellenistic inscriptions and their accompanying monumental fountains in western Anatolia: the Salmakis epigram from Halikarnassos (mid to late second century B.C.E.) and the Second Decree of the Teians to Antiochos III and Laodike III from Teos (204/203 B.C.E.). Building on other scholars' literary and historical analyses of the texts, I place the inscriptions and the fountains within their regional topographies. I argue that the messages of the texts are highlighted by the fountains' positions within the cities and their relationships to other monuments. The patrons of the monuments chose specific locations in order to promote civic identity when their cities were experiencing political transitions.

For the Salmakis Fountain, the patron placed the fountain on a cliff near the coast to evoke specific episodes from Hesiod's *Theogony* cited in the epigram. The patron also aligned the fountain with the city's fortifications which were built by Mausolos. The patron thus manipulated pan-Hellenic mythology and the city's past status as the capital of Karia to promote the Hellenistic city. The Second Decree of the Teians describes a new fountain for Teos's queen Laodike after Antiochos III's takeover of the city; although the fountain has not been found, the decree states that it was in the agora. The patron placed the fountain in a visible spot of the city to promote the queen, but more importantly the patron ensured that the new piece of infrastructure was in the most functional place for the Teians themselves. As other scholars have noted, the fountains were spaces where the people of Halikarnassos and Teos constructed collective identities through bridal rites. I also analyze how the placement of the monuments shaped the everyday lives of those communities practicing the rites. With these examples, I speak to broader topics of patronage and places of memory.

Session 1B: Colloquium

New Archaeological Fieldwork in the Cities of North Africa

Sponsored by the Archaeology of Maghrib Interest Group

Organizer: *Stephen Collins-Elliott, University of Tennessee, Knoxville*

Colloquium Overview Statement

The archaeology of North Africa continues to be a thriving and vibrant field of investigation. This colloquium panel brings together new results from several international projects recently concluded or currently in progress in Morocco and Tunisia, two of the four countries which comprise the region of focus for the Archaeology of the Maghrib Interest Group. These projects all pertain to the urban domain of human activities in a variety of subjects, concentrating especially on religion, economics, and urban development over time. These projects focus for the most part on the Roman, late Roman, and Medieval periods. They highlight not only broader cultural trends that were common throughout the Roman and late Roman world, but also the way in which local phenomena can be highlighted in regard to calling attention to the particularity of North Africa.

From Morocco, papers that discuss the development of Roman-style domestic cult and economic modalities that are attested in other contemporary urban centers show how these domains of life can be interrogated in terms of their particular manifestation within the province of Mauretania Tingitana, such as at Banasa, Sala, and especially Volubilis. Roman urban life can be contrasted with the continuation of subsequent urbanism at Volubilis (Walil) in the early and high Middle Ages. Investigating the long-term development of urban life is also the focus of results from Tunisian-German work at Meninx (Jerba) in Tunisia. This colloquium will also feature the results from Smitthus (Chimtou) and Bulla Regia, each of which touches upon the formation of the monumental Christian landscape in their respective cities.

These projects not only serve to provide up-to-date information on developments in the field of North African archaeology, but can serve to foster discussion about the overall trajectory of the questions asked by researchers and the degree to which new insights into the material record of North Africa can serve to change or develop our approach to urbanism, domestic or public religion, and the ancient economy for this important region.

Discussant: *David Stone*, University of Michigan

Honoring Gods inside the Domus: On the Domestic Cult in Mauritania Tingitana

Néjat Brahmi, École Normale Supérieure

Domestic cult refers to the collection of practices as part of daily rituals and beliefs performed by the *familia* in the private space of the *domus*. A space devoted to it is found in household architecture, materializing a religious dimension by the existence of what is traditionally called a *lararium*. The *lararium* can take a variety of forms, but it may be identified as a niche in a wall or a painting depicting the *lares* next to the *genius* of the *paterfamilias*. Sometimes, it is also manifested by the simple presence of altars, with or without or statuettes of the tutelary divinities of the *domus*. In this paper, I undertake a study of domestic cult in three cities of the far west of the Roman Empire, Banasa, Sala, and Volubilis, which belong to the same geographical region in the southwest of the province of Mauretania Tingitana. Based on extensive fieldwork in these cities, I analyze features that attest to these daily, cultic practices, combining the study of artifacts, statuary, and epigraphy to reconstruct the defining elements of domestic cult. Epigraphy and statuary are some of the ways to approach the identities of the divinities chosen and venerated by the inhabitants of this peripheral region of the Roman Empire. The archaeological context of domestic altars allows us to identify the types of space within the house that were considered sacred—e.g., those areas used for hosting the *lararium*. My goal here is to show that the domestic cult in this region of the Roman Empire was subject to local adaptations as revealed by the presence of domestic altars, which can be found only in this region. In other words, while the domestic cult was similar to what was found in the rest of the Roman world, it also has specific characteristics of its own due to local perceptions and (re)interpretations.

The 2017-2019 Field Seasons of the Urban Economy of Volubilis Project (UEVP)

Jared Benton, Old Dominion University, and *Christy Schirmer*, The University of Texas at Austin

The Urban Economy of Volubilis Project (UEVP), a multi-year study begun in 2017, aims to understand the nature of production and services in the city of Volubilis. The immediate project goals are designed to make two contributions to the study of Volubilis' economy. First, previous studies have largely treated Volubilis' bakeries as dots on a plan, without much consideration for their operation and the

people who worked in them; as such, one goal of the project was to better document the features and technologies inside the bakeries. Second, the relationship of the bakeries with the city's olive-oil presses has frequently been observed, but spatial proximity does not imply cooperation or coordinated efforts. Another goal of the project was to begin placing the baking industry of Volubilis in the city's rich network of producers, merchants, service providers, and consumers. From 2017 to 2019, eight bakeries were cleaned and documented by photogrammetric surveys, in addition to traditional documentation involving drawing and photography of millstones, kneaders, and ovens. In 2019, we explored two bakeries in much greater detail, removing backfill from the 1960s and taking archaeobotanical samples to shed light on fuel sources and types of grain. We also took samples from a number of stone technologies, including millstones, olive mills, and mixers for petrological analysis, examining how different technological and petrological types intersect, particularly in terms of sourcing and quarries. We hope that the petrological and archaeobotanical can serve as proxy data for cross-craft interactions. Results of these analyses indicate that the industry relied on a number of other producers, including olive presser and specialized stoneworkers, in addition to farmers, for fuel and for necessary equipment. Furthermore, technological variation suggests that bakers had choices, possibly between different competing producers, as in the case of the kneaders, but also in the option of using contractors, as in the case of the ovens. Isolating other craftsmen, such as oven builders from masonry ovens; Volubilis' bakers may have made their own adobe ovens. Focus should remain on process, only cautiously assigning secondary crafts to such processes if we want to capture accurately the complexity of Roman craftsmanship and, by extension, the ancient economy.

Volubilis 2: Exploring the Medieval City

Elizabeth Fentress, University College London, *Corisande Fenwick*, University College London, and *Hassan Limane*, Institut National des Sciences de l'Archéologie et du Patrimoine

Contemporary with the publication of the UCL-INSAP 2000–2005 excavations (Fentress and Limane, *Volubilis après Rome*, Brill 2018), a new five-year program has begun in the more central part of the medieval city and outside its primary gate. Our aim is to understand the urbanism of the new town created by the Awraba tribe at the end of the sixth century, and its relationship to the extramural settlement which we believe was settled by an Arab garrison. The area within the walls seems to confirm that the seventh to eighth century occupation of the site consisted of large one-roomed buildings, with a loft at one end for storage, similar to Bourdieu's *maison élémentaire*. This part of Walil was apparently abandoned in the ninth century, only to be briefly reoccupied in the fourteenth century by large walled compounds with small buildings inside. Outside the Roman city gate the picture is very different, with a complex stratigraphy of larger, denser, and slightly more elaborate buildings which were again abandoned in the ninth century, apparently after a disastrous fire. Most striking is the very large number of coins of the Idrissid period recovered from this site, while a ring from the first occupation,

dating to the late seventh or early eighth century, bears the inscription "Bismilla," confirming our initial assumption that this was the home of the Arab garrison.

New Insights into the Urban History of Meninx / Djerba

Stefan Ritter, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, and *Sami Ben Tahar*, Institut National du Patrimoine, Jerba

This paper presents the results of a Tunisian-German project at Meninx, the largest ancient city on the island of Jerba and one of the main production centers of murex dye in the Mediterranean. In contrast to other important Roman seaports like Sabratha or Leptis Magna, the urban plan of this port town did not extend into its immediate hinterland but instead along the coast of the gulf of Bou Grara. Following an extensive geophysical survey, excavations and other investigations during two fieldwork campaigns in 2017 and 2018 were conducted in selected areas, providing information on the history of three temples, the Forum Basilica, a private bath, the Macellum, and a second commercial building near the coastline and some habitations. The earliest levels of the settlement are situated in the vicinity of the later Roman Forum and go back to the fourth century B.C.E., but buildings were constructed predominantly from the first century C.E. onward. Some of them were abandoned already in the late fourth or early fifth century, well before the city's abandonment in the seventh century. The geophysical survey was then extended to the city's periphery, further away from the shoreline, where we found strong evidence for production activities. Finally, underwater explorations have revealed the location of the port of Meninx. The ancient coastline was situated between 70 and 80 meters off the modern shoreline, and a broad, deep submarine channel, running about two kilometers into the gulf, parallel to the city, served to guide the port's intensive maritime traffic. The exceptional situation of the port facilities corresponds to the extension of the urban layout along the coast, which demonstrates the unusual extent to which the port city, whose economy was based on purple dye and fish industries, was oriented toward Mediterranean trade.

Late Antique and Early Medieval Simitthus in the Light of Recent Discoveries

Moheddine Chaouali, Institut National du Patrimoine, Tunis, *Heike Moeller*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin, and *Philipp von Rummel*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin

This paper will focus on the late antique and early medieval period of Simitthus (Chimtou, Tunisia) where recent fieldwork has changed the impression of the urban development in this period completely. The discovery of a new Christian complex built into the courtyard of a first century C.E. temple with a large and richly decorated church, a baptistery and other rooms certainly belongs to the more spectacular findings, but detailed new information on stratigraphy, chronology, and urban economy will also be discussed in the paper. Together with the research project at the neighboring urban center of Bulla Regia, which will also be presented in this session, the recent discoveries at Simitthus have highlighted the complexity of urban trajectories in the late antique and early medieval period.

A New Basilica and its Funerary Landscape at Late Antique Bulla Regia

Dirk Booms, University College London, *Moheddine Chaouali*, Institut National du Patrimoine, Tunis, and *Corisande Fenwick*, University College London

Recent discoveries at Bulla Regia in northern Tunisia provide an exceptional opportunity to chart the history of a Christian community, from the establishment of its basilica to its abandonment. Our excavations have uncovered a large Christian complex containing a church, a series of funerary chapels, and a large funerary enclosure built within a preexisting Roman necropolis containing mausolea, funerary enclosures, cupola tombs, and a mixture of inhumation and cremation burials. In and around the church complex are a large number of sealed tombs of men, women, children, and even a pair of bishops otherwise unknown in the historical record. This paper will present the most recent findings on the complex's architectural history and layout through an analysis of the construction phases between the fourth and seventh century C.E. It will integrate evidence from building styles, construction techniques and materials (much of it reused from pagan mausolea), as well as from the tombs and funerary mosaics uncovered so far. Though at first the cemetery and the church might appear as two dissociated elements, our excavations show that the changing types and locations of the tombs are linked to the gradual monumentalization of the basilica.

Session 1C: Colloquium**The Roman Army in the West: New Findings, Methods, and Perspectives**

Organizer: *Alicia Jimenez*, Duke University

Colloquium Overview Statement

Archaeological analyses of Rome's expansion in the Mediterranean and the creation of the provinces have traditionally highlighted a pattern of increased levels of urbanism and monumentality, the spread of Latin epigraphy and Roman law as a consequence of the settlement of Italic population and the integration into the Empire. Leaving aside pioneering publications by James (2012a, 2012b) or Roymans and Fernández-Götz (2015) on the archaeology of mass violence, Classical Archaeologists have often overlooked the fact that the first settlements and the earliest contact communities were not located in Roman towns, but in military establishments. Our interpretations of important military campaigns, battles, and sieges often rely heavily on the information provided by the ancient Roman sources. Yet new excavation and survey projects conducted in deceptively 'well-known' sites are both revolutionizing our understanding of the social processes involved in the creation of the empire and raising a series of questions: How does the most recent archaeological evidence complement, contradict or modify prevalent ideas about the internal structure and organization of Roman camps, the supply to the Roman army, or the role of frontiers in the empire? How did castrametation evolve from the earliest republican camps documented archaeologically in the western provinces (Numantia, Alésia), to imperial military enclaves (German-Raetian

limes, Vindolanda)? What is the best way to incorporate in our current archaeological interpretations different types of evidence provided by the ancient sources or, in some cases, 90-year old excavations of iconic sites?

In Europe, the LIMES congress serves as a platform for the presentation of new findings in the archaeology of the Roman army, but occasions to discuss recent developments in this field or, more broadly, in the western part of the Roman empire occur rarely in North America. We are bringing to the AIA a group of European and North American archaeologists with long-term engagement in important fieldwork projects to present new or in some cases even still unpublished materials. Our hope is to advance novel interpretations on the development of Roman camps and their internal layouts, the living conditions of the soldiers and the supply from Rome, the role of provincial population in the army and the creation of frontiers, based on new data available thanks to techniques of remote sensing (ALS and geophysical surveys, LiDAR-based site plans) and archaeological fieldwork conducted in the last ten years in important Roman military camps in Hispania, Gallia, Germania, and Britannia.

Discussant: *Simon James*, University of Leicester

Vindolanda: the Roman Archaeology of a Frontier and People in Transition

Andrew Birley, The Vindolanda Trust, Chesterholm Museum

Roman frontiers were incredible feats of engineering and human endeavor which had the power to change the physical characteristics of a landscape and often had lingering consequences and impacts stretching far beyond their intended purposes or design. Their monumentality and sense of permanence has made it difficult to appreciate the often transient and sophisticated nature of their occupation by the people who made the frontiers of the Roman Empire their home. At Vindolanda, a Hadrian's Wall fort and town, evidence from recent excavations has shed new light on the complexity of the transitional nature of military occupation. Here the Roman army auxiliary units built nine separate forts, seven in wood and three in stone, on top of one another, and in doing so created anaerobic conditions for the remains of the earliest phases of occupation. The site was therefore always changing, as were its people.

In the anaerobic levels almost every imaginable type of artifact, whether organic or inorganic, is preserved from 2000 years ago. Thousands of Roman leather boots and shoes, many used by women and children, have populated male forts with mixed communities and challenged perceptions of Roman army life. Leather boxing gloves, wooden combs, hairnets, socks, baskets, and the severed heads of fallen British adversaries are just some a few of the variety of artifacts recovered. Most important of all are the letters preserved on thin pieces of wood, written in ink with cursive Latin writing, which continue to be found at the site. These first-hand accounts from the people of Vindolanda are unparalleled windows into the past. They are preserved from the pens of hundreds of characters which include commanding officers, soldiers, children, slaves, women, and merchants. All the above combine to put the flesh on the bones of Roman Britain and a frontier in transition.

The Roman camps near Numantia (Renieblas, Spain, 2nd–1st c. B.C.E.): New Archaeological Findings, LiDAR-based Plan and Interpretations

Alicia Jiménez, Duke University, *Jesús Bermejo*, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, *David Hernández-López*, Universidad de Castilla La Mancha, and *Ana del-Campo-Sánchez*, Universidad de Castilla La Mancha

In 2015 Duke University set up a new excavation project in Renieblas (Soria, Spain), where at least five Roman camps loosely dated to the second to first centuries B.C.E. were found in the early twentieth century. The camps were involved in the early conquest of the province of Hispania and the siege of the native settlement at Numantia, which resulted in Rome's annexation of much of the Iberian Peninsula in 133 B.C.E. Many basic and important questions about Renieblas (including the chronology of each of the camps) remain unanswered despite the spectacular results of Schulten's excavations at the site between 1914 and 1931. His interpretation of the camps remains problematic and the analysis of the archaeological finds (stored in the RGZM, Mainz) contested, due to the lack of archaeological context. However, Renieblas continues to figure prominently in analyses of the Roman Republican army, the early phases of the conquest of Hispania, and the basic structure of the Republican army, not in small part because, according to Schulten, the archaeological remains clearly corresponded to the best description of a Roman camp that has survived from Roman times, written by Polybius in the second century B.C.E. (*History*, book 6).

In this paper we will present the most important unpublished results of the last three fieldwork seasons (2015–2017), in which we have documented for the first time a series of artifacts in archaeological context (ceramic, fragments of arm and armor, coins), studied faunal remains and dated organic samples (charcoal and bones) using C-14. In 2019 we combined different geomatic techniques (LiDAR, photogrammetry, terrestrial laser scanners, archaeological survey, geo-referenced historical maps, and aerial pictures), to create a single archaeological plan that we hope will shed new light on the vexed problem of the structure and internal layout of Roman camps in the second century B.C.E.

From the Polybian Camp to the *castra stativa*: The Development of Roman Castrametation

Michel Reddé, Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Université Paris Sciences et Lettres

The camp described by Polybius (6.41–42), around the middle of the second century B.C.E., is our first source on Roman castrametation. Polybius states that Roman camps were organized according to a standard plan in contrast with the less structured Greek encampments. This facilitated their construction in a short time and the location of each unit in the camp. According to Polybius since even individual soldiers occupied the very same place inside the camp, each new encampment resembled the return of an army to its native city. This famous text is a paradigm against which several military sites have been compared. Even more importantly, this single type of Roman camp has been the basis of the functional interpretation of different structures found inside Roman camps and consequently

labeled as *praetorium*, barracks of the *hastati*, etc. In this introduction, I propose to take the opposite approach and confront Polybius's text with the available archaeological evidence. I will analyze the problems posed by the latter, from the Republican camps at Numantia to Flavian military settlements, to study the way in which a new canon was gradually formed under the empire. To this end I will review and discuss recently discovered Republican camps in France and almost unpublished early Augustan contexts in Germany (Petrisberg, Trier).

The Upper German-Raetian Limes: Recently Discovered Forts and the Function of Roman Frontiers

C. Sebastian Sommer, Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, München

Since the declaration of the Upper German-Raetian Limes as a UNESCO-World Heritage Site, a series of geographical surveys in almost all the accessible forts and their *vici* on the frontier have been completed. In addition, complementary funds granted to create high-resolution Airborne Laser Scans (ALS) of the whole line in Bavaria have yielded important results.

This paper analyzes the new forts and military *vici* discovered in the last ten years, as well as the Limes as such, placing special emphasis on the way in which the new archaeological evidence available has substantially changed both previous interpretations of particular sites and their development and our understanding of the very function of the frontier. It is clear now, for example, that in the case of the Raetian Limes early ideas of a segmented construction have to be discarded. The geophysical surveys conducted in the area have revealed that identical timber towers with four corner posts surrounded by square ditches are not only found in the east and the middle of the Limes – as it was previously believed – but also in the west. This suggests that the line of forts was contemporaneously built along a stretch of 167 km in the frontier. Only in the marshy valley of the Altmühl and in the hills east of Gunzenhausen there are a number of different block-house constructions. The Raetian Limes seems now also connected directly to the outer Upper German Limes, where the first towers were built, however, in stone following the regional tradition.

The Potential of Anaerobic Archaeological Environments: A Case Study Investigating Cultural Contact in the Community at Vindolanda

Elizabeth M. Greene, University of Western Ontario, and *Barbara Birley*, The Vindolanda Trust

The Roman settlement at Vindolanda near Hadrian's Wall in England has provided unique and unparalleled evidence for understanding cultural change in the conquered provinces of the empire. Because of the anaerobic archaeological environments that exist throughout large areas of the site, organic artifacts offer a more robust data set than is typical for sites in oxidized conditions. The earliest levels of occupation at Vindolanda (85–130 C.E.) sit largely in anaerobic contexts. Therefore, the critical phase during conquest and early settlement provides robust evidence that is crucial for understanding cultural change and appropriation in the Roman provinces.

This paper uses a specific case study from Vindolanda of two houses located in the settlement outside the period four fort (ca. 105–120 C.E.) to show how anaerobic conditions dramatically change our understanding of those who lived there. The houses themselves were constructed in two different ways, one circular and the other rectilinear, while the associated material culture suggests that the residents both adhered to traditions and adopted new cultural material. For instance, both houses had a hand-operated quern stone for processing wheat, but one used a native style, while the other employed an imported “Roman” tool. At the same time, because the structures were in anaerobic conditions, the presence of wood and leather artifacts fills out the picture in a way not possible otherwise. The presence of wooden combs and leather shoes found in the round native-style structure suggests the inhabitants also utilized “Roman” goods for daily use, while writing implements indicate the adoption of writing habits not present in pre-Roman contexts. The inclusion of organic artifacts in this data set allows us to see much more clearly the nuances of cultural change on the level of individual households during this important period of conquest and settlement in the Roman provinces.

Session 1D: Workshop

Taking to the Field: How to Start an Archaeological Project

Sponsored by the Student Affairs Interest Group

Moderators: *Rachel Dewan*, University of Toronto, *Amanda K. Chen*, University of Maryland, and *Katelin McCullough*, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Workshop Overview Statement

For many archaeologists active in the field, establishing and directing one’s own dig is an anticipated milestone in an archaeological career. However, while many archaeologists are trained in excavation skills and fieldwork techniques, young professionals are rarely given instruction on how a project comes into being. The prospect of effectively and responsibly establishing a dig, survey, material study, or other archaeological project can be a daunting one, and is complicated by the variations in protocols, procedures, and restrictions imposed on projects in different areas of the world.

This workshop seeks to shed light on the intricacies of starting a project and to give graduate students and young professionals insight into an important, but often enigmatic, aspect of their future career. While the process of establishing a project will vary depending on the methodological approach used, the type of material involved, and the groups participating, this workshop brings together a diverse panel of archaeologists, professors, and researchers to speak on this process, offering advice and insight based on their own experiences in the field. These experiences have been wide-ranging, with the panelists having worked on or established projects that are geographically, chronologically, and methodologically diverse. From choosing where to work and contacting the correct authorities, to applying for permits and assembling a team, this session will cover the major steps involved in launching a project and carrying it through.

The workshop will consist of a panel discussion, with specific questions posed by the moderators, followed by a question and answer period, in which attendees will be encouraged to pose their own questions to the panelists. An open conversation offering honest guidance and support will help young archaeologists, whether they are in the position of starting a dig now or thinking ahead, to feel confident about their futures both in and out of the field.

Panelists: *Stephen Collins-Elliot*, University of Texas Knoxville, *Sarah James*, University of Colorado Boulder, *Robyn Le Blanc*, University of North Carolina Greensboro, *Kylie Quave*, George Washington University, and *Anthony Tuck*, University of Massachusetts Amherst

Session 1E: Open Session

Prehistoric Trade in the Mediterranean

Prehistoric Trade of Obsidian from Palmarola in the Central Mediterranean

Robert H. Tykot, University of South Florida, and *Andrea Vianello*, University of South Florida

The uninhabited tiny island of Palmarola, about 35 km south of Cape Circeo (between Rome and Naples, Italy), was an important geological source of obsidian used during the Neolithic through Bronze Ages in the central Mediterranean. While thought to have been a minor source when compared to Lipari and Sardinia, extensive analyses over the last several years of many thousands of obsidian artifacts in museum and other collections show that obsidian from Palmarola was also widely distributed.

The large number of analyses conducted was enabled by the use of Bruker Tracer portable X-ray fluorescence spectrometers, which are non-destructive yet provide calibrated major and trace element data for all sizes of obsidian artifacts. Analyses of geological samples from all of the Mediterranean/European sources with the same instrument allows artifacts to be attributed to specific island sources and sub-sources on Palmarola, Lipari, Sardinia (Monte Arci), and Pantelleria, as well as in the Aegean and Balkans.

The rapidity of the analyses (now less than one minute each) has enabled the analyses of complete archaeological assemblages within museums and other facilities and has led to the identification of Palmarola obsidian as part of the lithic assemblages at more than sixty archaeological sites throughout peninsular Italy, as well as in Corsica, southern France, the Adriatic, and Croatia. Very rarely, however, was Palmarola the only source of obsidian used at the archaeological sites that have been tested, and it was the major source of obsidian at only 25% of them. The techno-typological characteristics of each artifact were also recorded in order to assess potential production and use patterns based on distance and other lithic materials used, including obsidian from other sources. When possible, the contexts and chronology of the lithic assemblages were incorporated in assessing and enabling potential statistical comparisons over time, space, and raw material.

Of Unfinished Anchors and Maritime Trade Networks: A View from Maroni Tsaroukkas, Cyprus

Carrie Atkins, University of Toronto

In addition to the nine known Late Bronze Age shipwrecks, stone anchors serve as proxies for ships and maritime activity to provide some of the best evidence for seagoing voyages in the Late Bronze Age. This is especially true for Cyprus, where no material remains of built Bronze Age ports have been found, but several anchorages have been documented. In this paper, I discuss material evidence from a Late Bronze Age anchorage along the south-central Cypriot coastline at Maroni Tsaroukkas, where a minimum of 70 anchors have been documented, alongside 11 stone blocks and over 400 ceramic sherds. Most notably, seven of these anchors are unfinished: roughly hewn into the shape of anchors with holes only partially carved. Very little is known about stone anchor manufacturing because few unfinished anchors or production sites have been documented. Therefore, the unfinished anchors at Tsaroukkas provide some of the only evidence for where sailors could have acquired their anchors and where anchors were carved. But, more than that, the anchors also attest to different scales of maritime trade when interpreted alongside the ceramic remains. Many of the unfinished anchors were found in close proximity to two assemblages of LCIA ceramics, indicating perhaps that this area might have been part of a terrestrial building complex, which is now submerged. These two ceramic assemblages include locally produced ceramics, regional imports from the Karpas peninsula on Cyprus, and long-distance imports from the Levant and Egypt. Consequently, the unfinished anchors at Tsaroukkas provide evidence not only for the production of anchors at a Late Bronze Age anchorage, which would have been a vital node in the supply chain of Bronze Age ships, but also for complex multi-scalar maritime trade networks in the Late Bronze Age.

Mari and the Minoans

Karen Foster, Yale University

The 20,000 cuneiform tablets found in the ruins of the palace at Mari provide a wealth of evidence for history, international relations, the arts, and religion in the eighteenth century B.C.E. This paper focuses on the documents that shed light on the connections between Mari and Minoan Crete. Thanks to recent editions incorporating updated readings and joins, the corpus of relevant texts has nearly tripled since the last time Aegean specialists considered them.

The texts include inventories of Minoan gold and silver vessels, ceremonial weapons, and leather and textile goods, many of which were obtained when King Zimri-Lim of Mari journeyed to Ugarit. There, he admired a Cretan boat in the harbor and met Minoan merchants and their interpreters. Back at Mari, he commissioned a small boat to be made in Minoan style, for which his head of stores obtained a sizable quantity of lapis lazuli for its decoration.

The Mari material opens a unique window onto the Aegean world of the day. Two historical nuggets of considerable significance for Aegeanists emerge from my present study. The first gives us a glimpse of who sat upon the throne at Knossos

when Zimri-Lim was king at Mari. Often dubbed by Aegeanists as the “missing ruler,” owing to the absence in Minoan iconography of unambiguously royal imagery, the appearance of this person on a Mari tablet is an exciting development. My second gleaning from the Mari texts offers fresh insight into the nature of the Minoan language, still unidentified.

In addition, this paper asks for the first time what the Mariote scribes might have been looking at and attempting to describe when they made their inventories of Cretan goods. I suggest artifactual analogues for the Mariote mentions of items from Crete, based as closely as possible on contemporaneous examples.

The Cape Gelidonya Shipwreck Ingot Cargo: New Research in Provenance, Composition, and 3D Morphometrics

Joseph W. Lehner, University of Sydney, *Emre Kuruçayırılı*, Boğaziçi University, *Nicolle Hirschfeld*, Trinity University, *Moritz Jansen*, University of Pennsylvania, *Dominique Langis-Barsetti*, University of Toronto, and *Samuel Martin*, University of Arkansas

The Cape Gelidonya Shipwreck, first excavated by George F. Bass in 1960, dramatically changed how scholars understood maritime culture and interaction during the end of the Late Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean. Since this seminal excavation, surveys in the 1980s and 90s and an excavation in 2010 added new material to the finds excavated by Bass, and in 2013 an international and ongoing effort to conserve and study the metal cargo as a complete assemblage commenced. In addition to the 39 oxhide ingots and 30 bun ingots reported by Bass in his 1967 publication, over 700 fragments of previously undescribed copper and tin ingots, amounting to a cargo total of ca. 1,100 kgs of ingot metal, reveal that there is much more to learn about the wreck and its context at the end of the Late Bronze Age. Building on previous archaeometallurgical research by Zofia Stos, in this paper we synthesize our work in microscopy, microanalysis, bulk composition, lead and copper isotope analysis, and 3D morphometrics to test for variation in raw material provenance, production technologies, and ultimately the processes that led to the collection of the metal cargo. These new data provide novel lines of evidence for the origins, provisioning, and curation of the cargo aboard the ship.

Reassessing the bronze objects from the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck in light of recent discoveries

Nicholas G. Blackwell, Indiana University, and *Nicolle Hirschfeld*, Trinity University

George Bass’s seminal publication (in 1967) of the finds from the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck included a catalog of 257 copper-alloy, presumably bronze, objects, many of them broken in antiquity. Bass identified the shipment as scrap bronze intended for recycling, and he saw, too, evidence for a traveling tinker on board. Discoveries made at the site, however, in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2010 by Bass and the Institute of Nautical Archaeology have augmented the bronze assemblage significantly—the catalog now stands at 480. This talk presents, first of all, an overview of the updated collection, contextualizing it with metal hoards found

on terrestrial sites. The quantity of Gelidonya objects have increased and so too have the variety of types, which now include a complete sword, an impressively long spit, and an animal protome. One question addressed here is whether these quantitative changes and qualitative differences affect the original interpretation of the assemblage.

The bronzes still consist of broken tools primarily, and this talk explores how and why this massive collection of implements—the largest from a second-millennium context—came on board this ship. Indications of deliberate breaking exist on numerous tools, raising the question of whether such pieces reflect standardized fragmentation based on weight, shape, or size. The collection may not be as haphazard a pile of scrap as it first appeared. More incised marks have been noticed on the tools than previously recognized; they reinforce the suggestion, based on typological parallels, that many of these tools were used on Cyprus before being sold for their metallic value. Some tools are conspicuous by their absence if one accepts the premise of a traveling smith accompanying his goods. This study reexamines whether the bronze objects support that contention while illuminating the dynamics and practicalities of the international market for scrap bronze.

Beyond Boeotia: Mycenaean Eleon's Extraregional and International Connections

Bryan E. Burns, Wellesley College

Ancient Eleon overlooks the broad plain of eastern Boeotia, which links Thebes to the Euboean Gulf and the harbor at Aulis. This location positioned the site's inhabitants of the Mycenaean era to make direct connections beyond the region, as well as participate in exchange networks controlled by the palatial authorities in Thebes. Surveying a variety of non-ceramic artifacts found in the Greek-Canadian excavations at Eleon, this paper evaluates the potential role of imported objects in the forging of economic, political, and cultural bonds across the Aegean and further to the eastern Mediterranean.

In the early Mycenaean period, before the rise of Theban power, the people of Eleon reached beyond Boeotia for the acquisition of prestige objects such as weapons and jewelry. Only select individuals of the early Mycenaean period were buried with non-local objects. These include a bronze dagger typical of southern Greece and a seal stone likely imported from Minoan Crete. An ivory pommel is the clearest evidence for long-distance exchange, and a rare example of the imported material's introduction to central Greece in this era.

During the Palatial period, access to foreign goods and materials was largely structured through the exchange networks coordinated by Thebes, where Linear B tablets document control over Eleon's agricultural productivity. Archaeological evidence suggests that the site's residents participated in crafting ornaments that drew on foreign materials and styles. A steatite jewelry mold from Eleon is typical of Mycenaean workshops that transformed glass ingots imported from Egypt and Mesopotamia into ornaments carrying local iconography. A small human head carved from animal bone is cut flat across the back like Mycenaean ivory inlays, but bears stylistic features that suggest another eastern connection. These objects demonstrate that the consumption of external resources was not limited to palatial elite, but also included participants at secondary sites such as Eleon.

Session 1F: Joint AIA/SCS Workshop Archaeology for the General Reader: A Roundtable with NEH Public Scholars

Moderator: *Christopher P. Thornton*, National Endowment for the Humanities

Workshop Overview Statement

A scan of the bestseller lists or documentary programming on television shows that there is a substantial audience for broadly accessible, well-told histories of the ancient world. Yet much archaeological scholarship fails to reach this audience. Because of habit, training, or professional expectations, many archaeologists write narrowly focused books for their fellow academics in language that lay people find inaccessible. These books may create scholarly buzz or satisfy tenure requirements, but they do not usually interest broader groups of readers. The result is a public that is often ignorant of antiquity or overly reliant on histories that are intellectually suspect. In recent years it has become clear that many archaeologists want to break this pattern by writing for general audiences. This desire is reflected in the strong response to the new Public Scholar grant program being offered by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The program, which offers fellowships to those writing well-researched books in the humanities aimed at a broad readership, has attracted over one thousand applications in its first five years. The archaeologists in this applicant pool want to be read widely and to contribute to discussions beyond their narrow academic fields. For many, that's why they got into archaeology to start with. In this roundtable session, two archaeologists, a classicist, and a historian who have won grants in the NEH Public Scholar Program will discuss their experience writing for a general audience. The goal is to encourage other archaeologists who are interested in doing this kind of work. These speakers will share their experiences and offer advice, especially on the differences between public scholarship and academic writing. The discussion will be led by the NEH Director of Research Programs, who will ask questions including:

- Why do you want to write for general readers?
- What did you learn in the process?
- How does writing for the public change the way you conceptualize, research, and write?
- How is publishing with a trade press different than a university press?

The moderator will also allow significant time for questions from the audience. This mixture of conceptual and practical questions will help those in the audience who would like to reshape their scholarship for general readers.

Panelists: *Jodi Magness*, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, *Eric Cline*, George Washington University, *James Romm*, Bard College, *Robert Kanigel*, MIT, and *Elise Friedland*, George Washington University

Session 1G: Colloquium

Connectivity and Colonialism: Tracing Networks, Influences, and Agents

Organizer: *Catherine K. Baker*, Bryn Mawr College

Colloquium Overview Statement

The study of ancient Mediterranean colonization has experienced a profound shift in recent decades with the application of postcolonial perspectives and other approaches drawn from the social sciences. In a field which once focused almost solely on the degree to which colonies emulated and interacted with their founding city or state, there is now a growing recognition that a variety of influences and agents—colonial, indigenous, or external in origin—could shape the form and development of Mediterranean colonialism and colonies.

Among these new approaches, a focus on connectivity—through the application of network theories, the examination of landscapes of memory, or by tracing the movement of goods, for example—has offered a productive avenue for considering the forces that shaped the material culture of both colonies and their neighbors. This network-centered shift has resulted in new and original perspectives on the nature of colonization and colonialism in the ancient Mediterranean.

This colloquium draws on this important turn in colonial studies by highlighting the importance of the systematic examination of connectivity in the study of Mediterranean colonization and colonial identities. The innovative studies presented here cover a broad chronological and geographical span, from the Punic to the Roman period, and examine colonial networks from a variety of vantage points, such as the architecture and décor of cult spaces, the activities of craft workshops, the role of cults in mediating power dynamics and memories in and outside colonial settlements, and the movement and activities of individuals and families in colonial settings.

These papers examine a broad range of colonial connections, including mythical and ritual connections between Melqart and Hercules in Punic and Roman colonial contexts (“Myth, Memory, and Migration”), religious ties between a re-founded settlement at Morgantina, its indigenous past, and its present situation in colonial Sicily, (“Collective Memory and the Refoundation of Morgantina”), craft and stylistic connections between Etruscan communities and Roman colonies (“Roman Colonization and Etruscan Networks in the Maremma”), and shifting social networks and the role of individual and family agency in Roman colonies in central Italy (“A [Colonial] Social Network”). These groundbreaking approaches, which trace colonial networks at multiple scales and through a variety of lenses, articulate the potential for connectivity-centered analyses to shed new light on the character of colonial assemblages, identities, and histories in the ancient Mediterranean.

Myth, Memory, and Migration: Melqart as a Model for Colonization in the Western Mediterranean

Megan Daniels, University of New England (Australia)

Recent research has emphasized the catalyzing role of the Phoenicians in Mediterranean-wide expansions in the early first millennium B.C.E, especially regarding the creation of longstanding colonial networks via religious practices. Accordingly, the importance of gods like Melqart in facilitating colonization and settlement has received renewed interest in two areas. The first area involves Melqart's relationship with deities like Herakles/Hercules, and the role of these syncretisms in scaffolding colonial expansion and appropriation. The second area focuses on Melqart's role in linking the Phoenician homeland, particularly Tyre, with its western colonies, a role scholars see as emerging in later stages in wake of Carthage's rise to power in the mid-first millennium B.C.E.

I examine the shortcomings of these two areas in light of recent archaeological research in the western Mediterranean. Both areas have been fruitful in elaborating the role of myth and ritual in structuring long-distance colonial networks. The first approach, however, tends to study religious syncretisms in order to understand the logic behind Greco-Roman colonization, and relegates the Phoenician role to the background. The second approach relies largely on later literary sources to articulate the networks established between Tyre and its colonies, especially Carthage and Gades, and thus limits our knowledge of the earliest phases of expansion in the Iron Age, during which these mythical and ritual paradigms surrounding Melqart formed and spread.

Following this examination, I then proceed down two avenues. The first avenue involves an analysis of (a) new ceramic and radiocarbon chronologies for the Phoenician arrival in the Atlantic regions; and (b) early religious activity at sanctuaries like El Carambolo in Spain and Lixus in Morocco, among others. I will use this analysis alongside literary sources to articulate some of the salient aspects of the myths and rituals surrounding Melqart, arguing for their crystallization in these earlier phases. Such aspects include association with water, death and resurrection, and dynastic rule, and the intersection of these symbolisms into ideologies of colonial power and expansion. The second avenue will jump forward in time to the Roman occupation of Hispania, examining the mythical and iconographic symbolisms associated with Hercules emphasized by emperors like Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian in wake of westward expansion. By emphasizing the early roots of these symbolisms, I demonstrate the Phoenician substratum in Roman colonial worldviews and, more broadly, the longevity of mythical and ritual memories to scaffold ideologies and experiences of colonization across numerous cultural groups and periods.

Collective Memory and the Refoundation of Morgantina: Building a Resilient Network

Leigh Lieberman, The Claremont Colleges

Much of the scholarly work concerning the colonial foundations of Sicily focuses on questions of origins; however, since their original foundations, these

settlements saw the rise of powerful tyrants, assaults by foreign forces, and both hostile and friendly engagements with citizens from distant and neighboring settlements. During the Classical Period, settlements were regularly destroyed and subsequently refounded, yet few approaches account for the myriad influences and agents that contributed to the collective identities constructed during these complex social and political circumstances. In this paper, I focus on Morgantina, a Sikel settlement in central Sicily that was decisively razed by the Sikel general Duketios and refounded in the mid-fifth century (Diod. Sic., 11.78.5). The date of and agents responsible for settlement's refoundation have for a long time been the subject of debate, but scholars have paid less formal attention to the immediate concerns of the colonists that came to occupy the refounded settlement.

I argue that a close consideration of the community's choices concerning their built environment can illustrate how, in the face of destruction and demographic change, the Morgantinoi defined both their relationships with their colonial neighbors and membership to their collective. In this paper, I examine three choices made by the Morgantinoi following the refoundation of their settlement. First, despite relocating, the community of classical Morgantina frequented select cult sites associated with the former settlement, and regular ritual processions to these inveterate sanctuaries encouraged the Morgantinoi to regularly engage with the remnants their past. Second, both the physical layout and civic organization of the refounded settlement drew evocative inspiration from select neighbors. Third, while no peripteral, Greek-style temples have been found at the site, several so-called courtyard sanctuaries find suggestive parallels in other Sicilian settlements, encouraging us to rethink the nature of public religious traditions across the island. I conclude that through the careful manipulation of their built environment the Morgantinoi of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods not only demonstrated a keen awareness of their past, empowering both new members of the community and subsequent generations to preserve the collective memory of their shared history, but also established conspicuous ties to their neighbors.

Roman Colonization and Etruscan Networks in the Maremma

Sophie Crawford-Brown, Rice University

Recent studies have suggested that colonial populations in Republican central Italy were far more heterogeneous than previously thought. Settlers arriving in newly conquered territories did not live in isolation and simply supplant eradicated local groups. They were neither ethnically nor culturally uniform, meaning that no clearly defined colonial identity could be easily imported into a newly built town. Such identities had to be constructed. This process, I argue, relied heavily on local interactions and on the conscious insertion of colonies into preexisting local networks.

Taking the Maremma region of southern Tuscany as a case-study, this paper examines the commercial relationships between several Etruscan towns before and after the founding of the Latin colony of Cosa in 273 B.C.E. This area had long been a center of Etruscan artistic innovation, with towns such as Vulci, Pyrgi, and Tarquinia producing some of the most impressive examples of Etruscan art and monumental architecture. Analysis of the early finds from Cosa, particularly the

architectural terracottas that decorated the town's temples in the third and second centuries, suggests intimate ties with earlier Etruscan centers. In many cases, the Etruscan towns and Latin colony appear to have been employing the same workshops or even artisans, with the result that their religious buildings would have had a remarkably similar appearance. Furthermore, the colonists seem to have actively sought out information on local cults and shrines, and in many cases to have molded their own religious identities to fit the mythic and religious history of the surrounding landscape—a phenomenon particularly visible in Cosa's temple decoration. This argues strongly against the notion that Cosa sought to imitate or align itself visually with Rome, and urges a reexamination of the role of local and regional networks in shaping Republican colonization processes more broadly.

A (Colonial) Social Network

J. Troy Samuels, Indiana University, Bloomington

This paper uses social network analysis tools to examine the changing connections between Rome, her colonies, and other Italian urban sites through the lens of individual and familial experience. In particular, this paper uses a diachronic perspective to examine the changing roles that connectivity played in structuring Italian colonial life.

Rome's Italian colonies have been the subject of increased scrutiny over the last decade as the formula that a colony = an archetypal Roman town, spreading a central culture to the periphery, has been deconstructed in favor of more nuanced, multi-directional models of Roman-colonial and Roman-Italian interactions. In light of these developments, this paper moves beyond viewing the colony as a structure and examines systematically the people who occupied these spaces.

This paper uses the techniques of formal social network analysis to model colonial connectivity over time and repopulate our narratives of an interconnected Italy. I examine five colonies from different regions of the Italian Peninsula and with different foundation and settlement histories (Cales, Luna, Venusia, Luceria, Ariminum). I collate the epigraphic and literary evidence for individuals and family groups that were active in these colonies using prosopographical tools and track the divergent relations of these colonial occupants over five centuries (fourth century B.C.E. – first century C.E.). Of particular note is the bimodal distribution of status in the data set; freedmen and the municipal elite are particularly visible. Changes in their roles as interlocutors between center (Rome) and more liminal areas (colonies) suggest different agencies as the role of colonial foundations shifts and these sites lose some of their "colonial" nature. This paper uses connectivity as a heuristic for exploring the divergent lived trajectories of individuals and families across the lives of Rome's Italian colonies.

Session 1H: Open Session

History of Collecting and Archaeological Thought

A Mummy for the King: Aristocratic Patronage and Egyptian Archaeology in the Early Eighteenth Century

Jennifer Westerfeld, University of Louisville

The French Jesuit missionary Claude Sicard served as the superior of the Jesuit residence in Cairo from 1712 until his death in 1726. As his missionary work took him from one end of the country to the other, he carried out extensive research into Egypt's archaeology and historic geography, producing some of the first scientific maps of Egypt and working to reconcile classical Greek and Roman descriptions of pharaonic Egyptian sites with the ruins still visible on the ground. This research was supported—inadequately, Sicard often complained—through a complex network of patronage that connected him to the merchant communities of his native Marseille, to the upper echelons of the Jesuit hierarchy, and ultimately to the royal court at Versailles. A significant proportion of Sicard's surviving correspondence concerns his efforts to secure research funding from his various patrons; for this reason, he represents a unique opportunity to examine the economic basis and material conditions of archaeological fieldwork at the very dawn of Egyptology.

This paper draws on both Sicard's published correspondence and unpublished records from the National Archives in Paris in order to reconstruct a detailed picture of the circumstances under which Egyptological knowledge was produced in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Whether he was being asked to provide a dog mummy for the amusement of the teenage king of France or being ordered to find employment for the protégé of the French ambassador to Constantinople, I argue that the demands of Sicard's patrons played a fundamental role in shaping his research output.

Separate But Not Isolated: Foreign Travelogues and Their Impact on Cretan Archaeology (ca. 1660–1840)

Aimee M. Genova, Independent Scholar

Arguably, the beginnings of Cretan archaeology were impacted by early accounts from European travelers who visited Crete under Venetian and Ottoman rule. Erudite travelers to Crete contributed to the foundations of archaeology and its disciplinary framework because their travelogues served as a way to locate and identify ancient sites. The textual products of antiquarians and Grand Tourists were, in general, a useful tool later used by archaeologists throughout Crete because of the writers' reception of classical authors and ancient sources.

Travelogues and reports from visitors like Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1386–ca. 1430) and locals like Francesco Barozzi (1537–1604) significantly contributed to the chorographic studies of Crete because they documented descriptions of local sites, under Venetian rule, that were otherwise known mainly through ancient sources. Through their descriptions, they provided a guide for other travelers and researchers who followed, even though some of their analyses were later

challenged. As the 'Venetokratia' began to dissolve in Crete, a new genre of travel emerged throughout Europe known as the Grand Tour (ca. 1660–1840), and paved the way for urban travelers like Robert Pashley (1805–1859).

This paper aims to examine the impact of foreign travelers on Crete and how their observations were used later for archaeological excavations during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Although my investigation is grounded in the research of Nektarios Karadimas, Dudley Moore, and Richard Stoneman, I emphasize the importance that travelogues had on the development of Cretan archaeology because archaeologists relied on foreign guides as points of reference for sites that were eventually excavated.

Decolonizing Aegean Prehistory: A Postcolonial Critique of the Prehistory/History Divide in Greek Archaeology

Amanda Gaggioli, Stanford University

Within the realm of New World, African, and Indian archaeology, the discursive and methodological implications of a prehistory/history divide have provoked increasing discussion and criticism over interpretations of cultural continuity and change (Lightfoot 1995; Oland et al. 2012; Schmidt and Mrozowski 2014). This debate however has had a lesser impact on the discipline of Classical Archaeology. In Greek Archaeology, there exists a disciplinary divide between Aegean prehistory (from the Paleolithic up to the end of the Bronze Age) and Classical Archaeology proper (beginning with the Early Iron Age) with the line drawn at approximately 1200 B.C.E. This paper addresses the question of prehistory in both the European and non-European contexts and argues that the place of Aegean prehistory encounters similar methodological problems and assumptions argued in debates concerning the dividing line between prehistoric and historical archaeology in New World contexts. A decolonization of the prehistory/history dividing line within Classical Archaeology is hence called for in order to reveal the profound influence that the construction of cultural capital of ancient Greece has had on producing a prehistoric Other. A historiography of the formation of a dividing line between prehistory and history in Greek Archaeology reveals first the growth of nationalistic attitudes and ideologies in Greece during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Second, it exposes the means by which Greek prehistory provided roots for European ancestry beginning in the nineteenth century. Third, it demonstrates how beginning from the Renaissance era traditional ideologies in Classics impacted the organizations and divisions of the discipline. A historiographical deconstruction of Aegean prehistory which is theoretically grounded in colonial and postcolonial studies provides a means to reformulate established chronological divisions in Classics for the primary benefit of studies concerning cultural continuity and change over the prehistory/history divide.

Classical Antiquities and the Nazi Elite

Irene Bald Romano, University of Arizona

Much has been written about Hitler's interest in classical antiquity and its appropriation under National Socialism, but the question that has not been asked is:

do the rhetoric/propaganda and classical aesthetic match the practice among the Nazi elite of collecting antiquities? It would seem evident that classical antiquities, in particular, would have been much desired by Hitler and the upper echelons of the Nazi party, been on center stage in “art as politics” under National Socialism, and been sought after in the quest for great works of art for museums in the Reich. Yet, there is only limited evidence to show this was the case.

Classical antiquities were exchanged within the culture of gift-giving among the Nazi elite and as diplomatic gifts. The Nazis made several purchases of classical antiquities in Italy, while other antiquities were plundered. Archaeological collections were taken from Greece to Austria and Germany. We have a relatively full understanding of Göring’s antiquities collection, while a picture of Hitler’s is more elusive. Especially problematic is that among the 6,700 works of art acquired for the planned but never realized “Führermuseum” in Linz there are only around thirty antiquities. It seems clear from this detail, as well as from architectural drawings and archival sources that the exhibition plan did not include antiquities; it was impractical to compete with the outstanding classical collections in Berlin, Munich, and Vienna.

How else can we explain the disconnect between the rhetoric and collecting practices of the Nazis? For the greedy Göring, classical antiquities were decorative pieces that validated his social standing. Hitler was indeed passionate about classical antiquity, yet there was a philosophical tension within the Nazi party about the role of the Greek and Roman worlds versus prehistoric Europe in defining “German-ness” and the origins of the Aryan race.

Session 1: Colloquium

Clay and Colors: The Painted Terracotta Plaques from Etruscan Caere

Sponsored by the Etruscan Interest Group

Organizer: *Daniele Federico Maras*, Soprintendenza ABAP per l’area metropolitana di Roma, la provincia di Viterbo e l’Etruria Meridionale (Italy)

Colloquium Overview Statement

Terracotta plaques painted before firing and attached as wall decoration in aristocratic residences and sanctuaries were a special production of the Etruscan metropolis of Caere in the Late Archaic period (late sixth to fifth centuries B.C.E.). Francesco Roncalli’s seminal 1965 study acknowledged 53 examples found in excavations or preserved in international collections. In 2018, however, an extraordinary quantity of fragments, belonging to at least 400 new plaques, were presented to the public in an exhibition and conference held in Santa Severa (Rome), as a consequence of their rescue by the Italian Carabinieri Tutela del Patrimonio Culturale.

Scientific analyses, technical conservation, and art-historical evaluations have continued, with special attention to issues of authenticity and production techniques. Multidisciplinary research has significant consequences for our understanding of the known and published plaques, such as the masterpieces of the Campana series at the Louvre and the Boccanera series at the British Museum.

The expanded corpus of painted plaques provides scholars with an unparalleled opportunity to appreciate and study a unique genre of pictorial art that replaced the more usual paintings on perishable wooden panels, virtually all of which have been lost.

The proposed panel presents new discoveries from the recent analysis of the rescued examples (numbering over 1000 fragments), along with contributions by the curators of museums where several noted architectural paintings are on display.

The papers tackle several issues in turn: technical aspects relating to the production, assemblage, and function of the plaques in the context of late-archaic Etruria; the question of the authenticity of some old and new examples; the iconography and iconology of the themes depicted; sigla and inscriptions relating to production; the known archaeological contexts where some of the plaques were found; the history of looting and repatriation of the fragments recovered from the illegal market; and the possibility of reuniting some recently rescued plaques with those preserved in international collections outside Italy.

Finally, significant contributions to the understanding of the painted plaques and their subjects is expected in the final open discussion, which will encourage a dialogue among academic researchers and museum curators and will be moderated by a noted historian of Etruscan art.

Discussant: *Francesco De Angelis*, Columbia University

Myth, Dance and War on Looted Painted Plaques

Alfonsina Russo, Parco Archeologico del Colosseo (Italy), *Leonardo Bochicchio*, Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Roma, la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria Meridionale (Italy), *Daniele F. Maras*, Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Roma, la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria Meridionale (Italy), and *Rossella Zaccagnini*, Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Roma, la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria Meridionale (Italy)

This paper is devoted to the presentation of the painted plaques that have been recently repatriated in Italy, following a legal action of the Carabinieri TPC and with the help of the Swiss authorities and the cooperation of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek of Copenhagen. More than one thousand fragments were rescued from the international illegal market, belonging to more than 400 plaques previously unknown to scholars.

The subjects of the paintings include mythological scenes—featuring an entirely new series of the Labors of Herakles—dances, athletes and sports, and warriors and combat, along with geometrical patterns. It is apparent that these themes relate to the ideology of the Etruscan aristocratic elites as known from funerary and residential contexts of the same period.

Special relevance is attached to archaeometric analyses, which demonstrate that all the examined fragments were exposed to high temperatures in ancient times (TLD); the composition of clay is compatible with that of ancient terracotta artifacts (XRD/XRF, FTIR); and the pigments were fired together with the clay body in a single firing process (SEM). The varied palette of the paintings was therefore

the result of outstanding technical skill on the part of the Etruscan craftsmen, who were able to add gray, yellow, and even light blue to the standard red, orange, and brown tones of the terracotta pigments.

Finally, although the findspot of the majority of plaques (either looted or pre-served in old collections) is unknown, some fragments have been found in well documented archaeological contexts, including both cult places and necropolises. Some attention is therefore dedicated to the function of the painted plaques in the framework of the society and culture of Caere in the late sixth and early fifth century B.C.E.

Etruscan Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Claire L. Lyons, J. Paul Getty Museum, and *Elena Pontelli*, Scuola IMT Alti Studi Lucca (Italy)

Recent discoveries of sixth-century B.C.E. paintings from sites in southern Etruria have significantly expanded our understanding of the visual culture of Etruscan cities. Architectural plaques made of fired clay were installed in temples and elite residences, creating durable images that recall Pliny the Elder's remark (*Natural History* 35.6) about the great antiquity and longevity of Caeretan painting. The aim of this report is to frame three painted plaques in the J. Paul Getty Museum within the corpus of material known from Cerveteri, which has produced the greatest number of non-funerary paintings.

Initial publications of the Getty's plaques must now be revised following an in-depth study. A fragment with a male dancer is comparable to banqueters in several tombs at Tarquinia. Another piece shows a female lifting a *stamnos*, perhaps part of a mythical or ritual scene linked to the pervasive imagery of water-carriers. These fragments reflect the characteristic Ionian style of several notable archaic vase- and wall-painting ateliers, while the growing influence of Attic pottery is evident on a large plaque with a man holding a forked staff. In light of a matching panel with a *diskobolos*, he can now be certainly identified as an *agonothetes*, who superintended athletic games. Provenance research on these and related terracotta antefixes suggests that the group originated in the vicinity of Cerveteri.

Scientific analysis conducted in 2018 produced further information about the plaques' mineral pigments, authenticity, and restoration history. Ultraviolet and infrared imaging revealed preliminary sketching and the presence of ancient graffiti. Such data helps to establish connections between paintings dispersed in museums and site repositories, bringing into sharper focus the exceptional pictorial tradition that transformed ancient Cerveteri into a city of images.

The Caeretan Plaques of the Louvre

Laurent Haumesser, Musée du Louvre (France)

The acquisition of the Campana collection in 1861 brought to the Louvre a set of six painted plaques from the necropolis of Caere, the very first documents of this kind to have been discovered. Five of them have been restored some years ago and we can now appreciate with much more accuracy the techniques of painting,

which offer a precious point of comparison for the documents discovered in more recent times.

But the sixth plaque had been greatly repainted by the restorers who worked for Campana: they composed an original scene, inspired by some vases from the Campana collection, using what was left of the original painting.

Three other plaques, which arrived in the Louvre a few years after the Campana collection, have the same story: the original decoration had largely disappeared and the Italian restorers created a new composition, following in part what they could see of the original painting.

A campaign of technical analyses and conservation in 2018–2019 consented to reveal what was left of the original decoration under the modern repainting of these four plaques. The presentation of this unpublished documentation adds thus four more exemplars to the precious corpus of the Caeretan painted plaques.

Literacy and Production: Numbers, Sigla, and Signatures on the Etruscan Painted Plaques

Rita Cosentino, Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Roma, la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria Meridionale (Italy), and *Daniele F. Maras*, Soprintendenza ABAP per l'area metropolitana di Roma, la provincia di Viterbo e l'Etruria Meridionale (Italy)

In 2017 a regular excavation in the area at the east of the sanctuary of Manganello, in the suburb of the ancient Etruscan city of Caere, has brought to the light an artisanal district with subterranean cavities and channels for water draining. Among the findings a fragment of a painted plaque stands out for it preserves part of a figural scene and an Etruscan inscription incised before firing. The scene depicts a drunken Silen, presumably dancing and singing with open mouth and eyes wide open. Above him, a barely visible inscription records the name of the painter and the location of the workshop: “I, Mur[---], (made this) in the (house) of Sathara.” The technique of incision and the formula of the inscription, in comparison with other signatures of the Archaic period, provide a glimpse into the life of a late-Archaic Etruscan workshop of art, highlighting the social position of craftsmen and their dependence on aristocratic families.

In addition, several plaques present numeral marks and sigla painted before firing in order to facilitate their assemblage, thus informing on the level of literacy of the craftsmen involved in their production. One of the famous Campana plaques at the Louvre presents a painted Z (as has been recently discovered by D. Briquel 2016) and two plaques at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, previously thought to be forgeries, have numbers and letters painted at their bottom. Most recently, the analysis of the fragments repatriated to Italy has demonstrated that many (if not all) plaques had special signs for the purpose of reckoning, setting in the right sequence and installing them, and that different workshops had different styles of sigla.

Session 1J: Open Session

New Advances in the Archaeological Research of South Italy and Sicily

Bridging the Gap: Producers and Consumers in Corinth and Syracuse

Giulio Amara, Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa

This paper investigates the relationships between Corinth and Syracuse during the Archaic period, analyzing the distribution of Corinthian pottery between the motherland and its colony. It deals with unpublished Corinthian pottery from the votive deposit under the Temple of Athena in Syracuse and sheds new light on the meaningful occurrence of the same ceramic material from the Potters' Quarter and other well deposits in Corinth. An extraordinary votive deposit was discovered under the Athenaion: excavations were carried out from 1910 to 1917 and a large amount of imported Corinthian pottery (eighth to sixth century B.C.E.) was found from a preexisting archaic sanctuary dating back to the foundation of the colony. These materials find good comparisons in Corinth, from some closed and well-dated archaeological contexts, providing significant evidence of contemporary use and trade of the same pottery. This paper aims to bridge the gap by examining the unpublished pottery in a Mediterranean perspective, since the valuable conference on Corinth and the West (*Corinto e l'Occidente. Atti del trentaquattresimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1994 [Taranto 1995]*) did not consider the archaeological evidence from the Temple of Athena in Syracuse.

The paper focuses on the following aspects: 1) characteristics of the archaic votive deposit under the Temple of Athena; 2) attribution of some fragments to Corinthian workshops and their occurrence in Corinth; 3) value of the oldest imported Greek pottery from the votive deposit and related evidence from Corinth; 4) role of Syracuse and Sicily in trade and mass distribution of Corinthian pottery.

Kitchen Culture and Metal Utensils: Preliminary Conclusions from the Contrada Agnese Project at Morgantina

Alex Moskowitz, University of Michigan, Catherine Schenck, University of Michigan, and Leigh Anne Lieberman, The Claremont Colleges

The tools employed in the production and consumption of food offer vital insights concerning culinary habits in the ancient world. Through close study of these utensils, we can better understand the culturally conditioned practices surrounding food and the economic relationships that governed them. Historically, the study of foodways in the ancient Mediterranean has relied almost solely on the study of ceramic vessels because of their abundance in the archaeological record. Yet, the culinary toolkit of the ancient household was far more diverse. In this paper, we focus on the metal kitchen utensils recovered from a modest Hellenistic house at the central Sicilian site of Morgantina, presently being excavated and studied by members of the Contrada Agnese Project (AEM:CAP).

Our discussion considers a variety of kitchen utensils, including strainers, graters, skewers, and knives, in order to highlight the breadth of practices that may

otherwise be imperceptible in the archaeological record. In particular, we focus on the role of these utensils in the preparation and consumption of meats, cheeses, and wine. This approach complements earlier scholarship on the site which analyzed culinary practices in central Sicily through changing ceramic forms. Our assemblage provides evidence for open fire cooking and the persistence of long-standing practices for straining and serving wine. To further contextualize our hypotheses, we consider preliminary conclusions from relevant macrobotanical and faunal studies at Morgantina and look at assemblages from other sites across the Mediterranean, specifically Olynthus and Pompeii. By performing a systematic analysis of culinary tools and utensils excavated by AEM:CAP and connecting them to broader regional patterns, we allow for a more complete understanding of Hellenistic kitchen culture and a better picture of daily life in the ancient world.

Trinacrian Textile Tools: A Contextual Analysis of Loomweights from a Hellenistic House at Morgantina (Sicily)

Kevin Ennis, Stanford University, and Max Peers, Brown University

The recent excavation of a modestly appointed Hellenistic house at the central Sicilian site of Morgantina by the Contrada Agnese Project (CAP) yielded over 150 ceramic loomweights, attesting to the centrality of household textile production in the economy of the site. While such quantities are typical of residential contexts at Morgantina and contemporary Sicilian sites, the lack of recorded context in the course of early excavations often limits what can be said about these tools. The careful collection strategies of CAP, however, afford an opportunity to move beyond these limitations. In this paper, we focus on the manufacture of loomweights for household production and consider the organization of this considerable ceramic industry.

Our analysis of this contextualized data set analyzes variability in shape, weight, dimensions, and stamp iconography. Our preliminary results reveal that, during the third century B.C.E. at Morgantina, loomweights were produced to conform to two weight classes, but neither shape nor dimension was standardized. Even loomweights found together in primary use contexts show high levels of variability. Similarly, loomweight stamps exhibit significant diversity. Finally, the excavation found no evidence that tools were manufactured in the household, and the lack of related implements, such as spindle-whorls, indicates localized spaces within the urban core for different stages of textile production.

Based on these results, we argue that household textile production stimulated a market for loomweight manufacture dictated by consumer demand for different weight classes. However, despite the scale of the industry—as evidenced by the 150 loomweights from our building alone—production at Morgantina never became standardized, instead being shaped by consumer need, with unique commissions for specific households. These conclusions counter assumptions of mass production, and suggest a different relationship between household production and tool manufacture, with implications for our understanding of the organization of this vital economic activity in Sicily.

Ritual and the Birth of an *Apoikia*: Seventh-Century Cult in the Main Urban Sanctuary of Selinunte, Sicily

Andrew Farinholt Ward, College of William and Mary, *Clemente Marconi*, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and *Roberto Miccichè*, University of Palermo

Founded on a series of hills overlooking the sea in southwestern Sicily, the early history of the Greek *apoikia* of Selinus (modern Selinunte) has sparked both interest and controversy. The date of the city's foundation—628 B.C.E. by Thucydides and 650 B.C.E. by Diodorus—plays a major role in the absolute dating of Corinthian vase painting, while the scanty evidence of early habitation previously discovered in various parts of the settlement has been used to argue for both antagonistic and peaceful interactions between the Greek settlers and the indigenous populations in the hinterland.

Excavations in the southern area of Selinunte's main urban sanctuary, sponsored by the Institute of Fine Arts–New York University and the Università degli Studi di Milano, and in collaboration with the local Archaeological Park, have unearthed a wealth of new evidence for the settlement's early history in the seventh century. The Summer 2019 season is particularly significant in this regard, and is the main focus of this presentation. The architectural remains of at least two early structures were discovered beneath the sanctuary's sixth-century stone temples. While the utilization of mudbrick, rammed-earth (*pisé*), and other construction techniques provide new insight into early Greek architecture in Sicily, several distinct ritual depositions associated with these structures are as, if not more, striking. Ranging from spears driven into the soil of the newly settled colony, to an entire deer antler deposited as part of a seventh century foundation deposit, these discoveries deepen our understanding of how the first generations of Selinus initiated cultic practice in an area that would see continuous (largely ritual) use until the abandonment of the city around 250 B.C.E.

Considered alongside recent discoveries from several other Greek and Phoenician settlements in Sicily, the evidence for early colonial religion at Selinus can be understood not only as an assertion of local identity, but also as a very intentional situating of a nascent community within the wider transcultural cultic landscape of seventh century western Sicily.

A Pictorial Prayer from Ancient Syracuse

Rebecca Sinos, Amherst College

A most interesting, though little known, object found in Paolo Orsi's excavations in ancient Syracuse is a miniscule sheet of gold, found in the mouth of a corpse (NSc ser. 5, vol. 4, 1907, 743, fig. 2a). Incised on this delicate lamella is a janiform image of two female figures, designated as "Demetra-Kora?" in Orsi's publication. My aim here is first to support Orsi's identification of the image as Demeter and Kore, drawing on the evidence of fourth-century janiform figurines from Syracuse published by Angela Manenti et al. in the Newsletter of the Coroplastic Studies Interest Group 6, summer 2011. Like our janiform figures, these terracotta figurines have conjoined female heads differing from one another in details of facial features, hairstyles, and jewelry; their findspots link them clearly to the worship

of Demeter and Persephone. Then I will offer an interpretation of the image in the light of vase paintings and a marble statuette from Eleusis depicting Demeter and Persephone embracing, as in the lines describing their joyful reunion in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. I suggest that this little gold image provides a pictorial complement to the "Orphic" texts inscribed on other small gold sheets found in graves in Sicily, South Italy, and other parts of the ancient Mediterranean world, which express the hope of a special afterlife for the deceased. One describes the deceased sinking "into the lap of the Mistress, the Chthonian Queen," an image of the initiate in the lap of Persephone that evokes the great reunion of Persephone and Demeter in the Homeric Hymn. Our image represents a pictorial prayer for such a blessed state of happiness, a valuable addition to our evidence for ancient Greek hopes for the afterlife.

Investigating Indigenous and Greek Communities Along the Ionian Coast: The 2019 Excavations at Inconronata "greca"

Sveva Savelli, Queen's University, and Spencer Pope, McMaster University

In summer 2019 a new excavation program conducted by McMaster University carried out fieldwork on the southeastern section of the plateau of Inconronata "greca."

The site, located on the banks of the Basento River, preserves archaeological evidence of an indigenous "Oenotrian" settlement. From the second half of the eighth century B.C.E., well before the foundation of Metaponto by Achaeans, the community at Inconronata "greca" actively interacted with Greek merchants and potters visiting and residing along the coast of Italy; in particular, from the last quarter of the century an exceptional quantity of Greek ceramics were imported and began to be produced locally. The reasons for the massive presence of Greek material culture in an indigenous context have been, since the discovery of the site, at the center of a lively historical-archaeological debate aimed at defining the nature and characteristics of Greek presence along the coasts of Italy in the phases that preceded the foundations of the *apoikiai*.

This paper will present the results of the 2019 season. Following a preliminary geomagnetic survey, a pebble road was discovered running across the plateau and reveals an intricate topographical organization of the Oenotrian settlement. A hut or a complex of huts came to light on the southern margin; the archaeological evidence reveals cavities with a homogeneous filling consisting of the remains of the structure, meals, and utilitarian objects. Ceramic fragments, principally Oenotrian, such as impasto ware, *dolia*, geometric matt-painted, and Greek, including imported Protocorinthian pottery and subgeometric local ware, are attested in the same inhabitation. The association of indigenous and Greek pottery inside the settlement continues to stress the questions related to the ethnicity of the inhabitants at the site.

Session 1K: Open Session Fieldwork in the Insular Eastern Mediterranean

Centralization and Monumentality in the Early Bronze Age Cyclades: New Excavations at Dhaskalio

Evi Margaritis, Science and Technology in Archaeology and Culture, Cyprus Institute, *Colin Renfrew*, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, *Michael Boyd*, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, *Irini Legaki*, Greek Archaeological Service, *Giorgos Gavalas*, Greek Archaeological Service, *Marie Floquet*, Aix-Marseille Université, *Myrto Georgakopoulou*, Science and Technology in Archaeology and Culture, Cyprus Institute, *Myrsini Gkouma*, Science and Technology in Archaeology and Culture, Cyprus Institute, *James Herbst*, ASCSA Corinth Excavations, *George Kazatzis*, Greek Ministry of Culture, *Ayla Krijnen*, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, *Nathan Meyer*, University of California, Berkeley, and *Ioanna Moutafi*, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge

New excavations on Dhaskalio (2016–2018), west of Keros in the Small Cyclades, have investigated the site's rapid expansion in the mid-third millennium B.C.E., the evidence for intensification and extensification in the subsistence base, the apparent architectural monumentality of the site, and the centralization of resources and practices.

An extensive and monumental construction program turned the rocky islet into an almost completely overbuilt area. Planning and ambition are evident in all areas excavated, with a system of drainage channels underpinning an architectural scheme dependent on massive terraces to create flat spaces for dense structures made of marble imported from Naxos. A complex access route has been traced from the channel causeway to the summit, at that time an open enclosure of as yet unknown purpose.

All materials were imported to the site, including pottery, everyday artifacts and food. Extensive analyses of artifactual and environmental data are currently underway in order to determine the everyday life of a site which may not have been a simple settlement. Craft specialization is most evident in the metallurgical finds, which include five intact clay hearths, unique in the Aegean. There is detailed evidence for the *chaînes opératoires* in working of copper, lead, silver, and gold.

The excavation was conducted using a detailed, all-digital recording system based on iDig, with recovery protocols for samples and micro-artifacts on an extensive scale. The excavations and the post-excavation work now underway demonstrate the antecedents of urbanization that can now clearly be discerned at Dhaskalio: a rapid expansion, coupled with centralization of resources, skills and persons, planned monumental architecture, and changes in the subsistence base, all drawing in people and resources in a wide network stretching beyond the Cyclades.

Small World to Big World: Transformations in the Middle Bronze Age Cyclades

Evi Gorogianni, The University of Akron

In the present paper, the author contributes to the discussion about settlement patterns in the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) Cyclades. During the first part of the twentieth century, the prevailing thought was that the MBA was characterized by recession and abandonment especially in contrast to the Early Bronze Age (EBA), a period of burgeoning maritime activity and social complexity. Recent research and publications support the opposite conclusion—i.e., the MBA was a period of expansion and fermentation in the Cyclades, which were situated yet again in the middle of a very active seascape. While the distribution of MBA sites in the Cyclades is not as dense as the EBA sites, the nexus of known sites is nevertheless a significant departure from the “vacant landscape” described by early-twentieth-century scholars, though there is much yet to learn about life in the MBA Cyclades. Case in point is the recent discovery of a Middle Cycladic site under the fourth-century B.C.E. theater of Karthaia on Keos. The incidental discovery of this previously undetected site situated in a rather systematically studied landscape challenges us to amend the bigger picture about the MBA in many respects. The present paper tackles only a couple of these aspects, particularly focusing on evaluating the significance of Karthaia for (a) the study of the MBA Cycladic land- and seascape and exchange networks, and (b) the development of protocols for uncovering a larger proportion of the MBA landscape.

A New Minoan-Type Peak Sanctuary on Stelida, Naxos

Tristan Carter, McMaster University, Kristine Mallinson, University of Missouri Columbia, Vagia Mastrogiannopoulou, Independent Scholar, Marie N. Pareja, University of Pennsylvania, Georgia Tsartsidou, Ephoreia of Palaeoanthropology-Speleology, Todd Wong, McMaster University, Charlotte Diffey, Reading University, and Dimitris Athanasoulis, Ephorate of Cycladic Antiquities

Though Stelida (NW Naxos) is best known as a Paleolithic site, excavations in 2019 atop its highest peak revealed traces of later Bronze Age ritual activity of a type clearly influenced by contemporary Cretan (‘Minoan’) religious practices, one of only a handful outside of Crete itself. The ceramic assemblage is dominated by Neopalatial forms, mainly those for the transportation and consumption of liquids such as cups (conical, shallow, and ogival) and jugs, followed by tripod cooking vessels, baking pans, *pithoi* and *rhyta*. There was also significant evidence for in situ burning, including charcoal and calcined bone, while the deposition of numerous water-worn pebbles and other non-local stones recalls both earlier Cycladic ritual practice at Dhaskalio, and that of later Cretan peak sanctuaries. Other religious paraphernalia includes a Cretan stone ladle analogous to examples from Juktas, plus two possible terracotta figurines. While Cretan in derivation, most of the material culture appears local, with much of the ceramic assemblage dating to Late Cycladic I; the presence of pumice indicates the site was at least partly used after the Theran eruption. Finally, the site occupies a visually dominant location overlooking the main Bronze Age centre of Grotta, with clear sightlines of numerous islands including Paros, Thera, Kea, and Ikaria.

In this paper we argue: (i) that the site serves to raise the profile of Late Cycladic Grotta, (ii) that Stelida reflects a specifically Knossian influence, and (iii) how we need to consider the relationship with the broadly contemporary hilltop ritual activity at nearby Mikre Vigla.

The Small Cycladic Islands Project 2019: A Survey of Uninhabited Islands Near Paros

Alex R. Knodell, Carleton College, Dimitris Athanasoulis, Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades, and Zarko Tankosic, Norwegian Institute at Athens

The Small Cycladic Islands Project (SCIP) is a regional archaeological survey of several small, uninhabited islands in the Cycladic archipelago. There is a rich history of archaeological survey and comparative island archaeology in the Aegean. SCIP's contribution is to narrow the territorial remit of an individual island survey, and at the same time expand the conceptual and comparative scope by surveying multiple islands with the same set of methods and in the context of the same project. All target islands are currently uninhabited, and many probably never sustained permanent populations. We know from other cases, however, that such places were put to a variety of uses at various points in the past, including goat islands, cemeteries, stopovers, and pirate hideaways.

In its initial field season in 2019, SCIP carried out comprehensive surveys of ten islets in the vicinity of Paros. Each island in the study area was the subject of a multi-method individual survey, which in most cases was carried out in one to two days. Fieldwalking methods are drawn from the tradition of Mediterranean intensive survey. We also focused on the documentation of archaeological features, including terraces, buildings, cisterns, quarries, and fortification walls. At places of particular interest (including Early Bronze Age, Archaic-Classical, and Late Roman-Byzantine sites), gridded collection provided further information. In addition, the team recorded notes concerning the physical environment. Fieldwork was carried out alongside a program of remote sensing, allowing us to identify soil, vegetation, and archaeological signatures on the ground that will contribute to the study of such landscapes elsewhere. This multi-method, comparative program of research provides new insights concerning various types of human activities—habitation and non-habitation, diachronic and incidental—that took place in such marginal island environments. This paper summarizes our goals, methods, and results.

Beyond Site Size Hierarchies: Reconsidering Small Survey Sites on Crete

Grace Erny, Stanford University

Since the 1970s, multiple intensive archaeological survey projects have been conducted on Crete. These surveys have yielded important information about rural settlement patterns and land use across all periods of human history. They have also documented many archaeological surface records and landscapes which have since been threatened or destroyed by development. However, analysis of survey results has often consisted largely of building settlement hierarchies based

on site size and, in particular, reconstructing episodes of population nucleation and dispersal across the landscape. In such analyses, surface finds are used largely to date periods of occupation at each site of interest, while much less attention is devoted to artifact type and function. Although site size is important, focusing primarily on size risks ignoring much of the information documented by archaeological surveys.

In this paper, I compare sites with Geometric through Hellenistic surface finds recorded by ten Cretan surveys, using a data structure that standardizes information across catalog entries from different surveys while retaining as much idiosyncratic detail as possible. I consider not only site size, but also the presence or absence of different categories of artifacts (i.e., *pithoi*, fineware), the presence and nature of surface architecture, site location, and duration of use. I focus on sites smaller than 0.5 hectare, which make up the majority of sites documented by Cretan surveys for these periods. Although these sites are generally classified together in site size hierarchies as “farmsteads” or “hamlets,” important differences in their surface assemblages suggest that they hosted diverse activities and comprised distinct social places in the landscape. This paper thus provides a model for using published legacy survey data to glean new insight into the structure of Cretan society, especially outside large settlements, during a poorly understood period in the island’s history.

Session 1L: Joint AIA/SCS Colloquium **Blurring the Boundaries: Interactions between the Living and the Dead in the Roman World**

Sponsored by the American Academy in Rome

Organizers: *T. Corey Brennan*, Rutgers University, and *Lynne Lancaster*, American Academy in Rome

Colloquium Overview Statement

This panel will examine a series of questions regarding the relationship of the living and the dead in the Roman world, focusing especially but not exclusively on the Italian peninsula. What types of boundaries existed to separate the dead from the living, and in what situations were those boundaries negotiated, challenged, or outright transgressed? What can the evidence—literary, epigraphic, artistic, architectural, topographic, or otherwise—tell us about relationships between Roman cemeteries/tombs and their immediate surroundings? Can we find new ways of using the literary or material sources on funerary practices to make meaningful conclusions without losing sight of the variety and flexibility of individual responses to a deeply internal human experience? And most importantly, to what extent can we trace development over historical periods and between geographical regions in how the Romans—broadly conceived—responded to death and the dead?

Such an examination seems timely. Most scholarship on Roman funerary practices focuses on prescriptive or normative rituals, often with little acknowledgement that the textual evidence referred to a very small, elite segment of the

population (e.g., Edwards 2007; Hope 2009). Alternatively, studies that do address non-normative practices tend to subscribe to the belief that the separation of the dead from the world of the living was necessary to avoid pollution or contamination (e.g., Lennon 2014; Bond 2016). Recent projects that have touched on interactions between the living and the dead prompt us to question the existence, variety, and flexibility of the boundaries, whether conceptual or physical, that separated the two (e.g., Schrumpf 2006; Scheid 2008; Bodel 2014; Devlin and Graham 2015; Stevens 2017). Asking new questions and incorporating overlooked data will allow us to challenge dominant narratives and highlight a fuller complexity and variability of Roman experiences. In short, this panel aims to track attitudes towards death, and the ways that they changed through time, without falling back onto essentializing narratives that erase the potential variety and flexibility of individual responses.

With these issues in mind, this panel will bring together six scholars, at various stages of their careers, each bringing different perspectives to the evidence for practices and interactions between the living and the dead. A common thread that runs through the presentations regards the problems of identifying norms in Roman funerary practices, given that the exceptions are just as important to understanding what people did and how people lived (and died). After a ten minute introduction by participant #1 (full professor / archaeologist), who will serve as moderator for the session, four participants (#2 associate professor / archaeologist, #3 assistant professor / archaeologist, #4 new PhD / archaeologist, #5 full professor/cultural historian) will each present 20-minute papers, starting from the general (historical developments in funerary zones, the concept of death pollution), to more specific (patterns of reuse of tombs and burials, historical examples of corpse abuse). Participant #6 (full professor / social historian and epigraphist) will serve as respondent. In the discussion that will follow, the panel chair (#1) will encourage comparative perspectives regarding the concept of a permeable boundary between life and death.

The panel aims to offer presentations that combine types of sources on Roman funerary practices (ranging from skeletal, epigraphic, monumental and topographical evidence, to literary and legal texts, to historical comparanda from Renaissance Rome), and in doing so to highlight interactions between the living and the dead as much more nuanced than traditional views have posited. The ultimate goal is to encourage dialogue between scholars working on various aspects of death and funerary practices—including between those with potentially conflicting interpretations—to better understand the range and variety of evidence, to challenge dominant paradigms, and to push current interpretations of it in new directions.

Discussant: *John Bodel*, Brown University

Mapping Funerary Monuments in the Periphery of Imperial Rome

Dorian Borbonus, University of Dayton

In the periphery of Rome, the “world of the dead” and the “world of the living” were famously both distinct and intermeshed at the same time (Erasmus 2001). On

the one hand, burial was relegated to outside the *pomerium* on religious grounds; on the other, funerary monuments were regularly visited, their epitaphs commonly address passing travelers directly, and burial took place within the city at least occasionally (Volpe 2017). The boundaries between the living and the dead were thus permeable and they also changed over time as the *pomerium* was successively expanded (Patterson 2000).

The relationship between the world of the living and the dead is also shaped by the placement of funerary monuments. It has been observed, for example, that the placement of tomb monuments maximized their visibility in the late Republican period, followed by an increasing “internalization” during the imperial period (von Hesberg 1992). This reconstruction is plausible, but it also postulates that one normative practice gave way to another one—in this case self-representation to internalization. There are also counterexamples that do not fit the pattern: for example, Augustan *columbarium* tombs are predominantly oriented towards the interior and reverse the public face of tomb monuments long before the alleged internalization process started (Borbonus 2014).

Atypical cases like this indicate that actual behavior is more nuanced than rules and generalizations suggest, but simply emphasizing variability and context instead can also lead to an impasse. The challenge is to chart a course between excessive attention to context and overly broad generalizations. One way to differentiate our understanding of Rome’s funerary periphery is to map it at different scales. On the macroscopic level, the locations of all known or documented monuments around the city provide a panoramic view on an urban scale. The resulting distribution confirms a correlation with extra-urban roads, but it also shows different trends over time, such as the increasing clustering of dense funerary zones. These *necropoleis* indicate a tendency to separate burial functions from the surrounding landscape and thus consign interactions between the living and the dead to designated areas.

On a more detailed level, the micro-topographical development of these *necropoleis* often spans several centuries. Old monuments stood in close juxtaposition with new constructions and access to specific burials could lead through serpentine paths. The development of these cemeteries was clearly ruled by numerous factors, at least some of which were specific to individual sites. Local conditions could affect the development in unpredictable ways, for example by the burial of entire monuments in mudslides or the gradual rise of the ground level through repeated flooding.

In general, the two mapping scales recognize the global patterns and the unique situations that characterize the use of Rome’s periphery for burial and commemoration.

Death, Pollution, and Roman Social Life

Allison Emmerson, Tulane University

That the dead were polluting—i.e., that corpses posed a danger of making the living somehow unclean, offensive to both the living community and the gods—is thought to be among the most essential Roman beliefs about death. Over the past century, scholars of both literary and material culture have contended that a fear

of death pollution was a primary force driving funerary ritual, from the treatment of the corpse immediately after death to the rites performed at the end of the period of mourning, a perspective that has grown even more entrenched in recent decades (e.g., Lindsay 2000; Graham 2011; Lennon 2014; Bond 2016; Paturet 2017). Nevertheless, such an understanding tends to overlook an important point: our earliest references to death pollution emerged only in Late Antiquity (Serv., *Ad Aen.* 3.64, 4.507, 6.216). This paper problematizes the evidence for a widespread belief in contagious, miasmatic death pollution in the Republican and Imperial periods. I argue that the idea of polluting death emerges not from the ancient texts themselves, but from a modern reconstruction that combines those texts without critically evaluating chronological, geographic, or social variation, nor questioning the intentions of authors or requirements of genre. By reexamining the texts outside that traditional narrative, I find a new pattern underlying funerary practices, in which behavior was dictated not by a fear of pollution emanating from dead bodies, but by the obligations and emotions that death imposed on mourners. Importantly, such responses were neither externally dictated or dogmatic, but internal, changeable, and dependent above all on individual interpretation. Not only does this understanding accord better with the ancient evidence, but also it allows for space and flexibility, acknowledging all that we do not know—and cannot know—of how Romans grappled with the complexity of death.

Not Set in Stone: Provisions for Roman Grave Reuse

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In Roman law, the crime of tomb violation prohibited damage to the monument or memory of an individual, as well as unwanted disturbances or unauthorized additions to existing burials (de Visscher 1963; Kaser 1978; Caldelli et al. 2004; Thomas 2004; Paturet 2014). From the time that human remains were deposited into a grave, a tomb became a religious space (*locus religiosus*) that was legally defined, although its protection mainly concerned the integrity of the tomb structure or monument (Duday and Van Andringa 2017). This paper argues that the use of a legal definition of tomb violation in Roman funerary archaeology has led to the treatment of burials as time capsules, whose inherent worth derives from their sealed, intact nature. Those burials that have been looted, damaged, disturbed, or reused are routinely edited out of excavation reports, and their post-depositional histories are viewed as unwanted interventions because these burials were supposed to be sealed in perpetuity.

The invocation of time capsules in archaeological literature uses figurative language to explain the exceptional circumstances of preservation that safeguard against the effects of unwanted tampering. Consideration of the archaeological evidence, however, reveals that Roman burial receptacles and tomb structures were often provisioned to be opened and reused at later points. This phenomenon has rarely been acknowledged because the frequency and extent of Roman grave reuse have never been studied systematically at the inter-site or regional levels. A preliminary exploration of different types of burial containers, including sarcophagi, cremation urns, and even simple pit burials, demonstrates that the boundaries between the living and the dead were often more porous than has ever

been considered. The living came into contact with human remains at different points in the 'lifespan' of a grave, and these interactions should not be discredited as mere disturbances.

By bringing together the archaeological evidence for grave opening and reuse practices in different types of funerary receptacles, I challenge conventional notions about tomb violation in the archaeological record. My exploration draws on evidence from Roman cemeteries that are not usually considered alongside each other, which include semi-urban and rural cemeteries, monumental and non-monumental sites, as well as elite and non-elite burials. Throughout this paper, I advocate for a new understanding of Roman mortuary landscapes in which the boundaries between the living and the dead were routinely blurred in the adaptive use and successive reuse of tombs and burials. As a result, any attempt to write histories of Roman funerary practices needs to carefully discern how legal definitions of tomb violation can influence our interpretation of the archaeological record.

Transgressing the Dead in Ancient and Renaissance Rome

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Corpse abuse in ancient Rome, or more properly, the corpse abuse of (in)famous individuals (Marius's ashes scattered by Sulla; Pompey's decapitation and corpse abuse; and Sejanus's corpse dragged by a hook then tossed into the Tiber) is frequently an epilogue to personal or political enmity. Corpses are vulnerable to abuse ranging from verbal and physical assault, mutilation, and non-disposal. Funerary rituals surrounding disposal magnify the effects of abuse against "life-like" corpses, including the prothesis that imitates the position of one in repose and the laying out of a body for cremation or burial in a supine posture. Etruscan sarcophagi with effigies of the deceased reclining and seemingly social extend the metaphor of life to the dead. Do transgressive acts against the dead extend or negate this metaphor of a permeable boundary between life and death?

This paper examines transgressions against the dead, in particular focusing on the treatment of the corpses of Agrippina the Younger and the so-called Tulliola. Tacitus (*Annals* 14.9), and Suetonius (*Nero* 34), offer varying accounts of Nero's inspection of his mother's corpse prior to disposal, but a similar feature of the narratives is Nero's sexualized viewing of Agrippina's body. Parallels of the transgression of an ancient Roman woman's corpse extend to the Renaissance. In 1485, the body of a perfectly preserved woman incorrectly identified as Tulliola, Cicero's daughter, was discovered in a sarcophagus unearthed along the Via Appia Antica and exhibited outside Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline Hill. For several days curious spectators lined up for an opportunity to view and touch the pagan corpse until Pope Innocent VIII Cybo had the body secretly removed and anonymously disposed. The abuse suffered by a potentially nude Tulliola at her "second prothesis" over one thousand years after her first, is as transgressive as Agrippina's, yet with more viewers/abusers at what was the first modern exhibition of an ancient corpse.