

they are because of natural occurrences, cultural waste, misplacement, etc.—and overall settlement transitions in the medieval space. Ultimately, GIS technology supports the conclusion that this medieval site is a form of “*incastellamento*” – a type of fortification that is characterized by the relocation of large parts of the medieval Italian population into defensible, fortified sites.

### **Session 3A: Colloquium**

#### **The “Church Wreck” and Beyond: Marzamemi Maritime Heritage Project, 2013–2019**

Organizer: *Justin Leidwanger*, Stanford University

#### **Colloquium Overview Statement**

The Marzamemi Maritime Heritage Project is a collaborative excavation, survey, and heritage management initiative along southeast Sicily focusing on long-term structures of human interaction from prehistory through classical antiquity and up to the present. In 2013, the project began with new investigations of the sixth-century C.E. “church wreck,” originally explored by Gerhard Kapitän in the 1960s. The vessel sank while carrying perhaps 100 or more tons of prefabricated architectural elements intended to decorate a church. Seven fieldwork seasons have yielded finds that fundamentally question much of the prevailing narrative surrounding this important wreck and its late antique historical context. Assorted columns, capitals, and bases complicate assumptions regarding their employment as a single set, while additional decorative materials suggest more complex networks of artistry and agency. An additional cargo of eastern Mediterranean wine reveals the commercial web of the ship and its sailors and the interdependence of high-end and everyday shipping. Varied galley wares suggest a crew from diverse cultural backgrounds, while clues from the ship itself fit a modest and well-traveled hull rather than a specialized stone carrier. These new finds offer a new window into the people, goods, and processes that tied together the Mediterranean during a transformative period at the end of the Roman world.

The Marzamemi project also aims to re-embed the “church wreck” and other local maritime heritage within the broader context of countless journeys along this shore. Situated between west and east, south and north, this corner of Sicily provides a vantage point for varied material manifestations of connectivity across millennia. Through survey of historic maritime material culture alongside innovative museum development and immersive exhibits, we juxtapose ancient ships with still older and more recent heritage at the heart of this “Middle Sea.” Our goal is to contextualize maritime archaeological practice in the Classical world within a dialog on long-term seaborne interaction, its material manifestations, and the constant remaking of Mediterranean spaces and cultures. This colloquium offers an opportunity to reframe our fundamental understanding of one of the largest and richest archaeologically attested cargos from late antiquity in light of seven seasons of fieldwork and research, allowing us to rethink its place within the context of interaction across a fragmenting Mediterranean. At the same time, the session underscores opportunities to broaden twenty-first-century maritime

archaeology in a way that leverages the past for new and challenging engagement with contemporary mobility and human connectivity.

**Past and Present Investigations of the “Church Wreck” at Marzamemi**

*Justin Leidwanger, Stanford University, Elizabeth S. Greene, Brock University, Sheila Matthews, Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Leopoldo Repola, Suor Orsola Benincasa University, Matteo Azzaro, El Cachalote Archaeology, and Fabrizio Sgroi, Soprintendenza del Mare*

The discovery of many tons of architectural elements, some with early Christian iconography, in the shallow waters off southeast Sicily piqued scholarly and popular imagination alike in the late 1950s; ideas ranged from a toppled coastal basilica to sunken Crusader loot from Constantinople. With pioneering fieldwork in the 1960s and early 1970s, Gerhard Kapitän set the interpretation on firmer grounds, arguing for a lost cargo of prefabricated architectural materials that never reached their intended sixth-century church. Collaborative survey and excavation by the Marzamemi Maritime Heritage Project since 2013 offer an opportunity to contextualize these architectural remains and to reexamine this famous site and its world of Mediterranean connections. While Kapitän limited his efforts to several test excavations and surface collection of large architectural elements mostly around the promising central sandy depression, new work across the entire site and the surrounding reef has revealed a wealth of different finds, generating insights into the ship’s cargo and crew, as well as its sinking and post-depositional processes. Detailed topographical survey and site modeling are further aiding understanding of these earlier and incompletely published explorations, allowing us to “re-excavate” virtually Kapitän’s pioneering explorations. Simultaneously, 3D documentation of the architectural finds—using structured light scanning out of the water and innovative photogrammetric methods in the water—affords opportunities to assess and to analyze comparatively the cargo elements uncovered by fieldwork projects across generations and currently split between two museums (Marzamemi and Siracusa) and the seabed. Beyond laying the foundations to rewrite the narrative of this famous wreck in the world of late antique architecture and economy, these seven seasons of fieldwork and documentation have allowed us to launch broader heritage initiatives that valorize the site within the long-term story of maritime connectivity at Marzamemi.

**Churches on the Move: Reassessing the Architectural Cargo of the Marzamemi “Church Wreck”**

*Kaelin Jewell, The Barnes Foundation, and May Peterson, University of Chicago*

Sometime in the fifth century C.E., a bishop named Porphyry sought to construct a new cathedral for the Palestinian city of Gaza. Although the building no longer survives, Mark the Deacon’s fifth-century *Vita Porphyrii* provides details regarding the financing, design, and construction of this late antique church. According to Mark, the bishop summoned an architect from Antioch to assemble local and imported architectural materials that included a set of thirty-two green

Karystian marble columns sent across the Mediterranean by Empress Eudoxia (d. 460 C.E.). Less than a century later, another architectural shipment wrecked off the coast of Sicily near Marzamemi. The vessel's cargo contained likely more than 100 tons of building materials prefabricated from stones sourced around the Aegean region. The presence of Proconnesian marble columns and capitals along with Christogram-decorated chancel barriers and a *verde antico* ambo led Gerhard Kapitän to refer to the site as the "church wreck." Although these components align with what is known about late antique ecclesiastical architecture, recent investigations have complicated Kapitän's hypothesis that the cargo was intended for a single church interior. In this paper, we address the possibility that this shipment included more than one set of building materials. Through a reassessment of the stone cargo that includes a discussion of the levels of finish on the thirty-three or more capitals—and new consideration of the recently uncovered finds of pigments, glass, and what could be small stone samples—we argue that the shipment reflects how architectural projects were commissioned and transported in late antiquity. By situating the "church wreck" stone cargo and decorative materials within its broader art historical context, we can begin to understand its place in the larger discussion of architectural design and the logistics of construction in the late antique Mediterranean.

### **Life Afloat: the "Church Wreck" Ship and Its Sailors**

*Sarah Wilker*, Stanford University, *Andrew Donnelly*, Loyola University Chicago, *James Gross*, University of Pennsylvania, and *Ken Trethewey*, Institute of Nautical Archaeology

The Marzamemi "church wreck" is best known for its cargo of architectural elements. Yet it is the recently uncovered smaller finds—ceramics and remains of the hull itself—that offer some of the best data for contextualizing the vessel and its crew in the economic, social, and political worlds in which they operated to deliver the major cargo. The ship survives only in limited wood fragments, iron fastener concretions, lead patches, and some likely tiles, which together provide small but invaluable clues about the construction and purpose of the "church wreck." These materials indicate a fairly typical ship, about 30 m or longer, and made up of somewhat thick planking. Indications of wear suggest the vessel was not newly purpose-built for hauling this stone cargo, but rather had been in service long before acquiring its final load, problematizing the idea that heavy, elite shipments generated specialized modes of transport. The ceramics further support this position. A small but significant cargo of wine or oil carried in at least 80–100 transport amphoras points to a secondary level of commerce separate from the more opulent marbles and suggests a greater amount of economic independence than the traditional narrative of a vessel bound to the fisc allows. The surviving domestic pottery from the galley—a variety of African red slip wares, coarse wares, and cooking vessels of unmatched sizes and fabrics—provides evidence for a hodge-podge method of acquiring wares, creating what we hypothesize to be "mess kits" that could travel with sailors-for-hire as they moved among ships. Together, these new finds reveal a vessel well-suited for heavy transport but not one connected to the state or designed to transport a single stone cargo, and a crew thoroughly

embedded in the routines of persistent interregional commercial exchange of late antiquity.

### **A Monumental Outlier at the End of Antiquity?**

*Andrew Donnelly*, Loyola University Chicago, *Justin Leidwanger*, Stanford University, and *Ben Russell*, University of Edinburgh

This paper assembles a new historical context for the “church wreck.” Baked into the original assessment of this vessel is the assumption not only that the ship was associated with Justinian, but that it could only be associated with Justinian. The imperial rebuilding program—a more contentious topic now following a half-century of late antique scholarship—was deemed the only possible impetus for such movements since Justinian represented a temporary arrest from decline. The ship quickly became a romantic metaphor, a vessel whose plunge to the depths is a reified reminder of what Justinian tried, and failed, to do. Frozen in time and thought, the “church wreck” has been given an identity that still bulwarks old assumptions about the late Roman economy and the movement of goods despite increasingly nuanced understanding of the period. Drawing on new fieldwork and finds, reexamination of older finds, and quantification of labor investments based on historical marble production, our holistic reexamination of the site challenges these imposed narratives, allowing the wreck to fit more plausible and flexible historical economic models. We consider two main possibilities here. The first is that the vessel predates Justinian, reflecting a thriving interregional Mediterranean exchange that was largely independent of any singular authority. The second involves uncoupling the ship from Justinian: even if this vessel sailed during his rule, the role of the fisc appears far less important than the desires and economic forces of local Mediterranean elites. These new contextual approaches suggest the “church wreck” vessel and its cargo should not be treated as a single datum point used to confirm historical arguments, but rather with an eye to evaluating how the evidence from this site shapes our understanding of the economy and culture of the late antique world.

### **Looking Out from the Crossroads: Maritime Survey in Southeast Sicily**

*Giuseppe Avola*, University of Catania, *Nicholas Bartos*, Stanford University, *James Gross*, University of Pennsylvania, and *Sarah Wilker*, Stanford University

Underwater survey along southeast Sicily provides a window into millennia of connectivity at a strategic crossroads of the central Mediterranean that claimed the “church wreck” in late antiquity. Two seasons of investigations have focused on the fishing and commercial center at Vendicari, located just a few kilometers north of Marzamemi. The remains of the complex port landscape here include several anchorages behind a small island and submerged tombolo as well as a (now dry) channel for passage to an inland lagoon. Pre-Roman artifacts as well as Roman fish-salting and processing complexes and several nearby villas attest to a rich history of agriculture and natural resource management. Survey here has systematically sampled the submerged material record in an effort to determine

the evolution of this marine-oriented local economy and the commercial networks that connected it to the wider Mediterranean world. Following several seasons of preliminary work, more intensive explorations in 2018–2019 focused on two promising areas associated with Hellenistic-Roman and late antique phases of use. The resulting material record includes ceramics (amphoras and common wares) as well as metal concretions, well-preserved wooden ship components, and at least twenty-five ballast piles of varied size and consistency. Vendicari appears to have developed gradually through the pre-Roman and Roman periods thanks to its location along migratory tuna routes and shipping lanes between central Italy, North Africa, and the east. These connections intensified but narrowed in geographic scope during late antiquity as the port was integrated more firmly into the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean orbit, peaking after Justinian's reconquest of Sicily in 535 before a decline over the eighth and ninth centuries. Archaeological research at Vendicari and other sites along this southeastern Sicilian shore aids our understanding of diachronic regional development and the overlapping multiscalar interactions that shaped this central nexus over time.

### **Engaging the Past with the Present: Connectivity and Maritime Heritage at Marzamemi**

*Elizabeth S. Greene*, Brock University, *Leopoldo Repola*, Suor Orsola Benincasa University, *Justin Leidwanger*, Stanford University, and *Rachel Stark*, Ryerson University

Fifty women sail from North Africa to seek asylum across the Mediterranean. Their voices form the chorus of Aeschylus's *Suppliant Women*, daughters of Danaus who trace their lineage to Io. The genealogical connection moves the Argives to accept these different-looking women into their land. With his 2015 production in Siracusa, director Moni Ovadia showcased the link between the ancient and modern plights of forced migration, with Sicily at their center. The island provides a timely vantage point for material manifestations of connectivity spanning millennia of varied seaborne journeys. The earliest craft have perished, but stone tools and animal bones provide evidence for the resources that drew humans to the Mediterranean's largest island. Warship rams speak to Roman naval expansion, echoed in later seaborne conflicts up to the Allied landings of World War II. Exploitation of migrating tuna appears in Neolithic cave painting, Roman and early modern fish-processing factories, and a few derelict hulls of traditional *matanza* vessels. The most recent boats to wash ashore recall the Danaids' saga, as political, social, and economic upheaval sends hundreds of thousands on perilous voyages. The "church wreck" reflects one spectacular sixth-century connection, one of dozens of vessels that foundered in these waters, and a snapshot of this larger and continuous picture of connectivity. Ongoing research and exhibition initiatives at Marzamemi juxtapose archaeological remains of the "church wreck" with still older and more recent heritage, contextualizing maritime archaeology within a broader dialog about long-term seaborne interaction, cultural identities, and their material manifestations. Mixing real and virtual objects in spaces spread across pop-up exhibits, dive trails, an app, and a new local Museum of the Sea, our

approach challenges the public to engage more deeply and meaningfully with the multifaceted realities of past and present connectivity.

### **Session 3B: Colloquium**

## **New Research on Landscape and Human Mobility in Eastern Europe and Eurasia**

*Sponsored by the Eastern European and Eurasia Interest Group*

Organizers: *Adam Rabinowitz*, The University of Texas at Austin, and *Carolyn Snively*, Gettysburg College

### **Colloquium Overview Statement**

This session brings together the results of projects concerned with the movement of ancient populations across Eastern European and Western Eurasian landscapes, especially in the Balkans and the Black Sea area. Each paper presents new research that illuminates long-term patterns in human mobility and human-environmental interactions from the Neolithic to the Medieval period. Given contemporary concern about climate change and large-scale migration, as well as public interest in new information about past population movements revealed by archaeogenetic research, meticulous investigation of the way people interacted with landscapes and environment across history has become especially important. Eastern Europe and Eurasia stand at the center of discussions of ancient population movement but have not been subject to the same level of environmental and bioarchaeological research as the Mediterranean and Western Europe. The papers in this session report on multidisciplinary, diachronic approaches to landscape, environment, population mobility, and human responses to ecological and social challenges in regions from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. Research methods represented include ge archaeology, paleoclimatology, paleoethnobotany, osteoarchaeology, zooarchaeology, archaeogenetics, surface survey, geophysical prospection, and traditional excavation.

In "The Role of Climate Change in the Spread of Farming," the author asks whether a sudden climate change, the "8,200 cal BP event," during the early Holocene caused farmers to leave the Aegean region for the Adriatic. "Diachronic Landscape, Environment, and Settlement Patterns" reports on a survey of settlement patterns in Kosovo from the Neolithic to the present, associating shifts in occupation with environmental and political criteria. "The University of Texas Histria Multiscalar Archaeological Project" presents the results of multidisciplinary research focused on the demographic dynamics and environmental context of a Roman necropolis at Histria in Romania. Finally, "Golemo Gradište at Konjuh" considers the diachronic role of a naturally fortified hill that dominates the landscape of the Kriva valley in the Republic of Northern Macedonia, which served as a focus for local settlements before taking on military functions in Late Antiquity and the Medieval period.

Discussant: *Susan E. Allen*, University of Cincinnati

### **The Role of Climate Change in the Spread of Farming to the Adriatic**

*Andrew M. T. Moore, Rochester Institute of Technology*

Farming spread from its center of origin in western Asia to the Mediterranean and southern Europe at the beginning of the Holocene. It reached the Adriatic by 8,000 cal BP (ca. 6000 B.C.E.). This phenomenon has prompted many questions. Why did farming arrive when it did? Who brought it to the Adriatic, and by what means? Results from the “Early Farming in Dalmatia Project” and other current research in the region are providing answers to these questions.

Migrant farmers from western Asia reached the Aegean before 9,000 cal BP (ca. 7000 B.C.E.). Then there was a pause that lasted a millennium. The onward spread of farming took this new economy rapidly westward to the Adriatic and beyond around the western Mediterranean. This dispersal took place along the coasts; the only reasonable explanation is that it was carried forward by migrating farmers looking for new lands to settle, an hypothesis supported by the latest ADNA evidence. The question then is, why did they leave the Aegean for the Adriatic and beyond so suddenly?

Recent research has focused on the impact of a sudden reversal of climate, the “8,200 cal BP event.” During this episode the climate of the early Holocene became cold and dry. This phase lasted about 300 years, or ten human generations, enough to disrupt the existing farming economy in the Aegean and over a much wider area. It probably caused some of these farmers to leave their homeland in search of fresh lands to colonize. The coincidence between the timing of this event and the arrival of farming in the Adriatic and on the Dalmatian coast is so strong that this seems to be the most likely explanation.

### **Diachronic Landscape, Environment, and Settlement Patterns in Western Kosova: Results of RAPID-K, 2018–2019**

*Sylvia Deskaj, University of Michigan, Michael L. Galaty, University of Michigan, Haxhi Mehmetaj, Kosova Institute of Archaeology, Erina Baci, University of Michigan, Zhaneta Gjyshja, University of Tirana, Anisa Mara, University of Toronto, and Dukagjin Mehmetaj, Kosova Institute of Archaeology*

Our project, Regional Archaeology in the Peja and Istog Districts of Kosova (RAPID-K), is the first intensive, systematic survey ever conducted in Kosova, and aims to document settlement and settlement change in western Kosova through time. After two seasons of fieldwork (2018 and 2019), we may now begin to explain why people lived where they did at various key points in the region’s history, from Neolithic to Bronze Age, through periods of contact with the Mediterranean world, and down to the present. Two seasons of survey near the large Neolithic settlement of Rakosh have demonstrated that Neolithic peoples favored certain settlement locations over others, based on identifiable environmental criteria. These criteria changed in the Bronze Age, when villages were moved to higher altitudes, occupying hill fort sites. The exception is the large, flat settlement site of Pepaj, discovered in 2018, and further investigated in 2019. Targeted surface collection and subsurface coring helped to determine the size of the site and to clarify chronology. Such “flat” Bronze Age sites are extremely rare in the Balkans, and so



Pepaj provides a unique opportunity to investigate Bronze Age settlement beyond the oftentimes highly eroded, prototypical hill forts. In “Dardanian” times (i.e., during the developed Iron Age, beginning ca. 700 B.C.E.), occupation in western Kosova shifted once again, towards the hot springs at Banjë e Pejës. The reasons for this shift seem self-evident, related to the baths themselves, but other environmental factors can be shown to have been at play during this pivotal period. Roman occupation caused settlements to change once again; existing sites grew larger, but, clearly, new roads, such as the Lissus-Naissus road, played a role. Settlement in western Kosova in Medieval times exploded. Survey data, including maps of Medieval cemeteries and towers, may help explain the reasons for this explosion.

**The University of Texas Histria Multiscalar Archaeological Project (UT-HMAP): Preliminary Results of the First Two Seasons (2018 and 2019)**

*Adam Rabinowitz*, The University of Texas at Austin, *Liviu Iancu*, University of Bucharest, *W. Flint Dibble*, American School of Classical Studies in Athens, *Patricia Neuhoff-Malorzo*, The University of Texas at Austin, *Sterling Wright*, The Pennsylvania State University, *Elijah Fleming*, The University of Texas at Austin, *Rachael Dodd*, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, *Sheryl Luzzadder-Beach*, The University of Texas at Austin, and *Tim Beach*, The University of Texas at Austin

This paper presents the preliminary results of the first two research seasons of the UT Histria Multiscalar Archaeological Project, a collaboration between The University of Texas and the Institute of Archaeology “Vasile Pârvan” of the Romanian Academy of Sciences at the Greek and Roman site of Histria, near the Black Sea mouth of the Danube. Histria was founded by settlers from Miletus in the seventh century B.C.E. and occupied continuously for nearly 1,400 years. It has also been the subject of nearly continuous archaeological investigation for more than a century. As a result, it is a rich resource for the archaeology and history of the western Black Sea region across a long diachronic arc. But the record of research has left some notable gaps: a longstanding focus on the “acropolis,” the schist outcrop on which the earliest settlement was established and which the substantial walls of the city’s last phase defended, has left us with imperfect knowledge of the defended residential quarter on the “Plateau” to the west. This area was occupied from the end of the seventh to the first century B.C.E. and suffered several calamitous events that left clear horizons of destruction along the way. The Plateau also housed an extensive non-elite necropolis of the Roman period, parts of which have been excavated in the course of investigations at the edges of the pre-Roman residential and industrial areas. In its initial seasons, HMAP has focused on this cemetery in the context of a program of environmental and osteological research, using archaeogenetic, isotopic, geoarchaeological, and zooarchaeological approaches to understand the demographic dynamics and environmental context of the Roman-period population. This paper frames the occupation of the Plateau on multiple scales, from the landscape and its hydrology to the genetic analysis of the human oral microbiome using fossilized dental calculus.



### **Golemo Gradište at Konjuh: Landscape and History**

*Carolyn S. Snively, Gettysburg College*

Much of the Balkan Peninsula is mountainous, divided by river valleys that offer lines of communication and level land for agriculture. In North Macedonia a sporadic line of cliffs rises above the southern bank of the Kriva River. Near the village of Konjuh, the Kriva enclosed three sides of a northern terrace that lay between the river and an isolated section of cliff or ridge, an acropolis, locally known as Golemo Gradište. In addition to Neolithic activity on the northern terrace and the southern slopes below Golemo Gradište, Neolithic pottery was found even on the acropolis. Although evidence for Iron Age and Hellenistic activity and—after a gap of centuries—Roman settlement appears around and close to the dominating hill, not until Late Antiquity did the naturally defensible terrain overcome the undesirability of a northern terrace and the arduous climb up a 100 meter high acropolis. After major engineering changes to the landscape, the early sixth century saw a heavily fortified, anonymous city of 17 hectares that included the northern terrace, a separate acropolis fortress, and a mostly uninvestigated area to the south. Several fortresses overlooking the road along the river stood on cliffs east and west of the sole city in the region at Golemo Gradište. The city was short lived, probably destroyed in the seventh century, but traces just below deeply eroded surfaces point to both “Slavic” and “Byzantine” presence. A one aisle church, an inscribed tombstone found at the church, and literary sources point to a settlement and the reuse of the acropolis fortress in the fourteenth century.

This paper considers the evidence for activities and settlement through several millennia on and around this dominant feature in the landscape and how that evidence has been or should be interpreted to recreate the history of a region.

### **Session 3C: Colloquium Foodways in the Roman Provinces**

*Sponsored by the Roman Provincial Archaeology Interest Group*

Organizers: *Julia A. Hurley*, Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, Brown University, *Katie Tardio*, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and *David Wallace-Hare*, University of Toronto

#### **Colloquium Overview Statement**

The study of foodways is situated at the intersection of archaeology, anthropology, sociology, economics, and classics, in a position not only to contribute to the dialogue between these disciplines, but actively link them. Since the 1990s, food has become a subject of scholarly focus across many disciplines, and has had a notable impact in anthropology and archaeology (Wilkins, Harvey, and Dobson 1995; Garnsey 1999; Wilkins and Hill 2006; Counihan and van Esterik 2008; Wilkins and Nadeau 2015; Erdkamp and Holleran 2019).

While some comprehensive studies on food in Roman antiquity have been done in recent years, there has been decidedly less interest in the provinces as cultural and economic centers. This session, conversely, centers the provinces in the study

of food in the Roman Empire. It investigates how food consumption and production practices shifted as the provinces became more connected with the Mediterranean world by placing emphasis on local agency.

Capitalizing on growing interest in the Roman provinces in North America—encouraged by the activities of the Roman Provincial Archaeology Interest Group—the following colloquium seeks to begin a new conversation about food in the provinces. To that end, we bring together scholars working on various types of evidence from across the provinces for an interdisciplinary discussion of food in the Roman Empire.

Our contributions offer interdisciplinary perspectives, and reflect the wide geographic span of the Empire. Papers include studies on cereals and nutrition in Egypt, using archaeobotanical as well as biochemical and papyrological evidence; animal exploitation and connectivity in the Roman West, at the macro and micro level; epigraphic and archaeological evidence for honey production in northern Portugal; subtle shifts in plant diet and crop regimes in Asia Minor; shifts in animal production across Roman North Africa as a whole; and a theoretical discussion of the concept of “edible identities” and changing production, exchange, and consumption of food across the western empire as a whole.

These topics span the range of material culture and the vast extent of the Roman Empire and its diverse foodways. We have deliberately endeavored to include papers which draw upon multiple lines of evidence, pushing back against the hyperspecialization that is common in archaeological studies of food. We hope that this session will contribute to and encourage growing scholarly interest in both the Roman provinces and ancient foodways. Each paper will be fifteen minutes in length, culminating in a response and collaborative discussion.

### **Rethinking Diet and Nutrition in Roman Egypt: An Interdisciplinary Approach**

*Frits Heinrich*, Free University Brussels (VUB), *Laura Motta*, Kelsey Museum for Archaeology, University of Michigan, and *Paul Erdkamp*, Free University Brussels (VUB)

This paper aims to provide an updated model for diet and nutrition in Roman Egypt. It will combine an archaeobotanical approach with the study of papyrological sources and (nutritional) biochemistry.

Cereals and pulses have been important staples in human diets since the Neolithic Revolution. Despite recognition of their role as energy suppliers, the nutritional appraisal by archaeologists and historians of especially cereals has been far from positive. Cereals have also been held responsible for the alleged poor nutritional status of the Romans. The leading cause in the formation of this view were the results of modern biochemical analyses of cereals, which indicated that their micronutrient content was very low. Recent work in cereal biochemistry that compared modern cereals with their nineteenth-century herbarium counterparts, however, has shown this low micronutrient content is largely a side effect of the Green Revolution of the mid-twentieth century. It is therefore likely that Roman cereals have been nutritionally underestimated. It is however unclear to which extent nineteenth-century results are representative for antiquity. This paper presents the results of a study devised to obtain direct data on the nutritional qualities

of ancient cereals to answer this question. To achieve this aim, we use unique perfectly preserved, desiccated archaeological seeds from sealed granary contexts from the village of Karanis in the Roman Fayum. These results will be integrated within the wider written and archaeobotanical evidence on food consumption at the site, with a particular focus on the effects of food processing and preparation techniques.

This paper presents some of the first results of the FWO funded project, Rethinking Roman Nutrition: Assessing the nutritional biochemistry and stable isotope chemistry of archaeobotanical cereals and pulses from Roman Egypt, a collaboration of the Free University Brussels and the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at the University of Michigan Ann Arbor. It hopes to contribute to a better understanding of the nutritional qualities of the diet in the Fayum during the Roman period in particular and the diets within the wider Roman empire in general.

### **Animal Production in Cisalpine Gaul and Hispania: Macro-Trends and Regional Trajectories in Roman Agricultural Production**

*Angela Trentacoste*, University of Oxford, *Ariadna Nieto-Espinet*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CISC), and *Silvia Valenzuela-Lamas*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CISC)

Roman conquest of the Western provinces brought about significant changes to the economic and cultural landscape of Europe. Greater connectivity introduced new tastes, and wider exchange networks transformed food production in these regions. However, within continental-scale trends, different regions developed along distinct trajectories, influenced by their environmental situation, as well as existing traditions of livestock management. This paper explores Roman animal production in northern Italy and the Iberian peninsula in its economic and ecological context. Using zooarchaeological data, we track changes in livestock exploitation between late prehistory and Late Antiquity in order to evaluate the impact of integration with the Roman Empire on animal management. Isotopic analyses provide insight into the geographic scale of production, and consideration of environmental data demonstrates the effect of agricultural systems on the landscape. Results highlight the importance of connectivity—both in trade routes and topography—in shaping patterns of Roman food production. Distinct responses to economic integration with the Roman Empire, even in ecologically similar areas, demonstrate the need to evaluate the provinces (and their sub-regions) in their own right and in the context of their particular developmental trajectories.

### **Mel Novum: New Honey Pots from Roman Conimbriga**

*David Wallace-Hare*, University of Toronto

The archaeology of honey production is a slowly developing but important sub-field within Roman archaeology. With few archaeological remains of Roman bee-keeping across the empire as a whole, the abundance of ceramic hives, honey pots, and literary attestations of apiculture in pre-Roman and Roman Hispania have made the Iberian Peninsula a buzzing epicenter of Roman apicultural scholarship.

While literary evidence from Pliny the Elder, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and the historian Justin firmly establish southern, central, and eastern Hispania as apiculturally significant zones, literary sources say nothing about beekeeping in the western and in particular the northwestern Peninsula. Archaeologically, however, northern Portugal represents one of the most important sources of our apicultural evidence, featuring not only some of the only ceramic beehives from the western peninsula (from Braga) but also an array of honey pots, with the largest number in the western peninsula found at the site of Conimbriga (modern Condeixa-a-Velha), in the district of Coimbra.

The current paper presents four previously unpublished honey pots (*vasa mel-laria*) from Conimbriga, discovered in excavations undertaken by a joint Portuguese-French team led by J. Alarcão and R. Etienne between 1964 and 1971. The paper lays the groundwork for publication of these pots, granted by the Museu Monografico de Conimbriga, arising from extensive autopsy of the material during a two-month AIA-funded fellowship to investigate and document any unpublished ceramic remains of Roman beekeeping in central and northern Portuguese museums. One honey pot features what seems to be a Hispano-Celtic name, representing the first such instance in the Peninsula. I contextualize this name among graffiti known from other ceramic finds from Conimbriga and within town's epigraphic evidence in the form of personal names suggestive of apicultural populations common in the anthroponymy of many other formerly Celtic speaking parts of the Iberian Peninsula.

### **Feeding Tarraco: A Zooarchaeological Approach to Food Preference and Provisioning**

*Katie Tardio*, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

This paper presents my ongoing dissertation research on zooarchaeological assemblages to test models of continuity and change in the Iberian animal economy associated with the Roman conquest of northern Spain. Through a contextual analysis of animal remains from the ancient city of Tarraco and its outlying rural villas, I evaluate how indigenous Iberian economies and foodways adapted to Roman influence including changes in husbandry methods, continuity or disruption of economic practices, and shifts in food preferences. Specifically, my research targets evidence for the reconstruction of systems of production, distribution, and consumption from this important provincial zone from the fourth century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. Within Tarraco, sampling strategies target well-dated urban contexts, including both high and low status areas, in order to address changes to the animal economy across socio-economic and cultural/functional areas within the settlement. Rural villas provide a sampling of the extra-urban animal economies, as well as possible supply chains for the city. They demonstrate the shifting demands of the growing city on the hinterland's husbandry and distribution schemes, along with possible "improvements" and intensification taking place as Northeastern Spain became more connected with the broader Mediterranean world. Through investigating both urban and rural components of Tarraco's animal economy, I address the changing role of animals in this growing Romano-Iberian provincial capital.

**Odd One Out? Dietary Practices in Roman Asia Minor**

*Erica Rowan, Royal Holloway, University of London*

The province of Asia Minor was bequeathed to the Romans by Attalus III in 133 B.C.E. and for the most part, incorporation into the Roman Empire was a peaceful affair. The coastal and nearby inland areas of the province have a Mediterranean climate while the inland regions are denoted by semiarid steppe grasslands and the Taurus Mountains. Asia Minor was occupied by a multitude of sophisticated and well-connected cities and sites prior to its inclusion into the Roman Empire. Cities such as Ephesus and Sardis had already been inhabited for hundreds of years and were thoroughly integrated into the Hellenistic world. Consequently, food production and consumption practices, based on a mixture of cultural and climatic parameters, were already well established. In regions with a Mediterranean climate, people consumed a roughly similar baseline set of cereals, legumes, fruit, and nuts as elsewhere in the Mediterranean including Italy. Wine and olive oil were also well established staples. When considering shifts in dietary practices following the Roman conquest, Asia Minor therefore appears as the odd one out. Unlike the Northern provinces, where dozens of new foods were imported and introduced, the incorporation of Asia Minor into the Empire did not result in any significant or immediate dietary changes. Moreover, the introduction and domestication of new foods in the ancient world almost exclusively moved east to west and therefore the people of Asia Minor were already exposed to new foodstuffs before they reached Rome.

**Fauna and Foodways in Roman North Africa from a Zooarchaeological Perspective**

*Michael MacKinnon, University of Winnipeg*

The Roman conquest of North Africa brought a huge territory—from Egypt, in the East, to Mauretania, in the West—under its jurisdiction. Archaeological and historical data attest to a variety of cultural changes in North Africa that resulted from this event, including a greater degree of urbanization, militarization, and wealth accumulation in some areas, increased agricultural demands, due to taxation in kind for grain, and a push to exploit new regions and resources, which prompted Roman expansion both along the Mediterranean coast and down into desert frontiers. Each of these changes, in turn, affected the role and contribution of fauna and foodways in Roman North Africa. Zooarchaeological data attest to several important modifications, in this regard, including: (1) augmented demands on provisioning North African cities and military sites with meat, especially pork, with concomitant impact upon economies, diets, and butchery practices in these locales; (2) modifications to animal husbandry schemes, with shifts in the scale of pastoral herding (increasing or decreasing, depending on the area), the composition of such herds (sheep, goat, and cattle ratios), and the territories in which aspects were practiced; (3) livestock “improvements” facilitated in part by aspects such as increased trade, dietary appeal for animal products (notably fatty meats), as well as economic and cultural contact among areas. This paper assesses patterns in these three components in a broad synthetic manner, using zooarchaeological

data from the entire expanse of Roman North Africa—from Egypt to Mauretania. Attention focuses on key similarities and differences in faunal patterns and the links these share with dietary changes, which in turn appear to have been shaped to varying degrees and in various ways by Roman contact and influence across the region.

### **Eating Empire or Going Local?**

*Robert Witcher, Durham University, and Emily Hanscam, Durham University*

In this paper we advance the concept of ‘edible identities’ to explore the shifts in agricultural production, exchange and consumption across the western Roman empire. We start by deconstructing generalizations about cultural and economic change in order to expose the underlying persistence of the Romanization paradigm. Such thinking is apparent, for example, through the continuing distinction between core and periphery, or between Italy/the Mediterranean and the provinces. In terms of diet and foodways, this plays out as a contrast between the canonical Mediterranean diet of cereals, oil and wine, largely defined through reference to the classical sources, and an impoverished Iron Age diet enriched by the arrival of new and exotic foodstuffs, attested by archaeological evidence. We argue that the legacy of this Romanization model is to underestimate the diversity and development of foodways in the Mediterranean, whilst exaggerating these issues in provincial contexts by focusing attention on exotics rather than diet as a whole.

Instead of approaching Mediterranean and provincial foodways as two distinct phenomena to be conceptualized and studied in two different ways, we argue for the need to approach the changing production, exchange and consumption of food across the western empire as a whole in local terms. By shifting attention from spatial patterns to social practices, we can refocus attention on local agency and the motivations for change—and/or continuity—in diet. We argue, for example, that the adoption of novel foodstuffs was not driven by a universal fascination with exotic tastes, nor by the automatic availability of new plants and animals as a result of greater connectivity. Rather, changing local circumstances made these foodstuffs more—or less—desirable within evolving social and economic contexts. Urbanization, for instance, not only concentrated economic demand to create new markets but also facilitated new social categories. The production, exchange and consumption of food was vital to the expression of the emergent social identities in these new urban centers, whilst simultaneously redefining the significance of foodways for preexisting identities.

In this paper we therefore argue that it is vital both to link the study of provincial foodways with those in the Mediterranean and, at the same time, to advance the importance of agency at the local scale to explain these changes. By combining the local and the global, we connect with studies of globalization of the Roman past and rural landscapes.

### **Session 3D: Colloquium**

## **Secrets Incalculable: Reuse of Documents and Data in Archaeological Research**

Organizers: *Jon Frey*, Michigan State University, and *Fotini Kondyli*, University of Virginia

#### **Colloquium Overview Statement**

One of the most significant differences between the perception and reality of archaeological fieldwork concerns the amount of time archaeologists spend documenting their activities. In contrast to the public's focus on the moment of discovery, practitioners know that the work of archaeology is paperwork. As a result, archives of archaeological projects that began decades ago are filled beyond capacity with photographs, drawings, and handwritten records. The move toward "paperless" recording techniques, which provide easier storage and retrieval of digital data is one positive response, as digital records and open access policies allow a wider range of individuals to engage in research that is larger in scope and more diverse in nature. At the same time though, newly developed digital workflows threaten to exacerbate a long standing problem: "legacy data," which is not always machine-readable, remain underutilized in archaeological research and publication. It has been sixty-five years since John Beazley argued that "secrets incalculable" lay hidden in "the enormous stores of objects already above ground" and twenty-five years since Susan Alcock demonstrated the value of a comparative study of archival survey data (Beazley 1943 [1989]; Alcock 1993). Yet the types of research that they pioneered remain a rarity to this day.

Archaeologists should make better use of data sets and records that they did not originally create. The papers in this colloquium have thus been assembled in an effort to raise awareness of this fundamental problem with our archaeological practices and offer possible solutions that can be used and replicated in other projects. Main themes include the potential role of legacy data in new discoveries and pioneer research, the challenges inherent to the interpretation of legacy data and their integration in current research and computational methods employed to support the data's systematic study and publication. We particularly welcome papers that experiment with new digital tools to make legacy data more accessible both to the academic community and the wider public. Such research carries with it a unique set of challenges, but is often more interesting and informative. For if, as the SAA plainly states, "Archaeologists have both ethical and legal obligations to preserve all the data they collect for the benefit of future generations," should they not be equally obligated to make use of the information that already exists? (<https://www.saa.org/about-archaeology/what-do-archaeologists-do>)

Discussant: Sarah W. Kansa, AAI / Open Context



### **Reflowing Legacy Data from Polis Chrysochous on Cyprus**

*William Caraher*, University of North Dakota, and *R. Scott Moore*, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Over the last decade, a team at the site of Marion-Arsinoe in the village of Polis Chrysochous on Cyprus has studied the notebooks produced from over two decades of excavation at the site starting in the 1980s. This work involved converting narrative notebooks into various forms from data in databases to graphic representations in pseudo-Harris Matrices and ultimately synthetic and analytical descriptions. Translating archaeological information between forms was both a convenience and a step of analysis that depended on the various affordances offered by the available tools as well as our goal to establish the phases and artifact assemblages present at the site.

By offering our work at Polis Chrysochous as an autoethnographic case study, this paper considers the act of defining and translating data from legacy formats and methods, to a database that can integrate with other data sets developed over the course of our work at Polis. By emphasizing the translational aspects of converting data from one format or standard to the next, we reframe the value of archaeological knowledge according to its ability to relate to other data sets. This relational recoding of archaeological information produces new assemblages and knowledge, at the same time that it obfuscates and renders incompatible other earlier forms. Legacy data becomes defined by the information left behind and contemporary data becomes defined by its ability to contribute to the larger flow. This paper demonstrates how approaches to defining legacy data traces the changes in contemporary archaeological knowledge making.

### **New Discoveries within Old "Legacy" Data from the Athenian Agora Excavations**

*Fotini Kondyli*, University of Virginia

One of the biggest challenges in archaeological projects, especially in large-scale and long-running excavations, is dealing effectively with the large data sets created in the process. Such is the case of the Athenian Agora Excavations which has been run by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens almost continuously since 1931. While new technologies and recording methods are currently employed to better capture and analyze the volume of data from each excavation season, much of the "legacy data," the archival and printed material of the early excavations at the Agora, remain understudied and under-published, especially those pertaining to the post-classical periods.

My project deals with Byzantine city-making processes and the different groups and individuals involved in them. It takes a closer look at Byzantine Athens as its primary case study focusing on the area of the ancient Athenian Agora. Main aims include the study of architectural and functional changes in the city from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries C.E., so as to better understand the topography, spatial layout and living conditions of Byzantine and Frankish Athens. I am equally interested in the lives and experiences of the city's ordinary, non-elite inhabitants and their role in the built environment and city-making processes more broadly.

To deal with the staggering amount of existing information and address issues of data organization, comparability, accessibility, and analysis, I employ a variety of computational methods to identify and systematically extract information from the excavation archives pertaining to the Byzantine and Frankish periods. Such methods allow me to interrelate different types of information (artifacts, maps, notes) and integrate different media (text, images, 3D reconstructions, video) that in turn support a detailed study, visualization and interpretation of the excavation results. I am also updating and recreating existing paper site maps, floor plans, and drawings of Byzantine buildings in 2D and 3D environments to clearly display changes in spatial organization, use of space and architecture, and contribute to the reconstructing of the Byzantine settlement in the area of the Agora which is now destroyed and not accessible. The digital tools employed provide new and effective ways to analyze and synthesize large and heterogeneous data sets that form the basis of the project's study on the relation between human behavior, spaces, and objects in Byzantine cities.

### **Calculating Secrets: The Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project and the Pompeii Artistic Landscape Project**

*Eric Poehler, University of Massachusetts at Amherst*

After more than 250 years of continuous excavation, there is a compelling argument to be made that the ancient city of Pompeii itself should be understood as 'legacy data.' Such an argument need not rely merely on the time elapsed since the last great excavations or that the excavators, to whom this research belongs, are no longer with us. Equally valid are claims that the sheer scale of the city and the difficulty of accessing its documentation—sometimes even when fully published—separates the scholar from the evidence in a manner functionally equivalent to that of an unpublished site. You can't read what you can't find, you can't study what you can't see, and you can't map what you can't measure.

This paper discusses two interrelated digital research projects—the Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project and its descendant, the Pompeii Artistic Landscape Project—that are striving to overcome some of these impediments. Combining online, digital mapping with a web catalog of more than 23,000 references, the mission of Pompeii Bibliography and Mapping Project is to provide access to a digital surrogate of Pompeii's physical landscape with the ultimate goal of using the city's architecture to scaffold (at least) its bibliographic information. The Pompeii Artistic Landscape Project is already beginning to realize a related goal by attaching research data on wall paintings, mosaics, and other artworks to their representations in the map. Produced in Linked Open Data formats, this project will make tens of thousands of individual observations of ancient art on specific walls at Pompeii both human readable and machine actionable. Together, these projects promise a new way to activate the vast stores of data about Pompeii, much of which languishes in plain sight as simply the site itself.

**The Karanis Housing Project: Using GIS and Relational Databases to Share Legacy Data**

*Drew Wilburn, Oberlin College*

Legacy data sets provide critical contexts for artifacts housed in museums and storerooms in the United States and abroad, with the potential to open vast reserves of untapped material for contemporary investigations of the past (Kintigh 2014; Bevan 2015). The University of Michigan excavations at Karanis (1924–1935) recovered a multitude of finds, including thousands of artifacts and papyri that were divided between the University of Michigan and the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. In addition, many more thousands of artifacts were recorded but left in the field. Detailed field journals, excavation diaries, maps, plans, and photographs are currently kept at the Kelsey Museum at the University of Michigan. The artifacts in the Kelsey's collection and the papyri in the University of Michigan Papyrus Collection have been digitized, but most of the excavation data is moribund in analog format, available only by visiting the collection.

In order to increase access to this material, the Karanis Housing Project has explored the potential benefits of translating selected Karanis data sets into a geographic framework structured around each artifact that was uncovered. To this end, the project has developed a digital map of the site that translates the analog maps into a GIS format, and has begun the process of entering all of the finds into a relational database with descriptions of the artifacts and papyri recovered from the site. The GIS and artifact data are available through an online platform and associated webpage. This paper will evaluate the effectiveness of the GIS platform for disseminating legacy data sets, considering both the drawbacks of this approach and the potential analytical outcomes from digitization and big-data analyses.

**Antioch on the Orontes Reloaded: New Interpretative Frameworks from Old Contexts**

*Andrea De Giorgi, Florida State University*

Eighty years ago, the Antioch excavations led by Princeton University produced a wealth of finds that opened novel, albeit problematic, vistas onto a city that played a fundamental role in the shaping of politics and cultures in the Greek and Roman East for more than a millennium. While the cosmopolitan character of this unique community has been thoroughly addressed by much scholarship, questions about the town's built environment, how it was perceived, experienced, and resisted and its relationship with the countryside on a regional scale must be now brought into focus for all periods of history. These queries can also redefine what is traditionally understood about Hellenistic and Roman Antioch and, at the same time, unveil three major and previously overlooked periods of history that must be closely examined to understand the city's transformative processes: Late Antiquity, the Early Islamic period, and the Medieval period of Middle Byzantine, Saljuq, and Crusader rule. The recent establishment of the New Committee for the Excavations of Antioch and its Vicinity and the completion of its pilot study for sector 17-O, as well as the concomitant Syria TIB and the now under way Lexicon Topographicum Antiochenum Project attest to the vitality of the field and,

together, the necessity to better nuance Antioch's multilayered nature. Drawing on new historical frameworks, key archaeological data, and reexamination of the Antioch collections at Princeton University, I address the city's continuous becoming through the lenses of select, partially investigated domestic contexts in Daphne. How this perspective sheds new light on the rise of this suburb as well as its spatial relationship with Antioch is, in particular, the thrust of my presentation.

**(Paper) Points, (Pencil) Lines and Polygons at Isthmia**

*Jon Frey, Michigan State University*

Thanks to the growing accessibility of “off the shelf” digital tools and technologies, archaeologists whose work focuses on pre-digital archaeological documentation now enjoy a wide range of options for converting their data from legacy to digital formats. At a most basic level, it is possible to scan or photograph each document, which can then be stored and shared in a digital archive. Of much greater utility is the conversion of not only the documents but the information they contain into formats that can be subjected to computational analysis. However, this more useful form of digitization necessarily involves a degree of interpretation as hand-drawn maps and field journals often lack the precision of modern recording tools.

This paper relies on one such digitization project at the Ohio State University Excavations at Isthmia to explore the problem of ambiguity in the mapping of archaeological information. Here, an effort to plot the findspots of artifacts has been hindered by the lack of a scalable site plan, the use of an obscure geographic model, and incomplete descriptions of objects of interest in the archaeological record. Most significantly, a lack of consistency among archaeologists in recording geospatial references yields ambiguities in the data that are inherently at odds with the level of precision needed for use in Geographic Information Systems. These problems have all required unique solutions, which are here presented for the benefit of other projects in similar circumstances.

**Session 3E: Colloquium  
Between the Mountains and the Sea: Exploring Sissi on Crete**

Organizer: *Jan Driessen, Université catholique de Louvain*

**Colloquium Overview Statement**

The Kephali hill at Sissi is a coastal site, located 4 km east of the palatial settlement of Malia. Excavations and survey by the Belgian School at Athens since 2007 have brought to light a settlement and a cemetery within a very dynamic landscape. Strategically situated opposite the Selinari gorge—the only access to East Crete—the site was occupied from 2500 to 1200 B.C.E., mirroring that of nearby Malia. Because of a similar diachronic occupation, the site presents indeed an ideal case study to explore the relationships through time between a first-order center (Malia)—where a palace would be built from the Middle Bronze Age or the

twentieth century B.C.E. onward (if not earlier)—and a secondary site in its hinterland (Sissi). This provides an interesting test case to compare intraregional material culture—both where production and consumption are concerned—and opens interesting research avenues to explore various forms of (in)dependency through time and the implementation of emerging social and economic links. The papers in the session largely follow a chronological order with first papers on the Prepalatial settlement (Caloi) and cemetery (Schmitt and Déderix). Driessen and Devolder, respectively, concentrate on the function and architecture of the Neopalatial court-centered complex at Sissi—confirmed by the 2015–2019 excavations—which has added unsuspected angles of research and interpretation to this comparative study. A paper by Sager, Girardi, and Schmitt follows, on the funerary evidence of the Neopalatial-Postpalatial phases. There are also three specialist reports: one on the painted plaster from the settlement (Pareja), one on the micromorphological samples that allow a more refined household analysis (Magno), and one on the consolidation and outreach program that we are implementing (Claeys).

This colloquium will allow us not only to present synthetic papers on the various sectors revealed (cemetery, settlement, central building) on the site, their parallels and importance, but also to discuss to what degree the excavations have added, modified, or confirmed past ideas on Minoan civilization.

Discussant: *James C. Wright*, Bryn Mawr College

### **Consuming Pottery at Early Prepalatial Sissi: Preliminary Observations on the EM IIA and B Ceramic Deposits from the Settlement**

*Ilaria Caloi*, Ca' Foscari University of Venice

During the recent 2015–2019 excavation campaigns, the Kephali hill at Sissi yielded a number of Prepalatial deposits that can be attributed to the E(arly) M(inoan) II period (ca. 2700/2650–2200 B.C.E.), offering the earliest evidence for occupation of the settlement in the Bronze Age. The aim of this paper is to present the Prepalatial deposits found in two specific areas of the Court-Centered-Building, i.e. the West wing and the North-West wing (Zone 11) as well as in two recently discovered Prepalatial buildings—Building 1 and 2—located to the West of the Court-Centered Building..

In the West wing, Spaces 10.8 and 10.19, although not completely excavated, produced Prepalatial assemblages dating solely to EM IIA. The deposit in Room 10.8 mainly yielded jugs, teapots, and bowls in Black-Burnished Ware but also a large collared jar and a long-spouted jug in light fabric. The deposit in Room 10.19, however, was very homogeneous and thus far comprises the earliest pottery of the Sissi settlement, which is EM IIA Early. It includes a number of fragmentary collared jars in Dark-on-Light Ware but also bowls and jugs in Black-Slipped and Semi-Coarse wares. In space 10.19, there is also a small installation made of upright slabs and the destruction layer next to it revealed several thousands of obsidian flakes (more than 4,000 pieces collected), blades, and nuclei, perhaps originally gathered in a container of some sort.

In the northern area of the Court-Centered Building, two EM IIB deposits were excavated. The first, in Room 11.1, is a large deposit that has only been preliminarily published. It comprised large amounts of pottery, which is quite similar to that of Malia, Vasiliki, and Myrtos. Most of the pottery is represented by vases of the well-known Vasiliki Ware, of a ware that imitates it, i.e., the Mottled Ware (also known as Pseudo-Vasiliki Ware), as well as in Semi-Coarse Ware. Buildings 1 and 2 have both revealed stratified EM IIA Early deposits. In particular, Rooms 10.24 and 10.25 from Building 1 have yielded a large number of juglets, which in Room 10.25 are associated with small cups, known as raki-cups.

In this paper, I first present the pottery from these various deposits dating to EM IIA and EM IIB periods, showing comparisons not only with the recently studied EM II deposits from the Palace and the high-profile Building Dessenne at Malia, but also with contemporary deposits in North-Central (e.g. Knossos) and Eastern Crete (i.e. Myrtos and Vasiliki). I will also attempt at defining the nature of the EM II occupation of the Kephali hill at Sissi.

### **Burying the Dead in Late Prepalatial and Protopalatial Crete: New Evidence from the Cemetery of Sissi (Zone 9)**

*Sylviane Déderix*, Université catholique de Louvain, *Aurore Schmitt*, University of Aix-Marseille, CNRS, EFS, UMR 7268 ADES

The mortuary record of Prepalatial and Protopalatial Crete consists mostly of commingled bone assemblages that are usually taken as evidence for the practice of secondary burial. Secondary burial rites represent the final stage of double funerals and, as such, they integrate the deceased into the world of the dead while closing the period of mourning for their relatives. In addition, they represent a privileged arena for social negotiation among the living. A significant period may elapse between the moment of death and the secondary burial ceremony, thus enabling the deceased's relatives to gather resources to conduct lavish funerals matching their social, economic, and political ambitions. It has also been suggested that double funerals tend to be practiced in societies where kinship is the principal means of social organization and funerary feasts contribute to increasing the prestige of kin groups. Therefore, the identification of secondary burials has major implications for our understanding of mortuary practices, funerary beliefs, mourning processes, and, to some extent, social organization in Early and Middle Bronze Age Crete. But until recently, Minoan mortuary studies relied essentially on data sets collected during the first half of the twentieth century, in excavations that were generally carried out in a hurry and which brought to light masses of bones and artifacts that were later interpreted *de facto* as the result of double funerals. Yet, various anthropogenic and natural taphonomic processes other than secondary burial can produce commingled deposits. Only meticulous excavation by archaeo-anthropologists has the potential to recognize such processes and, in this way, reconstruct funerary gestures and rituals.

This paper discusses recent work in the Prepalatial and Protopalatial cemetery of Sissi, with a view to assessing the evidence regarding the practice of double funerals at the site. The cemetery, which extends on two natural terraces on the northern slope of the Bouffos hill, consists of rectangular tombs similar to those known

elsewhere in East and Northeast Crete (e.g., Malia, Mochlos, Petras). Excavations were conducted on the southwestern terrace of the cemetery (dubbed “Zone 9”) in 2010–2011 and 2016–2019, following the archaeo-anthropological approach. Numerous mortuary deposits were thus excavated, recorded, studied, and interpreted by archaeo-anthropologists. As a result, Zone 9 has provided substantial evidence for a broad diversity of treatments of the dead during the Middle Minoan I and II periods: primary vs. secondary depositions, individual vs. multiple depositions, removal of selected body parts, burials in clay as well as perishable containers, etc. Such a diversity contrasts with the traditional and rather monolithic view of rectangular tombs as collective tombs used for secondary burials, thus adding to a growing body of evidence that urges Minoan archaeologists to reconsider burial practices in Bronze Age Crete.

### **Keeping up with the Joneses? The Central Building at Sissi**

*Jan Driessen*, Université catholique de Louvain

Following the abandonment of the Protopalatial cemetery on the Kephali hill at Sissi, a monumental complex around a Central Court was constructed in the Middle Minoan IIIA period. For at least a period of a hundred years, this complex existed at the same time as the major palace that stood at nearby Malia, less than 4 km away. It was abandoned at the time of the Santorini eruption. While on the island, there are several other examples of major centers that are located close to each other, the Malia-Sissi case, however, is the first where central courts are attested at such close proximity. This begs for a reconsideration of the role of such court-centered buildings. In this paper, I first address the layout peculiarities and preliminary architectural phasing of the Sissi complex before listing the evidence for a ceremonial and ritualized function and the absence of features of production, storage, and administration. I use this to propose a more varied hypothesis of what we understand as a Minoan “palace.”

### **Palatial Neighbors: Comparing Elite Architectural Features in the Palace at Malia and the Court-Centered Building at Sissi**

*Maud Devolder*, Université catholique de Louvain

The recent discovery on the Bronze Age site of Sissi of a monumental edifice exhibiting the main features of a Minoan palace, i.e., elaborately built structures coherently surrounding a large central court, only few kilometres away from the Palace at Malia, has left scholars puzzled about its function. The contemporaneity of use of the two palatial buildings during the Late Bronze Age excludes the possibility that power was transferred from one coastal settlement to the other, but this duplication made it doubtful to some that the main edifice at Sissi should even be considered a palace. In this paper, the author wants to take the opportunity of her recent architectural study of the long-excavated Palace at Malia and of her participation to the excavation of the Court-Centered Building at Sissi to explore the architectural features shared by both edifices and most characteristic of elite palatial architecture on Minoan Crete. The presentation will highlight the specific material and technical choices that contribute to define both structures as palatial.



Furthermore, the possibility that skilled—and perhaps non-local—builders participated in their construction and thus the spreading of elite architecture on the island will be explored, and the way in which the monumental buildings were incorporated in the history, topography, and urban network of each site will be examined. The material features of both edifices will be considered in the broader framework of the Minoan Palaces, in order to address the architectural fundament of the palatial phenomenon.

### **Building 18 at Sissi: A Neopalatial House Tomb?**

*Tia Sager*, University of Toronto, *Aurora Schmitt*, CNRS, University of Aix-Marseille, and *Chloé Girardi*, University of Aix-Marseille

At the coastal site of Sissi, the cemetery in Zones 1 and 9 on the northern slope of the Kephali has provided extensive evidence of the burial practices at Sissi during the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods. Prior to the start of MM IIB, the cemetery of the lower terrace falls out of use and evidence for burials and burial customs from MM IIB onwards seems to disappear at Sissi, as it does on much of the island. In 2017, our team began excavations on the northern slopes of the ‘Middle Terrace’ at Sissi (Zone 18) where we expected to find the continuation of the Neopalatial domestic quarter (Zone 2). Instead, we found the first evidence for Neopalatial burial at the site. Zone 18 is located directly to the north of the Prepalatial and Protopalatial cemetery (Zone 1 and 9), and our hypothesis is that it was in use as a burial area likely from MM III, after the lower cemetery falls out of use, until LM IB. The excavation of Zone 18 during the 2017–2018 seasons has yielded evidence of a large rectilinear building surrounded by a pebble court. The building resembles the house tombs of the earlier cemetery, however, its construction is larger and of higher quality. Much of the building has been damaged from possible earthquake damage, and likely due to modern plowing activity on the hilltop. Throughout the 2017–2018 season, we discovered several primary and secondary burials tentatively dating to ca. MM IIIB–LM I inside the building with evidence of new burial practices, as well as a large ritual deposit containing smoker vessels, a large number of juglets and incense burners dating to LM IA inside a central room. Surrounding the building, we discovered a pebble courtyard area that underwent several phases of repaving, with large ceramic deposits placed directly on the surface of each consecutive pebble floor. Our hypothesis is that the building is a possible house tomb that was used primarily during the Neopalatial period for primary and secondary burials, with an area for the ritual preparation of the dead. This paper will present the results and preliminary conclusions of the 2017–2018 excavations in Zone 18, with a focus on the burials contexts and ceramic deposits found within and surrounding Building 18.

### **Observations on Sissi Plasters: Zones 4 and 5**

*Marie Nicole Pareja*, University of Pennsylvania

Since the start of excavations at Sissi in 2007, thousands of plaster fragments have been recovered and stored for conservation and study. Initially, the dirty

fragments appeared to be mostly white lime plaster. During the 2017 and 2018 field seasons, a plaster specialist and conservator team inspected and cleaned several plaster samples from across the site, revealing that more than half of the samples examined preserve indications of painted surfaces.

Limited evidence survives from Zones 4 and 5 for the application of lime plaster as early as the Early Minoan Period. Its application levels areas where the bedrock is exceedingly uneven, and it serves a purely structural function. The majority of the remaining plaster dates to the Protopalatial period, during which the earliest painted lime plaster becomes widely employed throughout Crete. Of significance is the fact that these fragments carry almost the full range of pigments, as well as evidence for the planning of the composition of the image (snap lines and incision marks). Some of these early plasters are continuously applied from the walls to the floor with no division between planes: no seams or edges separate the plastered walls and floor. As such, this type of treatment provides an opportunity to increase the understanding of the early and experimental phases of painted plaster. Neopalatial material survives as well, although it is neither as much nor as well preserved as the Protopalatial fragments. Nevertheless, scant evidence for large-scale, possibly figural imagery survives, and parallels between identified motifs and comparanda from the broader Aegean are proposed for select fragments when possible.

The lengthy, nearly continuous habitation at Sissi provides an outstanding opportunity for the study of the experimentation with and development of plaster use and technology through the Bronze Age. As a site uniquely located nearest the natural gateway to East Crete, its inhabitants would have direct access to trade, technology, goods, and artistic trends from both north central and eastern Crete. As plaster studies continue at Sissi, the relationship with not only Malia, but with the rest of Crete and the broader Aegean will continue to be explored.

### **Investigating Cultural Sediments at Sissi through Microarchaeology**

*Laura Matilde Magno, Université catholique de Louvain*

Cultural sediments being produced and altered by humans are a valuable source of information on site occupation practices. Microarchaeological techniques such as micromorphology and Fourier transformed infrared spectroscopy (FTIR) are used at Sissi to investigate some of the surfaces identified in the recent excavation campaigns such as plaster and tarrazza floors. The geological samples selected for this study were collected during the last seven years and are representative of the new structures uncovered since 2011. The sampled areas included open spaces such as the central court and the lower hill terraces, inside spaces from the main complexes such as building CD, E, F, and Area 8, samples from areas with possible ritual function or related to water management such as Area 16, samples from the main processional road leading to the central court, and samples related to possible destructive events such as burnt sediments or volcanic ash connected to the Santorini eruption.

This contribution mainly focuses on the behavioral and technological information that can be identified through the study of the microstratigraphy of surfaces. Micromorphology analysis at Sissi provided information on the use of different

surfaces and, in some areas, identified floor sequences, allowing a better understanding of behavior in both a spatial and a diachronic way. Micromorphological study was complemented by FTIR analysis that focused on the study of calcium carbonates. This technique identified the technological processes related to the making of the plaster used to build some of the surfaces at Sissi and also provided data on the source of the raw materials incorporated into the general sediments across the site.

### **The Sissi Preservation Program: An Integrated and Participatory Approach for a Stronger Synergy between Archaeology, Preservation, and Presentation**

*Thérèse Claeys, Université catholique de Louvain*

Culminating at about 25 m above sea level, the Kephali hill is located east of the modern village of Sissi in Crete. The coastal hill has revealed the remains of an organized settlement occupied throughout the Minoan period, between ca. 2600 to 1200 B.C.E. Considering the fragility of the Minoan architecture combined with the peculiar coastal environmental constraints accelerating erosion processes and increasing flooding risks, the urgent duty of preserving the uncovered ruins in Sissi soon arose. Alongside these short-term preservation imperatives, both presentation and awareness-raising strategies also had to be reflected upon, due to the limited visibility of the remains and the systematic retrieval of moveable finds, in order to ensure the long-term safeguarding of the site. This paper first proposes a retrospective appraisal of the solutions undertaken so far within the Sissi Preservation Program to tackle the aforementioned three challenging axioms (preservation, presentation, education). Since the efficiency of the preservation measures can only be assessed in the long run, systematic and reliable methods will have to be adopted to conduct such assessments. The potentialities of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) have already been applied for more than two decades now in the field of archaeological research and cultural heritage management. In addition to examining the obvious benefits of GIS for future preservation monitoring purposes at Sissi, the second section of this paper intends to present an on-going pilot study demonstrating how GIS can also be used in innovative and participative ways, by processing visitors' spatial behavior data recorded with GPS tracks, to inform decision-making processes for the presentation of the Sissi remains. Building upon the Sissi case study, this paper eventually seeks to emphasize the role of GIS as a digital solution for fostering the collaboration between the different specialists involved in the valorization of the Minoan heritage.

### **Session 3F: Colloquium**

#### **Ancient Pottery: Shapes and Contexts**

*Sponsored by the Ancient Figure-Decorated Pottery Interest Group*

Organizers: *Mark D. Stansbury-O'Donnell*, University of St. Thomas, and *David Saunders*, Getty Museum

#### **Colloquium Overview Statement**

The Ancient Figure-Decorated Pottery Interest Group proposes a colloquium that explores the roles that shape or function play in assemblages of ancient pottery and other finds from a variety of contexts. For example, a tomb containing fifty objects might have five figure-decorated pots of different fabrics, prompting discussion concerning the relationship of shape, function, and iconography with non-figured pots and associated finds. Shape can also convey indications of ethnicity and target markets, gender, and ritual, among other possibilities. Spanning production, transport and trade, consumption and reuse, the papers demonstrate what can be gained by considering the relationship of figure-decorated vases to plain and black-gloss wares.

The first papers in the colloquium focus on unusual shapes. Paper #1 examines the pointed amphora, a shape derived from transport amphora that is only rarely decorated in black- or red-figure. All of the recorded findspots are in Etruria or France, so these vessels could be understood in terms of elite exchange between Athens and the western Mediterranean. Paper #2 focuses on the lidded krater, an unusual version of the shape found mostly outside of Attic black and red-figure production that provides a different viewing aspect as an enclosed object.

Other papers focus on the role of individual shapes in specific regions. Paper #3 notes the concentration of Attic *hydriai* at Vulci and suggests from an examination of select assemblages that the vases served locally in the *culto dell'acqua* and the heroization of the dead. Paper #4 considers Apulian *situlae* as funerary vessels used in rituals at *naiskoi* and graves, and emphasizes the vessel's Dionysiac associations that reflect native Italic beliefs and ritual uses.

The final papers take a more longitudinal view of the production and consumption of different shapes. Paper #5 explores the eclectic and novel forms developed in Athens by the Nikosthenic workshop for the Etruscan market, especially hybrid shapes that combine elements from more standard versions. Paper #6 examines the import of Attic figured pottery in Spain and its deposition in a survey of material from three cemeteries, looking for patterns in the selection of figured and non-figured shapes and the social status of the deceased. Paper #7 take a similar approach, looking at the deposition of red and black-figure *lekythoi* in fifth-century B.C.E. assemblages and funerary rituals.

#### **Athenian Black-figure and Red-figure Pointed Amphoras: New Considerations on their Shape, Decoration, and Context**

*Cristiana Zaccagnino*, Queen's University

Less than twenty Athenian figured pointed amphoras are attested, dating to the late-sixth century to mid-fifth century B.C.E. in both black and red-figure. There

is strong variability in the shape of these vases, even those produced in the same workshop, making them almost unique specimens. Their shape is clearly modeled after transport amphoras of the same period. The provenance is known, or at least probable, for only for a few, and it is remarkable that they are all from Etruria (six from Vulci, one from Dolciano), except one from Bourges.

Along with Dionysiac imagery, their decoration includes Herakles on all but one of the black-figure examples, while on the red-figure specimens there are multiple representations of Theseus, Centauromachies, and Boreas abducting Oreithyia. Previous studies have convincingly suggested that those myths were especially relevant to members of the Athenian aristocracy and in particular the groups that supported Kimon.

This paper aims to demonstrate that Athenian figured pointed amphoras were produced in small numbers as special commissions for members of the aristocracy. In addition to their content, arguably high-quality wine, these luxury versions of regular wine shipping containers may have been intended to be a gift to guest-friends and members of their broad elite network. A closer examination of the shape of those amphoras will allow the identification of the specific models of each variant, their area of production and circulation, and their likely content. The reconstruction of their tomb assemblages, which is possible in some cases, will allow us to study their iconographies not in isolation but in connection to their final context of use. The study of the end users of these vases may contribute to a fuller understanding of their function as a means of connection between the Athenian elites and their non-Greek counterparts.

### Lidded Kraters

*Jasper Gaunt*, Independent Scholar

Mixing vessels of the archaic and classical periods were characteristically conceived with wide mouths that facilitated replenishing with quantities of wine and water, stirring it up and drawing it off. Yet lids for kraters are in fact encountered from time to time. The proto-Attic *skyphos* kraters that start the series might be considered different since their function may have been primarily funerary, but the tradition is then taken up vigorously in the later sixth century as a matter of routine by the Chalcidian black-figure Inscriptions Painter for kraters of Chalcidian shape. In the fifth-century Athenian *kerameikos*, we encounter fragments of a footed *dinos* by the Copenhagen Painter and its lid by the Syriskos Painter. In the fourth century, Apulian *dinoi* are quite often equipped with lids tipped with floral finials. Perhaps more interestingly, a volute-krater attributed to the Black Fury Painter with Orestes at Delphi, now in Naples, has a tall, conical lid of very much the sort depicted on much later Arretine pottery and in a more diffuse way on Roman cinerary urns. Parallel to these archaic and classical series run bronze versions. The Hellenistic *lebes* in the Getty and fragments of another from the Mahdia wreck are two examples with proper hinged lids.

The significance of the presence or absence of a lid is to some extent aesthetic, for it clearly influences the architectural appearance of a vessel. The surfaces of the lids, furthermore, offer opportunities for another layer in narrative and decorative strategy. In the case of mixing vessels, however, there may also be social aspects of

the symposium to consider. The strainer on the great krater from Vix, for instance, would have required at least two people to set in place or remove.

### **Athenian *Hydriai* in Etruscan Vulci: Shape, Image, Assemblage**

*Sheramy D. Bundrick*, University of South Florida St. Petersburg

Scores of Attic *hydriai* were exported to Etruria in the last decades of the sixth century B.C.E., especially black-figure *hydriai* of the canonical form. Vulci appears to have been a predominant destination for these vases, with hundreds discovered in nineteenth-century explorations of the *necropoleis*, and far fewer, for instance, at Caere or Tarquinia. This suggests a strong local preference, although the lack of findspot documentation for most *hydriai* makes it difficult to evaluate the situation fully.

A handful of documented assemblages do exist from Vulci, and I use three—all from single-chamber tombs in the Osteria necropolis—to advance hypotheses about Attic *hydriai* in Vulcian contexts. Tomb 50 included a *hydria* attributed to the Antimenes Painter with chariot and combat scenes; the Tomb of the Kottabos (Tomb A9/1998), a *hydria* attributed to the Priam Painter with Herakles retrieving Kerberos and chariot scene; and in the Tomb of the Necklace (Tomb A7/1998), another *hydria* attributed to the Priam Painter, with fountain-house scene and Peleus wrestling Thetis. The recent discovery of the Tombs of the Kottabos and the Necklace allows firm identification of a male and female deceased respectively, while grave goods in Tomb 50 (discovered in 1931) suggest a male deceased. These assemblages encourage discussion of gender as well as the interplay of shapes and iconographies in service of Vulcian customs and worldview. I suggest that local reverence for the so-called *culto dell'acqua* explains the popularity of figured *hydriai* for deposition, and that subjects read by local viewers as referencing the passage and even heroization of the deceased were most likely to be chosen. Local tastes in turn impacted production by Kerameikos workshops: the Priam Painter *hydriai* carry the same trademark under their feet (Johnston's type 13E), raising questions about local preferences communicated by traders back to Athens.

### **Bacchic Buckets: *Situlae* in Magna Graecia**

*Keely Elizabeth Heuer*, State University of New York at New Paltz

One of the most common vessels to appear on South Italian vases is the *situla* (wine bucket), which can be found in Dionysian scenes on red-figure wares of Magna Graecia and Sicily. The shape's dual functions as a means of transporting undiluted wine and serving the blended beverage from a krater is repeatedly illustrated in symposia attended by mortals and by Dionysos and his retinue. However, the *situla* is frequently carried by Italic figures, an important iconographic clue that the wine god's cult also played a substantial role in the beliefs of the indigenous population. Noteworthy too is the regularity of *situlae* carried by women in Dionysian revels and scenes of native peoples alike, perhaps indicating that the female role in ritualized drinking and dining in Magna Graecia differed significantly from what we see on mainland Greek vases.

Despite the shape's wide geographical use in South Italian vase-painting, terracotta versions of the container were only made in the region of Apulia, with rare exceptions elsewhere. Less than one hundred pieces are listed in Trendall's publications, a surprising statistic given the popularity of other vase types associated with communal wine consumption, particularly kraters. Terracotta *situlae* are overwhelmingly decorated with Dionysian imagery, but other mythological subjects painted on them consistently revolve around the theme of triumph, whether representations of Nike or narratives involving monster slayers and romantic conquests. Thus, when *situlae* appear in funerary scenes in South Italian vase-painting, both inside the *naiskoi* and as an offering by those around the grave, the shape might not only be a reference to Dionysos and wine consumption, but also carry connotations of victory over death. By considering the *situla*'s manufacture in a wide variety of media, this paper explores the practical and symbolic roles of the shape in Magna Graecia as a "prestige" vessel with eschatological associations.

### **The Body Eclectic: Nikosthenes and Attic Shape Novelty in Etruria**

*Jennifer S. Tafe, Boston University*

Although renowned for its use of Etruscan shapes, the Nikosthenes shop did not simply copy Etruscan forms. The notable eclecticism of many Nikosthenic vessels suggests an intentional novelty in the approach to potting inspired by a combination of target consumer and a flair for experimentation. This paper takes a new approach to studying Attic shape novelty in the Etruscan context, using some of the inventive vases of the Nikosthenes workshop as a model.

While vase painting scholarship tends to emphasize the distinctiveness of the Nikosthenes shop for its borrowing of shape types and focus on the export market, it is important to highlight its preoccupation with originality for its product identity, as well. Vases produced by Nikosthenes are under-examined for the innumerable ways an Athenian artist modified and melded both forms and painting techniques as a way of appealing and responding to a growing overseas audience. Furthermore, the Etruscan consumer as an impetus for experimenting with blending forms is often understated.

In this paper, I will argue that Nikosthenes's use of Etruscan forms extends beyond the well-known Nikosthenic amphora. Found in Vulci during the Bonaparte excavations, a famous *hydria* now in the Petit Palais blends together elements of the Attic *hydria* and the *oinochos*, and also has features typical of a *kyathos*, another Etruscan vessel shape common in *bucchero* that Nikosthenes introduced to the Attic repertoire. With additional decorative attributes reminiscent of metal embellishments, this vase embodies an eclectic "shape-shifting" novelty prioritized by the workshop. This paper will examine three other vases of complex form and decoration attributed to Nikosthenes in order to highlight the shop's largely unrecognized eclectic aesthetic and its multifarious responses to foreign markets. These vessels provide an opportunity for the subtler ways we can study the impact of the Etruscan market in the sixth century.



### **Athenian Images for Whom? A View from the Iberian Peninsula**

*Diana Rodríguez Pérez*, Wolfson College, University of Oxford

Athenian vases started to arrive in the Iberian Peninsula in significant numbers in the course of the fifth century B.C.E., with a dramatic increase of imports during the fourth century. Both black-glazed pottery and figured-decorated vases were exported, the first being largely more popular in all the Iberian regions but one: Eastern Andalusia. Earlier scholarship has explored the apparent preference of the native communities of that area for vases with images and a possible case of *interpretatio iberica* has been argued whereby some repetitive Athenian images like the youth in himation, Dionysian scenes, etc., were particularly favored by locals because they could be assimilated with concepts known in Iberian society.

We propose now to look further into this question and assess the reasons behind the deposition of figured-decorated vases vs. black-glaze ones within that particular region. Why did some tombs receive red-figure vases and other did not? Can meaningful patterns be detected? What is the relationship of the Athenian vases with the remaining items of the assemblages? What is the ratio between figured and black-glaze vases in the area? Were figured-decorated vases (presumably more expensive) used in a diacritical way to signal a special status of the deceased? We will explore these questions taking as case studies three *necropoleis* of the area: Galera and Baza, in the province of Granada, and Castellones de Céal, in Jaén.

### **The Red or the Black? The Deposition of *Lekythoi* in Athens and Abroad**

*Amy C. Smith*, Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology, University of Reading, and *Katerina Volioti*, University of Roehampton

We consider here the inclusion of red-figure *lekythoi* in burial assemblages with all-black ceramics, at Athens and abroad. Red-figure *lekythoi*, both cylindrical and globular shapes, appear both as singletons and as pairs. Small and hastily decorated *lekythoi*, usually described as second-rate pieces, have been discussed primarily in terms of gender, because of their decoration with images inspired by the world of women.

After preliminary comments regarding trends in the funerary uses of red-figure *lekythoi*, we introduce case studies from across the Greek world, assemblages that include multiple all-black ceramics. We approach each burial assemblage as a social occasion that provided a viewing context in which we must examine the visual impact of each group of pots. How were they arranged and deposited? How did red-figured *lekythoi* contrast visually against the black background of other pots? Did the all-black pots act as points of contrast because their technique of decoration was different? Such factors may have encouraged viewers to think about techniques, labor input, and economic value of ceramics.

The contrast with all-black wares in the same assemblage may have helped to focus visual perception on the figural decoration. What then of the consumption of this iconography? Was it difficult to comprehend and thus “consume,” for example, in the case of small (globular) *lekythoi* whose figures lacked detail? Did viewers observe the static/motionless appearance of these human bodies against their pots’ black background? Through our investigation of compositions, whether

simple or complex, repetitive or not, used in such contexts, therefore, we construct an argument about how the viewing context challenged its ancient consumers who had varying degrees of familiarity with vase iconography. Our discussion of the viewing context of each assemblage emphasizes consumers' choices regarding regimes of value, vis-à-vis economics, gender, and perhaps ethnic distinctions.

### **Session 3G: Open Session Objects, Trade, and Daily Life**

#### **Recycle, Repair, Reuse: The Long Lives of *Pithoi* in Third Century B.C.E. Morgantina**

*Caroline Cheung*, Princeton University, *Sarah Johnson*, Princeton University, and *Leina Thurn*, Princeton University

Large ceramic containers such as *pithoi* and *dolia* were crucial in antiquity for the storage of different foods and were installed in houses, storerooms, farms, and commercial spaces. In a time without refrigeration, *pithoi* and *dolia* protected their contents from pests and provided a relatively stable, cool, and dry environment for foods such as wine, oil, grains, and legumes. Because these pots were essential, expensive to manufacture, and difficult to transport, people attempted to prolong their use and value; when the vessels broke, they were often repaired or reused, sometimes several times across the life of the vessel. During their 2013–2018 seasons, the American Excavations at Morgantina: Contrada Agnese Project (AEM:CAP) recovered over five tons of *pithoi* from a Hellenistic house (ca. 270–200 B.C.E.), located on the western edge of the ancient city of Morgantina. While some of these vessels were found in their primary storage context, the majority were found in secondary uses, such as tubes, drains, or bedding material for floors. The vessels from Morgantina exhibit a variety of repair methods, and with over 250 individual repairs documented, some of which have not been observed at other ancient sites, we are afforded a unique opportunity to study the different skill sets and technologies drawn upon to repair these containers. In this paper we present the preliminary results of our study of these vessels. We discuss the *pithoi*'s production, morphology, general sizes, installation, uses, repurposing, and repairs. Thanks to the quantity and variety of *pithoi* and *pithos* repairs from a single structure in Morgantina, the preliminary results of our study shed light on third-century foodways, commercial trade, and domestic technology.

#### **Coins and Actors: The Application of Actor-Network Theory to the Coins from Cosa's Bath Complex**

*Melissa L. Ludke*, Florida State University

During the most recent excavations of the Roman bath complex at the site of Cosa, approximately fifty-four coins, dating from the mid-Republican to Medieval periods, were discovered. This paper, derived from previous research regarding coins in bath complexes, including the bath at Cosa, explores the contextual relationships of the coins found in Cosa's bath complex and, through a

close examination of two to three specific coins, the heterogeneous networks coinage gathers, specifically regarding social activities in bath complexes. The project, which originally developed as a thought experiment, applies a contextual analysis to the coinage from Cosa's bath complex, and tests to what extent this approach aids in the interpretation of find spots. In applying a contextual-based analysis, the paper seeks what new perspectives can be drawn in understanding the relationship between small finds and the areas in which they are found. The study also explores what types of connections exist between coins and their archaeological locations, as well as the types of connections that exist in relation to the bath complex and the coin itself, which is why the study is limited to only a few coins from the bath, rather than the collective whole. Additionally, the nature of materiality is explored in regard to how coins and other objects pertain to a larger social experience, as well as how they connect to the flow of water, traffic patterns, interaction with humanity, and other artifacts, especially if illegible. In the overall analysis that is applied to this paper, the broader question examines how well this style of case study works within a bath complex and in utilizing coins in the field; for coins do provide a wealth of information and offer new perspectives to archaeological interpretation.

### **Morphology and Trade: An investigation of African Export Amphoras in the Mid-Roman Empire**

*Karl Racine, Trent University*

Between the second and fourth centuries C.E., North Africa saw an economic boom that propelled its production and trade of consumer goods (olive oil, salted fish products, wine, fruit, grain, and ceramics) across the western part of the Mediterranean (e.g., Italy, Spain, Tunisia, Libya) during the Roman Empire (cf. Mattingly 1997; Brun 2004; Hobson 2015). Olive oil, wine, fruit and salted fish products were exported via maritime routes in ceramic vessels called amphoras. The importance and popularity of the variously known *Africana Grande* or *Africana II* type of amphoras is evident through its wide distribution across the western Mediterranean. Large scale production and exportation of this vessel type occurred during the mid-second and early-fourth century C.E. (i.e., Keay 1984; Bonifay 2004; Stone et al. 2011; Nacef 2015). Ceramicists recognize this and have attempted to identify meaningful subtypes based on body type and shape size. Currently, the *Africana IIA* (Afr. IIA) amphora, a subtype of this series, is recognized as having different rim morphologies but research on the subject is limited with contemporary work focusing on the body of the vessel rather than the rim variations. Additionally, stamps, *dipinti*, and graffiti on this vessel are attested by Mattingly et al. (*JRA* suppl. [2011] 205–271) but only on a small portion of assemblages presumably indicating quality control of select batches during firing.

In this paper, I propose that the Afr. IIA amphora demonstrates a relationship between rim morphology, distribution mechanisms and centers of consumption. Using information gathered from extensively published excavation reports, I posit with my preliminary results, that the rim variations for this vessel conveys meaning about the producers of these amphoras, the intended consumers (e.g., private

individuals vs. military or other state-related bodies), the distribution routes, the sites of consumption and/or are reflective of a chronological sequence.

**Local Ceramics and Urban Change at Salapia (Fourth–Seventh Century C.E.): An Assessment of Painted Common Ware Assemblages in their Lived Contexts**

*Darian Marie Totten, McGill University, and Roberto Goffredo, University of Foggia*

Since 2014, the excavations at Salapia, on Puglia's southern Adriatic coast, have revealed the remains of a Late Antique town and early medieval reoccupation, dated from the fourth to eighth centuries C.E. Over this timeframe, the character of the town changed, with buildings of the Roman phase repurposed for huts made of organic materials. The residents of Salapia were negotiating new ways of inhabiting the urban fabric that merit further investigation. To deepen the study of these spatial dynamics, I add an analysis of the common ware ceramics recovered from contexts dated to these centuries, including specifically assemblages from a fifth-century *taberna*, three sixth-century *middens*, and the habitation and abandonment contexts from the seventh century, each representative of a discrete phase of occupation of the site. A comparison of the ware forms demonstrates qualitative and quantitative consistency over time: large basins, pitchers, table amphorae, small jars, and bowls made up the "kit" of table service and storage, often decorated with red paint, haphazardly applied. The standard of production also remained the same. That these wares were produced locally (confirmed by chemical analysis), by artisans who were possibly community members, allowed them to reflect the tastes and needs of Salapia's inhabitants. Although scholars studying similar common wares in other Apulian contexts have argued for variations especially in the seventh century, connected to the arrival of the Lombards, Salapia's table ceramics speak to continuity, even across the decades when southern Italy's political circumstances were in flux. Both the production and use of these wares perhaps attest to the solidity of social ties, marked by a shared interest in sustaining artisans, and the experience of using the same vessels at table on a daily basis, even as the settlement took on an evolving appearance from one century to the next.

**Decoding Daily Life in Byzantine and Frankish Thebes: New Results from the Ismenion Hill Excavations**

*Katherine B. Harrington, Florida State University*

Thebes has been long known for its role in ancient mythology, its Bronze Age remains, and its political strength in the late Classical period. Yet Medieval Thebes was a significant urban center as well. When traveler Benjamin of Tudela visited Thebes in the twelfth century, he found a well-established center of industry, one of the biggest producers of silk in the Byzantine Empire. In the early-thirteenth century, Thebes came under Frankish rule but maintained political and commercial importance in this volatile period.

Recent excavation of the Ismenion Hill sheds new light on daily life in this dynamic period of Theban history. This paper presents the preliminary results of study of a twelfth to fourteenth century neighborhood excavated by the Thebes

Synergasia Excavation Project between 2011 and 2016. These remains attest to a late stage in the diachronic occupation of the hill, which also included a Bronze Age cemetery, an Archaic and Classical sanctuary of Apollo, and a Late Antique cemetery.

At least three phases of Byzantine and Frankish occupation were concentrated to the south and east of the temple foundations, including several buildings, a kiln, and a cistern. Though floor surfaces were rarely preserved, life in the neighborhood can be explored through the contents of numerous *bothroi*, pits used for waste disposal. Fineware from the *bothroi* included both local products and imports from northern Greece, Italy, and beyond. Other artifacts from these rubbish dumps included gaming boards, personal adornments, tools, and food waste. Comparing the contents of the sixteen excavated *bothroi* allows us to trace the spatial and chronological development of the settlement and to investigate the local economy and quality of life. This was a diverse industrial and residential neighborhood, where residents had varied dietary habits and access to a range of local and imported objects.

### **The Byzantine Economy of Dhiban, Jordan**

*Melissa Kutner*, University of Maryland, Baltimore County

The Dhiban Excavation and Development Project, under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, investigates the occupation of Tall Dhiban from the Iron Age through the Mamluk period. Excavations have revealed a substantial Byzantine presence—in fact, the site reached its largest extent at this time. In this talk, I discuss the results of the 2017 and 2019 seasons investigating a large Byzantine building that was destroyed by fire and/or earthquake in the late sixth century C.E. During the 2019 season, we reached the floor of this building, and while earlier phases as well as additional rooms may be investigated in future seasons, we have a clear picture of the rich collapse as well as at least one phase of post-collapse reuse. Together, these phases contribute to an understanding of the Late Antique economy of Dhiban as well as the site's long-term pattern of expansion, retraction, and resilience.

The Byzantine building contributes strongly to an understanding of economic forces at the site, while the preservation of in situ collapse allows for glimpses of domestic spatial organization. Archaeobotanical evidence from storage jars suggests agricultural ties to a wider imperial economy, especially through the presence of wine and wheat. However, olives, another familiar component of the imperial economy, are absent. Meanwhile, the presence of bronze coins, including very worn tiny coins called *minimi*, suggests local, everyday exchange. While analysis of artifacts remains preliminary, decorative objects (including lamps, flasks, glass vessels, and tools) suggest connections to wider cultural and religious networks. Finally, the 2019 season has clarified a post-collapse phase of reuse dating to the late Byzantine or early Islamic period, indicating a more complex timeline for the Late Antique occupation at Dhiban than was at first assumed, as well as a pattern of resilience and rebuilding in response to building destruction

### **Session 3H: Joint AIA/SCS Colloquium**

## **Teaching with Coins: Coins as Tools for Thinking about the Ancient World**

Organizer: *Roberta L. Stewart*, Dartmouth College

#### **Colloquium Overview Statement**

Coins have a great potential as a medium by which students can learn about a range of subjects concerning the ancient world. This panel is intended as an interdisciplinary discussion, drawing together curatorial studies, digital humanities, conservation, ancient history, and archaeology, to examine the various means of using coins as a primary source for our knowledge of the ancient world. In scholarly and educational inquiry that is increasingly interdisciplinary, coins can be overlooked as primary sources, even though many students may have access to physical coins in university collections, and all students have access to specialized digital databases, which are steadily increasing in number and in the number of coins that are included in the databases.

The panel presenters concentrate on the combination of the physical coins and digital databases to help students better understand such problems as civic identity, how and why rulers enacted economic reforms, and the spread of religious iconography. Other panelists address educational theory, in developing peer-to-peer projects, from elementary to a serious layperson audience, while learning how to use technical vocabulary and conventions in designing a digital module as an educational tool. Curatorial methodology is the focus of another paper, as the curator uses coins to appeal to a museum-going public, both in the physical design and layout of a display and in digital supplementary education.

All of the papers are tightly bound to the topic and address an issue that has been neglected in the study of coins, although theory and anecdotal evidence point to the importance of a physical object as the starting place of study, from which the student may learn critical thinking in forming questions about the coin and its use in its culture. “Beyond the First Thrill” speaks from long experience in a variety of undergraduate classroom settings to promote student interest in learning about the past by inviting the students to think about coins in a variety of ways, from iconographical to economic indicators. “Learning by Teaching” expands the means of involving undergraduates in the study of coins by having them learn how to create digital modules, developing content, instructor notes, lesson plans and the like. “Reading Coins and Stories” focuses on nurturing interest in the ancient world for grades 5 to 8 by using coins in lessons on literacy, and individual thinking and learning. “Teaching with Coins at the MFA, Boston” has a slightly different aim, in having museum goers—from elementary school to mature adults—discover and explore how coins can illuminate various aspects of the ancient world, as presented in a museum gallery. “Coins as a Teaching Tool” presents the use of coins for a more specialized audience of student conservators, who are given hands-on experience with the coins, but who are also asked to obtain an understanding of their historical and economic significance. The last presentation, “Federalism and Ancient Greek Coins,” again uses the coins to have students engage in active learning about federal states, a topic of recent interest

in scholarship. Coins are used to make theoretical concepts more concrete, as students explore iconography and weight standards.

### **Learning by Teaching with Roman Coins**

*Gwynnaeth McIntyre, University of Otago*

Since 2015, the student-run, digital humanities project, "From Stone to Screen," has been developing open-access teaching modules for the Roman coin collection housed in the Department of Classical, Near Eastern, and Religious Studies at the University of British Columbia. Designed by students for students, these modules allow students to familiarize themselves with numismatic conventions, online resources, and methodologies through peer-teaching. Students worked closely with faculty in order to situate these modules within current teaching practice. This collaboration created opportunities for academic mentoring and professional development for undergraduate and graduate students.

This paper discusses the creation of the "Visual Association in Imperial Promotion" module and provides suggestions for the development of similar peer-teaching projects. It was created in response to the student's own learning experience from the "Introduction to Numismatics" module. Using this previous module as a template, the student then developed new content including instructor notes, lesson plan, PowerPoint slides, handouts, worksheets, and answer keys. This module increases access to a physical collection largely inaccessible to students and also allows students to learn about the coins from their peers, enriching their university experience. As one student responded in their feedback, "For me, having a student lecture is quite exciting since it shows the kinds of opportunities available for undergraduates (like me)."

These coin modules provide a unique opportunity for students to recontextualize what they have learned and to communicate that knowledge to their peers. It encourages students to develop their own projects, create learning content, and expand their understanding of particular fields of interest. Giving students the opportunity to teach allows them to bring their own experiences, approaches, and methods to the study of a collection. These types of experiential learning opportunities make departmental and museum collections more accessible allowing students to forge their own connections to the ancient world.

### **Reading Coins and Stories: Strengthening Student Literacy through Numismatic Concepts**

*Katherine Petrole, The Parthenon, Centennial Park*

This talk will share the successes and challenges of an educational program that introduces ancient Greece to students in grades 5 to 8 through connecting ancient, modern, and fictional coins from a familiar story: "Percy Jackson and the Lightning Thief" (Riordan 2005). The program is freely available as an online resource, making it accessible, replicable, and adaptable for use in museums, academic institutions, and excavations worldwide. The 2005 book and subsequent book and film series ignited an interest in Greek mythology in American students;



at the Parthenon in Nashville, Tennessee, visitation to the museum spiked after the 2010 release of the film and the movie props on display remain a museum highlight for the youngest visitors to this day. As a result, the Parthenon initiated an educational program incorporating the fictional coins in “Percy Jackson and the Lightning Thief” in an effort to increase literacy and learning in students grades 5 to 8. Specifically, the program models numismatic concepts to show how “reading” is more than just seeing words on a page—you read an entire coin to unlock clues about the people and places it represents. In this way, the program provides a powerful learning experience that connects students with the past by using replicas and images of primary sources in order to learn about the ancient world. Students progress from group to individual thinking and learning as they see and analyze examples of fictional golden drachmas (the size of a Girl Scout cookie!), American quarters, and various ancient Greek coins from the numismatic collections of Corinth Excavations and the Athenian Agora Excavations. Through this educational experience, students will understand that reading the whole picture unlocks clues to their favorite stories, with examples to connect the past and present through numismatics.

### **Teaching with Coins at the MFA Boston**

*Phoebe Segal*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

In 2012, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston opened the first gallery devoted to ancient Greek and Roman coinage in a US art museum. Given its location within a public institution, the gallery, known as the Michael C. Ruetters Ancient Coin Gallery (“coin gallery” for short), treats the general public as its student population, welcoming those as young schoolchildren and high school students all the way up to learned scholars. This paper aims to share the strategies employed in the coin gallery with the academic community in the belief that a dialogue between those teaching with coins in museums and institutions of higher learning can only strengthen outcomes in both.

The paper begins with an introduction to the MFA’s coin collection, which dates back to the early years of the museum (founded in 1870) and numbers approximately 8,000 coins. The need for the gallery, with its state-of-the-art casework with custom-designed magnifying instruments and lighting, and the curatorial and educational goals for it will be explained. The “big idea” for the gallery—the notion that coins are miniature masterpieces and the emphasis on coins as works of Greek and Roman art and their relationship to works of art in other media—will be the central focus of the paper. The interpretive strategy of the gallery blends thematic and chronological approaches—a balancing act evident in cases entitled “Metal into Money,” “Money into Art,” as well as those devoted to portraiture and mythology, on the one hand, and cases in which the best specimens of Greek and Roman coins are exhibited, on the other hand. The use of technology in the form of iPads with the first-ever MFA app (“MFA Coins”), as well as the process of developing such an app, will shed light on the benefits of technology in teaching with coins. Finally, a summary of the overwhelmingly positive responses to the gallery will be presented.

### **Coins as a Teaching Tool: An Experience of Integration of Numismatics and Conservation**

*Christiana Zaccagnino, Queens University at Kingston*

Courses in numismatics are almost not existent in North American university curricula. Coins are shown in courses of classical art and history especially as illustrations of the iconography of statue types, of monuments, and of the portraits of ancient rulers, but little attention is paid to the technical aspects of coin production and to the purchasing power of the denominations. Several North American university museums own coin collections, which are also used as a teaching tool, but in the majority of cases students do not have direct access to the artifacts. A collection of ancient artifacts including coins is also owned by the Department of Classics and the Art Conservation program at my university. What makes this collection different is that it does not belong to a museum and it was acquired with an educational purpose: the ancient artifacts are to be used as a teaching tool for students from both programs. The collection is a diverse assemblage of unsorted artifacts, often fragmentary and sometimes in very poor condition, all without any information about the original context or prior treatments. Among them are more than 600 Greek and Roman coins, which have been so far neglected. Recently a new project has started which directly involves students in the study of the coin collection. Students from Classics and Art Conservation contribute with their specific background and skills, working together on the same items and teaching each other in a stimulating environment. Art Conservation students research alloy composition, manufacturing techniques, old restoration and cleaning methods, and perform conservation treatments according to current standards, while their Classics peers identify the coins, provide historical context and study their economic significance. The collaboration between the two programs makes the experience very formative since students become acquainted with the principles and methods of both disciplines.

### **Federalism and Ancient Greek Coins**

*Eliza Gettel, Harvard University*

This paper examines the potential of coins for teaching about federalism in undergraduate ancient Greek history courses. The *koinon*, or 'federal state,' was a ubiquitous state structure of Greek history, which has received much scholarly attention recently (e.g., Beck and Funke; Mackil). However, despite the ubiquity of Greek federal states, they play a small or nonexistent role in most ancient Greek history courses at the undergraduate level. Much of the scholarship on the *koinon* is aimed at a specialist audience and requires knowledge of Greek history outside of Athens and Sparta. Coins, however, offer approachable opportunities for introducing students to questions and debates about Greek federalism.

Students, especially in American and European contexts, are used to handling federal coinages in their own life. Therefore, instructors can draw parallels between coins of ancient federal states, especially those of the Achaean League or Arcadian League, and US state quarters or euro coins to introduce the concept of federalism in ancient Greek worlds. For instance, looking at a coin of the Achaean

League with a federal monogram as well as symbols related to a member *polis* (e.g., a dolphin for Patras) prompts students to raise questions about the balance of power between federal institutions and member states. Through such coins, therefore, students can engage in a debate that has concerned scholars of *koina* without having to know ancient Greek or having detailed knowledge about a specific region of the Greek mainland.

In addition to outlining some of the debates revolving around Greek federalism that coins can raise, the paper will introduce attendees to some concrete strategies and resources for teaching with ancient federal coins. It is not always possible to teach with physical coins, and so this paper will conclude with suggestions for interactive activities that bring these coins into the classroom virtually.

### **Session 3: Open Session**

#### **Roman and Late Antique Sanctuaries**

##### **The Temple of Jupiter at Pompeii Reveals its Secrets**

*John J. Dobbins*, University of Virginia, and *James G. Cooper*, Pennsylvania State University

The Temple of Jupiter at Pompeii is a problematical monument, not readily surrendering its secrets. Key problems are date (pre-Roman or Roman), building module (Oscan or Roman foot), construction phases, and discordance between the podium vaults and the superstructure that may indicate an earlier phase to the temple. Also problematical is the history of scholarship. The most influential person for the study of the temple in the twenty-first century is Amedeo Maiuri. This is ironic because Maiuri died in 1963. No matter, two recent studies of the temple (Gasparini 2014; Lippolis 2016) start with Maiuri, and unsurprisingly, end with Maiuri, confirming the central points of his 1942 publications.

The Pompeii Forum Project approaches the problem differently. We start with the temple itself, and unsurprisingly, we do not end with Maiuri. We end with the prescient and then-heretical assessment of L. Richardson, Jr., in *Pompeii: An Architectural History* (1988), who proclaims, “The building history is fairly easily straightened out once Maiuri’s early date for the original construction is eliminated. The temple was built by the Roman colony” (p. 144). Richardson was on target, but his text provides no supporting evidence. Thirty-two years later the Pompeii Forum Project presents evidence gathered through onsite investigation, numerous measurements, a reinterpretation of physical evidence, and a recognition of the Classical design principles employed by the architect, all toward the goal of understanding and explicating Pompeii’s most important temple. That the architect used the Roman foot as a module in this temple’s design is clear from our measurements. The discordance reflects a design change after the vaults had been constructed, not an earlier phase. Working backwards from the physical evidence, we extrapolate the design process and identify the *pronaos* as Vitruvian pycnostyle (*De arch.* 3.3.2).

### **A New Date for the Sanctuary of Venus in Pompeii**

*Ilaria Battiloro*, Mount Allison University, *Marcello Mogetta*, University of Missouri, and *Francesco Muscolino*, Parco Archeologico di Pompei

The dating of the temple complex dedicated to the patron deity of Roman Pompeii has been the subject of considerable debate in recent years, with important implications for the overall interpretation of the monument and of its historical and cultural significance. In particular, investigations carried out at the site between 2004 and 2007 have challenged the conventional chronology, which ascribes the monumentalization of the sacred site to the early phase of the colony of 80 B.C.E. The poorly published results would seem to place the earliest standing remains to the second half of the second century B.C.E., making the case for the existence of a predecessor of the sanctuary, and thus for greater continuity from the Late Samnite period.

Three consecutive seasons of fieldwork and study by the Venus Pompeiana Project have produced a critical mass of data that prompts a recasting of the building history of the monument and the broader area. Extensive excavation underneath the eastern court and portico of the sanctuary has revealed conspicuous evidence of architecture and deposits from second century B.C.E., which testify to a radically different spatial organization of the neighborhood prior to the establishment of the sanctuary. An alley branching off from Via Marina and continuing in a southerly direction towards the fortifications originally divided the area into two city-blocks. On either side of this street, remains of structures of probable domestic and commercial function have been exposed.

In 2019, a cistern associated with one of the Late Samnite buildings has been explored. At least two levels of fills have been identified, the upper one of which can be clearly linked with the demolition and obliteration of the structures that stood in the area in order to make room for the first temple. Diagnostic finds from the top layers provide a terminus post quem for the erection of the monumental sanctuary around 30 B.C.E., which is considerably later than normally assumed, revolutionizing our understanding of the context. The new date appears consistent with the extant architectural decoration as well as with our reassessment of the podium and cella architecture, which only shows one main construction phase before the 62 C.E. earthquake.

### **Fictiles Deae: A New Study of the Statues from a Suburban Sanctuary in Pompeii.**

*Giulia Vannucci*, Scuola Normale Superiore

The object of my paper is a group of three terracotta female statues found in 1960 during the excavation of the suburban sanctuary of Fondo Iozzino in Pompeii. Although these statues represent one of the few examples of terracotta statues found in situ within a sacred space, the scholars have devoted little attention to them and one of the statues still today is almost unpublished. Two of the statues are over life-size, even if one is preserved only in its torso. They both represent a standing female figure wearing a light himation tightly fitted to the body with a long chiton folded underneath. The third statue, smaller in dimensions, is stylistically different and is usually identified with Artemis-Hecate, although some

scholars have recently identified it with an Aphrodite type. Through an accurate stylistic analysis, this paper tries to define more precisely the chronology of these statues, which have been variously dated to between the end of the third and the beginning of the first century B.C.E., and whom they might represent. This is of primary importance to establish to which phase of the Pompeian sanctuary the statues belong and which was the deity venerated there, a topic highly debated among scholars. Moreover, my paper examines the archival documents, in particular the photographic ones, to shed light on the possibility, proposed in the past, that other statues were present in the same sacred area, the memory of which is lost today.

### **Separating the Bambino (in Fasce) from the Bathwater: A Case for Local Agency in Italic Terracotta Votives**

*Mary-Evelyn Farrior, Columbia University*

Terracotta votives of swaddled infants—referred to in Italian as “*bambini in fasce*”—appeared on the Italian peninsula beginning in the late-fourth century B.C.E. and were widely deposited at sanctuary sites for over two centuries. These rather uncanny figurines, typically smaller than life-size, abstract the infant to a rounded face and a tightly swaddled, club-shaped body; the details of the features and designs of the extant “*bambini*” vary greatly, particularly in the rendering of the swaddling bands. They are unique from other anatomical votives, with which they are often grouped, in that they also document social practices related to the dress and treatment of the infant body.

Rather than continuing in the vein of previous scholarship on these votives, which has primarily focused on the significance of these votives as evidence for coming-of-age rituals, this paper examines the many distinct variations in their designs and distributions as a case study for a more nuanced approach to the study of Italic terracotta votive tradition. Through a stylistic analysis of “*bambini*” from over fifty sites, I argue that we must prioritize local agency within the Italic votive tradition, rather than interpreting the practice as uniform across the peninsula or, as some scholars have done, relegate them to byproducts of religious Romanization. These votives combine elements of local artistic production and social practices, while still participating in a larger, emerging Italic religious tradition and cultural *koine*. These infants demonstrate that terracotta votives merit more careful attention, lest we oversimplify them and throw the “*bambini*” out with the bathwater.

### **Sanctuary and Society at Dura-Europos: Interpreting Bench-Lined Rooms in the Temple of Zeus Theos**

*Amber Leenders, University of British Columbia*

The archaeology and social significance of religious spaces has been central to the study of the Arsacid-Roman site of Dura-Europos (Syria) since it was first excavated and published in the 1920s and 30s. Apart from the well-known synagogue, church, and mithraeum, over a dozen polytheistic sanctuaries were discovered at

the site, providing invaluable yet understudied information on religious practices and societal organization at the edge of empires. A key component of these sanctuaries is their many intriguing “*triclinia*” rooms, lined with stone benches and opening onto a central courtyard. Some have argued that these rooms were used by priests for exclusive dining purposes; others suggest that the rooms had multiple purposes including making sacrifices, eating, gathering, food preparation, and storage. Previous studies, however, do not take into account the full range of available evidence, and are too quick to impose overarching cultural labels onto spaces that reflect a uniquely local mix of identities. My case study, the temple of Zeus Theos, contains twelve such bench-lined rooms with varied architecture, finds, and features. Examining this sanctuary in context with the rest of the site, I argue that the bench-lined rooms were indeed multifunctional; but furthermore, I demonstrate how the evidence reveals that Dura’s sanctuaries served as spaces for people to define their identities in small groups based on ties of kinship, class, status, ethnicity, and gender. I present an integrated analysis of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence of the site by utilizing unpublished archival material from Dura, housed at the Yale University Art Gallery, which contains crucial reports, photos, and finds catalogues from twentieth-century excavations. This project uses a small-scale case study to open a new avenue into the wider study of religious practices in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East, and topics of commensality, community, exclusivity, and identity.

### **The Archaic Ionic Temple in Roman Thessaloniki: A Rebuilt Ruin?**

*Samuel Holzman, American School of Classical Studies at Athens*

Foundations of a large marble temple below Antigonidon Platia in Thessaloniki first came to light in 1936 and were excavated in 2000. The style, form, and construction features of the temple’s marble superstructure date to the late Archaic period—almost two centuries before the founding of Thessalonikeia in 315 B.C.E. The mortared rubble foundation of the temple as well as fragments of two possible cult statues date to the Roman Imperial period. This was an “itinerant temple,” one disassembled, transported, and rebuilt at a new location in a phenomenon well known from the temple of Ares in the Athenian Agora. Since the original location and identification of the temple remain unknown, it has generated a wide range of interpretations. Was it originally the temple of Aphrodite Aeneas and rebuilt in Thessaloniki to house the imperial cult as part of the ideological program of Augustus (Voutiras 1999)? Was it rebuilt to commemorate Hadrian’s establishment of the Panhellenion (Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2012)? Did the temple originally come from this area and form the nucleus for the founding of Thessalonikeia (Boehm 2018)?

This paper offers new evidence of the building’s history based on focused analysis of its marble blocks. I argue that evidence of substantial damage and repairs in two phases show that the temple was salvaged from a collapsed ruin and not a standing building that was disassembled to be moved. Understanding the state of the building before it was rebuilt at Antigonidon Platia crucially changes the

valence of the Roman rebuilding. An image of restoration and historic preservation rather than spoliation or opportunistic recycling is the result of this reevaluation.

### **Mutilation, Modification, Christianization? An Archaeological Approach to the Erasure of Inscriptions in Late Antiquity**

*Anna M. Sitz, Universität Heidelberg*

Studies of the late antique reception of the classical past are in vogue, yet the erasure of older inscriptions has rarely entered into this discourse, in comparison with the extensive research on the censoring or mutilation of ancient statues. Moreover, when erasures have been noted in epigraphic publications, the term is frequently used broadly, without attention to the particularities of each case (e.g., the thoroughness of the chiseling, the specific words removed, or the display context of the now-altered text). This paper argues that an archaeological approach to erased inscriptions is needed to clarify the aims of this late antique practice and broader attitudes towards the (pagan) past in the late Roman era (fourth to seventh centuries C.E.).

The examples presented indicate that the modification of ancient texts runs the gamut from full and thorough eradication, partial removal of only targeted words, and the sophisticated manipulation of older texts to create an entirely new reading. These erasures are distinct from the Roman political habit of *damnatio memoriae*. At Aphrodisias, the selective chiseling of an Augustan-era temple dedication when the building was converted to a church exposes the limits of previous methodological approaches to erasures (A. Sitz, *Journal of Late Antiquity* 12.1 [2019] 136–168). Close study of a baptistery now in the Burdur Museum (Turkey) reveals that certain letters on a spoliated Roman inscription have been erased; the result is a clever cloaking of the original dedicator's pagan identity. The editing is even more striking in the baptistery's archaeological context. Erasures such as these and other examples confirm the comprehension of older inscriptions and presuppose the continued reading of the now-altered text. By adapting methodologies applied to the study of statue mutilations, the archaeological evidence for the modification of ancient inscriptions in late antiquity indicates the continuing power, even danger, of these inscribed objects.

### **Session 3J: Colloquium Landscapes of Mediterranean “Colonization”**

Organizer: *Naoise Mac Sweeney, University of Leicester*

#### **Colloquium Overview Statement**

The debate over Greek and Phoenician “colonization” is caught in an impasse, with critics and proponents of the colonial model largely retreating into their respective disciplinary corners. The papers in this colloquium session seek to break the stalemate by approaching the topic from a novel perspective—that of landscapes and survey archaeology. We suggest that survey data holds the key to a the



largely overlooked issue of local mobilities and intraregional migration, in contrast to previous studies of this period which have tended to focus instead on long distance and interregional movements.

The session will comprise an introduction (10 minutes), followed by five papers (20 minutes each), and comments from a discussant (15 minutes). Allowing for a 5 minute changeover between speakers, this gives us a total session length of 160 minutes. The papers will present new results from four different survey projects, each focusing on survey data from the period associated with the establishment of new settlements in the Iron Age (ca. 900–600 B.C.E.), and each considering local and intraregional (as opposed to interregional) mobilities. The four surveys offer a range of different perspectives on settlement and mobility—Ionia and Sardinia are classic “colonial” regions of the Greek and Phoenician worlds respectively; Cilicia is a more peripheral “colonial” Greek region; and Boeotia is a “core” region in what is considered to be the Greek heartland. Taken together, these papers will offer a new view of Greek and Phoenician “colonization.” We argue that Mediterranean mobilities were more complex and multi-scalar than is often assumed, involving a significant level of ongoing population circulation as well as seasonal and temporary movements. At a time when migration and the status of migrant communities is in the public eye, this panel reassessing some of the most iconic migrations of antiquity is both relevant and timely.

Discussant: *Lin Foxhall*, University of Liverpool

**The Paradox of Regional Studies: Distinctive Introverted Communities with Histories and Prehistories of Internal and External Population Mobility; The Case of Boeotia, Central Greece in the Iron Age**

*John Bintliff*, University of Edinburgh

The large agricultural province of Boeotia was famously distinct from its neighbors in Classical Antiquity and remains so today. Yet its early myths record considerable diversity in the ethnicity of each of the fifteen city landscapes, as well as notable migrations into the region—none of which are traditionally considered as “colonization.” Many of the city-states which emerge at the end of the Iron Age, during the Archaic era, are in new locations, necessitating considerable internal if not external migration. Now considered to be the first literary figure in Europe, the Boeotian poet Hesiod, was a second generation immigrant from Asia Minor. In a well-documented parallel, during the early and then late Medieval periods, two significant in-migrations occurred throughout the province, both seemingly absorbed over time into local community life and an initially totally alien language and culture. The Boeotia Project, a survey in five of the city-states, has for forty years been unraveling the complex settlement history of the province, and if we combine its results, together with the legendary and historical record, and inject relevant ethnoarchaeological models, it is possible to reconcile the paradox of apparent introversion of culture in predominantly agriculturally focused regions and their constant permeability to population movement at all scales. The concepts of “place-making” and “creative embeddedness” will be argued to form central

explanatory elements in resolving the wider issue of regionality in archaeology and history, and it will be suggested that the formative mobilities creating new communities in Iron Age and Archaic Boeotia are relevant to broader discussions of migration, settlement, and “colonization” across the Mediterranean.

### **Settlement and Urbanization on the Tyrrhenian Coast of S. Calabria**

*Lieve Donnellan, Aarhus University*

Settlement on the Tyrrhenian coast of the southernmost part of Calabria is generally framed in terms of “Greek colonization” —ancient sources inform us that the Greek *polis* of Rhegion founded a subcolony at Metauros, and Locri Epizephyrii founded settlements at Medma and Hipponion. From the area, we know virtually nothing about pre-Greek Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age settlement, despite the presence of important sites such as Torre Galli or Punta di Zambrone nearby. The southern part of Calabria has not been at the focus of archaeologists’ attention. Very little research has taken place and a significant part what eventually was done remains unpublished or only partially published.

In particular, apart from some traces at the later inland settlement of Oppido Mamertina and in the necropolis of the settlement of Metauros towards the coast, little is known about the urbanization processes that took place in the area. Small urban centers appear to have come into being, but their relationship with other settlements is unclear. Rural settlement or other occupation patterns has not been documented.

A new ceramic survey project in the Plain of Gioia Tauro aims at studying settlement patterns, urbanization, and the integration of this micro-region into local, regional, and wider Mediterranean networks and the physical landscape. The first preliminary results point to the existence of dynamic settlement patterns over time with several non-Greek settlements located on hilltops, followed by a centralization of settlement towards the coast. Rural settlement again seems to flourish from later Classical times onward. The settlement patterns, as well as the complex connectivity that they document, invite a more nuanced interpretation to the “Greek colonization” narrative. Local and regional migration might have been an important part of the documented settlement dynamics.

### **Ionian Landscapes: Evidence from Urla-Çeşme Peninsula (Klazomenai, Teos, Lebedos, Erythrai)**

*Elif Koparal, Mıman Sinan University*

Ionia was a significant part of the ancient Greek world, and the epicenter of many events that shaped ancient Greek culture. Until recently, Ionian archaeology mainly focused on the excavation of *polis* centers and well preserved temple buildings, with political agendas and divergent approaches isolating it from the rest of Aegean archaeology. As a result, archaeological surveys investigating the rural landscapes around polis settlements are rare. Initiated in 2006, the Archaeological Survey Project of the Urla-Çeşme Peninsula combined intensive and extensive pedestrian survey, remote sensing (aerial and satellite imagery),

and geo-archaeological research to provide a diachronic understanding of rural settlement patterns. This paper presents the results of this survey, focusing on the development of the *chorai* of the four Ionian *poleis* in the peninsula—Klazomenai, Teos, Lebedos and Erythrai—during the Early Iron Age. The 425 archaeological sites discovered so far, including settlements, farmsteads, forts, tumuli, and sanctuaries, when together with the route network, demonstrate that these communities were socially and commercially active overland as well as overseas. Although our surveys have turned up only a handful of sites dated from eleventh to ninth centuries B.C.E., I will argue that this lack of identified sites in the *chorai* does not necessarily mean a lack of movement or that *poleis* were isolated spots in an otherwise desolate landscape. Indeed, I argue that the developments taking place during the Early Iron Age ultimately developed into the emergence of the *polis* at the beginning of the Archaic period. This paper highlights the importance of survey data to not only explore the web of relations in the peninsula during the Early Iron Age, but also highlight in more detail the diversities that existed in ancient Ionia.

### **From the Mountains to the Shore: Mobility in Iron Age Rough Cilicia**

*Naoise Mac Sweeney*, University of Leicester, *Tevfik Emre erifo lu*, Bitlis Ewen University, *Anna Collar*, University of Southampton, and *Stuart Eve*, University of Leicester

For most of classical antiquity, settlement in Rough Cilicia was concentrated along a thin strip of coastline, with relatively little permanent habitation in the rough and mountainous interior that gives the region its name. Yet this was not the case during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, as demonstrated by work undertaken since 2013 by the Lower Göksu Archaeological Salvage Survey Project and the Ta eli-Karaman Archaeological Project. These survey projects have uncovered evidence for a complex and firmly established settlement system inland in the Göksu valley; a fertile river basin that offered not only fertile agricultural land, but also the only easily traversable route between the coast to the south and the Anatolian plateau to the north. In contrast, longstanding excavations on the coast suggest that activity here at this time was extremely sparse. Yet a major change occurred in the seventh century B.C.E., including the establishment of new settlements and the appearance of Greek forms of material culture on the coast. This has traditionally been interpreted as evidence for Greek colonization. In this paper, we argue that developments on coast should be seen in the context of changes in the settlement pattern and landscape use further inland, and we present results from survey work during these periods. In particular, the decline of habitation inland must have contributed to the establishment and growth of coastal settlements, through local and intraregional mobilities. By considering both the coast and the mountainous interior together as a single interrelated region, we are able to build a more complex and nuanced picture of mobility at various different scales—not only the interregional migration that brought individuals from Cyprus, the Aegean, the Levant, and further afield to Rough Cilicia, but also the intraregional movements.

### **An Uncaptured Sardinia? Intra-Regional Mobility and Connectivity the Coastal and Inland Landscapes of Iron Age Sardinia**

*Linda Gosner*, University of Michigan, *Jessica Nowlin*, University of Texas at San Antonio, and *Alexander Smith*, The College at Brockport – SUNY

In 1921, travel writer D. H. Lawrence called Sardinia an unsubdued landscape “outside the circuit of civilization,” never fully colonized by Romans, Phoenicians, or Greeks. This view is representative of wider scholarly perceptions. Traditionally, archaeological research on colonization has focused on major coastal trading centers on Sardinia’s convenient natural harbors. These settlements have long been considered important nodes in long-distance maritime trade networks, facilitating the mobility of people and goods across the Mediterranean. By contrast, studies of inland landscapes of Iron Age Sardinia have focused on indigenous settlements built around stone towers called *nuraghi*. It is now time to break down this binary view and to consider the impacts of colonization on movement in and between these coastal and inland landscapes.

This paper draws from the new results of the Sinis Archaeological Project (SAP), a regional survey in west-central Sardinia’s Sinis Peninsula and adjacent Upper Campidano. The survey region encompasses landscapes with diverse ecologies and resources: agricultural plains, coastal and marshy areas, and mountainous territory. Our aim is to understand the manifold social and environmental factors impacting resource extraction, settlement patterns, and colonial interactions across these varied landscapes in the past. We present the results of pedestrian survey in 2018 and 2019 in the inland agricultural region surrounding the largest Iron Age indigenous settlement of west-central Sardinia as well in the adjacent coastal territory. We will also discuss our future work in the mountainous and coastal hinterlands of the colonial centers of Tharros and Cornus. Our multi-scalar and comparative methodology allows us to consider relationships between landscapes across traditional divisions (coastal and inland, urban and rural, colonial and indigenous). We suggest that this methodology illuminates the local impacts of colonization in Iron Age Sardinia, including intraregional mobility and connectivity across the island.

### **Session 3K: Joint AIA/SCS Workshop Classics and Civic Activism**

Moderators: *Marina Haworth*, North Hennepin Community College, *T. H. M. Gellar-Goad*, Wake Forest University, *Yurie Hong*, Gustavus Adolphus College, and *Amit Shilo*, University of California, Santa Barbara

#### **Workshop Overview Statement**

Classicists at all levels are well-positioned to make an impact on their communities and civic institutions. They have knowledge, experience, skills, and contacts that can usefully contribute to civic activism outside of academia proper. There are many ways to use these resources to advance social justice via public-facing scholarship, in-the-community projects, running for office, and direct advocacy.

This workshop will provide attendees with the tools and strategies to engage more directly in civic activism by connecting experienced activists with SCS and AIA members interested in applying their skills to broader communities. The three featured presenters, coming from outside the discipline, will offer guidance in community organizing, engaging with representatives, and other advocacy work, with a specific eye to how Classicists can combine their skills and expertise with activism. The subsequent lightning-round presentations will allow members to share their own experiences with civic engagement, presenting a broad spectrum of Classics-based activism. The small-group discussion will allow time for participants to actively engage and share techniques and resources.

There is high interest in an event where people learn how to take action and advocate. Over eighty people attended the Classics and Social Justice open meeting in San Diego in January 2019, and our membership totals over 250 people. We are responding to this interest by proposing events with broad relevance for SCS-AIA members, getting more people involved and exchanging ideas within the academic, professional framework of the SCS-AIA annual meetings. This workshop is a key step in focusing and directing the energy of SCS-AIA members towards concrete impact in their communities. By demystifying the legislative process and the mechanisms of effective civic activism, this workshop will empower members to address the structural factors that affect the accessibility of Classics, humanities, and institutions of learning more generally.

Panelist #1, a leader with the Indivisible Guide, a major grassroots advocacy organization that has inspired the formation of over 6,000 independent civic activism groups, will introduce attendees to basic advocacy and organizing strategies, and provide resources for getting involved: a kind of "Organizing 101" course. Panelist #2, a staff member of the National Humanities Alliance with a background in higher-education advocacy, will offer techniques for academics to advocate for the humanities to build a bridge between what Classicists work on and the legislators and policymakers who make decisions that impact Classicists themselves. Panelist #3, from the American Federation of Teachers, will share the experience of secondary-school teachers with civic organizing. A high percentage of our students go on to be secondary-school teachers, and secondary-school teachers are a large portion of the field (if not of the SCS membership), so it is incumbent on us to prepare the next generation. Each of these organizations has confirmed that a speaker will be on hand to address these topics. Since panel date and time cannot be known in advance of submission, however, formal abstracts written by specific presenters are not being provided.

After these presentations there will be a lightning round lasting 45 minutes, with a series of 35-minute presentations by SCS-AIA members who are or have been involved in civic activism and advocacy. This lightning round will draw speakers from the Classics and Social Justice Affiliated Group and from a broad call for contributors.

The workshop will conclude with a 40-minute session of small-group discussions facilitated by one of the presenters in the workshop an organizer, a featured presenter, or a lightning-round participant for brainstorming, skills assessments, and project planning. In the last 5 minutes, we will gather written feedback and suggestions for keeping track of projects and sustaining momentum.

Panelists: *Kim McMurray*, The Indivisible Guide, *Alexandra Klein*, National Humanities Alliance, *Lindsay Theo*, American Federation of Teachers, *Kiran Mansukhani*, The Graduate Center, CUNY, *Wynter Pohlenz Telles Douglas*, Bryn Mawr College, *Olga Faccani*, University of California, Santa Barbara, *Emily Allen-Hornblower*, Rutgers University, *Kristina Chew*, Rutgers University, *Arti Mehta*, Howard University, *Dan-el Padilla Peralta*, Princeton University, and *Jerise Fogel*, Montclair State University

## **Session 4A: Open Session Consumption and Exposure in the Roman World**

### **Taste and Technique: Reconstructing Food Preparation Strategies through Use-Alteration Analysis of First-Century C.E. Cookware Assemblages from Pompeii**

*Aaron Brown*, University of California, Berkeley

This paper considers how the inhabitants of first-century C.E. Pompeii prepared their daily meals and what factors influenced their choice of cooking techniques. Through an examination of the frequencies of particular types of vessels (bronze and ceramic) and utensils used for food and drink preparation recovered from a series of previously excavated properties in and around Pompeii, I reassess what constituted the standard *batterie de cuisine* within the Pompeian kitchen and how this could be modified according to the needs and preferences of the one stocking the shelves. I further offer a reconstruction of the various cooking methods employed and preferences exhibited by those who used these cookwares through an analysis of use alterations displayed by the objects. This involves the systematic examination and documentation of intentional and unintentional modifications—including sooting, scratching, denting, etc.—visible on the surface of each object. The properties selected for this study represent a range of property types, including modest and grand houses, commercial food establishments, and suburban villas, allowing us to discern how food preparation strategies differed between households, as well as residential and commercial properties. I interpret these differences as indicators of the socioeconomic priorities and individual tastes of those who prepared the meals within these different contexts.

This study, based on fieldwork carried out in August and September of 2019 in the storerooms at Pompeii, sheds light on an often overlooked aspect of Roman daily life through the examination of an historically neglected class of artifacts. It also provides a corrective to traditional typological artifact studies which privilege morphology over functional considerations. By focusing on the dynamics of object-user interaction and how vessels and utensils were actually manipulated within Roman kitchens, as evinced through use alterations, we can better appreciate not only the methods, but also in part the motives of the cooks who used such objects.