Session 8A: Joint AIA/SCS Colloquium
(Inter-) Regional Networks in Hellenistic Eurasia

Organizer: *Talia Prussin*, University of California, Berkeley, and *Jeremy Simmons*, Columbia University

Colloquium Overview Statement

The Hellenistic world, the long neglected in-between flanked by Classical Greece and Rome, is beginning to see a renaissance of scholarly interest. Hellenistic history has finally moved away from the study of whole kingdoms through top-down Hellenization toward nuanced regional histories and histories of inter-regional connectivity. New tools in the ancient historian's toolkit, such as digital mapping and network analysis, can elucidate connections previously invisible in the traditional narrative of the Hellenistic period.

This panel has two principal aims: (1) to explore the mechanisms that promoted connectivity both regionally and across vast distances within this broader Eurasian "Hellenistic" and (2) to address the burgeoning field of research on the less-studied portions of the Hellenistic world. Accordingly, the papers presented in this panel will look at the role of various types of networks, whether commercial, institutional, or spatial, in this broader "Hellenistic." Individual papers go beyond the traditional chronologies and geographies of the Hellenistic period, evaluating regional case studies from Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and northwestern India between the fourth century B.C.E. and second century C.E. Each paper addresses these Hellenistic phenomena from different perspectives, from trade networks within a single Hellenistic polis to commercial links spanning thousands of kilometers.

Panelist #1 ("Transitional Spaces and Connective Tissues: Harbor Dynamics in Hellenistic Asia Minor") examines the regional connections between Hellenistic *poleis* in Asia Minor and their associated ports. The relationship between urban centers and harbor infrastructure is key to understanding the intersection of inter-regional maritime and local urban networks. The spatial integration of harbor-urban matrices provides a diachronic view of networks that facilitated movement of people and goods from the Mediterranean shores to inland areas.

Panelist #2 ("Networks and Networking in the Economy of Seleucid Uruk") focuses on the effect of the deployment of Hellenicity on Seleucid Babylonian economic networks. Using Uruk as a case study, this paper examines how ethnic self-coding mediated access to networks associated with the royal (Greek-coded) or temple (Babylonian-coded) economies. This discussion illuminates the development of Babylonian cities' economies, historically dominated by the temples, under the Seleucids.

Panelist #3 ("After Polity: Hellenistic Networks in Northwestern India (200 B.C.E. – 200 C.E.)") investigates the maintenance and extension of these Hellenistic networks after the demise of Hellenistic polity in Bactria and northwestern India. In the wake of political instability in these regions, Greek-speaking individuals from Central Asia and the Punjab turn to local institutions like Buddhist monasteries for support. The establishment of these relationships in turn served as

foundations for wider commercial networks of Greek-speaking peoples across the Indian Ocean.

Finally, Panelist #4 ("Mediterranean Pathways: GIS, Network Analysis, and the Ancient World") argues the merits of using network analysis and other technological tools to better articulate geospatial networks throughout the Hellenistic world. A wide-array of existing tools are available to scholars to conduct innovative research and further complicate our existing understanding of the Hellenistic world. This paper seeks to make these digital tools accessible to a broader audience of archaeologists and historians without extensive technical training and programming knowledge.

The panel will have a discussion at the end of the session, led by a single discussant. Our respondent, a leading expert on the material culture of the Near Eastern world, will contextualize the papers from a Near Eastern perspective. Such a perspective is especially important when addressing the Hellenistic period since Near Eastern precedents and institutions have traditionally been underrepresented in historical treatments of the Hellenistic that focus on its Greco-Macedonian ruling class. The panel hopes to spark a lively discussion to further expand our understanding of the "Hellenistic" throughout Eurasia and the interconnected webs of human activity that made it possible on both a local and global scale.

Discussant: *Marian Feldman*, Johns Hopkins University

Transitional Spaces and Connective Tissues: Harbor Dynamics in Hellenistic Asia Minor
Lana Radloff, Bishop's University

A *polis* with an urban center situated on the coast usually had a harbor (*limen* or *epineion*), often including an *emporion*, a special market for foreign trade that operated alongside the agora in the urban interior. Separated from the land- and seascape, harbors were not only integral to commerce and transportation, but also functioned as connective tissues between the larger communication networks of the surrounding sea and the terrestrial environment of the interior. Thus, urban and maritime infrastructure was built to facilitate and/or to restrict the movement of seafaring people from the sea to different urban zones. Using case studies, such as Kos, Miletos, Knidos, Elaia, and Rhodes, this paper examines patterns of spatial access between open sea, harbor, and urban interior in Hellenistic Asia Minor. A holistic approach is applied to the maritime environment to emphasize the interaction of land, coast, islands, and sea, integrating the totality of maritime "scapes" into the internal dynamics of coastal settlements, while maritime access is modeled with space-syntax and axial integration analysis. Together, space-syntax and axial integration incorporate spaces and streets—key components for modeling movement on land (streets, agora, residential districts) and sea (coast, sea, harbor) that embody the methods and aims of connective relationships within settlements. Spatial modeling highlights trends associated with different harbor types and settlement topography, such as those with single, multifunctional harbors and others with multiple, functionally specific bays for commercial, military,

and religious purposes, which guided movement within cities and integrated and isolated different maritime and terrestrial zones. Viewshed analysis is also used to incorporate the natural topography and connections between maritime and terrestrial "spaces" not physically adjacent to one another.

Examination of the harbor-urban matrices of coastal settlements allow large-scale, diachronic insights into the networks that facilitated movement from the Mediterranean shores to inland areas. These settlement patterns facilitate the identification of overarching strategies of maritime management across the Mediterranean and aid in recognizing outliers. In turn, the data produced will help create explanatory models of change. An innovative approach such as this introduces new ways to think about maritime space that serves as a framework to evaluate local, regional, and interregional networks within Asia Minor, the Aegean, and broader Mediterranean world. It highlights the role of the maritime environment in negotiating cross-cultural interaction and integrates seafarers, maritime communities, and patterns of movement between city and sea into discussions of the topographical and geographical development of maritime space in the creation of urban environments and community identities.

Networks and Networking in the Economy of Seleucid Uruk
Talia Prussin, University of California, Berkeley

Hellenistic Babylonia, arguably the heartland of the Seleucid empire, has produced a wealth of data about local economic actors (whether traders or priestly elites) because of the hardiness of cuneiform tablets. In this paper, I will focus on Uruk, a Mesopotamian city southeast of Babylon on the Euphrates, as a case study of Seleucid Babylonia. Using the corpus of Hellenistic economic texts from this city, I reconstruct networks of economic actors within the city, which I will use as a model for economic activity

In this paper, I specifically wish to study the role of Hellenicity in the economy of Babylonian cities. Much like in Ptolemaic Egypt, Seleucid Babylonia has a widespread phenomenon of double names. The same individual has both a Greek and a local name, often of Akkadian origin. Unfortunately, we can usually detect this phenomenon only when a document explicitly states that an individual was also known by a second name, so this phenomenon may actually have been more prevalent than we know. While it is impossible for us to know now how these individuals viewed their own ethnic identities, it is possible for me to evaluate whether this deliberate ethnic duality changed the shape of Urukeans' economic networks.

Conscious ethnic self-coding as Greek or non-Greek may have allowed economic actors to gain access to different markets within the city. This intentional deployment of ethnicity may have facilitated access to the royal (Greek-identified) versus temple (local-identified) economies. This approaches one of the largest issues in the study of first-millennium Babylonia: to what extent did the Babylonian temples continue to shape the economy of Babylonian cities after the fall of the Neo-Babylonian empire?

This question also profoundly affects the role of Hellenistic Babylonia in Seleucid studies. The enormity and importance of the data from this region has

been diminished by concerns that Babylonia and its cities were not typical of the Hellenistic world or the Seleucid empire. I will offer a few suggestions based on my findings about the working relationship between the Seleucid kings and the Babylonian temples and how individual Urukeans engaged with the royal and sacred economies. By better defining and explicating these relationships, I hope to dismantle the perception of Babylonian urban economies as exceptional in hopes that Babylonian evidence may become more accepted into mainstream Seleucid studies.

After Polity: Hellenistic Networks in Northwestern India (200 B.C.E. – 200 C.E.)
Jeremy A. Simmons, Columbia University

Can Hellenistic networks exist without Hellenistic polities? The study of Hellenistic Central Asia and northwestern India, when not focused on broader questions of cultural interaction, has largely been defined by the scholarly pursuit to reconstruct a chronology of political history from limited lines of textual and archaeological evidence. As a result, diplomatic ties between Hellenistic states and those further south in the subcontinent have received extensive scholarly attention because of numerous surviving testimonies, whether it be fragments of Megasthenes, Ashokan Edicts, and the Heliodorus Pillar. However, this narrative of political history overshadows indications that other types of Hellenistic networks existed and even persisted after the decline of Hellenistic political autonomy in the second and first centuries B.C.E.

This paper explores the evolution of Hellenistic networks in northwestern India after Hellenistic political control over these regions, from those sustained by Hellenistic peoples of Central Asia and the Punjab to a much larger global phenomenon. In particular, it demonstrates how Greek-speaking peoples expanded and maintained networks in the subcontinent by participating in Indian institutions, which in turn laid the groundwork for a much larger "Hellenistic" network spanning the Indian Ocean.

One example of this phenomenon, which serves as the main focus of this paper, is the presence of Greek-speaking denizens of Central Asia and the Punjab at Buddhist monasteries in northern and western India. These monastic complexes served important financial roles as a result of donations from dedications. Importantly, many of these individuals self-identify with the Prakrit ethnonym *yona* or *yavana* (a term borrowed from earlier Semitic and Persian terms for "Ionian"), and many Buddhist sites bear accompanying sculptural representations of these foreign dedicators. Such dedications, immortalized by inscription, allowed for Central Asian Greeks to establish links over vast distances and opt in for particular resources, infrastructure, and an institutional framework provided by Buddhist monasteries that developed along the primary land routes of the subcontinent.

These Hellenistic networks receive renewed activity at the start of the Common Era, when new Greek-speaking peoples frequent coastal Sind, Saurashtra, and Malabar in the course of ancient Indian Ocean trade. Buddhist monasteries continue to benefit from the patronage of yavanas, now hailing from larger corporate groups of merchants. It begets the tantalizing possibility that Greek-speakers from the Mediterranean world, hailing from the Egypt or the Syrian Steppe, connected

with the well-established heirs of a Far Eastern Hellenistic to form global networks of commerce. The groundwork laid by practitioners of local networks thus allowed for the development of a far-wider Hellenistic commercial network, linking Egypt, the Near East, and northwestern India. The maintenance of these Hellenistic networks is thus paralleled by something much more ephemeral, wherein human bodies serve as vehicles for knowledge and artistic expression, whether it be Greek astrologers in Indian royal courts, the presence of Hellenistic artistic motifs at Buddhist sites, or creative uses of Greek script on Indian coinage.

By looking beyond the political history of eastern Hellenistic states, we can trace the presence of Hellenistic networks in northwestern India well beyond an age of polity—it becomes one of several global networks, maintained by human agents moving hundreds or even thousands of kilometers, propelled by the pursuit of profit, practice of faith, and need for institutional support.

Mediterranean Pathways: GIS, Network Analysis, and the Ancient World
Ryan M. Horne, University of Pittsburgh

We live in a world that is increasingly defined and shaped by networks. Electronic networks, once envisioned to be open highways of communication, are increasingly the site of largely isolated homogenous networks of information shaped by ideology. Some scholars have considered these groups, despite their embrace of technical innovation and involvement with social uprisings like the Arab Spring, as another component of a complex web of social, political and geospatial networks dominated by powerful nation-states. These networks are often studied as a proxy of larger social phenomena, or used to quantify the movement of people and material through complex geospatial systems.

Such an approach is not restricted to studies of the modern era. Some scholars of the premodern era recognize and envision complex societies as geospatial networks of relationships between different entities places, and use new digital tools to study the ancient Mediterranean as a connected system of relationships. However, perhaps due to earlier technological limitations, such work has not been widely adopted or used in the ancient studies community broadly. Even less work has been done to integrate networks and geospatial studies, or to expand this inquiry beyond the traditional confines of Greece and Rome. Additionally, although numismatic studies have embraced linked open data (LOD) resources, the application of network analysis to the field, especially combined with geospatial studies, is in its infancy.

Through the use of new software, digital techniques, and resources, this paper demonstrates how research projects can transform simple digital gazetteers and data collections into a larger examination of networks and connectivity. By modeling Hellenistic kingdoms as networked systems, this paper builds upon the pioneering work of Monica Smith and Stanford's ORBIS project to show how coin production and distribution, combined with careful textual analysis, can help to elucidate the social and political networks of the Hellenistic world. Building upon the NEH-funded Aeolian Alexanders project, this paper will discuss how network analysis and geospatial studies can dramatically change how die studies and other numismatic inquiry both conduct and present their findings. In

addition, this paper will illustrate how existing resources, like roads data from UNC-Chapel Hill's Ancient World Mapping Center and Harvard's Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilizations (DARMC), travel costs from ORBIS, coin data from the American Numismatic Society's NOMISMA project, and the Pleiades gazetteer can be leveraged by non-specialists to model the flow of materials and communications between urban centers in the Hellenistic east. This paper uses least-cost pathing tools, combined with data on ancient roads and navigable rivers, to abstractly model both the flow of coins from mints to hoards and to examine networks of interaction between different communities and Hellenistic kingdoms. The result is a visualized abstraction of complex networks in geographic space that offers not only a window into the possible connections between different minting authorities, but also offers and a new perspective on the structures and reach of Hellenistic imperial power that challenges standard cartographic depictions of ancient societies.

It must be stressed that this paper is not a step-by-step tutorial on these technologies or a complete analytical analysis of the Hellenistic world. What it offers is a high-level view of a digital methodology that enables a non-technical specialist to efficiently construct geospatial network depictions of complex human systems for further research, and how those technologies can be applied to numismatic and historical studies.

Session 8B: Open Session
Organic Matters: Plants, Gardens and Agriculture

Reconstructing Agricultural Systems at Gabii during the Iron Age and Archaic Period: Economic Strategies and Environmental Indicators
Fanny Gaveriaux, La Sapienza Univeristy of Rome, *Laura Motta*, University of Michigan, *Mauro Brilli*, CNR Rome, and *Laura Sadori*, La Sapienza University of Rome

The urbanization processes in central Italy have been associated with changes in agricultural systems and intensification of production by previous scholarship. However, the specific character of these changes has been difficult to explore thus far due to the lack of direct data. In this paper we suggest a different approach which uses, as a case study, biochemical analysis of archaeobotanical remains of wood and staple crops from the Latin city of Gabii. Through carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analysis of ancient cereals and wood remains, it is indeed possible to explore past farming strategies and environmental variability since carbon is a proxy of water availability and nitrogen is an indicator of soil fertility.

Preliminary results on emmer and barley, retrieved from excavated contexts dated from the eighth to the sixth century B.C.E., offer insights on cultivation strategies. The comparison of these data with those obtained on oak wood allows for the detection of rain patterns and environmental trends. The limitations in applying this innovative methodology are discussed as well.

Planting and Performance in the Roman Garden: Results of the Casa della Regina Carolina Project, 2018–2019

Kathryn Gleason, Cornell University, *Caitlín E. Barrett*, Cornell University, *Annalisa Marzano*, University of Reading, and *Kaja Tally-Schumacher*, Cornell University

This paper presents preliminary results from the first two field seasons of the Casa della Regina Carolina (CRC) Project, at house VIII.3.14 in Pompeii, an elite dwelling originally excavated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The site of Pompeii is central to any account of Roman households and daily life, but much of its archaeological record results from early excavations that predate modern field methods. The CRC Project, codirected by researchers from Cornell and Reading Universities, employs new detection and recording techniques while also salvaging and synthesizing information from the early excavations.

The 2018–2019 seasons clarified the basic phasing of the house through stratigraphic excavation of the ancient garden, the focus of this paper. Early excavators exposed the 79 C.E. architecture but did not seek to dig into the garden soil itself. However, the Parco Archeologico di Pompei has granted us permission to excavate the garden and to conduct GPR survey and LiDAR recording of topography and standing architecture. The original domestic assemblage from the house interior is now largely lost, and in its absence, the garden provides our best opportunity to investigate some of the activities, practices, and performances associated with this household—from elite leisure activities (e.g., strolling, outdoor dining, viewing ornamental horticulture) to practical activities likely performed by enslaved laborers (e.g., garden maintenance and irrigation).

In 2018–2019, the CRC Project was able to reconstruct the basic design of the ancient garden through the layout of root cavities, planting pits, and flowerpots. This talk surveys these preliminary results and discusses their implications for social, economic, and religious performance. As this example shows, material culture provided both affordances and constraints for the behaviors, experiences, and social performances that were possible in Pompeian gardens.

In Vino Pecunia: A Revised Economic Model for an Ancient Roman Vineyard

Robert P. Stephan, University of Arizona, and *Charles B. Hintz*, New York University

In the middle of the first century C.E., the author and agriculturist Columella laid out a detailed economic model for the running of an ancient Roman vineyard. His goal was to instruct potential farmers or investors how to run a profitable vineyard for which the revenues would consistently outweigh the costs. In recent decades, scholars have revised Columella's model to address errors and omissions in his calculations, taking into account, for example, depreciation. These debates have started to provide a better understanding for the manner in which a vineyard would have operated and the underlying incentives for an investor to enter the business.

This project builds on these previous debates by investigating the return on investment for vineyard owners and investors through the lens of modern financial accounting. In order to better understand the internal structure of the viticulture

industry, this study combines archaeological evidence for farms in Italy, historical data from authors such as Columella and Varro, and comparative information from modern vineyards. In doing so, it establishes rough costs for engaging in the wine-making business—land, workers, seed, trellises, processing and storage facilities—and balances those expenditures with estimates for income generated from the sale of wine. The quantitative estimates in the model allow for the calculation of several modern measures of return on investment: annual accounting return, payback time, internal rate of return, and net present value. Results of these calculations indicate that investing in a vineyard would have likely produced a higher monetary return than olive or grain production; however, even viticulture returns fall far short of potential gains in other arenas such as money lending. In sum, this quantitative modeling allows us to better understand the motivations for investors in antiquity while also clarifying the organizational structure of ancient Roman agriculture.

Session 8C: Open Session
Cultures in Contact: Exchange, Continuity, and Transformation

The Sons of Commios: Fabricating Identity in Pre-Roman Britain
Mark Van Horn, University of Pennsylvania

During the second and first centuries B.C.E., Roman trade goods began penetrating northern Gaul, Belgica, and southern Britannia, evidenced by the archaeological appearance of early Roman amphorae (Cunliffe 2004; Williams 2005). These ceramics, together with Roman-style coinage of indigenous kings, have previously been used to "reconstruct" native dynasties for the one hundred years between the accounts of Caesar and the invasion of Claudius. These arguments advocate for a de facto, or even de jure, integration of Britannia into the Roman Empire through client kingship before the invasion of 43 C.E. (Creighton 2000; Richmond 1995). Here I examine these coins and their manufacturers not as dynasts who thoughtlessly copy Roman models as provincial subjects, but as shrewd political actors who construct their local authority through deliberately falsified genealogies, resulting in propaganda which was concurrently "native" and "Roman" (Aarts and Roymans 2009; Johnston 2017).

Verica fled to Roman Gaul seeking political asylum in 40 C.E. As an Atrebaten king of the first century C.E., Verica used numismatics to articulate his power, often emulating Roman typologies. Carefully crafted Latin phrases and portraits of gods or men signify a dramatic shift from previously established Celtic customs exhibiting abstract equestrian imagery. My conclusion that Verica is using his currency to assert a native lineage, fabricated wholesale and falsely connected to Commios (noted by Caesar as king of the Atrebates, *De Bello Gallico* 4.21.7), furthers previous work (Williams 2005). Parallel claims exist from Tincomarus and Epillus, other British kings also vying for the prestige of being *commii filii*. These falsified identities were created to capitalize on the political disunity and power vacuums following Caesar's invasion of Gaul; they demonstrate both the longstanding political ties between Belgica and Britannia, and utilize the "Roman

cultural revolution" on the continent to assert local dominance in novel fashions (Woolf 1998).

"Natione Grecus": The Greek Language in Roman Britain
Kelsey Koon, University of Alberta

Writing from Roman Britain in languages other than Latin is notable for its rarity. The number of non-Latin monumental inscriptions can almost be numbered on the fingers of one hand. Only eight examples of non-Latin writing appear in the whole corpus of monumental inscriptions from Roman Britain, themselves a testament to individual language choice and self-expression. However, if the use of the Greek language in the monumental inscriptions of Britain is rare, it is comparatively less so in the collections of portable personal objects. These would appear to have been imported by their owners rather than made in Britain itself, since their symbolism and text are classically Greek or eastern in origin.

The majority of Greek script seems to have been confined to jewelry, glass, and metal tableware, with the preponderance of the lattermost dating to the late Roman or early Christian period. Greek was either a marker of Eastern origin, or a sign of higher education, since those Greek-speakers who inscribed objects in Britain seem to have known Greek already rather than learning it in Britain. The epigraphic corpus does not preserve evidence of practice in writing Greek, as it does with Latin, and all examples of Greek found in purposeful inscriptions and in informal graffiti appear to have been intentionally made by those who already had familiarity with the language and script.

This paper addresses these examples of Greek writing in Roman Britain, as well as their place in the larger literate landscape of the province. Analyzing these artifacts and their respective contexts reveals how multiple languages interacted on the island and the range of choice that was available for written expression.

The Punic and Roman Coinage of Pantelleria: Early Strategies in Roman Overseas Imperialism
Eoin O'Donoghue, University of St. Andrews

This paper examines Roman imperialist policies in the aftermath of the conquest of the island of Pantelleria (Provincia di Trapani). Pantelleria is located approximately halfway between the southwest coast of Sicily and Cape Bon in Tunisia; its rich archaeological record stretches back to the Neolithic. The island was later inhabited by Punic settlers from the fifth century B.C.E. Subsequently, Punic Pantelleria ('YRNM in Neo-Punic) was conquered by the Romans in 217 B.C.E. during the Second Punic War and then became Roman Cossura. The archaeological evidence records how the Romans adapted to the distinctive natural environment of Pantelleria as well as offering a window into Romano-Punic cultural interaction. It also provides an important example of the fluidity of Roman Imperialism in the Middle Republic. This paper focuses on one example of this process considering how the Roman administration appeased the Punic population, specifically

through examining changes to the coinage minted on the island from before and after the Roman conquest.

The pre-Roman coinage was minted by the local Punic administration as early as the late-fourth century B.C.E. It shows typical Punic imagery, a female head in profile on the obverse with a winged "Nike" figure bearing a laurel. The female figure has been interpreted as Isis, based on a *uraeus modius*, a necklace, and klaft worn on the head. Here I reject this interpretation in favor of suggesting the figure is a personification of the island itself. The reverse displays a laurel wreath and the Neo-Punic legend 'YRNM. After 217 B.C.E., the Romans maintained the principal elements of the imagery, but replaced the Neo-Punic legend with the Latinized name, Cossura. From this I conclude that early Roman overseas administrative strategies should be considered separately, the case of Cossura suggests a conciliatory approach rather than aggressive suppression.

Glocalization and the Emergence of Regional Visual Koines within the Province of Hispania Baetica

Ruben Montoya González, University of Leicester

In recent years, the glocalization framework has—and is being—developed upon continuous responses starting from an emphasis on diversity, as opposed to initial homogeneity, within globalization. Although in Roman studies the term has generally been used to investigate how global transformations (i.e., material, symbolic or visual exchange) happened differently in discrete regions across the Roman Empire (Gardner 2013: 7), its application to archaeological studies is still overlooked, as stated in a recent discussion on interdisciplinary perspectives on the recent growing use of this theoretical framework (Barret et al. 2018, 11–32). Because of that, my PhD research focuses on a theoretical application of the term glocalization to villas and the display of décor in Hispania Baetica, a provincially interconnected territory at the edge of the Roman world, which iconographic evidence has traditionally been interpreted through iconographic comparisons with other North African or Italic evidence. In this paper, I investigate the extent to which it is possible to identify local and regional aspects within global, architectural and artistic practices. In order to achieve that, I first present my theoretical model of glocalization. I then demonstrate its application to Roman visual material culture through two case studies: from the selection of charioteer scenes, to the display of Priapus sculptural remains, I conclude by affirming the emergence and existence of different regional, visual koines within a seemingly globalized world.

The Visual Representations of Roman Imperial Women in Hispania

Rachel Meyers, Iowa State University

While the portrait statues of the Roman emperors in Hispania have been catalogued and studied, those of the female imperial family members have often been overlooked or addressed summarily. This paper brings together for the first time the portrait heads, statue bodies, and inscribed bases of the imperial women from Livia to Julia Domna from the three provinces of Hispania. The evidence

for portrait statues of imperial women in this area, unlike those of the emperors, does not follow the same patterns for their representation in Rome and other parts of the empire. For example, there is a relatively small number of representations of the Flavian dynasty, even though Vespasian's grant of *ius Latii* to all of Spain was responsible for far-reaching sociopolitical changes. The female members of the family are essentially absent from statue galleries. On the other hand, some imperial women are over-represented among the remains of portrait statues. The number of images of Agrippina II is exceeded only by those of Livia, an outcome not reflected in other provinces where Livia figures prominently in statuary displays from the reigns of Augustus through Claudius.

This paper considers not only the number and distribution of female imperial portraits but also the people or groups who erected them. The way in which an individual or town council portrays an imperial woman tells us about how they viewed the woman herself, the emperor, and even the imperial court more broadly. One outcome of this study is a more developed perception of the cultural identity of the Iberian provinces as we examine the local interactions with imperial authority through the visual representations of the ruler and his family. The statues, or their lack, also indicate attitudes towards the public display of the female body in particular areas of these provinces.

Private Practices: Religious Continuity Between Greek and Roman Sicily
Andrew Tharler, Duke University

Recent assessments of early Roman Sicily have emphasized a stronger impression of cultural continuity with the Greek past than previously assumed. While certain terracotta industries survived the Roman conquest in 211 B.C.E. and Greek inscriptions continued to be widely attested, the persistence of Greek religious practices has not been thoroughly examined. This paper addresses the continuity of ritual activity in Roman Sicily by examining the use of terracotta altars, sometimes called *arulae*. Specifically, I analyze unpublished *arulae* from the site of Morgantina. Hellenistic *arulae* are distinguished by their open cylindrical bodies featuring ornamental friezes and miniature architectural motifs, typically dentils overhanging a Doric frieze. While these *arulae* are considered characteristic of the material culture of eastern Sicily in the third century B.C.E., their chronological development has received little attention. I propose on stylistic, technical, and stratigraphic grounds that several examples from Morgantina significantly post-date the capture of the city by the Romans, and their use may extend into the first century C.E. *Arulae* of the third century B.C.E. were produced in several standardized sizes and exhibit a wide array of decorative schemes and motifs. By contrast, *arulae* from later deposits are made with a coarser fabric and display a much narrower range of ornaments. And while earlier *arulae* from Morgnatina were used in households, public spaces, and sanctuaries, the late examples are found exclusively in domestic settings. Nevertheless, their cylindrical form and continued use of Greek architectural motifs demonstrate a certain familiarity with these bygone cult implements, even as the technical knowledge and refined production practices of the early *arulae* were lost. Terracotta *arulae*, then, may signal a persistent affinity with a Greek-Sicilian heritage on the part of certain residents of

Morgantina and a deliberate effort to maintain traditional ritual practices within the houses of the depopulated Roman town.

Session 8D: Joint AIA/SCS Colloquium
Monumental Expressions of Political Identities

Organizers: *Nicholas Cross*, Illinois Mathematics and Science Academy, and *Emyr Dakin*, The Graduate Center, CUNY

Colloquium Overview Statement

Any individual or group possesses multiple identities that are constructed and expressed through various means and media. Identity, broadly understood, has been a subject of great interest to scholars of the ancient Mediterranean (Derks and Roymans 2009; Gruen 2011; Mathisen and Shanzer 2011; Mattingly 2013; Zacharia 2016). This panel, however, proposes to explore the ways in which political identities were conceived, represented, and interpreted in antiquity through material artifacts and structures, an approach that follows a growing trend in scholarship (Coskun, Heinen and Pfeiffer 2009; Ma 2013; Chaniotis 2014). What factors influenced the monumental representations of political identities? How did a local political identity reflect or reject that of the larger region or empire? How were political messages transmitted through physical monuments, and how did contemporary audiences interpret them? What advantages does the perspective of identity formation through monuments offer to modern scholarship? With the setting for this conference being Washington, DC, a city filled with monumental expressions of political identity, at a moment when there is a national debate over commemorative statues, this panel's exploration of ancient monuments contributes a broader historical understanding and greater perspective of this timely subject.

This panel explores a wide array of case studies throughout the ancient Mediterranean, at various periods (in Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Greece, and in Republican and Imperial Rome), and via assorted media. Paper #1 examines the treasury terrace at Olympia and proposes that the monuments erected there expressed a message of interstate cooperation rather than competition. Paper #2 argues that through the monumental cult statue group in the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura, the synoecized Megalopolis communicated a pan-Arkadian identity and asserted its own position in contemporary geopolitics. Paper #3 examines an inclusive representation of civic identity in a unique honorary decree from Hellenistic Olbia that moves beyond a simple dichotomy of Greek and barbarian. Paper #4 shows how the relief on the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias depicting Nero and Armenia signified the autonomy of local elites to create their own ideologies that contrasted with the imperial center at Rome. Paper #5 provides an examination of the hybrid political identity of the western community at Gades as a Tyrian colony and a Roman city, as reflected in its monumental complex of the Herakleion.

This panel should be of interest to members of the AIA and the SCS on account of its integration of both archaeological and non-archaeological material. Whereas this panel is interested in objects and structures as conveyors of political identity,

politically charged messages drawn from the physical evidence may be incomplete, and thus only partially understood without their narrative contexts. When combined with available literary evidence, monuments shed light on how communities identified themselves and their political activities in the wider world. The panel is also suitable as a joint AIA/SCS session because it is meant to act as a methodological bridge between disciplines, time periods, and regions, to reflect more thoroughly upon the intersection of political identity and material representations. The question of political imagery in physical media is particularly suited to this interdisciplinary approach because the papers, each treating the subject from a different context and perspective, compare across time and space how communities portrayed their political identities. But the ultimate objective is to move beyond the concrete data from the material evidence and to illuminate the diverse political messages which the objects represent, whether this is interstate cooperation (Paper #1), the political autonomy of a community (Papers #2 and #4), the ideal citizen in a diverse community (Paper #3), or hybrid identities (Paper #5). Taken together, these papers touch upon the fundamental problems facing those studying communal identities, material culture, and cultural interactions, forming a panel with relevance to ancient scholarship as well as to the contemporary debates surrounding issues of monumentality, thus especially well-suited to a conference in the political capital of the nation.

Representations of Interstate Cooperation in the Archaic Treasuries at Olympia: A Constructivist's Interpretation

Nicholas Cross, Illinois Mathematics and Science Academy

Between 600 and 480 B.C.E., ten Dorian Greek communities from across the Mediterranean world—six from the west (Syracuse, Epidamnus, Sybaris, Selinus, Metapontum, and Gela), one from the Propontis (Byzantium), one from north Africa (Cyrene), and two from the Greek mainland (Sicyon, Megara)—dedicated treasuries at Olympia. In the northern sector of the Altis, the treasury terrace (Schatzhausterrasse) overlooked the Sacred Road which connected the preexisting Temple of Hera to the west and the Stadium to the east. Ranging from 4.42 x 5.78 m (Treasury VIII) to 13.17 x 10.85 m (Treasury XII), each treasury displayed objects of a military, athletic, mythological, or religious nature. Why did the donors exhibit their objects in this way, and why at Olympia? What was it about this site, a place of competition and religious ceremony, that attracted such monuments? What messages were conveyed through these buildings, their location, and their inventories?

Questions such as these have occupied scholars ever since Ernst Curtius and Wilhelm Dörpfeld published the results of their Olympia excavations in the late nineteenth century. The treasuries have been characterized as "une offrande et comme un abri d'offrandes" (Roux 1984, 154), a means of elite display (Morgan 1990; Neer 2007, 225–64), "a permanent embassy, representing the … wealth of the cities that had built them" (Valavanis 2004, 63), "club houses" for visitors from the donating communities (Spivey 2012, 187), and an "'international' stage for architectural display and … a center for architectural innovation" (Klein 2016, 132).

This paper engages with and builds upon this previous scholarship but proposes that the treasuries signified interstate cooperation between their donors.

Although it is tempting to compare the treasuries at Olympia with those at Delphi (Morgan 1990; Jacquemin 2003, 67–80; Mari 2006, 36–70; Scott 2010), a comparison which leads to interpretations of the treasuries at both sites as symbolic of interstate rivalries, this paper sees the ones at Olympia as emblematic of interstate cooperation in the Archaic period. The first half of the paper shows this through its exploration of the archaeological and literary evidence (Paus. 6.19.1–15; Ath. 9.479f–480a; Di Nanni 2012) for the architectural features, location, and inventories of the Olympic treasuries. Their relatively homogeneous architectural designs, their interactive grouping in an orderly, roughly equidistant line, and the similarity of (and transferability of) their inventories make it difficult to see the buildings engaging in a fundamentally agonistic display. Instead, when taken all together, the treasuries and their common elements of design, location, and inventory were visible expressions of interconnected political identities.

Having established the appearance and spatial dynamics of the treasuries, the paper proceeds in the second half to interpret this evidence in light of Constructivism (no relation to Constructivist Architecture of the early twentieth century), a relatively new political science model that sees relations between states as socially constructed through ideas and discourse (Zumbrunnen 2015, 296–312). When applied to the treasuries at Olympia, Constructivism illuminates the intersection of the buildings and the interstate political identities of their donors. While following many scholars who reject the Panhellenic ideology as a motivating factor the building of the treasuries (Morgan 1990; Scott 2010; Spivey 2012), this paper's Constructivist reading nonetheless argues that the treasuries were positioned in a collective dialogue with each other and with those who viewed them. For the majority of the donors, located far away from the mainland, investing in the development of Olympia, instead of in their own civic centers or their *metropoleis*, was a sign of their Greek identity and their treasuries communicated a collective political identity. In the Archaic period, Olympia, already a popular site for religious activity and athletic competition, became a conductor for interstate cooperation. By focusing on the competitive aspects in the athletics and architecture at Olympia, modern scholarship has neglected this important feature of the treasuries. This paper, with its interdisciplinary and innovative approach to the subject, fills in that gap.

Local Legends and Power Politics in the Cult Statues of the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura
Ashley Eckhardt, Emory University

A cult statue within a Greek temple simultaneously manifested the presence of the divinity in the human realm and communicated that deity's ties to the local community. A marked escalation in the production of cult statues occurred in the second century B.C.E. as Greek *poleis* used the erection of sacred monuments to negotiate the changing political environment of this time. Among this production was the monumental cult statue group created for the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura, which had been incorporated into the Megalopolitan synoecism of 369

B.C.E. I argue that the cult statue group at Lykosoura helped redefine an Arkadian identity in the second century B.C.E. through the employment of a local sculptor, local marble, and allusions to the Arkadian goddess's local mythology. In so doing, Megalopolis not only solidified its preeminence in Arkadia, but also promoted its own position within the contemporary political turmoil of the Mediterranean by aligning itself with an esteemed cult, largely of its own making.

In the first section of the paper, I examine how the distinctly Arkadian elements of the cult statue group contributed to the creation of a pan-Arkadian identity at Lykosoura. Scholars of Hellenistic religious practices have demonstrated that numerous cities throughout the Mediterranean propagated their patron cults through the implementation of Panhellenic festivals, monumental architectural renovations, and new cult statues (Chaniotis 2002; Parker 2009; Platt 2011; Melfi 2016). I suggest that the renowned second-century B.C.E. sculptor Damophon of Messene created the Lykosoura statue group in such a way as to make the cult of Despoina seem even more venerable than it was in practice. Pausanias described the worship of Despoina as the most prevalent in Arkadia (8.37.9), yet the goddess's sanctuary is not mentioned in any extant literary or epigraphic source prior to the second century B.C.E. The extant architectural remains of the sanctuary date after the Megalopolitan synoecism, leading Alaya Palamidis (2018) to suggest that the newly established city of Megalopolis transformed Lykosoura into a cult center that communicated a pan-Arkadian identity to link the formerly independent communities together. Damophon expressed this Arkadian character in the Despoina cult group through his choice of figures; the four major figures of the composition were linked only in the local Arkadian mythology of the goddess. The Arkadians worshipped Despoina as a powerful nature goddess tied to the pastoral life specific to the region. Moreover, by using local marble for the cult statue group, Damophon expressed physically the ties between this deity and the natural resources of Arkadia.

In the second section of the paper, I demonstrate how the scale of the cult statue group highlighted the political identities of Megalopolis and the Arkadians. Much scholarship on Hellenistic cult statues has discussed how many smaller temples like that at Lykosoura contained comparatively colossal cult images in this period, thereby clearly evoking the power and majesty of the divine figure (Cain 1995; Faulstich 1997; Damaskos 1999; Ridgway 2000; Mylonopoulos 2011). Damophon used the temple's small dimensions to his advantage; though they would have stood just under six meters tall, the Lykosoura figures filled the entire back wall of the temple's cella. As such, they commanded an imposing presence that illustrated the magnificence of the deities. However, I suggest that this monumental scale further highlighted the significance of the sanctuary within Arkadia through the illusion of an awe-inspiring monument, reminiscent of the famed cult statues of the Classical period. Through his choice of content, materials, and scale for the Lykosoura cult statue group, I argue in this paper that Damophon created a monument that exhibited a distinctly Arkadian character while also providing the sanctuary with an air of antiquity and veneration that masked its relatively recent creation. This monument thus fabricated simultaneously the local identity of the community and the significance of this pan-Arkadian cult in order to bolster Megalopolis's political position in the second century B.C.E.

The Honorary Decree for Karzoazos, Son of Attalos: A Monument for a 'New Man'?

Emyr Dakin, The Graduate Center, CUNY

Although the first edition of the Olbian posthumous honorary decree to Karzoazos, son of Attalos, was published well over a century ago (Henzen 1876), it has garnered little attention, usually only referred to when the honorand's name is included among inscriptions that contain Iranian names (Podossinov 2009). Latyschev's edition of the text dated Karzoazos's decree to the "Imperial period," after Olbia had been destroyed by the Thracian invasion of Burebista in the 50s B.C.E. (IosPE I² 39). According to Dio Chrysostom, the city was rebuilt post-invasion and the citizenry replenished by the acceptance of indigenous people into the citizenry (36.11). In this paper, I argue that the decree is important evidence of both the expansion of the citizenry and an inclusive notion of civic identity.

Karzoazos's Iranian name is not the only indicator of his new status. Much more important is the lack of reference to the honorand's family and ancestors—details typically mentioned in such decrees. The salience of the absence of any family references, I propose, allows the orator who composed Karzoazos's decree to cast the city and its past benefactors as the honorand's surrogate family. At the same time, the orator deflects any reaction of envy at, what could be called metaphorically, a new man's success. He accomplishes this, as I show in the second section of the paper, by portraying the honorand's civic duties as painful and burdensome. Finally, I examine the term *philanthropia*, which appears in line 21 of the decree, in the context of a new man. Although the expression has been associated with the encroachment of Roman power (Grey 2012), I argue that Olbia's decision to monumentalize *philanthropia* had special importance in a city where civic identity could not be characterized as a simple dichotomy between Greek and barbarian.

Although the allusion to an honorand's parents was a standard element of Greek honorary degrees, contemporary rhetorical handbooks offered a strategy to adopt if an honorand's ancestors were of little or no consequence. Theon's *Progymnasmata*, for example, suggests that a man's city could fill a surrogate role (8.110). The honorary decree to Karzoazos is a unique example of this approach. The orator not only employs a metaphor that is commonly associated with blood lineage to incorporate Karzoazos into the city's ancestry of benefactors, but also exploits the notion of experience, toil, and pain to efface any idea of inherited virtue. The same strategy, I maintain, serves to negate any envy that might arise at the success of what could be called a new man.

Although some honorary decrees depict their honorand's activities as both painful and burdensome, these are for living persons (Wörrle 1996). The rhetorical handbooks corroborate the notion that envy was not associated with the dead when they assert that "envy is a rivalry with the living" (Theon, 110), underlining the singular attempt by the orator of Karzoazos's posthumous decree to ward off any resentment felt at a new man's success. Furthermore, no other Olbian decree shows evidence of such a strategy. The orator's particular approach to introducing the honorand strengthens the argument that the honorand was a new man.

Finally, this paper examines the term *philanthropia*, as used in the decree. Grey suggests that the celebration of *philanthropia* towards all men, in place of pride in Greek ethnicity, was part of the ideological process by which civic Greeks reached an accommodation with Roman dominance at the end of the Hellenistic period

(Grey 2012). However, I argue that the term is in keeping with the rest of the decree, extolling a man because of his political accomplishments—despite the nature of his background. Moreover, I also show that for all the cities of the North shore of the Black Sea, there was never a simple dichotomy between Greek and barbarian. The epigraphical record suggests a more complex relationship between the indigenous and Greek peoples—one which the monumental decree to Karzoazos illustrates.

Refashioning the East in the Roman Provinces: The Relief of Nero and Armenia at Aphrodisias's Sebasteion

Timothy Clark, The University of Chicago

How local elites, especially those who governed cities in the Hellenized eastern provinces of the Roman empire, constructed their identities despite owing ultimate allegiance to Rome has been the subject of much scholarship (Price 1984; Alcock 2002; Raja 2012). The Sebasteion from Aphrodisias in southern Asia Minor represents an ideal case for this question. This sanctuary to Aphrodisias's principle deity, Aphrodite Prometer, and to the Julio-Claudian emperors was built between 20 and 60 C.E. by two elite Aphrodisian families who boasted close ties to the imperial cult and local civic life. In my paper, I relate the Sebasteion's sculptural program to an area of Roman ideology that research on the sanctuary has largely ignored. In the complex's South Building, Nero is shown supporting an Amazonian representation of Armenia, whom he has just defeated. I explain how the differences between this representation of an Eastern "Other" sponsored by the local Aphrodisian aristocracy and those produced at Rome under the Julio-Claudian emperors explicates our understanding of the Sebasteion as a symbol of Aphrodisian civic identity within the Roman empire.

The image of Nero and Armenia formed part of a series of reliefs on the third floor of the South Building along with other scenes of emperors conquering foreign nations. Armenia sags, defeated and demoralized, in Nero's arms. Her slouched head and deadened expression signify her death or complete dejection. Her exposed breasts, Phrygian cap, and bow marked her as an exotic Eastern Other. Nero is shown naked, with a Corinthian Helmet, like a Greek hero. By contrast, imagery during Augustus's reign never showed a Roman explicitly subduing either Armenia or Parthia, the empire's two principal Eastern enemies, but showed them kneeling before or hailing the emperor (Rose 2005; Lerouge 2007). Augustus's regime thus never explicitly declared that Parthia or Armenia had been conquered and were now part of the empire per se. Under Nero, however, images of the two states disappeared from Roman material and visual culture entirely. By contrast, Armenia's deadened expression and feeble form testify to Nero's violent subjugation of her.

My paper first examines the relief in the context of the Sebasteion's sculptural program. Bert Smith (1987) has argued that Nero delicately cradles Armenia and that he will soon gently bring her into the Roman fold. However, building on Caroline Vout's analysis of the relief (2007), I argue that this scene actually implies Nero's sexualized and forceful incorporation of Armenia into the Sebasteion's Hellenized vision of the Roman empire. The second story of the South Building tied

the images of conquering emperors to Greek myths, such as Aeneas or Herakles and Nessos. The combination of the two floors recast Nero's defeat of Armenia as the act of a Greek hero or god who has subdued a threat to the order of the cosmos that the Olympian deities maintained.

In the second part of my paper, I go beyond Smith and Vout and draw conclusions about how this depiction of Armenia elucidates Aphrodisian political identities. I relate this relief to the Parthian Arch of Augustus, the Prima Porta statue of Augustus, Nero's Parthian Arch, and numismatic representations of the Parthia and Armenia created under Augustus and Nero. These comparisons show how the Sebasteion relief marks one of if not the earliest representations of actual Eastern conquest. Armenia here is not simply deferential to Roman rule but has been forced to become a full new member of the Roman *oikumene*. This view of Armenia suggests that the Sebasteion's aristocratic benefactors constructed its vision of the Roman empire using ideologies that departed sharply from views in vogue at the imperial metropole. As my paper demonstrates, the relief signifies the important autonomy of the elites in the Greek East, who could create their own conception of who the emperor was and what kind of empire he led.

The Herakleion and Expressions of Political Identities at Gades from the Hellenistic to Early Modern Age

Pamina Fernández Camacho, Universidad de Cádiz

The Herakleion, a temple dedicated to the Phoenician god Melqart, who became identified through syncretism with the Greek hero Herakles, was the most significant building on the Western Tyrian island colony of Gades, off the southwestern coast of the Iberian peninsula. Founded at the same time as the colony in about 900 B.C.E., it is mentioned in classical sources more often than the city itself, as a center of religious worship frequented by various historical figures, as an oracle, and as an observation point for scientific phenomena connected to the end of the world, like the sunset and the tides. From all the information contained in classical sources, this temple must be understood as a monumental complex. It had shrines dedicated to both the Greek and Phoenician versions of Herakles and various deified abstractions; statues of heroes and generals like Themistocles or Alexander; a treasury full of symbolical objects, such as the girdle of Teucer or the golden olive tree of Pygmalion; and even a fountain whose strange behavior prompted wonder and speculation worldwide. Those elements were on display for the public to admire, and served, not only to boast of the temple's "sanctity, antiquity and riches" (Mela 3.46), but also as building bricks of the city's political identity in the Hellenistic world and later in the Roman Empire.

As a monumental complex, the Herakleion projected a very particular image of the ancient colony as a hybrid between its old Tyrian identity (used to claim kinship and preeminence over other commercial hubs in the area), and its new Greco-Roman one, the latter reinforced as the city evolved from a Roman ally to an important *municipium* of Roman citizens (Rodríguez Neila 1980). The complex visually harmonized the different identities, presenting the old side by side with the new, the real cult elements side by side with mythical landmarks, hero keepsakes, and bodies of monsters which were originally a figment of Greek imagination. It

was a public testament to the city leadership's willingness to adapt in a changing cultural landscape.

This paper analyzes the contents of the Herakleion as described by ancient Greek and Roman authors, such as Polybius, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Silius Italicus, Philostratus, and Porphyry. Previous scholarship has approached this monumental temple complex to gain a better grasp of Phoenician religion and the workings of Eastern temples (Will 1950–1951; Tsirkin 1981; Bonnet 1988; Marín Ceballos 2011), or to discuss the imaginary landscape of the Far West in Greek and Roman sources (Cruz Andreotti 1994; Marín Ceballos 2011; Fernández Camacho 2015). But the purpose of this paper's analysis is to study the projection of the city's political identity through the Herakleion. This new perspective recognizes the agency of this community of citizens, who have so often been reduced to the role of mere recipients of cultural colonization by studies that have focused on the Greco-Roman view of the remote West.

Such a shift in focus agrees with the archaeological and literary evidence of the city's importance during the Hellenistic and Imperial eras. There are clear parallels between the Herakleion and the great Eastern temples (Marín Ceballos 2011), where conscious adaptation of traditional cults to Greco-Roman parameters had a political dimension, and was not part of a cultural effacement forced upon them by outside agents. As an enclave of an Eastern civilization in the West, Gades retained a similar measure of control over how it wished to be perceived by the successive powers who held sway over the area, in contrast with other Iberian peoples who were often forced into the paradigm of uncivilized savages.

The paper concludes with a brief survey of medieval and early-modern traditions that involved the survival of pagan imagery originally connected to the temple and its god under Christian avatars (Almagro Gorbea 2011; Fernández Camacho 2017). Evidently, the old practice of representing flexible identities in the face of cultural changes did not die with the Herakleion temple.

Session 8E: Open Session
Roads, Rivers, and Harbors

Persistent Pathways: New Evidence from the Coriglia Excavation Project

William H. Ramundt, University at Buffalo, and *David B. George*, Saint Anslem College

This paper will present the results of recent excavations at the Etrusco-Roman site of Coriglia, located northwest of Orvieto, Italy. The major occupation of Coriglia begins with an Etruscan phase in the sixth century B.C.E., and reaches its peak during the Roman Imperial period. The site occupies a large hillside defined by a series of L-shaped retaining walls. These retaining walls are persistent throughout the life of the site and at various periods support a domestic area, two bath complexes, a medieval church, and, in the Roman and Etruscan phases, a possible sacred space associated with a hot spring. The disparate uses of the site make it difficult to understand the function of Coriglia and its place in the larger landscape, but new evidence offers a solution to connect these varied activities.

One of the major features investigated this season is a roadway that connects several areas of the site. Previously, it was thought that this roadway, with its multiple and complex phases, began in the late third or early fourth century C.E. and persisted through at least the seventh century C.E. Intriguingly, the 2019 campaign has revealed an earlier phase of the road that dates to the late first century B.C.E. with evidence of even earlier phases during the Etruscan occupation of the site. This suggests that the road was consistent feature of the site through its life and was constantly maintained, modified, and adapted to remain functional. This paper will discuss this new evidence and how it exhibits a persistent organization, use, and function of this area of the site that, when combined with the other evidence from this and previous seasons of excavation, allows for a better understanding of Coriglia and its place within the Umbrian countryside.

Preliminary Results from the 2019 Field School Excavations at the Vada Volaterrana Harbor Project

Stephen B. Carmody, Troy University, *Kelsey R. Mitchell*, Troy University, *Kristen M. Bird*, Troy University, *Simonetta Menchelli*, University of Pisa, *Stefano Genovesi*, University of Pisa, *Francesca Bulzomi*, University of Pisa, *Alberto Cafaro*, University of Pisa, and *Paolo Sangriso*, University of Pisa

Vada Volaterrana was the harbor system of the Etruscan city of Volaterrae, established in the seventh century B.C.E. In imperial times it included a system of docks, pottery factories, and farms spreading across the coastal plain between the Fine and the Cecina rivers, having its main center in the area occupied by the modern-day small town of Vada (Municipality of Rosignano M.mo, Province of Livorno). Beginning in the 1980s, excavations conducted by the University of Pisa have revealed approximately a quarter of the harbor system at the San Gaetano site, about two kilometers north of Vada. It was built during the Augustan age, later abandoned in the mid-seventh century C.E. and it included a large warehouse, a small thermal bath, a fountain/waterhole, a large water tank, a public thermal bath, and the head office of the guild that ran the everyday operations of the port.

In 2015, a GPR (Ground Penetrating Radar) identified structures in the southern sector of the site. Excavations in this area have uncovered a bread oven in the oldest portion of the structure dating to the first century C.E. Between the end of the first and the beginning of the second century C.E., a large rectangular building comprised of seven rooms was built. At the beginning of the third century C.E. more rooms were added that included a large apsed wall. Rich decoration suggests the importance of this room, which possibly functioned as a meeting hall. Additionally, these excavations have revealed that these structures were built upon an earlier Late Bronze Age settlement.

In the summer of 2019, a collaborative project between the University of Pisa and Troy University began focused on detailing the foodways of the site's inhabitants during all phases of occupation. Flotation samples were collected and processed in order to collect carbonized plant and animal food remains from the site. Samples were collected from multiple rooms, different occupational sequences, and from inside and outside of the structures in order to detail changing subsistence strategies over time and across space. In the paper, we detail our collection

activities and our preliminary results in order to describe the day-to-day life and subsistence activities of the men, women, and children that occupied the site.

Morgantina's Lost Port and Buried River: Geoarchaeological Insights into the Paleohydrology of Central Sicily

Jonathan Flood, Frostburg State University, *Alex Walthall*, University of Texas at Austin, *Tim Beach*, University of Texas at Austin, and *Robert Gorham*, Case Western Reserve University

The ancient city of Morgantina is today located deep in the dry Sicilian interior, more than 50 kilometers from the sea's edge and the expansive maritime networks of the Mediterranean. Yet, despite the site's remote inland location, there is ample archaeological evidence that in antiquity Morgantina enjoyed the status of an important regional economic center, evidence ranging from the large quantities of imported pottery that arrived at the Archaic settlement to the city's sizable Hellenistic agora and eventual construction of a Roman *macellum*. This apparent divorce between geographic isolation and commercial integration has led some scholars to hypothesize that Morgantina's hydrologic connectivity must have been better in the past. To explore this idea, the authors collected new geophysical, geospatial, and geochemical data during the 2018 and 2019 field seasons, data that confirm sweeping changes in the river systems which once fanned across central Sicily. This paper highlights the dynamism of the human-hydrologic relationship in central-eastern Sicily between the Iron Age and present day. By combining drone survey, sedimentary lithofacies analysis, descriptive fluvial geomorphology, and C14 dating on cutbank sequences, our team has begun to document pre-Iron Age fluvial conditions and subsequent erosional/depositional episodes that followed the expansion of both Greek and indigenous settlements into the central watersheds of the territory surrounding Morgantina (e.g., Dittaino and Gornalunga rivers). Paleohydrologic reconstructions based on field-data allow us to situate the site of Morgantina's Iron Age and Archaic settlement along the fall-line of a long-buried riverine landscape. The preliminary results of our investigations appear to confirm the earlier hypothesis that Morgantina once controlled an active riverine port, which straddled the line between upcountry resources and those of the coastal plain. Erosion from land-clearance in the upper watersheds beginning as early as the tenth century B.C.E. accumulated as deposition in the valley bottoms, infilling formerly navigable channels near the fall-line and contributing to the progradation of the coastline, which gradually pushed the wider world of water-borne commerce further away from the Morgantinoi. We conclude by considering how a better understanding of the community's environmental successes and missteps contextualize human activity in the unfolding Anthropocene of the present day.

On the Water's Edge: Building Rome's Emporium

Christina Triantafillou, University of Oxford

In Rome's Testaccio region, three sections of the Tiber riverfront harbor, commonly referred to as the Emporium, have been excavated, consisting of stretches

of quays, ramps, and at least two levels of storerooms in brick and reticulate-faced concrete—evidence of the crucial supply network to Rome of goods from its hinterland and the wider Mediterranean. Brick stamp evidence reveals the building works to have taken place primarily in the early second century C.E., a period of intensive building construction in the imperial capital. This paper explores the evidence for the construction of these sections of the Emporium, the practicalities and issues involved in building works taking place on the water's edge, and an understanding of the size and scale of the workforce required for its construction. The faced concrete of the ramps and quays necessitated the creation of cofferdams, enclosures in the river next to the construction areas that enabled the water to be removed in order to allow work to take place below the waterline. Vitruvius provides information on the possible methods of construction for cofferdams as well as for mechanisms for the large-scale extraction of water. The spatial constraints of building in Rome's congested urban environment would have necessitated the use of boats for storage of equipment and building materials as well as for working platforms for the driving in of wooden piles to create the cofferdams. Conducting a quantitative analysis of the building materials used in the Emporium and referencing pre-industrial labor manuals, it is possible to estimate the minimum size of the workforce needed for the Emporium's construction. The results of this study show the Emporium was a well-choreographed building project requiring significant planning in order not to impede the constant flow of traffic on the Tiber which was so essential to Rome's existence.

Don't Rock the Boat: Negotiating Fishing Rights on the Rivers of the Roman Empire

Christy Q. Schirmer, University of Texas at Austin

As Rome expanded its control in regions with scores of inland settlements, exploiting local rivers and streams for food must have been an important component of the empire's regional economies. How this exploitation played out on the ground is a subject largely unaddressed by the ancient sources and is difficult to assess in the archaeological record. Marine fishing and the role of the sea in Roman economies have enjoyed robust scholarly attention in recent years, but the business of river fishing is not well understood. This paper examines what we know of fishermen and fish-merchant *collegia* and considers them in the context of rural riverine environments in an attempt to better understand how fishermen organized their activities in remote inland areas. A survey of Roman legal texts suggest that fishing in rivers was ubiquitous but was generally unregulated from the top down. Based on an examination of legal, epigraphic, and material evidence from the banks of the Tiber as well as provincial sites, I argue that river fishermen must have frequently relied on cooperatives and other informal regulatory mechanisms in order to maintain a balance of controlled access to what was essentially a public resource. Fishing is particularly well-suited to serve as an example of how commons-sharing can both introduce and correct problems of competition among interested parties when formal regulation is lacking, and may offer insight into the workings of other trades and industries as well. With this paper I aim to shed new light on an industry whose importance to social and economic history has been inversely proportional to our understanding of its practice.

Session 8F: Open Session
Prehistoric Cretan Ceramics

Knossos, Phaistos, and the Neolithics of Crete: New Light on Chronology, Connectivity and Cultural Divergence before the Bronze Age
Simona V. Todaro, Catania University, and *Peter D. Tomkins*, University of Sheffield

What is the Cretan Neolithic? A seemingly simple question, but one that has revealed a Protean elusiveness to generations of researchers. Most have approached it from the partial perspective of one or the other of the two main deep sequences, Knossos or Phaistos, or else from more short-lived Neolithic site assemblages, which typically relate to Phaistos or Knossos but never both in any satisfactory way. Consequently, our understanding of the Cretan Neolithic continues to hinge on the longstanding question of how the two main sites actually relate in chronological and cultural terms. Various schemes and solutions have been proposed, but a satisfactory correlation has proved elusive. Chief among the factors behind this has been the inevitable confusion that results when the expectation among twentieth-century researchers of a single, homogenous, unilineal trajectory of Neolithic cultural development on Crete (mirroring similar expectations of Minoan unilineal development) clashes with the reality that cultural divergence is just as much a feature of the Neolithic as it is of the Bronze Age.

In this paper we outline a new account of the chronological and cultural relationship between Phaistos and Knossos during the Neolithic that draws on our respective studies of stratigraphical, ceramic, and cultural development at the two sites over the past two decades. In the process we shed new light, not just on chronology, but also on the multiple cultural identities that characterize the Cretan Neolithic and configure its changing relationship with the wider world of the Aegean and beyond.

From Coarse to Fine and All through Time: Trickle Pattern Ware from the Early to Late Bronze Age on Crete
Lauren Oberlin, University of Michigan

The trickle pattern motif appears on ceramic vessels from Early Minoan I through Late Minoan III on Crete. First seen at Priniatikios Pyrgos and Charakas, Myrtos in the Early Minoan I period and seen in large quantities at Myrtos Fournou Korifi in EM II, the dark-on-light trickle motif continues in use for 2,500 years through the end of the LM IIIB period. This motif, depicting a red, brown, or black liquid trickling down from the top of a vessel has been affiliated by previous scholars with the liquid products of wine, easily correlated due to the motif's dark pigment, or olive oil. This decoration is seen commonly on the exteriors of courseware vessels, such as *pithoi* and other jars in the Prepalatial and Old Palace periods. The Prepalatial period use of trickle pattern is most distinctive at the site of Myrtos Fournou Korifi, where the courseware vessels remaining near the production and storage areas numbered eighty-nine. The use of trickle pattern on courseware remained standard until the end of the Old Palace period. However,

in the shift to the New Palace period, the application of trickle pattern to ceramic vessels undergoes a paradigm shift, seen in its innovative application to fineware vessels. With the intention of facilitating a discussion on this dramatic cultural shift and to posit the ideological shifts on consumption in this transition, evidence from the EM II through LM III will be presented, highlighted by the sites of Myrtos Fournou Korifi (EM II), as well as Knossos and Palaikastro (MM I – LM III) working as both comparison and contrast to each other. These two noteworthy sites have evidence of trickle pattern in great quantity (65 vessels at Knossos, and 66 vessels at Palaikastro) throughout a great period of time.

A View from the Center: Ceramic Consumption in Middle Minoan IIB Sector Pi at Malia
Georgios Doudalis, Ruprecht-Karls Universitat Heidelberg

This paper discusses the recently excavated late Protopalatial ceramic material from a bone and stone workshop located in Space 17 of Sector Pi at Malia, which was destroyed by fire at the end of the Middle Minoan IIB period (ca. 1700 B.C.E)

During the Protopalatial period, Malia is considered a Palatial center divided into quarters that share elite architectural characteristics later appearing in concentration throughout Palatial structures of the proceeding Neopalatial period. The view from Quartier Mu has led scholars to assume that the social structure at Malia during the Protopalatial period was composed of competing hierarchies operating locally.

Space 17 of Sector Pi consists of two distinctive Protopalatial layers, from which the first was an upper story collapse and the second the ground floor. In both layers there is evidence of stone- and bone-working, as well as a considerable amount of pottery including 324 accessioned vessels. The majority of these vessels belong to drinking, storage, and pouring wares with some evidence of cooking present in both layers, indicating a variety of activities happening in the workshop toward the end of the Protopalatial period.

The analysis and interpretation of this material is of great importance because, aside from the published material from Quartier Mu, it is the first well-stratified and documented space in the Palatial Center of Malia. Thus the comparison of the ceramic material from this space with that found in the workshops of Quartier Mu creates an opportunity to explore questions of comparison between the two spaces, including distribution and consumption of ceramic material therein, as well as patterns of consumption of social agents simultaneously occupying different areas of the Palatial settlement of Malia at the end of the Protopalatial period.

Small but Mighty: Miniature Ceramic Vessels in MM IB-LM IB Minoan Settlements on Crete
Rachel Dewan, University of Toronto

Miniaturization is a hallmark of Minoan art and material culture. Although miniature objects have been recognized as characteristic of Bronze Age Aegean assemblages for more than a century, interpretations have been limited, often based

on assumptions and restricted to ritual contexts. Some recent scholarship has attempted to build on earlier work and offer more comprehensive approaches to miniatures, but the need for a broader analysis of miniaturization in Minoan material culture remains. While miniature vessels are most commonly associated with funerary and cultic contexts, found in tombs from the Pre- to Postpalatial periods or on Minoan peak sanctuaries, they also appear in settlement contexts. How are we to interpret miniatures when they are found in "domestic" or otherwise "secular" spaces? To address this question, I have conducted a detailed analysis of the material characteristics and contextual associations of miniature pottery vessels from a range of Proto- and Neopalatial Cretan settlements. The study investigates the form, function, and technology of miniature pots from a wide variety of domestic and palatial contexts, including living quarters, palatial courts, and household shrines. These assemblages encompass a range of forms that differ greatly in decoration and manufacture, from fine polychrome bowls to coarse open vessels. While some forms remain similar across multiple sites, others show regional preferences and trends. Through this material and contextual analysis, I explore what it may have meant to encounter the small-scale not just in the explicitly sacred sphere of Bronze Age Crete, but also in the spaces of everyday life.

New Evidence from Late Minoan I Pottery Deposits at Gournia
Robert Angus K. Smith, Brock University

New finds from the Gournia Excavation Project offer a renewed understanding of the final Neopalatial phase of the site. A number of Late Minoan I deposits reveal that the site transitioned smoothly from the Middle Minoan III to the Late Minoan I period, suffered a major disruption towards the end of the Late Minoan IA phase—presumably caused at least in part by the Theran eruption—and recovered during the Late Minoan IB phase until its destruction and temporary abandonment at the end of this period. This paper will present the pottery evidence from deposits that date to the beginning of Late Minoan I, the transition between Late Minoan IA and Late Minoan IB, and the final Late Minoan IB period of the site. The deposits include two from the Gournia palace: one that dates to the Middle Minoan IIIB/Late Minoan IA transition, and another that dates to the early Late Minoan IB phase. Both of these palatial deposits seem related to feasting activities. These will be compared to more numerous non-palatial deposits that can be placed at the end of the Late Minoan IB phase, and that indicate a variety of domestic and industrial activities occurring in the town of Gournia. Together these deposits will help us to understand the ceramic phasing of the Late Minoan I period while allowing us to contrast the activities of the palace to those that took place in the surrounding town during this final period of Neopalatial Gournia.

Cretan Overseas Connections In Late Minoan IIIC: The Contribution of Transport Stirrup Jars
Halford W. Haskell, Southwestern University

While the traditional view has been that Cretan overseas contacts underwent considerable retrenchment after Late Minoan IIIB, the export of transport stirrup

jars (TSJs) from Crete in the twelfth century contributes to an emerging sense that overseas connections remained vigorous, although probably conducted on a different model. Work on Crete, the mainland (especially Tiryns), and Cyprus has forced a reassessment of Cretan overseas connections in the twelfth century. On Crete, TSJs continued to be manufactured, many for local use but certainly some for export. There is evidence at LMIIIC Thronos Kephala, for example, for new workshops as well as the continuation of some central Cretan TSJ workshops, reflecting continued exchange networks. Some pieces at Thronos Kephala evidently come from the western Mesara. On the Greek mainland, the bulk of twelfth-century TSJs with verifiable contexts comes from LHIIIC levels at Tiryns, where the excavators hypothesize that a new elite emerged after the LHIIIB palatial period. Excavators at Tiryns have suggested that this new elite invoked "symbolic capital," which included Cretan TSJs, to create a link with the palatial past to legitimize their status. Most TSJs at Tiryns appear to be of central Cretan type. One might note a wall bracket of Cypriot inspiration and the "Tiryns Treasure" as further evidence of overseas connections visible at IIIC Tiryns. On Cyprus, a few TSJs are found in contexts corresponding to Aegean IIIC, attesting to continuing relations with the Aegean, and central Crete seems to be the place of their manufacture. Scholarly interpretations have ranged from radical disruption to cultural continuity and varying degrees of change. This paper aims to situate Cretan TSJs in the broader discussion of Aegean overseas connections in the twelfth century, a period that represents change and evocation of the past rather than retrenchment.

Session 8G: Joint AIA/SCS Colloquium
The Roman Army During the Republican Period

Organizer: *Michael J. Taylor*, University at Albany, SUNY

Colloquium Overview Statement

The citizen army of the Roman Republic was central to the political, cultural and social history of the period. High rates of military participation (Brunt 1971) made the army one of the most prominent institutional zones of interaction between the citizen and the state (Nicolet 1980), between mass and elite, and between Romans and Italians. The combat effectiveness of the Republican army shaped the arc of Mediterranean geopolitics for centuries to come. This panel brings together new perspectives on the Roman Army from rising scholars, both through reevaluation of literary texts and incorporation of an ever expanding corpus of archaeological evidence.

Paper 1 challenges the notion that archaic Roman hoplites fought as heavy infantry. It is generally accepted that bronze cuirasses preserved in archaic tombs simultaneously offered significant protection while also burdening and even immobilizing the wearer. However, a physical reevaluation or surviving samples reveals that archaic armor was surprisingly thin and light, so that Roman "hoplites" were less well protected but also much more mobile than previously assumed. The paper concludes that we cannot assume that early Roman forces deployed as

"heavy" infantry, as even cuirassed warriors might have enjoyed the agility and mobility expected from skirmishers.

Paper 2 discusses the cultural implications of the new panoply adopted in the fourth century B.C.E., when the Romans abandoned Greek style panoply and replaced it with equipment borrowed from Celtic peoples. The paper queries reasons for the wholesale adoption of kit from peoples collectively defined as the ultimate barbarian "Other," and suggests that the availability of Celtic equipment coincided with the recruitment of men from outside of the traditional hoplite class. The paper concludes by discussing how Rome's Celtic equipment was mobilized in the Middle Republic to symbolize Roman national identity and hegemonic power.

Paper 3 examines cultural exchange between Roman soldiers and natives in Spain, arguing that this exchange was multi-directional, and should be understood as "Creolization," in which a new hybrid culture emerged in the contact zone. Iberian warriors were portrayed using Roman Montefortino helmets, while the *gladius hispaniensis* and the *pugio*, the Iberian dagger, were incorporated into the Roman arsenal. Cultural exchanges in Spain during the Republic foreshadowed well-attested cultural hybridity in provincial military zones during the Imperial period.

Paper 4 questions the notion that Roman soldiers were especially loyal to their farms and families back in Italy. Rather, intensive colonization of the second century B.C.E. assumed that many Roman soldiers would not be returning to their family farms, but would instead be seeking out new communities and new horizons. Desertion was another informal path away from a life in Italy. Finally, the paper considers evidence of legions being discharged in the provinces, and the possibility that many men would have simply stayed abroad, transitioning from citizen-soldiers to fortune seekers in the Roman diaspora.

Paper 5 disputes the common assumption that the velites, the skirmishers who comprised over a quarter of a Polybian legion, disappeared in the Late Republic as part of the so-called "Marian reforms." The paper joins a growing consensus that the Marian reforms should be dismissed as a modern scholarly construct that cannot be used to tell a simple, sudden story of military transformation. The paper notes the many instances where light infantry are attested in Caesarian armies that are not necessarily foreign auxiliaries. It also notes the use of the *evocati*, recalled veterans, as skirmishers. The paper concludes that Roman citizens continued to fight as skirmishers, even if they were no longer the youngest and poorest men as they had been in Polybius's day.

Discussant: *Jonathan Roth*, San Jose State University

Men of Bronze or Paper Tigers?
Jeremy S. Armstrong, University of Auckland

The traditional model has long held that, in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E., ancient Roman warriors covered themselves in heavy bronze armor, turning themselves into slow-moving, invincible behemoths, who—like their Greek cousins—likely banded together into tight phalanxes. And while the argument around

the early Roman use of the phalanx formation has heated up in recent years (see Rich 2007; Rosenstein 2010; Armstrong 2016), there are few scholars who argue against the simple existence of heavy infantry in early Rome. From the tenets of the Servian Constitution, to the copious finds of bronze military equipment from sites around Central Italy (Veii, Tarquinia, Lavinium, Paestum, etc.), the evidence for "heavy infantry" in archaic Rome seems unequivocal. But is it?

This paper will suggest that the answer is far more complex than it initially appears and will work to problematize the role of bronze armor in both the definition of "heavy infantry" and in supporting its presence in Italy. Specifically, it will use recent analyses conducted on military equipment finds from the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia in Rome, the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Paestum, and items in private collections, to explore what detailed study of bronze military equipment finds from archaic Italy can actually tell us. Two key points will be made based on initial findings.

First, it will confirm what scholars like Krentz have recently argued looking at the Greek world: that the weight of bronze military equipment is often (massively) overestimated. While a range obviously exists, most individual pieces of equipment examined in the collections weighed less than 2 kg each, and usually closer to 1 kg. Thus the total weight for an Italian warrior's equipment, even with the full, traditional panoply—helmet, cuirass, shield (*aspis*), greaves, spear, and sword, would certainly fall within Krentz's (2013, 135) recent suggestion of 14–21 kg. This stands in stark contrast to the oft-cited figure of 31 kg put forward by Rüstow and H. Köchly (1852), and still often followed in modern scholarship.

Second, with this light weight came thinness. Many of the pieces of bronze equipment examined—and particularly those from before the fourth century B.C.E.—were only between 1 and 1.5 millimeters thick. It is therefore highly likely that, as has been well attested previously for the *aspis* (Bardunias and Ray 2016), many pieces of bronze military equipment would have represented little more than a thin, decorative shell which was placed over what was likely the true strength of the armor: layers of organic materials (presumably leather and felt).

Thus, in conclusion, the paper will suggest that bronze equipment from Italy in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E.—although often used as a key piece of evidence for "heavy infantry"—is actually not as straightforward an indicator as many have suggested. While work is still ongoing, and the sample of items is by no means either comprehensive or fully representative, preliminary study suggests that, in this period, bronze needs to be considered as only part of a warrior's defensive system—and perhaps a largely decorative part.

Beyond Celtic: Panoply and Identity in the Roman Republic

Michael Taylor, University at Albany, SUNY

This paper examines how the Roman army in the early Republic adopted a Celtic panoply, in the process abandoning Greek-style hoplite equipment. This paper considers Roman panoply as a cultural problem, and examines the links between the distinct visual appearance of Roman legionaries and how this was deployed to articulate both Rome's national identity as well as its waxing Mediterranean hegemony.

The first part details the Celtic origins of the major pieces of Rome's new military equipment: sword (*gladius*), shield (*scutum*), javelin (*pilum*), mail armor, and Montefortino helmet. While the Celtic origins of many of these items is relatively well established, the cultural implications of the panoply deserve scrutiny, especially given how shifts in panoply might reflect and even constitute cultural identity (Taylor 2017). Indeed, one curious result of the new panoply was that a Roman legionary appeared very similar to a Gallic warrior, even at the time when the Romans, along with their Hellenistic counterparts, were starting to fashion the Celts as the ultimate "Other" (Marszal 2000).

The next section seeks possible military and cultural explanations for the new panoply, suggesting among other factors that the new kit may have been driven by mass recruitment from outside of the narrow hoplite class. While the new panoply worked well with the new manipular tactics of the period, the paper argues that the adoption of the new equipment was largely disconnected from manipular tactics. The Romans most likely did not seek emulate the flashy aesthetic of Celtic warriors (on the model of nineteenth-century Zhouves), and indeed often toned down Celtic decorative motifs on the models they adopted. The paper concludes that the adoption of Celtic military equipment may have been a coincidence, as Celtic gear became widely available precisely at the same time (fourth century B.C.E.) as Rome began to recruit from a wider portion of its citizen body, drafting men who had no tradition of using Greek-style hoplite equipment (Armstrong 2017, for the *pilum*).

The panoply eventually coalesced into a symbol of specifically Roman identity, especially as the Romans deployed distinctively equipped armies into Magna Graeca and the Hellenistic East. The new panoply was increasingly identified by the Greeks as Roman: this includes the Montefortino helmet on the Entella VI (Ampolo B1) tablet and the *scutum*-type shield and Celtic sword carried by the goddess Roma on the third-century coin minted by Rhegion. The Romans themselves started using their visually distinctive military equipment to articulate their own hegemony. After proclaiming "freedom for the Greeks," Flamininus deposited his personal *scutum* at Delphi (Plut. *Flam.* 12.6), while the Pydna monument of Aemilius Paullus celebrated the panoply of Paullus's legionaries (Taylor 2016). To paraphrase Denis Feeney (2016), the borrowed panoply was now "Beyond Celtic," associated not with Celtic warriors, but with Roman identity and hegemony.

Cultural Transformation of the Roman Army in Republican Spain
Dominic Machado, College of the Holy Cross

The experience of Roman soldiers fighting in Spain in the Middle Republic was markedly different from those serving in other theaters during the same period. Beginning with the Second Punic Wars, troops commissioned to the Iberian Peninsula were stationed in the region for prolonged periods of time, often in excess of six years. Throughout the extent of their service, Roman soldiers did not just keep to themselves. They were meeting, communicating, and creating relationships with various local inhabitants throughout the Iberian Peninsula. This paper examines the impact of these interactions by investigating how both Iberian and Roman representations of war changed throughout the second and first centuries

B.C.E. What emerges from this analysis is that these interactions produced significant change in the visual cultures of the Iberian Peninsula and the Roman world. Consequently, the armies that fought in Spain during Republic can be seen not just as military machines hell-bent on imperial expansion, but as cultural agents who played a key role in defining what it meant to be Iberian and Roman.

In interpreting changes to visual representations of warfare in this context, this paper will use the theoretical framework of creolization, taking inspiration from new approaches to the study of the Roman provinces (Webster 2001; Dietler 2010). As opposed to more traditional theories of acculturation, the framework of creolization has the advantage of recognizing cultural exchange as multi-directional, while still acknowledging the importance of power imbalances in these exchanges. Further, this paper also draws on recent work on the Roman Imperial army as an important sociocultural force in provincial life and extends it to a similar situation in Republican Spain (Pollard 2000; Allison 2013).

The impact of Roman soldiers on Iberian culture can be clearly seen in the changing depiction of warriors in local artwork. Beginning in the second century B.C.E., Iberian pottery begins to feature soldiers with headgear that closely resembles the Montefortino helmet worn by Roman soldiers during the Middle Republic (Quesada Sanz 1997a). This new iconography is mirrored by a change in armory among Iberian warriors who adopted the helmet in the wake of Roman incursions into the peninsula. As Roman rule became more firmly established in first century B.C.E., the visual representations of Iberian soldiers reflected the resultant changes in warfare in the peninsula. For example, in the Osuna reliefs, which date to the middle of the first century B.C.E., Iberian soldiers are depicted in auxiliary garb, a change of reflective of the new role for Spanish soldiers in Roman warfare (Mierse 2008).

It was not just the Iberian peninsula that was transformed by interactions between Roman soldiers and local inhabitants. Visual representation of Roman warfare took on new forms after the experience of war in Spain. The *gladius Hispaniensis*, which was modeled closely on similar Celtiberian weaponry, found its way immediately into visual representations of Roman warfare (Quesada Sanz 1997b). Roman soldiers with the *gladius Hispaniensis* already appear in large-scale reliefs, such as the Pydna monument and the Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, by the second century B.C.E. The presence of the *gladius Hispaniensis* in these highly publicized displays of aristocratic excellence and martial dominance illustrate how that the sword had quickly become instantiated in Roman military culture. Over the course of the first century B.C.E., the *pugio*, which was modeled on the Iberian bidiscoidal dagger, also became a prominent part of the visual representation of Roman soldiers. This can be seen in the grave stele of the centurion, Minicius Lorarius, which prominently displays a stylized *pugio* in the center of the relief (Keppie 1991). The centrality of the dagger on Lorarius's tomb is matched by the broader archaeological evidence: finds from the first century B.C.E. reveal a preponderance of decorative *pugiones* in Roman military contexts beyond the Iberian Peninsula.

How Loyal Were Middle Republican Soldiers?
Kathryn Milne, Wofford College

The Roman soldier has often been a victim of elite disinterest on the part of commentators both ancient and modern. One of the most striking areas where he has been ignored is what happened to him after far-flung battles and wars. The Romans associated the idea of loyalty to the military with land, allowing only those in ownership of land to serve in the legions. The idealized soldier's experience was constructed as a system that was both exemplary and cyclical. Veterans were supposed to bring their stories, awards, and courage home to inspire others to join and to contribute to a culture that valued military service highly (Polyb. 6.39.8–11). When they returned they should perpetuate the state's armies by having sons who would serve in their turn, like the exemplary soldier Spurius Ligustinus described by Livy (42.34). This paper will suggest ways that we can explore the question, how motivated were soldiers to return to their lands?

The idea that the default position of a soldier was to return to his family farm has already been weakened by the growing consensus that veterans of the second century were given settlements of new land (Tweedie 2011; Erdkamp 2011) and that against a background of large scale mobility across the Roman world, veterans were especially desirable recruits for Rome's colonies (Scheidel 2004). Rosenstein (2004) has shown that the middle Republican legions were overwhelmingly composed of young, unmarried men, and the high rate of those who did not return provided more opportunity for those left behind. This suggests that some soldiers would know their futures lay elsewhere. Homo (1970, 115) remarked that many soldiers might simply choose to remain in the provinces to which they had been sent. This paper looks at two ways that soldiers who did not go home are likely hidden from us: when deserters were subsumed into casualty figures, and when soldiers were dismissed in the provinces.

The number of securely attested deserters in the sources are surprisingly few, although "temporary deserters" who left their posts or fled a battle line before returning were more common, as were defections, which were more frequent among allied troops than Roman (Wolff 2009). Those who were never discovered, however, would hardly be notable, and it has long been recognized that Roman casualty numbers can obscure the numbers of deserters and captives (Brunt 1971, 694–97). These rates from Roman sources are notoriously problematic and are frequently wildly high in defeats (e.g., 44, 50%) and low in victories (0.5, 0.7%) especially in comparison to Greek rates at an average of 5% mortality in a win and 14% in a loss (Krentz 2011). A comparison of rates of desertion in armies with similar conditions (e.g., punishments, ease of escape) will suggest a range of percentages that we can consider realistic.

The second clue, which has received almost no scholarly attention, is the fact that return of middle Republican soldiers was diverse, ad hoc and chaotic, and it was rarely the case that an army came home together. The exact compositions of each legion changed by the year, as some men finished their required years of service, new commanders led reinforcements out to their provinces, and some soldiers received early discharge for bravery. The normal practice seems to have been discharging the army in the province or at its border (e.g., Livy 45.38.14) from where the soldiers made their way back in groups (40.41.9). When the whole

army was returned to Italy accompanied by commander and officers, it is usually because it was needed for a triumph. Normally the general was not legally nor religiously compelled to return his soldiers to Italy. I suggest that for many, faced with a daunting walk and a better idea—like trade, business, or piracy—the attachment to a Roman farmstead was an elite projection, not a lived reality.

The 'Disappearance' of Velites in the Late Republic: A Reappraisal

François Gauthier, Mount Allison University

It has traditionally been held that the velites, the light infantry of the Republic, were eventually replaced by auxiliaries over the course of the first century B.C.E. This has often been related with the "Marian reform" in which Marius supposedly disbanded citizen cavalry and velites. However, the theory of the Marian reform has recently been heavily criticized and is no longer tenable (Cadiou 2018). Indeed, it has for instance been demonstrated that Roman citizen cavalry continued to exist in the first century B.C.E. (Cadiou 2016). Moreover, it is now commonly acknowledged that auxiliaries were regularly used in substantial numbers since the Middle Republic (Prag 2007). Therefore, the "disappearance" of velites cannot be explained by a supposed Marian reform or a trend concerning the emergence of auxiliaries.

This paper wishes to challenge the traditional view by arguing that the velites were not actually disbanded. They continued to be used until the end of the Republic. The enduring modern historiographical construction that is the Marian reform and the often imprecise terminology of our sources are largely responsible for the old view. It is of course possible that velites eventually ceased to be recruited from among the poorest and youngest of all citizens (Pol. 6.21.7). However, references to light infantry in the first century exist and they are not necessarily accompanied by the precision that they are foreign auxiliaries (e.g., Caes. *BAlex*. 17; *Bciv*. 1.48.7, et al.). For instance, *evocati* are mentioned as fighting as light-armed troops (Caes. *Bciv*. 1.27.5). In summary, the proposed paper would fill an important gap in modern research by exploring a question whose answer has for a long time been taken for granted as a result of the theory of the "Marian reform."

Session 8H: Workshop
Tessellated Perspectives: Moving Mosaic Studies Forward

Moderators: *Nicole L. Berlin*, Walters Art Museum, and *Amy Miranda*, Johns Hopkins University

Workshop Overview Statement

Mosaic pavements were ubiquitous across the ancient Mediterranean, documented on floors and walls from the Classical period through Late Antiquity. Although mosaics provide critical evidence for reconstructing daily life in the Greco-Roman world, they are often analyzed apart from their archaeological context. This workshop builds upon the groundbreaking research of scholars like Christine

Kondoleon and Rebecca Moholt, who emphasized the need to reintegrate mosaics into their original built environment. By considering floor pavements in situ (real or reconstructed) we can better understand the societies that commissioned them.

This workshop brings together, for the first time, a group of scholars—archaeologists, art historians, and conservators—with innovative approaches to mosaics. Our goal is to foster productive discussions and collaborations that move the field of mosaic studies forward, while remaining grounded in archaeological evidence and the ancient textual sources. The workshop uses "perspective," both literal and metaphorical, as a means of investigating the creation of mosaics and the ancient viewer's experience of them.

Purposefully diverse in terms of chronology, geography, and cultural purview, presenters address how mosaics functioned in a variety of contexts, from Classical houses in Greece to a Late Antique synagogue in the Levant. Franks and Spinelli discuss the role of floor pavements in the domestic sphere from two different perspectives—fourth-century B.C.E. pebble mosaics in Greek houses and tessellated pavements from tablina at Pompeii and Herculaneum respectively. Miranda challenges existing center versus periphery approaches to archaeological material through case studies in the Roman provinces such as Anitoch-on-the-Orantes (modern-day Turkey). Friedman offers a conservator's perspective on the challenges of in situ mosaic conservation within a larger framework of archaeological site management, with a particular focus on the southern and eastern Mediterranean regions. The final papers take us into Late Antiquity. Berlin considers how the legacy of Vergil influenced mosaic production in fourth-century C.E. Romano-British villas. Britt and Boustan explore how the mosaics in the fifth-century C.E. Huqoq (Israel) synagogue forged a link between the space of communal worship in a rural Galilean village and the holy city of Jerusalem. Collectively the speakers draw attention to the yet untapped potential of mosaic studies, particularly through the workshop's diverse methods and critical approaches to reception. Overall this workshop demonstrates the essential role of mosaics in developing the rich archaeological histories of diverse communities across the ancient Mediterranean world.

Panelists: *Hallie Franks*, New York University, *Ambra Spinelli*, Bowdoin University, *Leslie Friedman*, Getty Conservation Institute, *Karen Britt*, Northwest Missouri State University, *Ra'anan Boustan*, Princeton University, and *Jennifer Stager*, Johns Hopkins University

Session 8I: Open Session
Roman and Late Antique Villas

A Probable Roman Podium Villa at Castel Sant'Angelo, Rieti, Italy: 2019 Excavation Results
Myles McCallum, Saint Mary's University, and *Martin Beckmann*, McMaster University

This paper presents the results of the 2019 archaeological investigation of a site beside the Via Salaria within the territory of the modern town of Castel

Sant'Angelo, sixteen kilometers east of Rieti and about seventy-five kilometers northeast of Rome. The site is centered on a massive masonry and concrete terrace on the north side of the Velino river valley directly overlooking a large lake that has been identified as *lacus Cutiliae* (Lake Cutilia). The form of the structure and its strategic topographic placement suggest a villa. Excavation in 2018 revealed a sequence of rooms in the northeastern portion of the terrace, including one furnished with a large apse.

The 2019 excavations expanded our knowledge of the structure's form, chronology, function, and occupational history. A niche was found in the apsidal room, set within the apse itself. This room connected via a corridor with the rooms to the east, but the access to this corridor had been blocked in a later phase of occupation. A series of hearths and a dry masonry stone wall atop of collapse within the room suggests reuse of the structure. The largest room in the east was excavated down to the floor level. The material above the floor contained much wall and roof plaster, some of which provides evidence for an advanced system of drainage. Nearer the floor a significant amount of Roman pottery was found, none of which appears to date later than the late-first/early-second century C.E. Finally, in a small room in the east part of the site a leveling fill was found, which contains datable artifacts including, much pottery and three coins, all of which indicate a date in the mid-first century C.E. This fill indicates renovations in the early imperial period, likely the monumentalization of a previously modest country house.

Archaeological Investigation at the "Villa of the Antonines" at Ancient Lanuvium: The 2019 Season

Deborah Chatr Aryamontri, Montclair State University, *Timothy Renner*, Montclair State University, *Carlo Albo*, Independent Scholar, *Roberto Civetta*, Independent Scholar, *Carla Mattei*, Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa, and *Claudio Vecchi*, Independent Scholar

Since 1701 the site known as the "Villa degli Antonini" at the eighteenth mile of the Via Appia has been associated with Antoninus Pius and Commodus, and beast-killing feats in the arena by the latter. In addition to the ruins of the bath complex that have stood since antiquity, fieldwork conducted by Montclair State University during 2010–2018 revealed a small but sophisticated amphitheater containing provisions for *vela* and passageways beneath the arena, as well as part of the residential/representational rooms decorated with several black-and-white mosaic floors.

The 2019 season concentrated on improving our understanding of the residential area, where much effort was devoted to restoring a very fragile niche mosaic with a Medusa head, part of a large, but heavily damaged, circular room (ca. 20 m diameter). To the north, additional details recovered from a crater-and-vine-carpet mosaic help to place it more accurately in the overall development of this widespread design type; an Antonine date seems to be supported by the evidence so far. Here we continued to recover hundreds of fallen fresco fragments constituting a thick destruction layer, and many of the fragments are decorated with colored geometrical or figured designs, including a swan, that when more fully restored should contribute significantly to the history of wall painting during the period. A

new sector open to the north confirmed how the ground in this area has been heavily altered in modern times and heightened the urgency to develop a long-term preservation plan for the site. Finally, in an extensive space between the amphitheater area and residential areas, where previous problems with geophysical testing and locals' stories of massive modern dumping suggested that the archaeological yield would be limited, a test trench revealed large-scale *peperino* blocks, possibly part of a structure that worked as *trait d'union* between the two areas.

The Potential of 3D Digital Imaging for the Study of Roman Villas in Sicily: The Case Study of Villa of Caddeddi on the Tellaro River (Noto)

Kaitlyn Kingsland, University of South Florida, *Davide Tanasi*, University of South Florida, *Stephan Hassam*, University of South Florida, *Reece Combs*, University of South Florida, *Paolo Trapani*, University of South Florida, and *Denise Cali*, University of South Florida

The Roman Villa of Caddeddi on the Tellaro river at Noto (Sicily) was first discovered in the 1970s and gradually explored in the late 1970s and early 1980s. With an extension of about 6,000 m^2, the complex, built on two terraces on the gentle slope of a hill, is organized around a central peristyle of 21 x 9 m surrounded by a colonnade with limestone columns with rudimentary Ionic capitals. The largest in southeastern Sicily, the Villa of Caddeddi has been traditionally dated on the basis of numismatic evidence to the half of the fourth century C.E. and interpreted a single-phase building which was destroyed by a fire and abandoned apparently during the second half of the fifth century. Three rooms adjacent to the peristyle and the corridor around the peristyle itself are paved with outstanding mosaic floors in African style with scenes ranging from hunting expeditions to episodes of the Iliad and to Bacchanalia. The excavations of the Villa were never published, and the only research generated in the last five decades was just on the style of the mosaics.

In early summer 2019, an interdisciplinary research project aimed at reassessing the complex and focusing of eventual phases of reuse in the Late antiquity was undertaken via a combined on-site analysis of all the built stratigraphic units and architectural elements and the overall 3D digitization. A total of 101 laser scans were taken of the villa using two Faro Focus x330 scanners while digital photogrammetry was carried out specifically on the mosaic areas of the site capturing over 2,700 images. The analysis of the data gathered on site, supported by new technical drawings extracted by the 3D data clearly shows the presence of multiple later phased of use for the villa and shed light on its peculiar spatial organization.

Melite Civitas Romana Project: the Virtualization of the Archaeological Site and Museum of the Roman Domus of Rabat (Malta)

Davide Tanasi, University of South Florida, *Rob Brown*, Australian National University, *David Cardona*, Heritage Malta, *Benedict Lowe*, University of North Alabama, *Andrew Wilkinson*, Flinders University, *Kaitlyn Kingsland*, University of South Florida, *Stephan Hassam*, University of South Florida, and *Reece Combs*, University of South Florida

In 1881, the remains of a large peristyle house containing rooms adorned with very fine mosaic floors in a late Hellenistic style were uncovered at Rabat in Malta. Further excavation carried out in 1920–1925 pointed out that such a "Domus," toward the mid-first century C.E., must have been occupied by a person of some high political standing who undertook the expense of adorning it with a cycle of fine portrait statues representing the emperor Claudius and members of his family.

In early summer 2019, after almost a century from the end of the researches, a long-term international collaborative interdisciplinary research project (Melite Civitas Romana Project) aimed at reassessing the site of the Domus of Rabat and its role in the Roman history of the Maltese Islands started out with an overall remote sensing campaign in preparation for the excavation resuming in 2020. Part of that campaign was the Terrestrial Laser Scanning (TLS) of the entire archaeological site of the Domus and Digital micro-photogrammetry (DP) to create high quality 3D models of the mosaic floors of rooms C, D, E, and F.

The 3D models obtained will be used to update the existing technical documentation of the site and create a system of reference for the future investigation but also for a systematic reappraisal of all built stratigraphic units related to the numerous occupation phases of the complex from the early Imperial period to Middle Ages, contributing to the reinterpretation of the function and chronology of important sections of the villa. With respect to mosaic floors, the combination of the sets of 3D data, TLS, and DP, was used to create to create Digital Elevation Models of the decorated floors in order to highlight the criticalities in term of restoration works and to predict the future areas subject to major decay.

Shrine, Mausoleum, Monument, Import: Atlantic Trade and the Roman *Fanum* at Marboué, France

Elizabeth Bevis, Johns Hopkins University

As the western Roman empire waned in the fifth through seventh centuries C.E., economic links between regions contracted. Modern study of the long-distance trade links that remained has focused on routes with a strong military history, such as the Rhine-Rhone corridor, or on outstanding instances of trade across extreme distances, as with early Byzantine objects excavated at Tintagel in Wales. It is only recently that archaeologists have begun to build a strong case for an enduring axis of north-south trade along the Atlantic coast between the fifth and seventh centuries, largely based on archaeological ceramics (e.g., Campbell 2007; Duggan 2018). Evidence of people moving, as well as pots, has been less visible.

One exception to the archaeological invisibility of people moving along an Atlantic trade route can be seen at the villa of Marboué in central France. Marboué is a rare western villa with clear evidence for continuous use in a self-consciously Roman fashion into the seventh century C.E. Although it is best known for the early-fifth-century addition of an apsidal reception space and inscribed mosaic to its second-century *pars urbana*, closer attention to the little-studied *fanum* (a small temple or mausoleum) at the edge of the villa estate suggests a similar renovation history for that structure. The *fanum* renovations resulted in interior that, like the apsidal reception room, was in dialogue with the contemporary architecture of southern Gaul and Iberia. Architecture with this particular perspective did not

arise in a vacuum. Instead, I argue that the Atlantic trade axis first seen in the ceramic record should also be understood as a route for artistic and architectural exchange, and a continued link between the visual cultures of late-Roman Gaul and Iberia.

Archaism and Atrium Apartments in the Late Antique Villa
Sarah E. Beckmann, UCLA

The villa of Montmaurin (Le Comminges, France) is characteristic of the late antique villa in many ways. Mid-twentieth century excavations documented a series of architectural aggrandizements (apsidal halls, large entrance court and extensive bath complex) during late antique occupation, which continued through the fourth and into the fifth century C.E. In an apparent break from contemporary architectural fashions, however, two atrium-style apartments were also constructed at fourth-century Montmaurin. Both rooms were organized around central basins and marble columns, but their identification as atria is contested (e.g., G. Métraux 2018; C. Balmelle 2001), since the structure is traditionally associated with urban houses. At Montmaurin, moreover, the atrium apartments are peripherally located and could not have functioned in the Vitruvian manner. With this in mind, my paper uses Montmaurin to consider the function and purpose of atria structures in the late antique villa. Analytical study of this architectural form, I argue, permits an exploration of the motivations that lay behind the widespread construction and renovation of the villa in late antiquity.

After a review of Montmaurin, the paper places its architectural remains in dialogue with the atria found in several other late antique villas, including Chiragan in France, La Olmeda in Spain, and Milreu and Torre de Palma in Portugal. Using formal analysis I ask whether or not there are grounds to mark these atria as spaces for social negotiations. Following investigation of their function, I then consider their significance as architectural archaisms. Villa owners, I argue, were conscious of the historical character of these structures and used them, together with other types of antique material culture, to connect themselves to history. Atrium apartments therefore signal the villa's role as a legacy structure in late antiquity, one that legitimated the increasingly socioeconomically diverse late Roman elite.