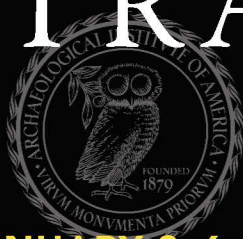




ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE *of* AMERICA

THE AIA ANNUAL MEETING BRINGS TOGETHER PROFESSIONAL AND AVOCATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGISTS
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114TH ANNUAL MEETING ABSTRACTS



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CONTENTS

Session 1

1A	Recent Research in the Near East	1
1B	Beyond Iconography II: Materials, Methods, and Meaning in Ancient Surface Decoration (Workshop).....	6
1C	Mapping and Mathematics for Sites and Shipwrecks.....	7
1D	Deconstructing Roman Italy in the Late Republic: Regional Approaches and Local Identities (Colloquium)	11
1E	Gold Medal Colloquium in Honor of Jeremy B. Rutter: Minding the Gap. A Problem in Eastern Mediterranean Chronology, Then and Now (Colloquium).....	17
1F	Empire and Cross-Cultural Interaction in Egypt: A Diachronic Perspective (Colloquium).....	22
1G	Recent Fieldwork in Greece and Turkey	28
1H	Cult and Context.....	31
1I	Organic Archaeology: Dating, Diet, and Bioarchaeology	36
1J	Mani: The Diros Project and Alepotrypa Cave.....	41

Session 2

2A	Roman Greece	44
2B	Greek Sculpture.....	48
2C	Poggio Civitate (Murlo)	51
2D	Archaeology in Iberia.....	54
2E	Around the Adriatic	57
2F	Ostia and Portus.....	60
2G	Recent Work in Egypt.....	63
2H	Minoan Crete.....	66
2I	The Job Search: From Start to Finish (Workshop)	70
2J	Undergraduate Paper Session.....	71
2K	Poster Session	75

Session 3

3A	The Afterlives of Monuments: Reuse and Transformation in the Ancient World (Colloquium)	87
3B	Changes in Sicily from the Late Classical Through the Hellenistic Period (Colloquium).....	91
3C	New Approaches and Insights into Etruscan Art and Culture (Colloquium).....	96
3D	Campania: Domestic Space and Public Infrastructure.....	99
3E	Bronze Age and Iron Age Mainland Greece	103
3F	The Packard Humanities Institute: A Quarter Century of Contributions to Archaeology (Colloquium).....	107
3G	“Porous Borders”: Presenting Ancient Art in the Encyclopedic Museum (Workshop).....	112
3H	Recent Work in Cyprus	113
3I	Regional Survey in the Eastern Mediterranean.....	117
3J	Roman Gaul and Britain	122

Session 4

4A	Altars in Greece and Italy: New Finds and Insights (Colloquium).....	126
4B	Cultural Heritage by AIA–Military Panel (CHAMP) Workshop: Cultural Heritage Challenges in the New Military Environment (Workshop).....	132
4C	The Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace: Architecture, Cult, and Connections (Colloquium).....	133
4D	Attica Beyond Athens: The Athenian Countryside in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods (Joint AIA/ APA Colloquium).....	139
4E	Immigration and Provincialism Through Inscriptions (Colloquium)	144
4F	New Research on Mainland Greece	149
4G	Commercial Activities in Campania	154
4H	Minoanization vs. Mycenaeanization: Two Sides of the Same Coin? (Workshop)	158
4I	Microarchaeology: Stephen Weiner’s Contributions to Archaeological Science (Colloquium).....	159
4J	Excavations in Italy	163

Session 5

5A	Reacting to Athens, 403 B.C.E.: Historical Simulation in the Classroom (Joint AIA/ APA Workshop)	169
5B	Baths and Aqueducts.....	170
5C	Roman Asia Minor.....	173
5D	Greeks Overseas.....	177
5E	Landscapes and Memory in Augustan and Severan Rome (Colloquium).....	180
5F	Sicily and North Africa	186
5G	Reading, Writing, and Agency in the Ancient World.....	189
5H	Prehistoric Crete.....	192
5I	Recent Research in the Levant	195
5J	Greek Iconography	198

Session 6

6A	Geospatial Studies in Classical Archaeology: A Survey of Approaches and Methods (Workshop).....	202
6B	AIA President Elizabeth Bartman’s Plenary Session: The Ancient City (Colloquium)	203
6C	Caere and the Etruscan World (Colloquium)	206
6D	New Analytical Perspectives on Ceramics in the Corinthia, Attica, and the Argolid (Colloquium)	209
6E	The Modern Reception of Vesuvian Cities (Colloquium).....	216
6F	Religion and Epigraphy	221
6G	Rome and Its Environs.....	226
6H	Testing the Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art and Archaeology (Colloquium)	231
6I	Central and Southern Italy	234
6J	New Research in Roman Republican Coinage (Colloquium).....	238

Session 7

7A	Integrating Conservation and Archaeology: Exploration of Best Practices (Workshop).....	243
7B	Museums and the Politics of Presentation.....	244
7C	Crete and Its Wider Eastern Mediterranean Relations in the Fourth Millennium B.C.E. (Colloquium).....	248
7D	Iconography.....	252
7E	The Roman East	257
7F	The Vesuvian Region.....	260
7G	Managing Archaeological Data in the Digital Age: Best Practices and Realities (Colloquium).....	264
7H	Athens and Attica	269
	Author Index.....	274

SESSION 1A

Recent Research in the Near East

CHAIR: *Christopher H. Roosevelt*, Boston University

Evidence of Eastern Balkan Material Culture at İzkiztepe Before the Early Bronze Age *Shannon Martino*, The Field Museum

A significant chronological gap in the occupation of the eastern Balkans occurred between ca. 4000 and 3500 B.C.E. The abandonment of hundreds of sites during this period was preceded by radical changes, including a rise and then precipitous decline throughout the Balkans in the production of painted ceramics, artifacts in precious metals, and figurines. The decline was so drastic in the case of figurines that it was not until approximately 1,000 years later that they again appeared in the eastern Balkans. Material evidence of Balkan cultural traditions, coinciding with this decline, is found in an ever expanding area, farther and farther east, as far as north-central Anatolia. This expansion continued into the Early Bronze Age despite the lack of inhabited sites in the Balkans.

An in-depth examination of the material culture from İzkiztepe, in north-central Anatolia, illustrates just how pervasive Balkan types were by the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. Similarities include architecture, burial positions, and locally made ceramics and figurines. So numerous and varied are those similarities that more than one Balkan-born individual with intimate knowledge of that culture must have migrated to İzkiztepe. The wealth of evidence presented here will show that the best explanation is that there was a movement of people, either en masse or little by little, from the Balkans to north-central Anatolia before the Early Bronze Age.

Reexamining the Painted House of Gordion *Samuel Holzman*, University of Pennsylvania

The wall paintings of Gordion's "Painted House," studied closely by Machteld Mellink and illustrated by Piet de Jong, are well known, but the structure from which they came remains enigmatic. The short-lived building (standing from the early fifth to early fourth century) was small, dark, and partially subterranean, but was also the most lavishly embellished building of the period. Considering the whole assemblage for the first time, this study revisits questions about the form and function of the Painted House and challenges old conclusions about the cultural influences that inspired its lavish ornamentation. Central to this synoptic approach is the reintegration of an unpublished wall mosaic made of ceramic pegs. The medium of mosaic has a long history in Phrygian Gordion: excavations at the site have yielded the oldest known pebble floor mosaics (from the ninth century), and the Painted House's wall mosaic illustrates that a similar tradition remained exuberant and experimental into a period when Gordion's prominence waned and monumental stone architecture ceased. This study also assesses other wall mosaics in central Asia Minor in an attempt to determine whether this is a Persian-period

phenomenon. The Painted House's exterior of conspicuous painted roof tiles and elaborate interior of figural frescoes were segregated by a devious architecture—a cramped winding passage with broken sight lines and elevation changes. The bumpy wall mosaic was strategically positioned in this liminal passage, with tactile experience guiding the transition into the secluded room, which was probably employed in ritual dining. When viewed alone, many of the elements have been attributed to foreign sources: the paintings are stylistically East Greek, the roof tiles are Lydianizing, and the polychrome architecture is symptomatic of Achaemenid taste. However, viewing the material together suggests local production by Phrygian craftsmen with an increasingly global outlook as the site was encompassed within the spheres of Lydia, Persia, and East Greece.

Domestic Architecture at Gordion Under Persian Rule, Sixth to Fourth Centuries B.C.E.

Alison L. Fields, University of Cincinnati

In 546 B.C.E., the Phrygian city of Gordion in central Anatolia was integrated into the Persian empire. Gordion, a thriving industrial and commercial center, had served as the cultural and political capital of the Phrygians from the Early Iron Age and was characterized by palatial megara dominating a fortified citadel and monumental burial mounds dotting the landscape. During the Persian period, Gordion continued to thrive, but maintained only regional importance within the broader Persian empire. From the time of Persian conquest leading up to Alexander the Great's arrival in 334 B.C.E., the city witnessed a remarkable change in its topography as the formal ashlar megara that had housed the political and cultural activities of the Phrygian capital were gradually dismantled and replaced by modest rubble buildings showing evidence for mixed domestic and industrial activity. The architectural history of this transformation has never been systematically studied, however, because of the complex disturbed stratigraphy of the citadel. This paper presents evidence for Phrygian domestic architectural forms during the period of Persian control through a careful reconstruction of the excavation records.

These rubble structures, which became widespread on the citadel by the end of the fourth century B.C.E., were remarkably uniform in their construction and size, most of them being one-roomed, semisubterranean chambers. Rodney S. Young, who excavated the citadel from 1950 to 1973, identified these rubble structures as "cellars," but did not consider their function or overall architectural form. Subsequent excavations by Mary M. Voigt (1988–2006), which provide comparative data from other parts of the city, indicate that while the appearance of these cellars on the citadel was unique to this period, their architectural style was traditional in respect to Phrygian domestic architectural forms. By combining the largely unstudied data from Young's excavations with Voigt's publications, it is now possible to formulate a holistic view of domestic activity at Gordion in the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.E. and a greater understanding of how this regional city transformed under Persian control. Furthermore, the characteristically Phrygian building activity on the citadel during Persian rule indicates aspects of Persian imperialism—namely, that the Persian administration did not appropriate or maintain the city's preexisting monumental architecture, but rather granted their subjects the authority to create a new city based on their own needs.

The Hirbemerdon Tepe Archaeological Project

Nicola Laneri, University of Catania

The Hirbemerdon Tepe Archaeological Project is based on the archaeological investigation of the site of Hirbemerdon Tepe and its surrounding region along the upper Tigris River valley in the modern province of Diyarbakır (Turkey). The importance of the archaeological project is linked to the strategic location of the site at the intersection between the agricultural terraces, located along the river Tigris, and the hilly uplands preceding the Tur 'Abdin mountains that separate the region from northeastern Syria.

The presentation will focus on the results of the archaeological work performed at the site since the project's inception in 2003 and, more specifically, on the architectural complex and related material culture found within, which date to the most important phase of occupation at the site (i.e., the Middle Bronze Age, ca. 2000–1600 B.C.E.).

The Urkesh Archaeological Project: Twenty-Five Years of Research

Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA

Excavations began at Tell Mozan, located in northeastern Syria, in 1984. The site, one of the largest third-millennium sites in Syro-Mesopotamia, is composed of a High Mound and an Outer City, both of which were surrounded by a wall during part of the site's history. The site was occupied, at least in part, during the Halaf period, but the major occupation took place from the mid fourth millennium through the Mittani period, finally ending with a small Middle Assyrian occupation. The most important building complexes excavated at Tell Mozan included a royal palace dating to the Akkadian period. Seal inscriptions from the palace enabled us to identify the ancient name of the site, the Hurrian city of Urkesh, and to reconstruct the Hurrian dynasty ruling there. A large number of inscribed and unscribed seal impressions testify to the unique stylistic vision of the Hurrian dynasty. This style was contemporary with, but different from, the dynastic Akkadian iconographic style of the south. Flanking the palace but antecedent to it is a subterranean stone structure 5 m wide and at least 8 m deep. It had a narrow and steep staircase and contained within it several "magic circles." We identified this structure as a Hurrian *abi*, a ritual structure from which to contact the deities of the netherworld. Hurrian texts found in later Hittite archives describe the rituals connected with this type of ritual construction. A temple located on the highest portion of the mound was very likely dedicated to the Hurrian god Kumarbi; mythical texts identify Urkesh as his home. The temple sits on top of a monumental Temple Terrace accessed by an imposing stone staircase of 22 steps, and a wide stone apron flanks these steps. The Temple Terrace is surrounded by a revetment wall flanked at its base by a large plaza. Recently, a fourth-millennium urban presence has been discovered just beneath the surface of the southern portion of this Temple Terrace. This paper presents an overview of the excavation results.

Colchis Beyond the Walls: Results of the Eastern Vani Survey

Ryan C. Hughes, University of Michigan

The site of Vani in western Georgia (ancient Colchis) is one of the richest archaeological sites in the south Caucasus. Sixty-five years of excavations have revealed at least four phases of occupation extending from the eighth into at least the first century B.C.E. Particular attention has been given to the rich burials of the Classical period (sixth–fourth centuries) and the comparatively impressive architecture of the Hellenistic period (third–first centuries), which are thought to speak to Vani’s growing role in Colchian religious and political life. As a result, Vani has become a key touchstone for hypotheses concerning the development and nature of Colchian society in the first millennium B.C.E.

Though some attention has been paid to archaeological remains outside the city, little has been done to incorporate these remains in interpretations of Vani’s regional importance. As a result, there are many questions concerning Vani’s specific place in regional sociopolitical development that remain unanswered. What regional conditions allowed Vani to accumulate such great wealth? Did Vani exert political, economic, social, and/or religious power in the region? More importantly, was Vani an administrative center within a larger Colchian state?

In 2009, an archaeological survey was initiated, supported by the University of Michigan, the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, and the Georgian National Museum. The primary goal of this project was to integrate existing knowledge of the region into a systematic framework and to use this framework to evaluate assumptions about the types of social organization that characterized settlement in Colchis during the first millennium B.C.E. In 2011, an intensive survey component aimed at sampling a 200 km² area east of Vani was added to the project. Called the Eastern Vani Survey (EVS), this project is the first systematic intensive survey carried out in the territory of ancient Colchis. The goals of this survey are (1) to refine, enhance, and better contextualize the results of previous survey efforts; (2) to gain a better understanding of the range and scale of activities taking place within Vani’s hinterland; and (3) to address Vani’s role in regional settlement dynamics.

This paper presents the results of the EVS and contextualizes them within broader discussions on Colchian material culture and the nature of Colchian society in antiquity. Additionally, it lays out the areas of future research necessary to further refine our understanding of the dynamic processes affecting social development in western Georgia in the first millennium B.C.E.

In the Eye of the Storm: Proactive Conservation at Tell Mozan, Syria

Giorgio Buccellati, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA

Architectural conservation has been a central concern at Tell Mozan in north-eastern Syria since the inception of our excavations there. Unable to conduct regular seasons at the site in either 2011 or 2012, we have nevertheless embarked on a very dynamic project that not only carries forward the policies implemented in earlier years but also consolidates and expands them. This has happened in two parallel ways.

First, we have strengthened procedures by assigning specific maintenance tasks to our two guards and four other local assistants. We supervise the quality and effectiveness of their work through three major avenues: a close monitoring via monthly verbal and photographic reports on the Internet; regular trips to the site by a Syrian colleague; and our own personal visits to the site. The paper will show details of this operation, highlighting not only the positive results but also difficulties we have encountered along the way.

Second, we have been making much progress in developing a large Ecoarchaeological park centered around Tell Mozan. In close collaboration with our Syrian colleagues, this keeps our presence at the site visible in the eyes of all local stakeholders, thereby enhancing their commitment to the preservation of the site and the area. This paper illustrates those aspects of the park project that help shed light on the central concern of preservation, especially at a time of great emergency.

The Agora of Dura-Europos (Syria): Town Planning and Commercial Activity in a Small Hellenistic Center

Gaëlle Coqueugniot, UMR 8546, École Normale Supérieure (Paris)

Dura-Europos is a small administrative center on the right bank of the Euphrates River that flourished between the second century B.C.E. and its abandonment in the third century C.E. The site was extensively excavated in the 1930s by a joint team from Yale University and the French Academy of Letters and has been excavated since 1986 by an expedition from the École Normale Supérieure (Paris) and the Syrian Directorate of Antiquities. This paper presents the results of new fieldwork undertaken between 2005 and 2011 in the agora. It is based on a study of archival documents preserved at Yale and in Paris, a reexamination of remains, and the opening of new trenches in several of the city blocks. Our work has focused on two main aspects: the insertion of the area in the city's urban plan and the earliest remains.

The agora was erected in the second century B.C.E. as a prominent part of the original orthogonal plan; it occupied the eight most centrally located blocks, just north of Main Street. Two parts have been identified: a large open square lined with double rows of shops and offices on three sides and enclosed by a blank wall on the north side, and a large reserved space in the south. New trenches have been opened in the northeastern part of the square (blocks G1 and G3), where Hellenistic remains are the best preserved. Among the oldest remains are those of the *chreophylakeion*, a public office registering land contracts (block G3, Building A), and a small bathhouse or workshop (block G3, Room M2) furnished with several plaster and ceramic tubs built along the walls.

In the Parthian and Roman periods, especially from the first century C.E., new constructions deeply transformed the area: the open space was progressively built up; the access to the central square was altered; circulation axes were moved and embellished; new shops were erected and secondary enclosed places opened. The agora became a cramped commercial area combining shops, workshops, and housing units accessed through narrow passageways and courtyards that can be compared to the modern Oriental bazaars.

SESSION 1B: Workshop
Beyond Iconography II: Materials, Methods, and Meaning in
Ancient Surface Decoration

Sponsored by the Ancient Painting Studies Interest Group (APSIG)

MODERATORS: *Susanna McFadden*, Fordham University, and *Sarah Lepinski*, Bard Graduate Center

Workshop Overview Statement

The success of the 2012 AIA workshop “Beyond Iconography: Materials, Methods, and Meaning in Ancient Painting Studies” unmistakably demonstrated both the interest in and broadening of the field of ancient painting studies in North American institutions. The geographic and chronological range of paintings represented in the presentations, as well as the diversity of approaches, certainly illustrated the field’s vitality. It also underscored the necessity for continued discourse.

Building on the momentum created in the 2012 session, this follow-up workshop again brings together specialists on diverse aspects of ancient surface decoration (i.e., painting, stucco, mosaic, sculpture, and relief). With the aim of continuing and expanding dialogues initiated in the 2012 workshop, this session incorporates six geographically and chronologically varied presentations that approach ancient surface decoration from a number of perspectives, including material analysis, the study of technical characteristics, the investigation of literary and archaeological evidence; and issues surrounding conservation, interpretation, presentation, and publication.

The primary goal of the session, and that of the AIA Ancient Painting Studies Interest Group (APSIG), which was founded concomitantly with last year’s session, is to foster a new era of interdisciplinary collaboration among scholars from the distinct disciplines of anthropology, archaeology, art history, conservation, history, and material sciences. This session provides a forum for specialists, as well as other interested scholars, to present ongoing research, to discuss issues in methodologies and theoretical approaches, and to formulate directions for continued work.

PANELISTS: *Seth Estrin*, University of California, Berkeley, *Emily Catherine Egan*, University of Cincinnati, *Heather Hurst*, Skidmore College, *Caitlin O’Grady*, University of Delaware, *Regina Gee*, Montana State University, *Zoe Schofield*, Independent Scholar, *Leslie Rainer*, Getty Conservation Institute, *Emily MacDonald-Korth*, Getty Conservation Institute, *Lynley McAlpine*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, *Elaine Gazda*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and *Ioanna Kakoulli*, University of California, Los Angeles

SESSION 1C**Mapping and Mathematics for Sites and Shipwrecks**

CHAIR: *Jeff G. Royal*, East Carolina University

Rediscovering Gla: The 2011 Geophysical and Mapping Survey of the Mycenaean Citadel

Antonia Stamos, American University of Kuwait, *Christofilis Maggidis*, Dickinson College, and *Gregory Tsokas*, University of Thessaloniki

A systematic mapping and geophysical survey of the Mycenaean citadel of Gla was initiated in 2010 by Dickinson College under the auspices of the Athens Archaeological Society and the general direction of Christofilis Maggidis. The second year of survey continued to examine the size, layout, and use of the citadel of Gla. Extensive mapping of visible surface features within the citadel was conducted along with a remote-sensing investigation using electrical resistivity in the same areas where magnetic gradiometry was conducted in 2010. A study of satellite imagery was also done to help locate additional archaeological features. Moreover, documentation of the preservation of the site was conducted to determine the rate of deterioration of the extant remains. As a result, a new image of the internal organization of the structures within the Cyclopean walls has emerged, further questioning the role Gla may have played not only within the Kopais, but also in the greater Mycenaean landscape.

A Tale of Two—Late Cypriot—Cities? Geophysical Approaches to Late Bronze Age Urbanism on Cyprus

Jeffrey F. Leon, Cornell University, *Catherine Kearns*, Cornell University, *Peregrine Gerard-Little*, Cornell University, *Thomas Urban*, University of Oxford, *Kevin Fisher*, University of Arkansas, and *Stuart Manning*, Cornell University

The rise of social complexity that characterized the Late Cypriot period (ca. 1650–1100 B.C.E.) is associated with the emergence of a number of large urban settlements on the island. Coupled with changes in mortuary practices, specifically a growing disparity in funerary goods, increased emphasis on metallurgy, and the advent of monumental architecture on the island, the formation of these Late Bronze Age urban landscapes marked a substantial transition from a largely egalitarian, internally focused society to a highly stratified, internationally renowned economic and political power. While these Late Bronze Age urban sites, such as those at Enkomi, Kition, Alassa-Paliotaverna, Kalavastos–Ayios Dhimitrios, and Maroni-Vournes, collectively indicate the scale and complexity of growing social and political hierarchy in Late Cypriot society, the anatomy of most of these Late Cypriot sites (Enkomi being the exception) is poorly understood because of the limited scope of excavations. A growing body of scholarship argues that these built landscapes were shaped by and, at the same time, shaped the budding social complexity during this period. Landscape-scale studies of Late Cypriot urban environments are therefore important.

For four field seasons, the Kalavastos and Maroni Built Environments (KAMBE) Project has focused its efforts on two Late Cypriot settlements situated in adjacent river valleys in the south-central portion of the island. During our most recent field seasons at Kalavastos–Ayios Dhimitrios and Maroni-Vournes/Tsaroukkas, the project completed a large-scale geophysical survey (employing mainly flux-gate gradiometers and ground-penetrating radar) over 9 ha surrounding the main excavations at both sites. The data indicate a number of previously unknown structures and provide new insights into the spatial configuration of these emergent urban centers, elucidating shifting Late Cypriot systems of political authority, social negotiation, and status. The 2012 season also saw a series of small-scale, targeted excavations conducted at both sites to ground-truth the structures discovered by the geophysical methods and to provide artifacts for dating the structures.

This paper presents the findings of the KAMBE Project to date. While these data reveal a number of new structures at both sites, they also suggest that the overall layout at Kalavastos–Ayios Dhimitrios and Maroni-Vournes/Tsaroukkas varied considerably. This suggests that these settlements, while less than 7 km apart, each followed a distinct and unique trajectory toward complexity. Thus, more than demonstrating the potential for landscape-scale geophysics on Cyprus, these new data suggest multifarious routes to social complexity and urbanism on the island.

Battle of the Egadi Islands: Naval Warfare in the Third Century B.C.E.

Jeffrey G. Royal, RPM Nautical Foundation

As a result of extensive work during the 2012 field season, the battle zone for the naval clash between the Romans and Carthaginians in 241 B.C.E. is becoming increasingly defined. Remains from this naval battle site detail the events of a Roman fleet conducting a surprise attack on a Carthaginian fleet, defeating it, and bringing an end to the First Punic War in Rome's favor. This crucial naval engagement launched Rome on a path of Mediterranean conquest, and the remains of this battle provide unprecedented evidence for warship construction, armor types, and fleet operations in the third century B.C.E. Additionally, the numerous inscriptions and examples of iconography provide an exceptional data set for the investigation of state organization and religion in society. During the 2012 field season, an additional three bronze warship rams were discovered, which brings the total to 10 from the battle landscape. These rams are consistent in size and configuration and indicate a consistent class of warship. Furthermore, the warships represented at this site assist in the ongoing dialogue with the descriptions of events left to us by Polybius, Philinus, Fabius Pictor, and Diodorus. Ram analysis also provides conclusive evidence for direct ship-to-ship attacks that resulted in the sinking of many warships. Work at the site built on the finds of last field season, and an additional two bronze helmets were discovered in the battle zone. One helmet may prove to be the first discovered Carthaginian example of this era. This battle zone is largely delineated by the scatter of ceramics, overwhelmingly intact, across the seafloor. More than 150 amphoras of both Punic and Graeco-Italic types, as well as numerous examples of tableware, were mapped in 2012. The mapping process has greatly increased the overall extent of the battle zone. A new mapping technology was employed during field operations as an experimental approach to surveying

areas of rock outcrops typically impenetrable to sonar. An AUV was deployed equipped with newly developed photographic recording systems that produced highly detailed three-dimensional photogrammetric models of the seafloor. Subsequent analysis allowed the detection of artifacts from this naval battle. Ongoing analysis of artifacts continues to bring new information about the people and equipment embroiled in this important ancient naval conflict.

The Joni Wreck: Using Site Recorder to Document a Fourth-Century C.E. Roman Shipwreck off the Albanian Coast

Gregory Stratton, East Carolina University

As part of an innovative, Mediterranean-wide amphora analysis project being undertaken by the RPM Nautical Foundation, the University of Southampton, and the University of Bologna, the Program in Maritime Studies at East Carolina University (ECU) conducted an intensive preliminary survey, sampling, and mapping project of a late-fourth century C.E. shipwreck north of Sarande, Albania, during the summer of 2012. This shipwreck, currently termed the "Joni wreck," was discovered in 2009 as part of the ongoing Illyrian Coastal Exploration Program; results of preliminary surveys have been published (Royal 2010; Royal 2012). The 2012 project was the first systematic attempt to record the entire site in situ, using the three-dimensional survey methodology of Site Recorder 4 by 3H Systems. Data collected from this project are being combined with Rhino technology and hundreds of on-site photographs to create a three-dimensional rendering of the site and graphic analysis of its site formation. This project and its findings are part of the first multi-disciplinary studies in the southeast Adriatic to include amphoras, evolving trade patterns within the Roman empire, pioneering research on the ecological impacts of artifact introduction to ecosystems, and the use Site Recorder technology as a method for noninvasive site documentation.

This paper presents the results of three-dimensional rendering of the Joni wreck site during the 2012 field season. It discusses the methodology used to implement and acquire data using Site Recorder as well as preliminary analysis through post-processing. This was the first use of this methodology on an ancient shipwreck for the ECU's Program in Maritime Studies and has served as an excellent case study for future projects and ongoing collaboration with the Albanian government for other sites.

Mare ORBIS: A Quantitative Model of Marine Transportation in the Roman Empire

Scott L. Arcenas, Stanford University

Despite advances in our qualitative understanding of Roman sea travel, its quantitative aspects remain obscure. Among them, time cost (i.e., the amount of time typically necessary to complete a given voyage) has proven particularly enigmatic: existing scholarship relies too heavily on anecdotal references, whose testimony is neither representative nor reliable. In conjunction with the Stanford ORBIS Project, therefore, this paper employs a combination of archaeological evidence, meteorological data, and computer simulation to create an adaptive model

of marine transportation in the Roman empire. Accounting for both geographic and temporal variations in wind patterns, as well as the capabilities of Roman vessels, it accurately quantifies the time cost of travel throughout the Mediterranean.

Drawing on a variety of underwater excavations and reconstructions of pre-modern vessels, I first model the performance of an idealized, square-rigged vessel, on each of the eight points of sail, in the full range of Mediterranean wind conditions. I then calibrate the model against a selection of first- to fourth-century C.E. Roman voyages, for which relatively precise sailing conditions and durations are known.

As modern wind patterns closely resemble those of antiquity, I employ 20th-century pilot charts as proxies for Roman sailing conditions. Together with the model, this data set allows for the calculation of the vessel's average velocity along any cardinal or intercardinal heading, during any month, at any latitude and longitude in the Mediterranean.

Running directed Dijkstra least-cost paths through the resulting grid, collaborators Walter Scheidel and Elijah Meeks simulated about 100 attested voyages and then compared theoretical to actual results. Although the model consistently overestimated the time costs of shorter crossings, its accuracy increased with duration: for journeys of more than 24 hours, mean variation between theoretical and actual outcomes approached zero.

These results suggest that short- and long-haul sailors operated according to distinct logics: the former sailed at opportune moments and often reached their destinations before conditions deteriorated; by contrast, the latter collectively experienced average time costs, as simulated. It was the latter group that shaped the broad patterns of Mediterranean connectivity. Thus, the model can be said to accurately quantify the macrostructure of the Roman transportation network.

In so doing, it provides the raw material necessary for both refinements and, in some cases, necessary revisions to current scholarship on the movement of people, products, and information throughout the Roman empire. Furthermore, it constitutes a replicable template for subsequent analysis of other times and places.

The FAIMS Project: Creating and Sharing Digital Archaeological Data Sets

Shawn A. Ross, University of New South Wales, Adela Sobotkova, University of New South Wales, Brian Ballsun-Stanton, University of New South Wales, and Penny Crook, La Trobe University,

This paper presents a new Australian-led international initiative in digital archaeology: the Federated Archaeological Information Management System (FAIMS) project, funded by the National eResearch Collaboration Tools and Resources (NeCTAR) program, an Australian government grant scheme that funds improvement of Australian e-research infrastructure. The FAIMS project was awarded nearly \$1 million to build an open-source information system for archaeology that uses flexible, robust, and extensible data standards and applies those standards to a range of components for acquiring, analyzing, archiving, and federating archaeological data.

Dispersed yet integrated, archaeological data federation will allow data from archaeological field and laboratory work to be born digital using mobile devices, processed and analyzed using local or web-based applications, and exchanged

online through cultural-heritage registries and data repositories. Existing standards and components will be used wherever possible, while new ones will be developed only where necessary. The goal of the FAIMS project is to begin the creation of an open-source ecosystem to unite many single-purpose components, some built by the project, but more developed independently.

This presentation will communicate the status of the FAIMS project, including the stocktaking workshop held at the University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, 16–19 August 2012, as well as the development plan produced by that workshop. Key elements of this plan will include developing federation standards between existing archaeological data repositories (e.g., the Digital Archaeological Record and Open Context), as well as initial designs of mobile-device applications for the creation of digital data.

SESSION 1D: Colloquium

Deconstructing Roman Italy in the Late Republic: Regional Approaches and Local Identities

ORGANIZERS: *Adam Hyatt*, University of Michigan, and *McKenzie Lewis*, University of Wyoming

Colloquium Overview Statement

The historical orthodoxy concerning Roman expansion within Italy has long marginalized the role of non-Roman societies. The literary topos depicts Rome's enemies as valiant foes or obsequious allies, flawed in a way that makes their submission inevitable. Once conquered, they often fade from the Roman historical narrative, the assumption being that their integration into the Roman political and economic spheres was swift and complete as a result of the process of wide-spread enslavement, land confiscation, establishment of slave-based latifundia, and colonization. Over the last decades, however, archaeology has begun to challenge the historical orthodoxy and demonstrate that the vitality of these local cultures and the complex cultural negotiations that occurred between them, the Romans, and the wider Mediterranean world is a viable way to examine history beyond literary topoi.

This colloquium explores how current archaeological approaches are challenging the historical orthodoxy by deconstructing the notion of a monocultural Roman Italy and by promoting a regional view that emphasizes local agency over imperial authority. The papers of this colloquium seek to quantify what has been an assumed history of non-Roman Italy through an interdisciplinary approach. The first paper reconsiders the notion of a "Roman" Italy theoretically, employing semiotics to argue that distinct cultural divisions are a modern construct that obscures objective approaches to a multicultural Italy. The second paper continues this approach through an analysis of first-century B.C.E. inscriptions from northern Etruria to illustrate local continuity over Roman hegemony. Similarly, the third paper investigates elite continuity through an analysis of epigraphy and monumental construction in Samnium. As a linchpin, the fourth paper reconsiders Roman concrete construction, arguing that Italian centers to the north and south of

Rome were more progressive in respect to construction practices than was Rome. An example of this local autonomy is illustrated in the fifth paper, which addresses the continual revival of a Lucanian sanctuary in the face of Roman conquest. The sixth paper discusses the archaeological methodology and multidisciplinary approaches employed by the Basentello Valley Archaeological Research Project that trace cultural change in south-central Italy. The seventh paper considers the archaeological and epigraphic evidence of the dual community at Greek Tarentum by exploring the intersection of local and Roman adaption to a new societal demographic. Collectively, these papers demonstrate that during the Late Republic, important regional centers emphasized their preexisting institutions while adapting to new realities brought about by a more overt Roman presence.

DISCUSSANTS: *Nicola Terrenato*, University of Michigan, and *David Stone*, AIA Ann Arbor Society

Deconstructing Roman Italy: An End to “Roman Culture”?

Stephen Collins-Elliott, Florida State University

Scholarship on the question of “Roman Italy” has in recent decades focused on deconstructing the previously assumed cultural heterogeneity of the peninsula under Roman rule, proposing models of acculturation that use the terminology of incompleteness, partialness, bricolage, and identity in place of cultural uniformity. Despite this contestation, this line of discourse perpetuates the same presumptions that it attempts to dismantle, insofar as explanations of cultural change remain grounded in the expansion of Roman political influence, which harkens back to the diffusionism of culture history. “Roman culture” or “Roman identity” is viewed as something that is “contested” or “negotiated” but that nevertheless exists as an essentialized concept that can be discerned against other essentialized cultures, whether Greek, local or indigenous, or other. Such a paradox emerges as the result of the failure to engage with the fundamental intellectual categories of the discipline—namely, what we mean by “Roman culture.”

Thus, I maintain that the very association of an ethnic or national identity with culture—that is, our idea of “Roman culture” itself—is at the source of the problem. The equation of culture with a national identity was heavily influenced by, if not born out of, Enlightenment thought, and the utility of this intellectual category today should be brought into question. Hence, I suggest that the deconstruction of the trope of “Roman Italy” can come best by distancing our understanding of culture from ethnic identity and by adopting a more current approach to the study of culture—that is, as the web of signification by which human beings relate meaning. Hence, if we adopt the position that culture can be equated with semiosis, we can free our interpretations of the materiality of the past from the assumption that they must by definition be rooted in ethnicity and politics. In sum, we can analyze the structure of the material record as an object of inquiry in its own right, involving ourselves in larger debates in archaeology about cultural evolution and signification to better appreciate what relationships a particular form of materiality has with issues of imperialism, political developments, or ethnic identity, if any at all.

Epigraphic and Material Evidence for Networks and Colonization in First-Century B.C.E. Northern Etruria

McKenzie Lewis, Florida State University

Much of past scholarship has stressed the importance of colonial settlements as catalysts for a region's social, economic, and civic change, which accelerated local societies' voluntary convergence toward a superior Roman state. This process is sometimes referred to as "Romanization," yet most of research in this vein has concentrated either on provincial colonies or on the Roman and Latin colonization of Italy during the fourth through second centuries B.C.E. By contrast, few studies have considered the Sullan through Augustan settlements in Italy as drivers of political unification and cultural transformation, primarily because of an idealistic notion that the Augustan era formalized an Italian unity already in place by the early first century B.C.E. Over the past decades, however, regional studies have illustrated the inadequacy of a monolithic, overarching model of a "Roman" Italy, suggesting instead that there was no uniform process of Italian incorporation into the Roman state and that local continuity existed well into the Imperial era.

This paper examines two cities of northern Etruria, Arretium and Faesulae, that have been marginalized in syntheses of sociopolitical change during the Roman republic and early empire. Both cities fought against Roman hegemony well into the first century B.C.E., after which their territory was subjected to repeated waves of land deduction and veteran settlement. By employing network theory and synthesizing the material evidence, this paper reconsiders the chronology of socio-political change during the first century B.C.E. I demonstrate that the spike in connectivity brought about by Roman colonization created dual societies divided between locals and colonists. Although multidirectional change did occur, Roman colonists are relatively unattested in the first three generations after settlement. During this time, local citizens appear to have been the most influential sector of society, and preexisting urban, religious, and economic institutions continued. The epigraphic evidence indicates that it is only in the mid first century C.E. that socio-political change is truly observable, which agrees with current tenets of network theory which argue that homogeneity crystallizes well after a sharp spike in any institution's connective networks. In sum, Arretium and Faesulae illustrate that during the first century B.C.E., it was less the case that Italian societies became united with Rome, and more that Rome became unified with Italy.

The Pentrian Elite: Reinventing the Perception of Government and Political Legitimization

Rachel Van Dusen, Florida State University

In the mid second century B.C.E., an inscription was put up in front of Temple A at Pietrabbondante in Pentrian Samnium. It contained the word "Safinum"—Oscan for Samnium. Its date and location are significant because it was erected at a time in which many regions within Italy were facing great pressure from the expansion into and colonization of their territory by the Romans. This inscription, located in the central political sanctuary of the Pentri, makes an important statement that Pentrian territory in the midst of such outside pressures continued to remain

autonomous and distinctly Samnite. This paper seeks to address the continuation of Samnite identity and autonomy among the Pentri during this period through an examination of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence. Such evidence points to a remarkable degree of continuity of ruling Pentrian families from the period of the Samnite Wars into the third and second centuries B.C.E.; connected to this trend is a shift in the display of conspicuous consumption following the Samnite Wars (343–290 B.C.E.). In the aftermath of these wars, resources and funds originally reserved for lavish burials that promoted a warrior ethos were redirected into monumental building projects in sanctuaries. The aim of this paper is to address the motivations for this shift and present the evidence as representative of a new form of self-legitimization on the part of the Pentrian elite ruling class, which was prompted by their defeat in the Samnite Wars. Following the wars, Pentrian rulers, whose family members led the Samnite armies against the Romans, sought a new form of legitimization through monumental building. This activity allowed the Pentrian elite to do two specific things: first, it cultivated an identity distinct from that of ordinary Pentrian men and women, which allowed them to continue to justify their right to rule; and second, it functioned as a form of elite negotiation by which the Pentrian ruling class could gain acceptance as an equal among the greater Italian elite community, mainly because this new form of legitimization was directly modeled after those practiced in other regions of Italy.

Deconstructing Late Republican Architecture: The Origins of Roman Concrete

Marcello Mogetta, University of Michigan

Scholars of Roman building techniques believe that concrete construction methods were already widely applied in Rome no later than the end of the third century B.C.E., as the outcome of a phase of experimentation begun sometime in the Middle Republican period. Far-reaching implications have been suggested on the basis of such a high chronology, which would indeed situate the phenomenon in the context of Rome's early expansionism; one such suggestion is that concrete was a technological advance in response to the needs of speedy and economical construction posed by the rapid demographic urbanization of Rome, facilitated by the influx of unskilled slave labor. Attempts at quantifying the costs of construction in the Late Republican period demonstrate that many factors may have influenced innovation in this field, including the spectrum of available natural resources, transportation, and labor organization.

I suggest that the distribution of extant concrete building types in Rome represents the correlate of a late and relatively sudden phenomenon linked with changes in architectural practice affecting the wider area around Rome in the middle of the second century B.C.E. The argument is based on a deconstruction of current dating criteria for early Roman concrete techniques. More or less explicitly, proponents of the high chronology still follow a model according to which formal attributes of a wall facing are determined by rigid rules of stylistic evolution through time, regardless of the structural logic and the possible concerns of an economic or other nature behind the technical choice. Since the development of Roman concrete would not have been likely in areas far away from the sources of natural pozzolana—and in the expectation that builders at sites characterized by a previous

tradition of limestone architecture had easier access to lime mortar—I discuss the stratigraphical evidence from urban building sites located at the interface between the volcanic and sedimentary geological facies of central Italy, including Pompeii, Cumae, and Puteoli in Campania; and Fregellae and Norba in Latium. I also trace the development of concrete technology in private construction and its successive implementation in public architecture. The results show that Rome certainly was not the only creative center, and not in all respects the most important, as demonstrated by the distribution pattern of other innovative building types that emerged in the period, further highlighting how non-Roman cultures contributed to shaping Rome’s material cultural package.

Lucanian Sanctuaries in the Second and First Centuries B.C.E.: Roman Models and Cultural Change

Ilaria Battiloro, Mount Allison University

During the last two centuries B.C.E., southern Italy was marked by increasing Roman involvement, and this paper aims to investigate the different forms that this involvement could take in Lucanian sanctuaries and cultic manifestations. This phenomenon has been generally (and simplistically) defined either as adoption and assimilation of Roman cultural models or as “cultural resistance” to the hegemonic culture.

The indigenous component of this cultural change deserves a closer examination. More specifically, the following research questions are addressed: is it possible to identify either continuity or change in Lucanian cult places during the age of “Romanization”? Was the process of assimilation to Roman culture straightforward and homogeneous? Is it possible to recognize forms of “reaction” to the spread of Roman culture in the revival of local cultural and religious traditions that occurred in the Italian peninsula during the Late Republic, which is generally interpreted as designed to “claim” the natives’ ethnic and cultural identity?

The picture of Lucanian sanctuaries during the last two centuries B.C.E. is not homogeneous from an archeological perspective. For most of the sanctuaries, there is a dearth of archaeological evidence related to the Late Republican era, but there are also sanctuaries that (after a phase of contraction) experienced a period of continuity and active frequentation. Other sanctuaries were “transformed” according to Roman models, while only the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary was revitalized, fully restored, and enlarged during the last two centuries B.C.E. Given these data, it goes without saying that no single pattern can respond to the variety of known scenarios. Certainly, this lack of homogeneity in archaeological evidence reflects different outcomes of the Roman presence in Lucania and different forms of response to the Roman models. In this respect, a key point of my research is the reassessment of the role played by the Rossano di Vaglio sanctuary in this process of cultural transformation. I suggest that this cult place played a crucial part in the process of gradual integration of indigenous communities into the new Roman political and cultural framework.

Examining Cultural Change in the Basentello Valley of Basilicata and Puglia

Myles McCallum, Saint Mary's University

Cultural change, resistance, and hybridization associated with imperialist expansion and colonization can be difficult phenomena to trace archeologically. Investigation requires a multidisciplinary approach to an array of related data sets that are examined in an interdisciplinary manner. The Basentello Valley Archaeological Research Project, which is examining the degree to which cultural change, exchange, and hybridization can be measured archaeologically and environmentally in the interior of south-central Italy (eastern Basilicata and western Puglia), seeks to do just that. The focus of our inquiry is on the Late Republican through Early Imperial periods, during which the imperial estate of San Felice/Vagnari (territory of Gravina in Puglia, province of Bari) was established in the Basentello River valley. Excavations of an Early Imperial necropolis, a small *vicus* (village) on the estate, and a mid sized rural villa on the hillside above provide us with data for migration, production, regional economic networks, the natural environment, and, to some degree, cultural interaction among Romans, Latins, indigenous South Italians, and non-Italian slaves. Archaeobotanical evidence suggests that there was continuity in cultivars and the exploitation of forest resources from the pre-Roman to the Roman period, and pollen coring has now provided us with important complementary data for the history of agricultural activities in the Basentello Valley and its immediate environs during the period under examination. Artifactual evidence, however, indicates a high degree of Roman influence with respect to the consumption of food and pottery and participation in a network of production centers associated with Roman settlement in the region. Architectural data show elements of indigenous building and decorative techniques along with strongly Roman traditions in domestic architecture and decoration. To add yet another layer of complexity, the mDNA and oxygen isotope analysis of the osteological data set from the Roman necropolis provides evidence for the presence of non-Italian migrants at the site, and there is artifactual evidence from the villa at San Felice to suggest a Jewish presence. Recent archaeological survey activities in the Basentello Valley, within the territories of Roman Bantia (Banzi) and Acheruntia (Acerenza), provide spatial and temporal contexts for the site of San Felice/Vagnari and suggest that the site was potentially an important nodal center within the region's economic and, presumably, social network during the Early Imperial period, a role that pre-Roman sites at San Felice had probably played since the fourth century B.C.E.

Greeks and Romans at Late Republican Tarentum

Adam Hyatt, University of Michigan

The cities of Magna Graecia have long been studied in the context of Greek colonization, but until recently there has been little effort to understand their role within Roman Italy. This has largely been due to both ancient and modern biases. The ancient sources typically depict southern Italy as an urbanized and prosperous region prior to the Second Punic War, but a region decimated and abandoned after Hannibal. This ancient topos has been cemented in the scholarly conscious-

ness by modern historians who have based their work on the literary, rather than the archaeological, record.

This paper focuses on Tarentum, one of the largest and wealthiest cities in Italy during the Middle Republican period, which largely falls out of the ancient literary narrative after the Second Punic War. Archaeological evidence indicates that Tarentum retained its Greek institutions throughout the Late Republican period, and remained economically significant because of its command of a large port facility and its position on the Via Appia between Rome and Brundisium. Because of this importance, in 123 B.C.E., as part of a package of land reforms, Gaius Gracchus attempted to found a colony in the territory of Tarentum, adjacent to, but politically distinct from, the Greek city. The result was a “double community.” The ultimate success of the colony remains in question since there is no specific archaeological evidence that attests to the colony or the name Neptunia. However, the archaeological record does demonstrate a marked increase in activity at Tarentum at the end of the second century B.C.E.

This paper reevaluates the archaeological and epigraphic evidence of Late Republican Tarentum and demonstrates that the city continued to prosper as an important local center before and after Gracchan colonization. Furthermore, it compares the complex negotiations that occurred between Greek and Roman populations by considering the evidence of Roman Neptunia with evidence of Greek institutions that were already present at Tarentum. New constructions, such as housing, shrines, and tombs, indicate continued investment in the city both by Romans and Greeks, yet the preservation of existing monuments demonstrates respect for the Greek city and its institutions. Finally, this paper demonstrates that the epigraphic evidence, most importantly the *Lex Municipii Tarentini*, increases our understanding of the historical narrative by illustrating a multicultural society that sought to protect its institutions in the face of colonization and municipalization.

SESSION 1E: Colloquium

Gold Medal Colloquium in Honor of Jeremy B. Rutter: Minding the Gap. A Problem in Eastern Mediterranean Chronology, Then and Now

ORGANIZER: *Jack L. Davis*, University of Cincinnati

Colloquium Overview Statement

The Gold Medal Colloquium for 2013 addresses a subject that remains timely in Aegean prehistory and that is focused on a question first defined by Jeremy B. Rutter himself: was there a “Gap” between the Early and Middle Bronze Ages of the Greek islands, a phase of prehistory hitherto unattested by finds from any excavation, and, if so, what, if any, are the consequent social, cultural, and economic implications? Is the apparent Gap an artifact of the excavation record, or was there an actual gap in occupation of the islands?

Five distinguished authorities in the field of Aegean prehistory respond to these questions; each brings his or her particular geographic expertise and archaeological perspective to the table.

Twenty-minute presentations follow an introduction, in which Rutter's Gap is briefly explained; why it was, and remains, a problem worth discussing; and why it has been, and still is, a hypothesis that stimulates productive research and thought. Rutter himself comments on the papers presented in the colloquium in a concluding commentary.

DISCUSSANT: *Jeremy B. Rutter*, Dartmouth College

Introduction: The Early Cycladic Gap. How and Why It Came to Be

Jack L. Davis, University of Cincinnati

It certainly was not an original idea to publish Greek prehistoric pottery by deposits rather than by type or phase. But Jeremy (Jerry) B. Rutter introduced a rigor and quantification in the study of pottery that was new, and he convinced many of his generation to follow suit. The cumulative results of this sea change are impressive: from many sites on Crete, in the Greek islands, and on the Greek mainland, we today have an ever-increasing number of well-documented deposits of ceramics that can be shifted chronologically up and down as we see fit—in light of new discoveries.

It was in the course of studying deposits of pottery that Rutter defined the problem that came to be known as the Early Cycladic Gap. While preparing for publication the Early Helladic III pottery of Lerna IV (which dates to the end of the third millennium), he noticed that parallels for its shapes and decorations were curiously absent from the Cycladic Islands. From that outsider's perspective, he proposed that there was a "Gap" in the material cultural sequence of the Cyclades, whether the result of real depopulation of the islands at that time or an artifact of the history of archaeological research.

The gist of Rutter's hypothesis concerning the Cycladic Gap is presented on his own web pages, where he supposes "a hiatus which . . . involved not simply a significant cultural discontinuity . . . but also a substantial gap of perhaps as much as a century and a half in the EBA culture sequence of the Cyclades." He asks further: "What . . . was going on in the islands during . . . the period equivalent to the duration of EH III on the Mainland and EM III on Crete?"

Rutter's arguments for a Gap opened a can of worms—one that in the long run has encouraged conversations among prehistorians working in all parts of the Aegean, as well as the reexamination by them of time-honored notions concerning interaction, diffusion, migration, and social evolution in the islands and on both sides of the Aegean Sea. The contributions to this colloquium discuss the Gap—not only from a Cycladic perspective but also from other vantage points: Crete, the Greek mainland, the eastern Aegean Islands, western Anatolia, and the Near East. Our goal is to take stock of where we are now and to lay groundwork for the future.

Mind the Gap: Thinking About Change in Early Cycladic Island Societies from a Comparative Perspective

Cyprian Broodbank, Institute of Archaeology, University College London

Thirty years in, Rutter's "Gap" remains a challenge for Aegean prehistorians in general and Cycladic Island archaeologists in particular. As originally set out with a precision of thought and wording commonly overlooked by his critics, Rutter drew attention to a lacuna in our knowledge of Cycladic material from stratified sites in these islands, or exported elsewhere, at the end of the third millennium B.C.E., and to a consequent hiatus in our ability to trace how Cycladic societies underwent the cultural and behavioral shifts from the Early to Middle Bronze Age that recent scholarship and fieldwork had so clearly highlighted. Whether the Gap represented a real cessation of activity on all, or some, of the Cyclades, whether it might be reduced from both ends by a battleship-curved conception of cultural traits through time, or whether genuinely interstitial strata and material might one day emerge, were left admirably open to the future.

That future is now here, and this paper asks where we stand today. It reviews the limited new empirical evidence from the Cyclades, the paucity of which strongly suggests that the problem is at some level real, and highlights shifts of emphasis in the temporal pattern of culture change suggested by fresh data. It then explores how well two subsequent explanatory models for the Gap have fared against new information: first, the association with a wider horizon of climate-induced collapse over much of the Near East and Mediterranean, and second, an explanation in terms of a maritime transition from canoes to ships and its social and spatial ramifications for Cycladic society. Finally, it adopts a pan-Mediterranean perspective to identify the third millennium B.C.E. as a period of burgeoning island societies and long-range contacts by sea, a period that also witnessed crises in several island cultures toward its end.

Bridging the Gaps Among the Small Worlds of the Early Bronze Age Aegean

Daniel J. Pullen, The Florida State University

Rutter's formulation of the problem of the Early Cycladic III "Gap"—that is, the relative lack of cultural material in the Cyclades that can be placed between the Early Cycladic (EC) IIB and Middle Cycladic I assemblages—is intimately tied to the great changes in mainland Greece in the transition from Early Helladic (EH) II to EH III. Rutter recognized the importance of the Anatolianizing Kastri/Lefkandi I assemblage, which appeared in the EC/EH IIB period, for questions of cultural change and continuity in the Cyclades and on the mainland, and this led him in part to postulate the Gap. Rather than the EC III Gap being merely a problem of finding the right ceramic assemblage to fill it, or of which terminology we should employ to label it, the real issue is that of the nature of cultural change and how it affected societies during the later part of the third millennium B.C.E.

Perhaps one of Rutter's greatest contributions to this issue is his articulation of the variation in cultural change throughout the Aegean during this period. That is, different regions underwent differing cultural changes, and at different rates of change; an obvious example is the differences in material culture between the

northeast Peloponnese and central Greece in EH IIB. Over the last three decades, we have begun to examine regional variation more closely and to question older constructs of regions, such as mainland vs. island, by using such ideas as “small worlds” and networks, which allow us to examine not just maritime or land-based connections but rather the full range of human interactions in land- and seascapes so varied as those of the Aegean.

In this paper, I examine the transition from Early Bronze (EB) II to EB III in the Aegean, focusing on the Greek mainland (but without excluding the islands), and paying particular attention to the small worlds and networks we can identify. The impact of new metallurgical ideas and changes in ceramics, architecture, and settlement patterns are considered. What we see is a dynamic situation of fluctuating small worlds and networks within and among them, anchored by centers such as Kolonna, Lerna, or Thebes, which reacted in different ways to these cultural changes. Those centers that prospered into the Middle Bronze Age seem to have forged networks well beyond their immediate small world.

Reexamining Rutter’s Gap from the Perspective of Crete: A Regional Approach to Relative Chronology, Networks, and Complexity in the Later Prepalatial Period

Thomas M. Brogan, INSTAP Study Center for East Crete

The proposed Early Cycladic III “Gap” was identified through careful correlations in the ceramic records of the mainland and Cyclades in late Early Bronze (EB) II, and the absence of Cretan connections was noteworthy. For Rutter, this EB III Aegean horizon was marked by a dramatic decline in interregional exchange between earlier and later floruits of international exchange; Early Minoan (EM) III Crete offered an example where “variability in the local ceramic styles of the EM III period was so bewildering that the period’s very existence had occasionally been questioned” Where do things stand today?

To provide an answer, this paper reviews the current evidence for EM III on three levels. The first is an examination of the extant ceramic deposits from north central Crete and the Mirabello and the taphonomic conditions that have often obscured our recognition of EM III as a distinct chronological phase.

Next, the paper considers new approaches to regionalism in the late Prepalatial record. While regional styles of Early Minoan pottery have long been recognized, recent scholarship has taken a more comprehensive approach to this topic, and the island’s relationship with the Cyclades from EM IB to Middle Minoan (MM) IA provides an excellent example. Detailed studies of coastal and inland sites on Crete have put earlier suggestions of colonization and gateway communities into spatial and temporal relief, allowing for more nuanced interpretations of relations during the Early Bronze Age. These results indicate that some Cretan settlements (e.g., Poros, Hagia Photia, and Mochlos) or groups within communities (e.g., Tholos G at Archanes) enjoyed special relationships or preferential access to ideas, materials, and finished goods from the islands. These relationships varied by region and changed over time. Moreover, the evidence for the “peaceful” arrival of the Minoan colonists on Kythera late in EM II suggests Cretans were also developing alternative trade networks at the same time major changes were underway at EC IIB sites.

As a final step, the paper highlights studies of complexity and state formation on Crete and considers whether these economic and political changes were uniform across the island. Recent survey data suggests that Knossos, Phaistos, and Malia witnessed significant expansion of both their urban centers and agricultural catchments in EM III and MM IA. When the evidence from contemporary funerary and ritual contexts is added, the result is a new picture of EM III (and MM IA) and a new starting point for revisiting how groups on Crete were actively participating in the shifting interregional Aegean networks described by Rutter 30 years earlier.

Against the Gaps: The Early Bronze Age and the Beginnings of the Middle Bronze Age in the North and Eastern Aegean/Western Anatolia

Ourania Kouka, University of Cyprus

Gaps are not desirable things in archaeology, whether they refer to cultural gaps or to gaps in research. When Rutter defined a “Gap” between the Early Cycladic IIB and Middle Helladic I assemblages, it was evident that there existed a real gap in archaeological research in the case of the prehistory of landscapes and islandscapes of the northern and eastern Aegean and of western Anatolia, to the south of Troy.

Since then, excavations both in the islands of the northern and eastern Aegean (Thasos, Samothrace, Skyros, Lemnos, Samos, Kos, and Rhodes) and in western Anatolia (at Liman Tepe, Bakla Tepe, Çeşme-Bağlararası, Miletus, and Didyma-Tavşanadası) have shed considerable light on various periods in the prehistory of microregions that were hitherto poorly understood.

This paper discusses what we now know about cultures of the third and early second millennium B.C.E. in the eastern Aegean and western Anatolia. It takes full advantage of the rich archaeological evidence that has accumulated over the past 30 years. It emphasizes “cultural dialogues” that existed between the eastern Aegean and western Anatolia, on the one hand, and the Cyclades, mainland Greece, and Crete, on the other—particularly as these can be observed in developments in technologies such as pottery manufacture and metallurgy, in the development of trade networks, in the evolution of political and social practices, in symbolic expressions, and, more generally, in the transformation of the parallel lives of Aegean societies.

Gaps, Destructions, and Migrations in the Bronze Age: Causes and Consequences

Malcolm H. Wiener, Institute for Aegean Prehistory

In the years ca. 2250–2050 B.C.E., the entire Near East experienced a major desiccation event and its consequences in the form of destructions, abandonments, and movements of peoples. In Anatolia, the arc of destruction included Troy, where the great walls of Troy II–III fell into ruin and Troy IV suffered six destruction levels; sites in Cilicia proper and across the Taurus range at the metallurgical site at Göltepe; and Kültepe to the east. In the Habur Valley in northeastern Syria, the major Akkadian site at Tell Leilan and many of its neighboring sites were abandoned ca. 2200 B.C.E. Many other Syrian sites were abandoned early in Early

Bronze (EB) IVB, with the final wave of destruction and abandonment coming at the end of EB IVB, around the end of the third millennium. In Canaan, there was a precipitous decline in the number of inhabited sites in EB III–IVB, including a hiatus posited at Ugarit. In Cyprus, the Philia phase of the Early Bronze Age, which was characterized by a uniformity of material culture indicating close connections between different parts of the island and linked to a broader eastern Mediterranean interaction sphere, broke down. In Egypt, famine was reported in the late 6th Dynasty and early First Intermediate Period, together with a reduction in rainfall and the annual Nile floods.

In the Aegean, the “International Age” of EB II was followed by a wave of destructions associated on the islands and at sites along the mainland coast with the arrival of new groups from Anatolia, perhaps set in motion by the climatic factors mentioned above. Some settlements were abandoned and others were established in more remote and defensible positions with fortifications—for example, at Kastri on Syros—built when the great Early Cycladic (EC) I–II cemetery went out of use, perhaps suggesting the arrival of new inhabitants. The manufacture of marble objects ceased or sharply declined, and cist tomb burial went out of fashion. Beginning in Early Helladic (EH) II in the northern Cyclades and central Greece and continuing into EB III as far as Aegina and the southern Cyclades, metal forms and burnished pottery of western Anatolian shape appeared. There is, however, no general pattern, for some sites were abandoned and exhibit a gap in occupation and others not; some destructions occurred at the beginning of EB III, and others at the end. Accordingly it is necessary to consider various potential precipitating factors and scenarios.

Kastri Group material is practically nonexistent in Crete, however. Indeed, the first appearance of monumentality and literacy in the Aegean in Early Minoan III–Middle Minoan I may have been the consequence of the happy position of Crete, just far enough apart and with sufficient population relative to size to resist destructive incursions, but within range of stimuli from the civilizations of Egypt and the Near East.

SESSION 1F: Colloquium

Empire and Cross-Cultural Interaction in Egypt: A Diachronic Perspective

Sponsored by the Near Eastern Archaeology Interest Group

ORGANIZER: *Thomas P. Landvatter*, University of Michigan

Colloquium Overview Statement

The study of empires and their role in cultural adaptation and change has long been an important part of Mediterranean archaeology. Taken together, the papers in “Empire and Cross-Cultural Interaction in Egypt: A Diachronic Perspective” present a cohesive picture of how one Mediterranean society experienced cross-cultural interaction, from being the center of a conquering empire to being part of one. Egypt is an ideal place for archaeological observation and comparison of the effects of cross-cultural interaction in this context over the long term. This is for

three reasons. First, Egypt has been both the center and the periphery of multiple empires: during the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic period, Egypt was an expansionist state; in the Persian and Roman periods, Egypt was incorporated as a province into a larger empire. Second, Egypt is a region that was largely culturally homogenous and politically unified since the foundation of the Egyptian state in third millennium B.C.E.; as such, it offers archaeologists almost unparalleled time depth for the study of a single sociocultural area over time. Third, the archaeological and textual record from Egypt is exceptionally rich with regard to different cultural and ethnic groups both in Egypt itself and in neighboring regions. This allows us to observe Egypt's interaction with the broader Mediterranean at a level of detail not possible elsewhere.

The six papers in this colloquium consider cross-cultural interaction in Egypt when it was both imperial center and province; they also consider how in each situation Egyptian groups and individuals interacted with other cultures and how these cultures interacted with them. The first two papers focus on both Egypt's ideology of subjugation of and its effective cooperation with different cultural groups during the New Kingdom. The third explores the cultural and political negotiation of identity as Egypt was effectively incorporated into a larger empire for the first time during the Persian period. The fourth investigates how Egypt shaped the identity of the new Graeco-Macedonian elite of the Ptolemaic period, who would once again turn Egypt into an imperial power. The fifth paper focuses on the negotiation of identity in Egypt when it was part of the Roman empire, while the sixth observes the interpretation and use of Egypt in the Roman imperial center.

Prisoners of War and Imperial Pride in New Kingdom Thebes

Ellen Morris, Barnard College

In the span of two generations in the mid second millennium B.C.E., the Theban ruling family completely reversed its political fortune. In the late Second Intermediate Period, much of Egypt had been ruled by Syro-Palestinian kings based in Egypt's northern Delta, while the rulers of Thebes endured what was to them a humiliating state of vassalage. After the victories of Ahmose and Thutmose I, however, the tables were turned, and an ethnically Egyptian pharaoh ruled over a network of Syro-Palestinian city-states whose "kings" he redubbed "mayors." As a result of the many military campaigns that occurred in the early and mid 18th Dynasty, northerners flooded into Egypt, primarily as prisoners of war, and transformed Egypt's economy into one in which large-scale slave labor was viewed as not only desirable but even somewhat commonplace.

Because prisoners of war were distributed on an unprecedented scale among temple and private estates throughout Egypt and especially in Thebes, the effects of empire were immediately felt. Slave-owning nobles—whether or not they directly took part in the wars—portrayed themselves in their own tombs as masters in microcosm over Syria-Palestine, the latter incarnate in the subjugated body of a slave.

In this paper, I discuss the manner in which the Theban elite showcased Egypt's tremendous victories over the Mitanni—their most powerful and far-flung foe—in the context of personal monuments. The widespread appearance of these north-

erners slaving away in Egypt's fields and temple workhouses in mid 18th Dynasty tombs not only reflected a very real societal transformation, verifiable through many other lines of evidence, but also served to allow the empire's inner elites to feel a literal and figurative ownership of recent triumphs. The paintings of Mitanni prisoners in Egypt are a useful medium through which to explore the introduction and assimilation of subjugated foreigners into Egyptian society.

Controlling the Desert: Cultural and Political Interactions Between the People of the Eastern Desert and the Administrators of Lower Nubia During the Egyptian New Kingdom

Kate Liszka, Princeton University

From the beginning of the New Kingdom, the "King's Son of Kush," with the help of an indigenous Nubian elite, oversaw the administration of the Nubian Nile Valley, as well as the Eastern Desert. Beyond the border of Egyptian control, the Eastern Desert greatly interested the Egyptian administration because it was a source of stone, minerals, and gold; they wanted control of this territory to facilitate their mining operations. The Eastern Desert also contained a pastoral nomadic population who interacted with their neighbors in diverse ways. Some traded luxury goods like oils and incense in return for dietary staples; some took employment in Lower Nubia or even in Egypt; and some raided the borders of Lower Nubia, so frequently that even Akhenaten had to send the Egyptian military to try to quell their actions. The King's Son was in charge of collecting tribute and inspecting the Eastern Desert peoples and lands, and members of the indigenous Nubian elite, such as the princes of Tehkhet and Miam, probably had a role in controlling expeditions into the Eastern Desert.

This presentation examines the vital role of the Eastern Desert peoples and products as part of the Egyptian imperial system of the New Kingdom. It focuses on the cultural interactions between Egyptians and other Nubian elites trying to control pastoral nomadic populations and the dispersed territory in which they lived. It also examines, primarily through archaeological and textual remains, the bifurcation of different Nubian peoples under Egyptian imperial control and finds that each group of Nubians was a dynamic political and cultural force of its own.

Egypt in Empire: Contestation and Negotiation on the Persian-Era Stelae from Memphis

Jennifer Gates-Foster, University of Texas at Austin

In the first millennium B.C.E., Egypt was twice incorporated into the Achaemenid Persian empire, for the first time in the sixth–fifth centuries B.C.E. (27th Dynasty) and again in the mid fourth century (31st Dynasty). Despite significant problems with the dating of texts and objects associated with these periods, it is possible nevertheless to observe that these were times of disruption in the Egyptian state but also of continuity. For example, recent work with demotic documents from the period has indicated that significant changes were introduced at the administrative level and that the presence of Persian officials in the country

represented, on some level, a fundamental reordering of Egyptian society. The role of pharaoh was played by the great king himself and power was concentrated in the hands of his representative, the satrap or provincial governor. These changes have an economic parallel in the increasingly large numbers of Levantine-style ceramics imported into Egypt during this period, evidence of the incorporation of Egypt into the larger economic sphere of the Achaemenid empire.

Despite these changes, much of the material culture of the Achaemenid periods in Egypt demonstrates the continuing significance of Egyptian religious, civic, and iconographic norms at many levels. This paper takes as its subject the well-known corpus of funerary stelae from Memphis, which presents a rich data set for the investigation of the interaction between Achaemenid Persian and Egyptian funerary iconography and the imperial context that produced them. Using these stelae as a starting point, it considers how the choices made by individuals—some likely of Iranian extraction, others certainly Egyptian—reveal the negotiation of different cultural and political spheres that was an inherent aspect of life in Egypt under Achaemenid rule.

Becoming Alexandrian: Cremation Practices and Identity in Ptolemaic Alexandria

Thomas P. Landvatter, University of Michigan

During the Ptolemaic period, an elite of Graeco-Macedonian origin assumed control of Egypt and ruled it as an independent polity. Similar situations had happened before in Egypt, but no other group was as successful or is as well documented archaeologically as the Graeco-Macedonians. We are thus able to study not only their impact on Egyptian culture and society but also Egypt's impact on what was originally an immigrant community. The city of Alexandria is particularly fascinating in this respect: the new city's population was a diverse mix of Greeks, Macedonians, and Egyptians, and social ties and structures that had been taken for granted in the population's areas of origin needed to be constructed ex novo. In such a social environment, the effects of cross-cultural interaction can be pronounced.

In this paper, I analyze patterns in funerary practice in Alexandria's early cemeteries to determine how cross-cultural interaction affected social identity in the city over time, focusing on the phenomenon of cremation practices. I use both the monumental and nonmonumental tombs and funerary assemblages recorded by E. Breccia and A. Adriani during the early 20th century, concentrating particularly on the earliest cemeteries of Shatby and Hadra, in which cremation burials were found in significant numbers.

While there was precedent in Greece and Macedonia for the practice of cremation, it was not usual; Alexandria stands apart. The particular sociocultural setting of Alexandria makes it all the more interesting. Cremation burial goes against Egyptian notions of the body and soul and may have served as a way of marking an individual as definitively distinct from the surrounding indigenous population. In addition, cremation may have acted as a means of association with the Macedonian elite, for whom there was long tradition of cremation. Together, these two factors suggest that an important identity among the city's early population was one distinctly "non-Egyptian" rather than explicitly "Greek."

However, over time cremation fell into disuse as Egyptian-style burials and funerary imagery became a normative and elite practice. The descendants of the initial population became “Alexandrian” and “Egyptian,” if only because of their geographic origin, and attitudes toward what constituted an acceptable and elite burial shifted to the point that cremation was not considered acceptable. A specifically “non-Egyptian” identity, which had been useful to early Alexandrians, may no longer have been necessary. By the Roman period, cremation was practiced infrequently, if at all.

Banqueting with Anubis: A Roman-Period Funerary Stele from Egypt in the San Antonio Museum of Art

Jennifer L. Muslin, University of Texas at Austin

Tombstones and funerary monuments provide venues to express aspects of one’s identity in life and how one wishes to be remembered in death. A small polychrome limestone funerary stele in the San Antonio Museum of Art from Terenouthis (modern Kom Abu Billo) is one example of how a second-century C.E. elite-minded male living in the Nile Delta region addressed these concerns, mixing pharaonic, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman iconography that reflected his multifaceted identity and Terenouthis’ long history and diverse demography.

Known in Pharaonic times as Mafket and Ta Rennouti, Hellenistic and Roman Terenouthis was an important commercial port town on the Nile’s Rosetta branch—that had a multiethnic population. Little is known of the town’s archaeology but its necropoleis date from the Old Kingdom through the fifth century C.E. Most scholars agree that the Terenouthis grave stelae were mass produced and later personalized with polychrome decoration and painted or inscribed epitaphs. The San Antonio example is a banqueting type stele, one of three main designs produced in Terenouthis between the first and third centuries C.E., and shows a bearded togate male seated on a kline and holding a flower and a kantharos. A jackal (likely Anubis) sits on a plinth at his side, and banqueting equipment, a transport amphora, and foliage are arrayed below the kline.

Using formal and stylistic analysis, comparanda from known contexts, and ceramic evidence, this paper analyzes the multivalent symbols and associations encoded in the iconography, color choices, and sculptural technique of this stele. Based on this methodology, I suggest a second-century C.E. date for the San Antonio stele, placing it within the period when the highest-quality Terenouthis grave stelae were produced. While they are stock types and not portraits drawn from life, the stelae offer an opportunity to consider the many components of ethnic identity in Roman Egypt and the ways Roman-period Terenouthites represented themselves through material and visual culture. Depicting oneself in Roman dress at a banquet with Anubis underscores this complexity, pairing a venerated Egyptian underworld god with a Greek and Roman dining practice that had a long tradition in funerary art. Regardless of the occupant’s actual identity while alive, the pharaonic, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman elements depicted on this stele combine to form an idealized image of the deceased that viewers could use to commemorate him.

Recreating the Nile in Pompeii: Egyptianizing Iconography in the House of P. Cornelius Tages

Caitlín E. Barrett, Cornell University

Octavian's victory at Actium put an end to Egypt's political independence, but not its ancient cultural and religious practices. Not only did the temples of Roman Egypt continue to be centers for the maintenance of traditional religion but Egyptian gods and iconography also made increasing inroads in the Roman world. Among the numerous manifestations of Roman popular engagement with Egyptian iconography are so-called Nilotic scenes: frescoes or mosaics, popular throughout the Mediterranean from the late Hellenistic period to late antiquity, depicting the Nile in flood. In many of these scenes, groups of dark-skinned pygmies engage in seemingly bizarre behaviors, such as fighting riverine beasts or performing public sexual acts. Although scholars sometimes interpret these images as anti-Egyptian caricature, many of the pygmies' seemingly ridiculous acts find precedents in Egyptian religious iconography. Accordingly, these scenes may actually reflect genuine engagement with the Egyptian theology of the flooding Nile.

At a previous AIA session (2011), I presented an overview of Nilotic imagery in Campanian houses, together with an interpretation of that imagery in the light of Egyptian parallels. The present paper builds on that earlier work by moving beyond iconography to context. An analysis of the archaeological context and architectural setting of one particular group of Nilotic scenes provides a new perspective on the functions of this Egyptianizing imagery within its Roman social setting.

The garden of one wealthy Pompeian freedman, P. Cornelius Tages, contained not only an elaborate sequence of Nilotic paintings but also a water installation that appears to have functioned as a model of the Nile itself. The present paper analyzes the iconography of the Nilotic scenes in Tages' garden, relating them to their architectural setting and the associated archaeological finds. The frescoes do indeed appear to have authentic roots in Egyptian iconography, and we can read them meaningfully in such terms. However, at the same time, they also belong to a very Roman tradition of domestic decoration as a medium for competitive display. Given his status as a *nouveau riche* former slave, Tages' numerous allusions to the architecture and decoration of upper-class villas—including his employment of Egyptianizing imagery—may represent an effort to bolster his credentials as a member of the Pompeian elite.

SESSION 1G**Recent Fieldwork in Greece and Turkey**

CHAIR: *Michael Hoff*, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Excavations at Nemea: The 2012 season

Kim Shelton, University of California, Berkeley

This report presents the preliminary results of the third and final season of renewed exploration and excavation of the Sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea by the University of California, Berkeley, under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The focus of the new excavations is the early history and prehistory of Nemea, especially in the area of the Sanctuary of Zeus. The research goal is to investigate the transition of the area of the later sanctuary from a border region between two emerging political powers to a ritual center that became a focus for Panhellenic national and ethnic identity, a change that the area exhibited as it moved from the prehistoric period into the early historical one.

This season, excavation continues in the area of the Hero Shrine and further investigates the substantial stone and earthwork features initially uncovered last season. These features date to several phases of the Archaic period. A fuller understanding of the development of the archaic peribolos, and its use for cult, is gained through newly discovered architectural features and significant ritual deposits. The complicated stratigraphic sequence of the sanctuary's use is detailed along with a discussion of further evidence for the prehistoric occupation in the area. Initial results both confirm and supplement information gained through the renewed excavation program and the ongoing ceramic study from past excavations.

In addition, the completion of phase II of the reconstruction project of the Temple of Zeus is presented with details of new insights into its architectural features.

Antikythera Underwater Survey

Brendan Foley, Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, *Theotokis Theodoulou*, Hellenic Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities, and *Dimitris Kourkoumelis*, Hellenic Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities

In 2012, the Hellenic Ministry of Culture Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities (EUA) partnered with Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution (WHOI) to survey comprehensively the submerged cultural heritage of Antikythera Island, located in the southwestern Aegean Sea. Antikythera is known for the famous Roman treasure wreck discovered in 1901, but the seafloor around it has never been investigated fully. The Hellenic Ministry of Culture last worked underwater at Antikythera in 1976, when it permitted Jacques Cousteau to excavate a portion of the wreck. In the summer of 2012, the EUA-WHOI team conducted a preliminary underwater reconnaissance at Antikythera. This revealed the wreck of a British warship from 1807 and maritime artifacts from prehistory through the Roman era and beyond. During the full field project later in the year, the team employed technical diving systems including closed-circuit rebreathers, mixed gases, and

diver-propulsion vehicles. Visual surveys encompassed the entire 16-nautical mile circuit of the island's coast, its outlying reefs and islets, and the Antikythera wreck. The team documented the remains of that site at 50 m depth and explored downslope to 70+ m to determine whether additional artifacts lie in the depths. This paper is the initial presentation of results from the project.

2012 Investigations at the Harbors of Burgaz, Turkey: Shifting Centers of Maritime Activity on the Datça Peninsula

Elizabeth S. Greene, Brock University, *Justin Leidwanger*, University of Toronto, and *Numan Tuna*, Middle East Technical University

Excavations at Burgaz, Turkey, conducted by Middle East Technical University (METU) since 1993 have revealed uninterrupted activity from the Geometric period through the Early Hellenistic era. At its height in the Archaic and Classical periods, the town's residents enjoyed extensive domestic quarters and civic structures arranged on an orthogonal plan. With its proximity to some of the most fertile land on the Datça peninsula as well as ready access to the sea, Burgaz is often considered to be the early settlement of the Knidians (Bean and Cook, *BSA* 47 [1952] 202–204; Bresson, *Anatolia Antiqua* 19 [2011] 395). By the late fourth century, the nature of the settlement at Burgaz underwent a dramatic shift as workshops and industrial zones geared primarily toward processing and storing the region's agricultural production replaced habitation and public spaces. At the same time, Knidos at Tekir on the tip of the Datça peninsula developed as a civic and religious center well situated at the juncture of the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas to take maximum advantage of the growing internationalism of the Hellenistic world.

Ongoing archaeological investigations in the harbor complex of Burgaz have been conducted by Brock University in collaboration with the METU team since 2011. Surface survey and test excavations suggest that in its foundation and initial development, the port served as an entrepôt for communication and trade, primarily throughout the Carian region and neighboring islands, an economic zone that may map well onto the Dorian Hexapolis described by Herodotus (1.144). That the town continued to use—and in some places expand—its harbor structures and fortifications in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, even as the settlement changed its focus toward industry, may suggest that the design of the harbors likewise shifted to meet the new needs of local production and distribution. With the growth of Knidos as the region's preeminent religious and economic center, looking outward to a larger Hellenistic world, Burgaz did not recede into the economic background. Rather, the port seems to have taken on a new role as a link in the supply chain. Continued proximity to the Datça peninsula's fertile interior, combined with access to raw materials and ceramic production areas at Reşadiye, allowed Burgaz to expand its industrial focus on land and at sea. It served as a supplier of agricultural products within its immediate region and beyond through its integration with the growing maritime economy of Knidos.

The Tumulus of Alyattes, the Lake of Gyges, and Archaic Marble Procurement in Central Lydia, Western Turkey

Bradley M. Sekedat, Dartmouth College, Christina Luke, Boston University, and Christopher H. Roosevelt, Boston University

The Central Lydia Archaeological Survey has completed a marble sampling, survey, and recording program of the 11 quarries located within the survey boundaries. The program, which included intensive surface collection, mapping of the quarry surfaces, photorectification of vertical walls, and systematic material sampling, aimed to provide a better chronological understanding of changing resource strategies in rural Lydia. The results presented in this paper focus on the material datable to the Iron Age (Lydian kingdom). Stable isotope analysis, X-ray fluorescence (XRF), and X-ray diffraction (XRD) performed at Brown University have revealed clear overlaps between the material collected during the marble survey and the material collected from the tomb of Alyattes in the 1990s and studied by Ramage and Tykot (1996). The results show that marble from quarries located along the northern foothills of the Marmara Lake basin was used in the construction of the tomb chamber of Alyattes. Our analysis places these results within the context of Bronze Age and Iron Age communities in the basin to explore the importance of social memory in the landscape transformation of Iron Age Lydia.

The Fortifications of Ancient Mytilene

Hector Williams, University of British Columbia

Mytilene was one of the largest cities of the ancient Aegean with approximately 5 km of defensive walls enclosing the town. Survey and excavations (mostly salvage, because a modern city of 35,000 occupies the site) since the late 19th century have revealed something of the history of these fortifications, which appear to extend from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods. One area examined in detail recently was a 30 m long segment of Late Classical city wall in an excavation between Nikomedia and Dikili Streets near the north harbor of the modern town; this paper puts that carefully excavated and studied section (irregular ashlar masonry) of the town's defenses in the context of always-visible remains (e.g., the very different Lesbian-style masonry of the several hundred meters of fortifications still partially preserved on the park-like northwestern hilly area of the city) and of scattered salvage work on walls elsewhere in Mytilene (e.g. the north wall of the city and the 86 m long stoa built against it). The paper also suggests some correlations of wall rebuilding with the razing of the city's defenses after the unsuccessful rebellion of 428/7 B.C.E. against Athens.

SESSION 1H**Cult and Context**

CHAIR: To be announced

The Sanctuaries of Demeter Thesmophoros

Allaire B. Stallsmith, Towson University

The Thesmophoria ritual celebrated in honor of Demeter Thesmophoros and her daughter Kore has been seen as one of the oldest and most widespread festivals in the ancient Greek Mediterranean. Indeed, the festival's claim to be so ancient is based in part on its ubiquity; its distribution from Gaul to Africa and from Carthage to the Bosphorus has been used as proof that it was established before the period of colonization or even before the population movements at the end of the Bronze Age. A geographic gazetteer of the sites where Thesmophoria were held has yet to be produced to substantiate the claim. Hence this paper.

How does one identify a Thesmophorion? Ancient sanctuary names do not seem to have followed a system. A proper noun meaning "sanctuary/temple of the deity" could be formed on her name, "Demetriorion," or her epithets, "Eleusinion" or "Thesmophorion." We also find hieron, temenos, or naos of Demeter Thesmophoros.

Was the Thesmophorion used only for the celebration of the Thesmophoria? There is no necessary relationship between the name of the sanctuary and the festivals celebrated there. A Thesmophorion in Piraeus hosted other Demeter festivals as well as the vague traditional occasions when the women gather.

Are the Thesmophorions archaeologically distinct from all other sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore? Recent archaeological reports of a Thesmophorion in South Italy, Asia Minor, or Greece raise this question. Is there any feature that they share but that is not to be found at other Demeter sanctuaries? In a word, no. They are not distinctive in terms of building type, walls, or altars; placement outside or inside the city walls; or votives and small finds. Underground pits, chasms, megara, or *bothroi* are found in all Demeter sanctuaries.

If we cannot surely identify a Thesmophorion, can we identify sites where Thesmophoria were celebrated? I examine the evidence, literary, epigraphic, archaeological, architectural, and iconographic, for the existence of a Thesmophorion and for the performance of the Thesmophoria at some 250 sites in the ancient Greek world. Out of these, only 40 can reliably be claimed as Thesmophorian. Plotting them on a map indicates that they occur in all areas where Greek was spoken or Greeks were known to travel. Other networks, of myth, of trade, or of colonization, can also be discerned.

Disability as a Sociopolitical Phenomenon in Ancient Greece

Johannes Verstraete, University of Cincinnati

Physical disability occurs in every society, yet standards separating "normal" from disabled bodies are social constructions that cannot simply be extrapolated

from one time and place to another. In antiquity, a body that we would today characterize as diseased, deformed, or disabled was not necessarily seen as inferior, unproductive, unattractive, or in need of medical care; these assumptions are formed by 19th- and 20th-century medical, economic, and western cultural values. While sources allude to the involvement of people with disabilities or deformities in every aspect of life in a Greek polis, patterns of Greek thought about the etiology of disability and the closely related attitudes toward the proper position of disabled people in society are still contested. Some scholars believe that the ancient Greeks explained disability as divine punishment and that the ascription of negative socioreligious connotations to the diseased or disabled body placed the afflicted on the margins of society. However, other scholars have raised serious objections to such a monolithic view of disability and have shown that etiological beliefs were more complex and nuanced, perhaps allowing room for the disabled to negotiate their places in society.

An analysis of votive offerings from the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus and other asclepieia offers an opportunity to address this debate and to explore the extent to which we as archaeologists can theorize about the social construction of the body and of disability in the past. On the basis of archaeological evidence supplemented by literary and epigraphic records, I argue that it is possible to reconstruct a cultural map of disability in ancient Greek society, and I investigate whether disability, disease, and deformity in ancient Greece should be interpreted as individually experienced biological events that necessarily limited social participation or as biosocial phenomena yielding sociopolitical opportunities as well as constraints.

The Perachora Peninsula and the Sanctuary of the Heraion: You Can't Get There from Here

Angela Ziskowski, Coe College, and Daniel Lamp, Architect

The rugged and remote Corinthian peninsula of Perachora has been comparatively neglected in topographic and historical studies of the region. The archaeological evidence from the sanctuary of the Heraion on the tip of the peninsula and textual evidence for the area at large suggest multiple and divergent use groups moving in and out of the territory in antiquity. These include long-distance sailors from the Near East, local pilgrims worshipping at the sanctuary, and military troops such as those of the fourth-century B.C.E. general Agesilaus. The evidence for these users comes from a variety of sources, and there has been no attempt to develop a unified understanding of these groups.

Furthermore, the varied routes employed by these users are worthy of study in and of themselves because neither land nor sea approaches to the peninsula offer easy access to the area. Previous scholarship on the topography of the landscape has largely relied on the account of Xenophon, who claimed that a route along the coast existed in antiquity. Our research and analysis of the peninsula demonstrates that such a route was unlikely, if not impossible. Likewise, sea access to the sanctuary and peninsula was limited by the lack of a sizable natural harbor.

This paper argues for two points: first, there were a variety of users accessing the peninsula in different ways. Second, not one of the user groups had a quick

or easy method of approaching the peninsula. We conclude that Perachora and the sanctuary on it were far more difficult to access than previously understood and that more consideration should be paid to the remote nature of the sanctuary and territory and to the investment of time and energy needed to reach it. It is meaningful that select groups of users expended significant effort to reach this remote region.

The *Anakalypteria* Revisited

Amy Smith, University of Reading

For more than a century, since Deubner's pioneering article on the *epaulia*, or third day, of the Greek wedding, scholars have struggled to understand the timing, role, and even meaning of the *anakalypteria*. This festival, understood as an (un)veiling of the bride, seems to have taken place on the day of the *epaulia* and thus in connection with the presentation of gifts. Although the earliest source, Pherekydes, specifies that the *anakalypteria* occurred on the third day of the wedding, scholars since Deubner have preferred to push it back to the second day, or the *gamelia*, before or after the procession, to align the timing with that noted by Bekker (in *Anecd. graeca*), who connects the *anakalypteria* with the wedding feast.

A solution is not so much a matter of timing but of meaning. In 2003, Ferrari (in Dodd and Faraone, eds., *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives*, 27–42) exhorted us to overcome the idea that there was a ceremonial unveiling at all. Llewellyn-Jones, in *Aphrodite's Tortoise* (Swansea 2003), rightly notes that, since veiling was a regular occurrence in ancient Greece, perhaps the *anakalypteria* comprised rather a series of unveilings, with a public unveiling in view of the guests and a later one in private. While I am in agreement with this understanding of the *anakalypteria* as a series of unveilings, I suggest that they concerned the bridal bed rather than the bride. This interpretation embraces a diachronic perspective on Greek wedding traditions, which have remained largely unchanged from the first century C.E. to the present. While some Greek brides might wear a veil, this garment has not had a significant role in Greek weddings for at least 2,000 years and it is therefore unlikely that the veil—which is hardly attested in ancient literary or visual sources—played a more significant role in ancient Greek weddings. Veils are not the only textiles that can be moved and removed, they and are in fact the rarest textiles with which the root verb for the *anakalypteria*, *καλυπτω*, is used in ancient Greek. The persistent three-day wedding festival remains the *kravatia*, which is comprised of successive dressing and undressing of the bridal bed with the elaborate and precious bed coverings that made up the dowry. In this paper, I therefore reinterpret the *anakalypteria* as an ancient *kravatia* through a consideration of relevant visual and literary sources.

Locating Lost Gifts: Terracottas as Evidence for Ephemeral Offerings

Theodora Kopestonsky, University of Tennessee

Gifts to the gods are an integral part of the important reciprocal relationship between mortals and immortals. Giving something to a god at a sanctuary was one

of the most common actions in ancient Greek ritual practice. The nature of these offerings varied, ranging from durable (and archaeologically visible) stone, metal, or ceramic dedications to perishable (and ephemeral) cloth, oils, perfume, flowers, or foodstuffs and everything in between. Although scholars have long acknowledged the presence of ephemeral offerings, most research has been focused on the more substantial and better-preserved dedications. However, the ephemeral offerings would have been a vital part of the sanctuary, and their loss creates a void in our understanding of the rituals within and the character of a sanctuary. Therefore, to find evidence for these “lost” offerings, scholars must turn to other sources.

Terracottas do survive in the archaeological record can provide an invaluable resource for replacing the ephemeral offerings in sanctuaries. In particular, certain types of terracottas replicate ephemeral offerings such as cakes, garlands, or cloth, while others display such offerings on reliefs or figurines, usually as attributes or dedications. By closely examining numerous assemblages of terracottas, particularly from well-published sites such as Corinth, Athens, and Locri Epizephyrii, one can begin to identify an array of ephemeral dedications. Given repeatedly, terracottas often show, in vast quantities, the types of offerings a divinity might prefer or require at that location. A great variety of archaic and classical terracottas—reliefs and handmade and moldmade figurines—also exhibit iconography that offers insight into the ritual customs and actions accompanying the artifacts. In combination with epigraphic, iconographic, and literary sources, terracottas can clarify the nature and types of ephemeral offerings that were lost in the ravages of time. In doing so, the vital character of and experience in an ancient sanctuary can be better understood. This paper explores terracottas as evidence for ephemeral offerings and ancient Greek ritual behavior.

Containers and Cult: Recent Research on Amphora Assemblages at Ephesos and Corinth

Mark L. Lawall, University of Manitoba

Sanctuaries often provide a wealth of material for Greek amphora research. Amphoras contained various goods needed for ritual meals, stored supplies for the temple staff, and may have served either as votive offerings themselves or as containers for those offerings. Thus, significant quantities of amphoras are known from the sanctuaries of Aphaia on Aegina; Aphrodite and Zeus at Histria; Apollo at Didyma; and Athena at Ilion. Two ongoing projects, however, bring up important complications for the study of amphora-borne supplies at sanctuaries.

Recent excavations at Ephesos recovered amphora fragments from a sanctuary of Meter at one edge of the classical and Early Hellenistic habitation area on Panayirdağ. While there is a general overlap between the types present in sacred and secular areas of the site, the amphora fragments in the sanctuary seem both sparse and small, and there are generally fewer local amphora fragments than might be expected.

Preliminary study of amphora fragments from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth provided another, even more striking, example of a cult site with very little amphora material. Here, among a relatively small collection of gen-

erally quite small sherds, the local Corinthian Type A amphoras are most common, and the more broadly regional Corinthian Type B amphoras are a distant second.

Efforts to explain these two situations require consideration of both ancient practices and specific aspects of the two sites. In the case of the Acrocorinth sanctuary, both wineless libations (*nephalia*) and water figured prominently in the cult of Demeter (S.G. Cole, "The Uses of Water in Greek Sanctuaries," in R. Hägg et al., eds, *Early Greek Cult Practice* [Stockholm 1988] 165), and amphoras used simply as containers—not specifically wine jars—would have sufficed. Indeed, sanctuaries related to Demeter rarely produce many amphora fragments (e.g. M. Miles, *The City Eleusinion* [Princeton 1998]; I. Metzger, *Das Thesmophorion von Eretria* [Bern 1985]; U. Kron, *AA* [1992] 611–50). For the Meter sanctuary, the site's placement on the edge of a precipice leaves little space for substantial accumulation, so the remains may represent only those fragments small enough to escape periodic cleaning. Although less rich in amphora fragments than expected, these two sites highlight the many possible roles of amphoras in cult and how those roles might be manifested in the archaeological record.

Hellenistic Pastoral Temples in the Peloponnese

Sara J. Franck, University of Minnesota

The historical setting of the Hellenistic period in the Peloponnese has been covered in great detail in scholarly literature, along with the scope of Hellenistic religion and the role of monumental temples in this period. However, small extra-urban temples have been somewhat overlooked in favor of larger and more easily accessible temples within the city or predominant sanctuary. The Peloponnese is rich in such modest rural temples, all exhibiting architectural similarities that I show point to not only a specific architectural program in this region but also the multifunctional role of these small temples in the city and surrounding landscape.

Once monumental temples had been constructed in the polis, the city continued to subtly manifest its sovereignty by constructing smaller, simpler temples in the surrounding area, not necessarily to control the area, but rather to keep a watchful presence. Some of these small temples were administered by the city-state but were located outside the urban space and functioned as markers of expansion and the territorial influence of the city and as regional centers for cults uniting the rustic population. Additionally, some sites, although they were under the administration of nearby city-states, served to hold a stance of neutrality between extra-urban populations. These sites were often located on road networks where travelers or traders could meet or where those in need of assistance could seek temporary asylum.

SESSION 11**Organic Archaeology: Dating, Diet, and Bioarchaeology**

CHAIR: *Robert H. Tykot*, University of South Florida

Burning for Zeus: Radiocarbon Dates from the Ash Altar at Mount Lykaion

David Gilman Romano, University of Arizona, *Mary E. Voyatzis*, University of Arizona, *Britt Starkovich*, University of Tübingen, and *Greg Hodgins*, University of Arizona

Excavations at the ash altar of Zeus on Mount Lykaion, conducted from 2007 to 2010, have yielded hundreds of Mycenaean kylikes and other open vessels, as well as terracotta figurines, suggesting the existence of a Late Helladic (LH) shrine on bedrock. Mixed in with this material were large amounts of Final Neolithic through Middle Helladic ceramics. In association with the pottery and throughout all levels of the trench were found burnt animal bones, specifically femurs, patellas, and tailbones of goats and sheep, as well as ash and botanical remains. The faunal remains provided an ideal test case for the radiocarbon dating method for burnt bone, which was undertaken as a part of National Science Foundation grant for scientific analysis of material from Mount Lykaion at the University of Arizona AMS lab, with the permission of the Greek Ministry of Culture. We established a protocol for dating heavily burned (calcined) animal bones, which is a recently developed technique in the field of radiocarbon dating. A series of 70 radiocarbon samples were taken from a 25 x 25 cm sediment column in the deepest part of the altar at Mount Lykaion. The column was excavated in 5 cm cuts, and charcoal, seeds, and calcined bones were collected from each layer. The charcoal and bone samples were paired so we could assess the validity of the calcined bone dating method, the stratigraphic integrity and postdepositional movement of artifacts in the altar, and the span of time during which the altar was in use. The results of the radiocarbon dating indicate that the earliest examples of burnt femurs can be dated from 1527 B.C.E. ± 97 , showing that the ritual practice of offering burnt animal sacrifice is associated with the Early Mycenaean period. The radiocarbon samples of the burnt bone range in date from the LH through the Archaic periods. Evidence for the offering of burnt animal sacrifice is more commonly known from Iron Age contexts. Previously published evidence for burnt animal bone from Bronze Age contexts is extremely limited, known only from a few sites such as Pylos. The practice of *thysia* (or ritual sacrifice) at Greek sanctuary sites is attested in Homeric and other Greek texts, and it was at the heart of ancient Greek religious practice. These new radiocarbon dates on the burnt animal bones from the ash altar on Mount Lykaion now allow us to push back the date for the practice of *thysia* to the Early Mycenaean period.

New Radiocarbon Evidence from the Early Bronze Age Southern Levant

Felix Höflmayer, German Archaeological Institute

Absolute dates for the Bronze Age Southern Levant are still mainly dependent on archaeological synchronisms with Egypt and the Egyptian historical chronology. The SCIEM 2000 project of the Austrian Academy of Sciences has greatly increased our knowledge of links between Egypt and the Levant, and the Egyptian chronology project of the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit has provided us with more than 200 new reliable dates for dynastic Egypt. Furthermore, recent radiocarbon dating activities in the Levant and Egypt not only offer an independent control of absolute dates but also allow to cross-check chronological synchronisms between key sites in the Levant, Egypt, and the Egyptian historical chronology.

This contribution presents new radiocarbon determinations for Early Bronze (EB) III from sites in Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, and Jordan that were run in the framework of the project "Radiocarbon Dating the Bronze Age of the Southern Levant," which was funded by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation and the German Archaeological Institute in cooperation with the University of Oxford. The unexpected high dates for the EB IIIB period are discussed in light of archaeological and historical dating evidence for this period.

Thirteenth Century B.C.E. Feasting at Tell al-'Umayri: Faunal, Vegetal, and Ceramic Evidence

Gloria London, AIA Seattle Society

A well-preserved Late Bronze/Iron Age building excavated at Tell al-'Umayri by the Madaba Plains Project contained 70-100 storage jars, some with grains. Quantitative data reveal that cooking pots and kraters were few in number yet very large in size. The building shared a wall with another structure, which held a standing stone and possibly an altar in a "cultic corner." Adjacent to the buildings was a large pit packed with 25,000 animal bone fragments, ceramics, seals, metals, and the like. Archaeozoological analysis documents the overwhelming dominance of domesticated animals in the pit. Age, sex, kill-off patterns, and skeletal parts imply that the pit held physical remains of participatory feasts intentionally buried and protected at the highest part of the site.

Tell al-'Umayri marks the only permanent freshwater source in Jordan between Amman and Madaba to the south. Rainfall supports dry farming today. In antiquity, as an aggregate site, 'Umayri would have attracted people in the dry season, when the population swelled. People would have come seasonally to assist with the harvest and find places for their herds to graze and browse for herds, in contrast to surrounding semiarid zones. Feasts could have celebrated life-cycle events for people who were separated, in different environmental zones, for most of the year. Feasting remains may represent repeated seasonal harvest celebrations and life-cycle festivities.

The large collection of jars, oversized cookers, and kraters in a private building possibly belonged to a *marzeah*, which has been associated with the Greek *thiasos*. The *marzeah*, as known from texts spanning 3,000 years, was a society of prosperous men or community leaders who organized events involving drinking and eat-

ing, sometimes in honor of a particular deity. Texts come from Ebla, Ugarit, Emar, Bayda, Avdat, Elephantine, Palmyra, Piraeus, and Marseille. *Marzeah* is mentioned twice in the Hebrew bible. The *marzeah* typically was in private, not public, buildings. The large number of jars and storage capacity of the building suggest that it had the necessary requirements to provision feasts. Grains in the jars and large portions of animals awaiting further butchering were found along with a fragmentary metal figurine, possibly the deity to whom the *marzeah* was dedicated.

The Archaeology of Death in Brazil: Background and Future Perspectives of a Developing Field of Research

Paula Falcão Argôlo, University of São Paulo, *Camila Diogo de Souza*, Université de Paris X, Nanterre, and *Nanterre Taphos*, University of São Paulo

This paper intends to bring the current state of Brazilian funerary studies in classical archaeology to the wider academic community. To do so, we should briefly present and evaluate its main contributions to date and attempt to outline future research directions in this important and fruitful field of studies.

Funerary remains are relatively common in archaeological excavations, but they are a major controversial and ethical issue in theoretical and methodological approaches to material culture. However, during the 19th century and most of the 20th century, most of funerary studies did not focus on funerary contexts as a whole. Research concentrated on grave goods and disregarded basic elements, such as the body itself and both funerary architecture and landscape.

In the past few decades, bioarchaeological techniques and approaches to funerary contexts have resulted in changing attitudes toward the subject, redefining “traditional” methods of funerary analysis. Therefore, bioarchaeology and related disciplines, such as taphonomy, zooarchaeology, and osteology, have brought a wide range of groundbreaking perspectives that have contributed to a better understanding of funerary practices and rituals performed by the living.

The Laboratory of Studies on Funerary Contexts and Practices—Grupo de Estudos dos Contextos e das Práticas Funerárias—has recently been created at the core of the biggest department of classical archaeology in Brazil, the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at the University of São Paulo. As an interdisciplinary research center, its aims are twofold: enabling innovative approaches and perspectives of analysis in this subject area and developing a constructive collaboration and partnership between worldwide and Brazilian research subspecialties in the archaeology of death.

Bronze Age Economy: Isotopic Contributions to Resource Management at Petsas House

Gypsy Price, University of Florida, *John Krigbaum*, University of Florida, and *Kim Shelton*, University of California, Berkeley

In this paper, I present the results of an isotopic survey of faunal remains recovered from a single destruction event deposit from the well of Petsas House, a Late Helladic (LH) IIIA2 (later 14th-century B.C.E.) extrapalatial industrial and domes-

tic structure located in the settlement of Mycenae. An excavation of the Archaeological Society at Athens, work at the Petsas House is conducted under the general direction of Spyros Iakovidis and the field direction of Kim Shelton of the University of California, Berkeley. Stable isotope ratios of carbon ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$), nitrogen ($\delta^{15}\text{N}$), and oxygen ($\delta^{18}\text{O}$) were obtained from bone collagen and bone apatite extracted from cow, pig, goat, sheep, dog, and rabbit remains. Isotopic values demonstrate a clear grouping of samples by taxon that is consistent with expected values for each taxon, attesting to the good preservation of the collection. While values obtained from cow, dog, and rabbit samples are consistent, there is distinctive isotopic variation present in the values obtained from the sheep, goat, and boar samples. Members of these taxa appear to parse similarly into two groups, which suggests that there is variation in the management of subgroups within each of these taxa.

As isotopic analysis affords us the ability to assess diet and movement within a landscape at the individual level, it allows us to trace the individual life history of members of a population. Through isotopic survey such as this, we can discern discrete feeding groups and patterns of importation and distribution of faunal resources exploited in different sectors of the economy. Disparities in provisioning or foddering strategies, as well as differing origins or herd patterning of fauna, are visible in the isotopic signatures of a representative population of the exploited faunal group. These types of data serve to aid in the reconstruction of the economic landscape of faunal resources, thereby informing the social and political landscape in which these resources were mobilized. Possible explanations for the variation seen in the Petsas House collection and the subsequent implications for social, economic, and political organization at Mycenae during the LH IIIA2 period are explored.

A New Tool for Studying Roman Diet: Comparing the Results of Carbon and Nitrogen Stable Isotope Analyses in Different Areas of the Roman World

Colleen Cummings, Chemeketa Community College

In the past 10 years, there has been an increase in the application of a particular technique for studying ancient diet—carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analysis—to archaeological sites dating to the Roman period. This technique has much to add to other archaeological methods of studying ancient diet, such as zooarchaeology and paleobotany, in that it allows for the analysis of the diet of particular individuals within a cemetery population. This enables archaeologists to examine not just the diet of the site as a whole but also the diets of subgroups within the population, elucidating potential differences in age, sex, social status, burial location, and the like. Although paleodietary stable isotope analysis on Roman-era sites has been increasing, the results are typically presented and published only in conferences and journals specializing in archaeological science or bioarchaeology. Additionally, in-depth comparative analysis of the different sites is still lacking. This paper addresses this problem by presenting a comparative analysis of all Roman-period stable isotope studies that have been published to date. First, a brief overview of stable isotope analysis and its application is provided, and then the results from the various studies are discussed. The discussion highlights similarities and differences in dietary practices in different areas of the Roman empire due to either

environmental or social factors. Finally, the picture of Roman dietary practices that is created from stable isotope analysis will be compared with that drawn from other methods of investigating ancient diet. Carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analysis is a relatively new tool in the toolboxes of those who study the ancient world, but it can be an especially powerful one, particularly as its use is becoming more and more prevalent in archaeological analysis.

Analysis of Ivory from the Uluburun Shipwreck and Late Bronze Age Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean

Robert H. Tykot, University of South Florida, Christina Leccese, University of South Florida, Kathryn Parker, University of South Florida, George Kamenov, University of Florida, Kathryn Lafrenz Samuel, North Dakota State University, and Cemal Pulak, Texas A&M University

New strontium isotope analyses were done on ivory recovered from the Late Bronze Age Uluburun shipwreck to reconstruct trade routes in the eastern Mediterranean. Excavations at this underwater site revealed the now well-known vast assemblage of goods aboard this trading ship, including copper, tin and glass ingots, Canaanite jars and jewelry, Cypriot ceramic bowls, Egyptian faience and ebony, Mesopotamian shell rings, terebinth resin, ostrich eggs, elephant tusks, and hippopotamus teeth. Since the shipwreck's discovery 30 years ago, several of these materials, especially the copper "oxide" ingots, ceramics, and glass, have been scientifically analyzed to determine their sources. The results support the hypothesis that the Uluburun ship was heading westward at the time of its demise toward the end of the 14th century B.C.E.

We will present at the 114th Annual Meeting of the AIA the results of our strontium isotope analyses of one elephant tusk and eight hippopotamus teeth from the Late Bronze Age Uluburun shipwreck, along with three first-millennium B.C.E. elephant bone samples from Maras Fili, in Turkey, provided by the museum staff of the General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration. These analyses were conducted using a multicollector inductively coupled plasma-mass spectrometer (MC-ICP-MS), which produces strontium isotope ratios with very high precision yet requires only very small samples. The analysis is now possible at modest costs. The results obtained are evaluated based on analyses of more than 150 geological samples from Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, and Egypt, and of modern elephants and rhinoceri in sub-Saharan Africa. Previously, at the 104th Annual Meeting of the AIA, we had reported stable isotope analysis of carbon, oxygen, and nitrogen on these same samples.

The strontium isotope analyses produced a very strong match for all seven of the hippopotamus samples from the Uluburun shipwreck: with the Sinai in the southeastern Mediterranean, which is thought to have been a suitable habitat for hippopotami at that time. The elephant ivory sample also matched the Sinai sample but not the Maras Fili samples from Turkey nor the geological database for Syria or Lebanon. We discuss the reliability of the analytical data including concerns that the ivory could have been contaminated, since it was underwater for more than three millennia, and concerns about the comprehensiveness of the database used for matching the artifacts with source areas. Overall, this study provides

important new data on Late Bronze Age trade and analytical potential for further analyses of ivory found at eastern Mediterranean sites.

SESSION 1J

Mani: The Diros Project and Alepotrypa Cave

CHAIR: *Michael L. Galaty*, Millsaps College

The Diros Project, 2012: Survey and Excavation in the Western Mani Peninsula, Southern Greece

Giorgos Papathanassopoulos, Greek Ministry of Culture, *William A. Parkinson*, Field Museum of Natural History, *Anastasia Papathanasiou*, Greek Ministry of Culture, *Michael L. Galaty*, Millsaps College, *Daniel J. Pullen*, Florida State University, and *Panagiotis Karkanas*, Greek Ministry of Culture

The Diros Project is an international, multidisciplinary, Greek-American research project that explores human social dynamics on the Mani peninsula of southern Greece. The project is codirected by Giorgos Papathanassopoulos and Anastasia Papathanasiou of the Greek Ministry of Culture, William Parkinson of the Field Museum, and Michael Galaty of Millsaps College. The primary goal of the project is to examine the role of Alepotrypa Cave in the Mani peninsula within the long-term processes of cultural change associated with the European Neolithic. The project seeks to discover how the Mani peninsula's unique cultural trajectory and remote geographic location influenced its integration into different social, political, and economic spheres of interaction at different points in time.

In the summer of 2012, the team continued archaeological survey in the region around Alepotrypa Cave and initiated excavations at an open-air site located outside the entrance to Alepotrypa Cave. The results of the surface survey indicated that Diros Bay was used extensively during the Final Neolithic and Late Medieval periods but remained sparsely inhabited during most other periods. The excavations at the open-air site on Ksagounaki promontory revealed a single-component Final Neolithic site that is critical both for understanding the role played by Alepotrypa Cave in broader social networks of the eastern Mediterranean, and for understanding the end of the Neolithic in the southern Aegean.

Spatial Analysis of the Neolithic Mortuary Landscape at Alepotrypa Cave, Greece

Sylvia Deskaj, Michigan State University, and *Anastasia Papathanasiou*, Greek Ministry of Culture

Situated in southern Greece, the Neolithic site of Alepotrypa Cave lends itself well to the study of prehistoric social relationships, particularly as they are expressed throughout the mortuary landscape. The work presented here assesses the spatial order of scattered human remains recovered from Alepotrypa Cave in an effort to elucidate the dynamic relationships between the Neolithic living and the dead. While scattered bone is rarely studied, the investigation of its spatial

order can inform us of the overall mortuary context of the cave, in conjunction with the study of ossuaries and burials—both primary and secondary. It is necessary to place the dead within the social landscape of the living, and the Neolithic secondary mortuary context in Alepotrypa Cave provides for an excellent case study of Neolithic mortuary ritual. In an effort to understand the spatial order in Alepotrypa Cave, all the scattered bone that has been identified and catalogued has been reassessed in conjunction with surrounding grave goods within the context of a detailed map of Alepotrypa Cave. The map was produced using GIS, and all the scattered bone was plotted and situated into this system. The results presented here assess the patterning of secondary mortuary processing throughout the cave. This finding is significant because it provides a basis for understanding possible broader social variables as expressed through mortuary behavior and, by extension, the social, political, and demographic conditions of people living in the eastern Mediterranean region during the Neolithic.

New Investigations in Early Exploitation of Melian Obsidian in the Southern Peloponnese

Danielle Riebe, University of Illinois at Chicago

Interaction networks are a starting point for understanding how and why variations in social boundaries occur, and trade has been one way that archaeologists have modeled interaction. Commonly, trade is reconstructed using ceramics or lithics, and in the Aegean there are a limited number of sources from which raw obsidian could have been obtained in prehistoric times. Material from Melos was used in Greece as early as the Paleolithic (Perlès 2003) and it continued to be heavily relied on by Aegean peoples well into the Bronze Age (Runnels 1983; Torrence 1986). Other sources are known to exist in the Mediterranean (e.g., the Greek islands of Antiparos and Giali and the Italian islands of Lipari, Pantelleria, Palmarola, and Sardinia), but they appear to have played a less critical role in the Neolithic Aegean compared with the island of Melos. While Mediterranean obsidian has been greatly examined, improvement in investigative methods allows new questions to be asked.

The current project investigates obsidian from the Final Neolithic cave site of Alepotrypa on the Mani peninsula, Greece. Material from the cave was presumed to come primarily from Melos, but it was not clear from which quarry the pieces originated or whether quarry exploitation changed over time. Moreover, it was postulated that with enough compositional information, microsource variation could be identified within each quarry.

The project was divided into two phases; the first phase consisted of an analysis of 752 geological samples of obsidian from the two known quarries on Melos. A total of 404 samples were collected at 102 different locations at Demenegaki, and another 348 samples were collected at 87 different locations at Sta Nychia. Compositional analysis of the samples was conducted using portable x-ray fluorescence (PXFR) and laser ablation inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (LA-ICP-MS) at the Field Museum in Chicago. The second phase of the project involved PXFR analysis of 120 excavated samples from Alepotrypa. The material was chosen to represent different diachronic levels to see whether preference for

obsidian from specific quarries changed over time. The compositional results of the excavated samples were then compared with the geological samples to help determine microprovenience.

Initial results indicate that the within each of the geological quarries, microsignatures are present. In turn, this allows for a closer inspection of the Alepotrypa samples to see whether microprovenience can be determined and whether a diachronic pattern can be identified.

Rebels in the Mountains: Assessing the Ottoman-Period Human Landscape of the Mani Peninsula, Greece

Rebecca Seifried, University of Illinois at Chicago

Ottoman-period demographic trends are gaining increasing attention from historians and archaeologists working in Greece, but they are only the first step toward understanding macroregional settlement patterns and population change. They provide an excellent data set for archaeologists seeking to address the interrelationship between landscape and settlements during the dramatically shifting social, political, and economic contexts of the Ottoman period. This paper demonstrates how previously published demographic data can be reassessed and spatially analyzed using ArcGIS to further our understanding of the Ottoman territories in the Peloponnese. The case study is a unique region—the Mani peninsula—during the later Ottoman period (1618-1829 C.E.). Living in a harsh environment (both physically and politico-economically) on the periphery of the empire, Maniats are well known for their resistance to state powers and for their key involvement in sparking the Greek Revolution in 1829. These exceptional characteristics provide an opportunity to assess the extent to which macroregional processes affect the frontiers and borders of state systems. The goals of this paper are twofold. First, I contextualize the demographic data from the Mani by comparing the region with others in the Peloponnese, to understand how changes at the local level relate to these broader patterns. Were these movements felt in even the remotest parts of the Peloponnese, or did the Mani have a different demographic trajectory? Second, I conduct a spatial analysis of the data using ArcGIS to unravel the relationship between settlement growth and contraction and different attributes of the landscape. The mountainous terrain of the peninsula provided heightened protection for settlements during times of armed conflict but may have interfered with visual communication. My analyses take into consideration the elevations of villages in different years, the distances between them, and the potential for intervisibility. Data for these analyses come from five primary sources, which record demographic information for approximately 250 total settlements during the years 1618, 1695, 1700, 1813, and 1829.

SESSION 2A**Roman Greece**

CHAIR: *Sebastian Heath*, New York University

Small Change: A Reexamination of the End of Local Bronze Coinage in the Corinthia in the Second Century B.C.E.

Andrew Connor, University of Cincinnati

The South Stoa in Corinth, central to the commercial life of the Hellenistic city, was perhaps the most high-profile victim of the Roman destruction of the city in 146 B.C.E. Though the stoa itself survived largely intact, the shops and offices inside it were sacked and left in a ruinous state. The wells and hoards inside those stoa shops preserve a valuable record of life immediately before and subsequent to the fall of the city. Recent studies of the deposits in these wells have fundamentally changed our understanding of their dates and formation, requiring a reexamination of the coins found within and the conclusions based on them. Such a re-assessment is vital because, as Jennifer Warren's work on the bronze coinage of Sikyon and the Achaean League has shown, coins from the South Stoa wells play a critical role in our understanding—historical, numismatic, and archaeological—of the second century B.C.E. in the Corinthia. In his publication of the South Stoa coins, Martin Price argues that Corinth had ceased minting bronze coinage by the end of the third century B.C.E. and, based on the presence of large numbers of Sikyonian coins in the later fills of the South Stoa wells, that until the sack of the city in 146 B.C.E. Corinthians used mostly bronze coins from Sikyon for their basic coinage. Based on a new examination of the coins and their contexts, I argue that Corinthian bronze coins remained the primary coinage in use in the markets of antebellum Corinth. The sharp rise in Sikyonian coins in the South Stoa wells only becomes manifest in the post-destruction material that was dumped down the wells during cleaning operations in preparation for the reestablishment of Corinth as a Roman colony in 44 B.C.E. This period (146–144 B.C.E.) corresponds to a time of dramatic economic growth for Sikyon and to the city's control of the Corinthia. This new interpretation of the coins from the South Stoa wells sheds light not only on the bustling Corinth of the Achaean League but also on economic life in the ruins of the post-Mummian city.

Kassandros' Urban Program

Martin Gallagher, University of Oxford

New archaeological evidence from northern Greece has shifted much of the innovative fourth century urbanization of existing towns into the reign of Kassandros (316–297 B.C.E.) and clarified topographical issues at his problematic new foundations. Published mainly through detailed annual reports in *To archaiologiko ergo stē Makedonia kai Thrakē* (1988–) and summarily noted in R. Lane Fox's Brill's *Companion to Ancient Macedon* (Leiden 2011), recent discoveries have hardly influenced ancient Greek scholarship in North America and western Europe.

Secure ceramic and numismatic evidence now place the exponential extension of Pella and urbanization of Dion in the last decade of the fourth century B.C.E. Archelaos (ca. 413–399) made Pella his capital, but it was not until Kassandros' expansion that the city incorporated a new package of urban amenities, including a palace with two peristyle courts (as at Aigai), elite houses to host public symposia, baths, and a monumental agora. At Dion, the celebrated border sanctuary of Zeus on the shoulder of Mount Olympos, the establishment of a tetragon schema comparable to near-contemporary foundations in the Near East and within Greece proper coincided with the monumentalization of ancestral shrines immediately to the west, creating a sacred precinct just outside the walls. A substantial Asklepieion and baths complex framing the agora at Mieza also appears to date to the late fourth century B.C.E. and is likely part of Kassandros' program. As M. Hatzopoulos has remarked, the cult of Asklepios is the calling card of civic (as opposed to national) identity in this region. In the introduction of grid plans to Macedonia—plans centered around agoras with both civic and royal buildings previously not well attested in Greek cities—Kassandros' program integrated the idea of Greek city-states with the prerogatives of the national monarchy.

Kassandros is better known for his entirely new foundations of Kassandria (replacing Poteidaia) and Thessaloniki, which are poorly understood because they underlie modern cities. Nevertheless, their foundation clearly collapsed the existing network of more than 40 cities into two large administrative centers. It is now evident that they maintained strict orthogonal grids following the cardinal directions familiar from classical Greek planning, amid great difficulties posed by the local landscapes. Thus, along with the central Macedonian examples, the new cities underscore the interplay between classical Greek planning and the new context of Macedonian royal power.

The Rejection of Roman Imperial Portrait Models in the Greek Provinces in the Middle of the Third Century

Lee Ann Riccardi, The College of New Jersey

Imperial portraiture is a thoroughly studied area of Roman art. Sculpted portraits were originally displayed throughout the vast empire and served as visible manifestations of the remote emperors. Portraits were not casual creations but rather were carefully worked to express particular values and to convey particular qualities to viewers. In short, they functioned as a very powerful means of visual propaganda. For a portrait to be effective, however, citizens of the Roman empire had to be able to know who was being represented, so the portraits were displayed with inscriptions that affirmed their identity. In modern times, the inscriptions have largely been lost, so the only way to identify a portrait is through its similarity to other known portraits. Certainly some sculpted portraits from far-flung parts of the empire correspond to images produced in Rome. This has, unfortunately, resulted in the skewed perception that portraits of the same individual always looked alike all over the empire. In fact, scholars who study Roman imperial portraits have mostly assumed that artists in the provinces used the emperor's official portraits as models to create similar images. But sculpted portraits are not the only evidence for the emperor's appearance in the provinces. In this paper, I challenge

the assumption that provincial images were mostly intended to look like centrally created ones by introducing a large body of overlooked evidence: portraits on Roman provincial coins.

Unlike sculpted portraits, coin portraits still retain inscriptions of the emperor's name, so there is no question whose face was put on the coin. I have examined the portraits on thousands of coins issued by cities in the provinces of Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, Bithynia et Pontus, and Asia between the years 235 and 270 C.E. These coins represent approximately 3,000 different dies. The results of my analysis show that portraits on coins issued by cities in these provinces rarely resemble the images on coins produced in Rome. The artists creating them were clearly not using the emperor's centrally created portraits as models after all and were instead presenting him in very different ways. The portraits on provincial coins point to greater artistic freedom among provincial portraitists than is usually acknowledged, and they establish the priority of local interpretations of the emperor's image.

Variety in the Iconography of The Female Egyptianizing Sculpture at Marathon

Lindsey A. Mazurek, Duke University

Though Isis possesses many easily identified attributes, these characteristic symbols rarely combine in consistent permutations. As R.S. Bianchi's 2007 essay on the subject indicates, Isiac iconography in the Graeco-Roman world does not follow traditional art historical ideas of a consistent canon of coordinated attributes. Consequently, the nature of Isiac iconography in this context remains largely undetermined. The 2011 publication of the Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods at Marathon by I. Dekoulakou offers an opportunity to further our understanding of the variety present in Isiac imagery. In this paper, I analyze likely iconographical and theological reasons for the variation among the four female "Isis" sculptures from the Sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods at Brexiza, near Marathon. Most of the approximately 15 sculptures belonging to the sanctuary, which formed part of Herodes Atticus' second-century C.E. villa, were found wholly preserved in what was probably a primary use context. Three of the four Isis sculptures were found flanking the interiors of the inner sanctum's four Egyptianizing pylons, each paired with a male "Osiris-Antinous" type sculpture and toppled from its base. The fourth was found, intact, in a room, along with ritually destroyed cult objects. These four sculptures display remarkable variety in attributes, dress, and facial features. Though the "Osiris-Antinous" type male sculptures from Marathon have been discussed, this paper presents one of the first scholarly analyses of their female counterparts.

I argue that the variety visible in the female sculptures from Marathon may be related to Isis's henotheistic (sometimes referred to as syncretic) relationships with other Egyptian and Greek goddesses. In Greece, Isis possesses numerous epithets, indications of the variegated nature of her cult and an ability to assume the space and patronage of more traditionally Greek gods. Each of the four Isis statues from Brexiza communicates a discrete yet complementary aspect of the Isiac theology known in the Graeco-Roman world, from Isis' role as a protector of agricultural fertility to her role as a patroness of marital love. These images of Isis, then, represent a desire to explore visually the dynamic, ever-shifting possibilities of the goddess herself.

Cattle and Catering at Corinth: Analysis of More Than a Ton of Animal Bones from the Theater Excavations

Michael R MacKinnon, University of Winnipeg

Recent excavations (directed by C.K. Williams in 2011) of rooms in the West Hall and West Parados of the theater at ancient Corinth produced more than a ton of animal bones. This assemblage is the largest recorded from any ancient theater and is perhaps the most concentrated zooarchaeological deposit from any Greek or Roman site. Analysis in 2011 and 2012 of the more than 100,000 bones collected reveals critical information about activities in the area during the late fourth and fifth centuries C.E., at a time when the theater was apparently an abandoned ruin. The bulk derives from a thick stratum (more than a meter), itself sealed by layers of limestone chips. Pottery and other cultural materials are strikingly scarce within these levels. Cattle make up the overwhelming majority of bone finds, followed by goats. Pig, domestic fowl, and wild and exotic animals are absent. At least 500 individual cattle are represented. Chop marks are frequent, if somewhat casual, as though great volumes of carcasses were processed within a short period of time. Skeletal-part biases are strongly marked. Cattle vertebrae, heads, mandibles, and upper limb bones are very much predominant, whereas ribs and lower limb bones are practically missing, likely removed off-site, perhaps as meat cuts (ribs) and within hides (lower legs). Overall, the material best represents the remains of large-scale butchery operations, which presumably focused on some celebration or festival, although the honored figure (religious or otherwise) is difficult to determine. The tight age ranges for the cattle, most older than five years, suggest episodic or seasonal slaughter, probably in the fall/early winter months, when stock congregated in the lowland pastures in Corinth and the Argive region in general. Metric assessments indicate a generally stockier, heavier, improved breed of cattle in relation to other varieties in ancient Greece. Comparison of this Corinth assemblage with the only other available faunal collection from Late Antique Roman theater deposits—the site of Stobi (Macedonia)—reveals the range of functions for which disused theaters were subjected. Whereas zooarchaeological materials from Corinth indicate outfitting for industrial purposes, here, butchery finds from Stobi suggest far less reassignment of space and activities involving animals, as well as the use of abandoned spaces for the occasional dumping of domestic trash and food waste. Zooarchaeological assessments thus add critical texture to our knowledge of depositional and post-depositional histories and uses at Roman theaters.

The Leukos Survey Project: The 2011 Field Season

Michael C. Nelson, Queens College, Amanda Kelly, National University of Ireland, Galway, Todd Brenningmeyer, Maryville University, and Ian Begg, Trent University

In 2011, the Leukos Survey Project completed its four-year assessment of the medieval remains in the area of Leukos on the Greek island of Karpathos. Fieldwork concentrated on the small islet of Sokastro, which lies just off the coast and to the northwest of the Early Byzantine port at Leukos. The plateau site was completely abandoned at the end of the 16th century. Its geographic detachment, lack of safe harborage, and elevated aspect have all served to protect the archaeological

remains from any subsequent modern intervention. Work in the field entailed intensive topography and architectural and artifact surveys of the visible remains of the approximately 108,000 m² site. In addition, low-altitude, high-resolution aerial photographs were taken of the entire islet with a kite-mounted digital camera. These were particularly necessary because they allowed the project team to examine the precipitous edges of the settlement.

The ceramic record shows that the settlement thrived during the 11th–13th centuries and then waned until its eventual abandonment in the 16th century. The nature of the settlement, given its architecture and geography, was clearly defensive and designed for long-term siege. It was enclosed in a fortification wall built at the very edges of the plateau. Within, every house in the densely packed settlement was fitted with a barrel-vaulted cistern. It typically served as the first floor to a two-story home. Some homes were also outfitted with smaller, bottle-shaped cisterns built within their enclosed courtyards. Three large communal cisterns were also constructed, and the largest one was capable of holding more than 300,000 liters of water. Small industry was present; there is evidence at the site for at least one pottery kiln and one iron furnace. Imported marble, principally used for ecclesiastical architecture, and foreign ceramics, and glass wares indicate that the islanders engaged in seaborne trade.

This paper presents the findings from the first systematic archaeological exploration of the small island and investigates the ramifications of the new material within the broader historical context of the Mediterranean region. Of interest is the establishment of a new fortified settlement where none had existed before. The foundations of a triple-apse basilica indicate the return of Byzantine sovereignty to the island after a long period of abandonment brought on by the Arab invasions of the seventh century. Perhaps the new settlement signals the reestablishment of the island's strategic importance along Mediterranean maritime trading routes.

SESSION 2B

Greek Sculpture

CHAIR: *Susan Langdon*, University of Missouri

The Identity of the Archaic Greek Nude Goddess

Stephanie Lynn Budin, Rutgers University, Camden

Since well before Stephanie Böhm's *Die nackte Göttin* (1990) there has been ongoing debate as to the identity of the archaic Greek so-called Nude Goddess. This icon—nude, frontal, often multiple—was popular throughout Greece and especially Crete from the eighth through sixth centuries B.C.E. Many identify her as Aphrodite (R. Ammerman, "The Naked Standing Goddess: A Group of Archaic Terracotta Figurines from Paestum" *AJA* 95[2] [1991] 203–30)—or at least a specific "Erotic Goddess," (A. Lebessi, "The Erotic Goddess of the Syme Sanctuary, Crete" *AJA* 113[4] [2009] 521–45). Others identify her as an iconic prayer for fertility (S. Böhm, "The 'Naked Goddess' in Early Greek Art," Athens 2003 363–70). In this paper, I argue that the Greeks, contrary to the Near Eastern neighbors from whom

they took this image, saw in this icon nymph-like beings—erotic, kourotrophic (semi)divinities existing either independently or in anonymous collectives and typically attendant on other deities in the Greek pantheon. Although no specific name can thus be offered for this icon, it remains possible to analyze its role in archaic Greek religious praxis. Finally, I conclude the paper by showing that it was the rise of the polis with its concomitant concern with female modesty that led to the demise of the so-called Nude Goddess in the sixth century.

The Art of Now: The Emergence of *Historienbilder* in Context

Seung Jung Kim, Columbia University

It has long been recognized that representations of actuality in monumental form—contemporary or historical events, public personages—did not emerge in the visual culture of ancient Greece until the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods. Known by the term *Historienbilder*, monuments such as the Tyrannicides in the Athenian Agora or the Marathon painting in the Stoa Poikile were differentiated from mythological or epic representations, which were still considered “history” but carried significant temporal distance. Most explanations for this emerging mode of visual commemoration are deeply rooted in the political motivation behind the new form of democratic government. Its intimate relationship with the birth of historiography in the fifth century B.C.E. has also been recognized, albeit in passing. However, a convincing analysis has yet to be offered as to why and how this distinct interest in the present-contemporary or recent past became manifest in the visual realm and what the psychological implication of its perception might have been.

The phenomenon of *Historienbilder* is thus placed here, for the first time, in the context of a societal shift in the fifth century B.C.E. in notions of time. This paper underscores the cultural and philosophical significance of this newfound interest in the present and elucidates its relationship to the key temporal concept of *kairos*—the opportune moment—which became a dominant thread in fifth- and fourth-century thought and practice. The essence of *kairos* lies in the immediacy of the present moment that is pregnant with human agency, and thus the new epistemology was empirical and sensory in nature. This is also reflected in other modes of visual representations of the period, with which the corpus of *Historienbilder* shares an important implication for viewership: an embodied, phenomenological awareness of the present moment informed by both individual and collective memory.

Sculptures from an Athletic Complex at Corinth

Mary C. Sturgeon, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill

In this paper, I present sculptures found during the 1965–1971 excavations of the University of Texas at Austin directed by James R. Wiseman and conducted under the auspices of the Greek Archaeological Service and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. These excavations took place in the so-called Gymnasium area north of the theater in ancient Corinth.

The 1967 investigations, which proceeded through water supply channels, resulted in the discovery of a bath-fountain complex, where most of the sculptures appeared. By the end of the 1971 excavations, some 120 segments of marble sculptures had been recognized. From this group come 14 heads that are roughly life-sized, of which five invite close attention.

These heads can be considered portraits, three of youths and two of older men, and date to the late first century B.C.E. to first century C.E. They were found in the bath-fountain complex, which was adjacent to an athletic facility; with them was an inscription that lists the games and events that took place at Corinth during the first century C.E. The purpose of these sculptures was probably the celebration of the victories of the youths and the official status of the men.

Analysis of the sculptures from the Gymnasium area shows the reuse of some Greek sculptures and technical features that correspond to sculptures in Athens and on Delos. The heads of the boys draw on the Greek tradition of depictions of ephebes, and some may have adopted the herm form, recalling ephebic herms from Rhamnous, Delos, and Messene. As the Corinth sculptures were made when the city was still a new Roman colony, it is significant that the sculptures demonstrate links to the memory of classical Greece and some of its cultural practices. At Corinth, as in Athens during the Augustan period, a mixture of intentional classicism and Romanitas can be demonstrated.

These unpublished sculptures are of special importance among statuary found in ancient Corinth, for the archaeological record provides evidence for the time when they were made, the purpose of the monuments, and the context of their display.

Lysippos Without Kairos: Posidippus, Phaedrus, and the Roman Artists

Gianfranco Adornato, Scuola Normale Superiore

Since its publication in *Marmora Taurinensia* (Augustae Taurinorum 1743), scholars have unanimously identified in marble relief inv. no. 610 the representation of the lost Lysippos' Kairos. This association was based on the literary descriptions of this celebrated statue by Greek, Latin, and Byzantine poets.

In this paper, I present a new iconographic analysis that leads to a different identification. I argue that the youthful figure does not match Posidippus' epigram (API 142), the most ancient literary description of this statue, and I highlight divergences between literary tradition and artistic evidence. Indeed, the poem mentions a running figure on tiptoes with a razor in his right hand, while on the relief the figure moves forward, balancing a pair of scales on a razor in his left hand and testing their adjustment with the right one.

This peculiar attribute—the balance, which is never described by Posidippus—and the iconography suggest the identification of the beardless character with a different allegorical figure: Tempus rather than Kairos. This unambiguously stems from the examination of a "Fabula" by Phaedrus (5.8), so far overlooked in this perspective. I analyze in detail this poem, in which weighing and a pair of scales appear strongly connected to Tempus and the youthful figure on the relief, in a description deceptively similar to Lysippos' Kairos.

I believe that Roman artists adopted the previous iconography of Lysippos' Kairos but modified it through additional elements (the pair of scales), a gesture (weighing), and posture (Tempus is moving, not running on tiptoes). Starting from the Early Imperial period, this new allegory appeared in Latin literary sources and on artistic media as an "original" Roman invention.

SESSION 2C

Poggio Civitate (Murlo)

CHAIR: *Anthony Tuck*, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Evidence of Iron Age Occupation at Poggio Civitate

Ann Glennie, Florida State University, *Andrea Rodriguez*, University of Chicago, and *Anthony Tuck*, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

While most academic discussion of the Etruscan site of Poggio Civitate has focused on the seventh- and sixth-century monumental architectural complexes on the Piano del Tesoro plateau, limited evidence reflects an even earlier phase of occupation. A community lived on the hill from at least the eighth century B.C.E. until the site's destruction in the sixth century B.C.E.

A restricted sounding beneath the floor of the OC2/Workshop, a structure dating to the years between the second quarter and the end of the seventh century B.C.E., revealed the presence of burned soil and handmade ceramics from a stratum several centimeters below the floor, clearly demonstrating that the plateau accommodated human activity well before the construction of the workshop.

Two other areas of the site yielded Iron Age material. Civitate A is a broad, gently sloping area immediately west of Piano del Tesoro. There, a series of lenses were excavated, several of which were capped with regular, rectilinear formations of small stones. Beneath these cappings were high concentrations of handmade pottery, burned animal bone, and small bronze objects, all of which have strong parallels with materials known from eighth-century burials from other sites in the region. Although the nature of these deposits remains enigmatic, and the material could not be securely stratigraphically dated, the technologies and styles in use do not display the advancements present in the later Orientalizing period.

Civitate C, a terrace lower than and immediately south of Piano del Tesoro, seems to provide a curious chronological overlap between Iron Age and Orientalizing forms. The large material deposit found there, placed within the foundations of an abandoned hut structure, contained elements of both Iron Age and Orientalizing technologies and styles. The discovery of this deposit, coupled with the stratigraphically and typologically Iron Age evidence from the other areas of the site, is indicative of the previously invisible diffusion between chronological eras and the dynamics of innovation between social demographics and continual occupation of Poggio Civitate.

Etruscan Economics: Forty-Five Years of Faunal Remains from Poggio Civitate

Sarah Whitcher Kansa, Alexandria Archive Institute, and Michael R. MacKinnon, University of Winnipeg

Since the mid 1960s, excavations at the Etruscan site of Poggio Civitate have recovered large numbers of animal bones, teeth, and antlers. Nearly 40 years after excavations began, the authors undertook the first detailed analysis of this material. This paper explores diet and economy at Poggio Civitate through an analysis of the faunal remains from the monumental complexes that dominated the site during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. It then compares these patterns with results derived from the broader Etruscan context. The authors present the functional, economic, and taphonomic implications of the diverse faunal assemblages from three distinct areas of the site. Faunal remains from a structure thought to be an elite residence include a preponderance of cattle and deer bones as well as the remains of wild hunted animals such as red deer, boar, bear, and wolf. These animals would have probably played significant roles in ritual and in signaling elite status to those who hunted them and/or displayed their trophies. The second area considered here, a possible ritual building, produced the remains of numerous pigs, animals associated with sacrifice rituals during this period. Although no nonelite residences have yet been found at Poggio Civitate, an extensive workshop area suggests that many nonelite people worked on the hilltop. Among the remains of the common domestic food animals and bone-working debris found in the workshop area were occasional bones from human infants, possibly discarded with the general refuse. Beyond informing us of the activities of the people who spent time on the hilltop, the faunal data from Poggio Civitate help us better understand the function of the site in the surrounding region before its intentional destruction in the mid sixth century B.C.E. Finally, this paper discusses digital publication of the comprehensive data associated with these analyses, and it considers how these data can be integrated with related data sets describing other aspects of the site of Poggio Civitate, as well as other sites in the region.

Evidence for the Treatment of Perinatal Deaths in Etruscan Central Italy

Anthony Tuck, University of Massachusetts Amherst

Evidence related to the treatment of infant mortality in central inland Etruscan Italy is virtually nonexistent. When sufficiently extensive excavation data from cemeteries in the region are available for analysis, we see no evidence of ritual treatment of neonatal deaths whatsoever.

Analysis of bone recovered at the Etruscan site of Poggio Civitate sheds some light on the issue of the treatment of neonatal mortality during the seventh century B.C.E. Of the hundreds of thousands of bone fragments surveyed since 2011, a few stood out from the broader assemblage of pigs, sheep, cows, deer, and other animal types. These exceptions proved to be human neonatal remains. Of the three individuals identified thus far, a few contextual observations are possible.

Two specimens were recovered from the floor or within the immediate environs of the OC2/Workshop, the site's primary industrial space of the mid to late seventh century B.C.E. Both of these specimens appear to have been casually dis-

carded with debris associated with the butchering of animals, which suggests that discard areas employed for animal remains were perceived as equally well suited for the remains of deceased infants. Another specimen, recovered from the floor of the OC1/Residence, appears to have been pushed or swept up against the interior, western wall of this elite residence.

While only three cases have been identified thus far, their presence within or around architectural structures on Poggio Civitate's Piano del Tesoro plateau suggests that infant mortality was treated casually and provoked little or no ritual response. Whether this reflects the social status of the infants' parents or was normal treatment for all neonatal deaths regardless of status, we cannot yet say. However, it is inviting to imagine any number of social rituals of maturation whereby individual identity was formed over time and expressed in burial only after their completion.

Further Evidence of Metal Production at Poggio Civitate (Murlo)

Katharine Kreindler, Stanford University

In the 2012 excavation season at Poggio Civitate (Murlo), a new building was discovered, the first in nearly 30 years since the excavation of a workshop dating to the seventh century B.C.E. Work focused on an area of the site approximately 30 m west of the aforementioned workshop (OC2) and 35 m southwest of a large courtyard-style building dating to the sixth century B.C.E. Excavations revealed a series of narrow linear rock features running roughly north-south, each composed of stones and large fragments of undecorated terracotta roofing tiles. To the east of these small lines of stones, a robust line of stones was uncovered, which is probably a load-bearing wall that marks the eastern extent of this newly discovered building at Poggio Civitate; the smaller lines of stones, which are too insubstantial to be load bearing, may have marked divisions within the interior of the building. This robust eastern wall is large enough to support a tiled roof, similar to other structures located on the Piano del Tesoro, including the workshop and sixth-century complex mentioned above, as well as a residence and a tripartite structure, both of which also date to the seventh century B.C.E. (OC1 and OC3, respectively). Between these lines of stones, a hard-packed, mottled soil was found, atop which rested numerous fragments of tile, ceramics, bone, vitrified terracotta, and slag, indicating that this was the functional floor surface of the building.

Finds from within this structure suggest that the building was used for smelting iron and copper ore. Numerous fragments of slag were recovered from the floor and between the lines of stones, as were *forno* fragments, bellows fragments, vitrified terracotta fragments, and crucible fragments. Thus far, no kiln has yet been discovered, which would further support this hypothesis. Datable materials from this area vary and include typologically Villanovan, Orientalizing, and archaic items, but most of the datable material found suggests that this building was used primarily in the seventh century B.C.E. and may have predated the OC2/Workshop or may have been used in conjunction with the OC2/Workshop. Use of this building may have continued into the sixth century B.C.E., in conjunction with a series of small kilns located on the northern edge of the settlement, further supplementing metal production at Poggio Civitate.

SESSION 2D**Archaeology in Iberia**

CHAIR: To be announced

Excavating Caladinho: A Report on the First Three Seasons of Fieldwork

Joey L. Williams, University at Buffalo, and *Rui Mataloto*, Câmara Municipal de Redondo

The excavation of the hilltop of Caladinho near Redondo, Portugal, was undertaken during the summers of 2010, 2011, and 2012. Caladinho is among the first small, fortified sites—commonly called *fortins* or *recintos-torre*—to be systematically excavated in the central Alentejo region. Open-area excavation of the interior of the structure, combined with a careful sampling strategy, has fully exposed the well-preserved remains of a tower and one associated building. A detailed study of the material culture suggests that the site was only briefly occupied during the mid to late first century B.C.E. and that Caladinho was embedded in the Roman occupation and reorganization of this area. A growing body of research concerning similar structures in other areas of Iberia has thrown into question the occupants of these sites. The assemblage from Caladinho, including the imported and imitation fine wares, transport pottery, cooking wares, and other materials, indicates that this tower was occupied by Romanized indigenous peoples, early Roman colonists, or individuals associated with the Roman military. Viewshed analysis of Caladinho and other sites in the region suggests that these towers were meant to surveil routes of transport and communication in central Alentejo, particularly those connected with the marble quarries of the Estremoz Anticline. Comparable sites from Iberia and around the Mediterranean support this interpretation. While further structures remain to be excavated at Caladinho, future work at the site will be limited to small test pits around the hilltop in order to gauge the extent of the occupation. Despite this, the excavation of Caladinho has forced a reevaluation of the Early Roman colonization of the central Alentejo region and the many small fortifications and towers that dot the Iberian landscape.

Panóias: A Regional Pre-Roman and Roman Sanctuary

Lucia Pinheiro Afonso, Independent Scholar

This paper argues that the Panóias sanctuary was a focal point for both its Roman and indigenous regional communities. I demonstrate this through a study of its archeological remains and known inscriptions. This sanctuary consists of three large rocks that are carved with cavities of various sizes, including carved stairs. All these carvings served an unknown indigenous cult that existed before the Romans ruled this region. By the late second to late third century, Gaius Calpurnius Rufinus established a new cult in the existing sanctuary, the so-called Mysteries of Serapis and dedicated five interrelated inscriptions (which were carved *in situ*) as well as a temple.

From the top of the rock in the Panóias sanctuary, in the distance, one can see the Serra do Marão. An inscription found near the Panóias sanctuary confirms the Serra do Marão was held in reverence. This mountain marks the transition between the coastal west and the inland northeast regions of Portugal (Trás-os-Montes). The northeast region of Portugal was part of the Roman province of Hispania Citerior. Today, Panóias is only 5 km from one of the two major cities in this region—Vila Real. In ancient times, Panóias was part of the conventus Bracara Augusta, and the closest Roman municipium—Aqua Flavia (Chaves)—was 50 km away. Relatively closer were the Roman mines of Tres Minas (30 km from Vila Real).

The five inscriptions set up by Calpurnius Rufinus at Panóias describe how to worship and be initiated into the Mysteries of Serapis. The inscriptions are also a testimony to the establishment of the cult. As one climbs the first large rock through the stairs located on its north side, one encounters an inscription that tells of Gaius Calpurnius Rufinus' consecration of a temple inside the sacred area dedicated to the *Diis Severis* locati. On the east side of this large rock is another inscription that indicates that the temple is also dedicated to the *numina Lapitae*. It is agreed that the territory in which Panóias is located belonged to an indigenous people called the Lapitae. Not far from the Panóias sanctuary, remains of Roman houses and Roman roads were identified. Furthermore, there exist references to a necropolis, and at least four funerary inscriptions have been found in this area.

Ceramics and Change in Late Antique Augusta Emerita

Daniel Osland, Indiana University

In this paper, I present some of the results from my ongoing research on the ceramic remains from the Late Antique period in Mérida, Spain. This is the period of transition from the Roman to post-Roman history of the Iberian peninsula, and I argue that the traditional perspective of economic decline and collapse must be carefully reevaluated, in accordance with a growing body of archaeological evidence. The archaeological record does show a decline from conditions in the early fourth century, but it also illustrates ongoing trade contacts with the Mediterranean, changing dining habits, and other cultural trends that are broadly in line with the trajectory of other, better-known sites from around the Late Antique Mediterranean.

African Red Slip pottery had enjoyed great popularity starting in the second century, and its popularity in areas like Hispania and Gaul paralleled or even eclipsed that of local productions in the third through fifth centuries. By the end of the fifth century, African Red Slip had all but disappeared in the western provinces, even in areas where it had formerly been among the most popular tablewares. This decrease parallels the gradual disappearance of competing products throughout the cities of Hispania. Certain coastal sites, such as Tarraco and Carthago Nova, maintained contacts with Mediterranean trade networks during the sixth and seventh centuries, but it has generally been assumed that inland centers had lost their connection to the outside world by the end of the fifth century.

Over the past two decades, archaeologists have uncovered a patchwork of sites throughout the ancient city of Augusta Emerita. A handful of these sites have produced evidence of continuing trade contacts with other areas of the Mediterranean

world, including North Africa (African Red Slip D) and some areas of the eastern Mediterranean (Cypriot and Phocaeian Red Slip). In this paper, I present my analysis of these unpublished Late Roman and Visigothic-period ceramics and then discuss the implications of the pottery record for our interpretation of the city's other archaeological remains and the reconstruction of Augusta Emerita's history from the fourth through the seventh centuries.

City Walls, Militarization, and Urbanization: The Problematics of Urban Defense in Late Antique Spain

Douglas Underwood, University of St. Andrews

Until recently, Spanish city walls were thought to have been constructed in haste in the wake of the Germanic invasions of the 260s C.E. New studies have begun to provide a more precise chronology of Spanish city walls, showing that 10 were built between the middle of the third century and the beginning of the fourth. The evidence for any new wall constructions in the rest of the fourth century and into the fifth is thinner—only four are known from this period. The remaining 10 Spanish urban defenses cannot be more accurately dated than to the Late Antique period.

The geographic distribution of these walls, which fall in two lines across northern and west-central Spain, has been used to show two major phases of fortification in Spain during late antiquity. The tetrarchic phase has been connected to an imperial fortification of the route of the *annona*, which traveled up from the south and across the north. The model for the second phase, which is said to date to the fifth century, is less clear. Such a large project of urban fortification, carried out for the *annona*, seems unlikely in light of the ceramic evidence from the Rhine, Britain, and Gaul, where Spanish oil imports were in decline from the third century. Further, there is no evidence, epigraphic or otherwise, to connect any wall circuit to imperial patronage.

This paper examines these Spanish urban defenses in light of regional fortification, militarization, and urbanization in late antiquity. First, these walls refute the idea of an overarching construction program because they are broadly spaced in time and place and because their varying construction methods suggest that each city organized construction, using local resources and adapting plans.

Second, the militarization of Late Antique society, a standard explanation of the phenomenon of localized defense, falls short because it does not adequately address the facts that most of cities and towns were never fortified and that city walls were not exclusively military structures but served as both urban monuments and defensive structures. For these reasons, this paper argues that it is better to see Late Antique city walls and their increased necessity as reflections of both wider societal changes and a changing conception of the city. Therefore, the general shifts occurring in Late Antique urbanism were realized in city walls, large public monuments in a period when other public building was gradually declining.

SESSION 2E**Around the Adriatic**

CHAIR: *Lorenc Bejko*, University of Tirana

Routes of Transhumance: Aging Pastoralism in Central Italy. Land-Use Changes and Practice from a Long-Term Perspective

Edoardo Vanni, University of Foggia

Transhumance has been practiced in the Mediterranean basin since prehistoric times; it is a means of economic exploitation and a factor in social organization. The trajectory of pastoralist activities in antiquity has long been a matter of debate that has affected researchers' methodological approaches. Pastoralism has always been considered a highly mobile practice. Models of pastoralism have usually assumed implicitly or explicitly that ancient herders were independent, peasant-level operators who managed their flocks largely for subsistence purposes and who are mostly invisible archaeologically because they had highly mobile lives. Thus, the identification of pastoral (mixed) sites and activities, archaeologically speaking, has followed the presence or the absence of a series of indicators including low artifact densities and characteristic artifact remains associated with pastoralist activities (e.g., cheese-making or textile dyeing). Their sites have been assumed to be all but invisible: thus, rural sites with plentiful evidence of pottery and permanent structures (e.g., cut blocks, roof-tiles) have generally been ruled out as locations where one would expect to find shepherds. That livestock and land were usually valued separately in antiquity does not mean that they were not economically connected. A direct dichotomy between cultivation and animal husbandry must be treated with great caution, as should a transhumant/sedentary dichotomy. The term "sedentary" should be considered very elastic. Both transhumant and sedentary flocks were integrated with agricultural operations to a considerable extent.

It is only when these assumptions are challenged that it becomes possible to recognize agro-pastoral activities in an integrated perspective. We need to reevaluate rural settlements patterns. In any case, we need of a major reevaluation of these isolated sites in terms of their relationship not only to the surrounding landscape but ultimately to the wider economic structure as well. The relative visibility of different kinds of pastoralists, ethnographically speaking, must be taken into account. In central Italy, as in others contexts, the microperspective on agro-pastoralist activities has been largely ignored along with the assumption of integrated land-use practices. In this case, the distribution of sites and the reconsideration of their functions can aid a reconsideration of the role of pastoralism in identifying the quite ignored phenomenon of the occupation of seasonal sites and the documented cases of shifting population.

The Hidden Past of Pantelleria: The First Season of the Italian-American Collaborative Project on the Island

Carrie Murray, Brown University

The Pantelleria Excavation Project is the result of an international collaboration between Brown University and ARES Recherche e Servizi per l'Archeologia (with the kind permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Culturali ed Ambientali di Trapani), the first season of which was conducted during the summer of 2012.

The island of Pantelleria is situated in the Strait of Sicily, southwest of Sicily and northeast of Tunisia. Its strategic position carried great significance for its many residents over time. Pantelleria is known for disparate periods of occupation during the Bronze Age and the Punic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. Most of the archaeological remains there are prominently located in visible and open coastal areas.

This fieldwork project gained access to a heavily wooded hillside landscape in the interior of the island. This part of the island had not previously received intense archaeological examination but had been identified by the Soprintendenza as a landscape covered in standing remains and finds from the Antique to early modern periods. The main goal of this season was to target an area with prominent standing remains within this expansive landscape in order to decipher its chronological, cultural, and functional aspects. One monumental structure was chosen. We then recorded the walls with a total station, aerial photogrammetry, and photography of the elevations. In tandem with the survey, we also created three sondages to examine the stratigraphy in three different areas within the structure.

The monumental structure is an intricate collection of dry-stone masonry walls with three different construction types. Some of these walls exist to a height of more than 4 m. Most of the walls consist of two faces infilled with rubble and copious numbers of sherds. The sondages, too, revealed a considerable amount of pottery. The pottery and the wall phasing reveals multiple construction phases; construction reached its height during the 12th and 13th centuries C.E. This monumental structure bearing numerous intriguing features represents a unique and well-preserved insight into the largely unknown Islamic period on Pantelleria. Its transformations indicate stark changes in function from the 13th century C.E. (when it was a defensive structure with limited access) to the 15th century C.E. (when it was a more open structure with serious structural repairs).

Now, our task is to integrate these insights into the island's long history. Future seasons will allow us to explore the numerous other older archaeological features that remain in the area, including walls of different construction types, a stone road, and burials.

The Projekti Arkeologjikë i Shkodrës (PASH), Interim Report, 2010–2012

Michael L. Galaty, Millsaps College, Lorenc Bejko, University of Tirana, Stanley Galicki, Millsaps College, Zamir Tafilica, Shkodra Historical Museum, and Sylvia Deskaj, Michigan State University

The Projekti Arkeologjikë i Shkodrës (PASH), or the Shkodër Archaeological Project, is a collaboration between Millsaps College in Jackson, Mississippi, and

the University of Tirana, Albania. We are investigating the appearance of social inequality in northern Albania, a strategically important region located in the western Balkans along the Adriatic coast. The transition to social inequality in northern Albania was marked by the construction of nucleated, hilltop centers (“hill forts”) and burial of elite individuals (“warrior chiefs”) in mounds (“tumuli”) at the start of the Early Bronze Age, ca. 3000 B.C.E. To understand better the transition to social inequality in Albania, and in Europe generally, we have conducted three years (2010–2012) of interdisciplinary archaeological research focused on hill forts and burial mounds, and another two years are planned. This paper reports the results of our first three years of fieldwork.

Our study region encompasses the Shkodra Plain and surrounding hills and is situated along the eastern shore of Shkodra Lake, the largest freshwater lake in the Balkans. Geological surveys are allowing us to date lakeshore and river course changes, which can be correlated with shifts in settlement, as established through intensive archaeological survey. Archaeological survey has produced artifacts stretching from the Paleolithic to Modern age. These are being subjected to a battery of analytical tests in the W.M. Keck Center for Instrumental and Biochemical Comparative Archaeology at Millsaps College. The warrior chiefs buried in tumuli seem to have accessed multiple sources of power, ranging from violence and warfare to control of land, food, and trade. In addition, episodes of migration may have affected the course of events, bringing new blood and ideas at the start of and throughout the Bronze Age. Migration is being addressed through physical-anthropological assessment and strontium-isotope analysis of human remains. The degree and direction of interregional interaction will be measured through the chemical characterization of clays and pottery.

Recently, some archaeologists have suggested that elite institutions and social hierarchy spread north into Europe from the Near East via Greece in the later Bronze Age (2000–1000 B.C.E.). Our project is designed to test this model. Time is of the essence, though. Hill forts and tumuli are being fast destroyed in Shkodër as the city expands northward. PASH also includes, therefore, a cultural-heritage educational program targeting landowners and farmers and is instructing dozens of Albanian and American students in methods of archaeological reconnaissance and rescue excavation.

Albanian Identity: Provincial Issues in Roman Illyricum

Brandi Buckler, University of Texas at Austin

It has been argued that a cohesive Roman identity was not always fully integrated with the manifold provincial identities. I interpret this issue through the exemplum of Albania, situated within Roman Illyricum. Disunity in the region, as seen with the Pannonian Revolt, does not suggest a successful takeover but rather continuing discord. Evidence of this dissonance is seen in the literary, historical, and physical record.

Far from having complete control during the Late Republic, the Romans in Illyricum were decidedly hands-off. One demonstration of this policy is that planning and architecture of early Roman cities in the region was not uniform. Dzino argues that Illyricum first emerged as an extension of the province of Cisalpine

Gaul and thus was not officially administered until Caesar was assigned the region in 59 B.C.E. In addition, Illyricum did not have particular bounds during the Republican era, unlike many comparable provincial areas. Both of these facts are indicators of a lack of structured incorporation in the region.

In the *Res Gestae*, Augustus claims that he extended the borders of Illyricum to the Danube, but what would be markers of this claim, such as those that would stem from the Illyrian War, seem to suggest that the claim was more propaganda than reality. The Pannonian revolt from 6–9 C.E. also calls into question effective control in the region. I posit that the existing population, social complexity, and ethnic identity are crucial to understanding why the region was not fully pacified. Close examination of records, such as the allocation of legions, supports this claim.

In addition to written sources, I draw on data from research in Shkodër, Albania, from the Projekti Arkeologjikë i Shkodrës. This project is directed by *Michael Galaty* of Millsaps College and my study uses data gathered from 2010 to the present. By analyzing the findings of surface investigations, I argue that there was a marked level of social complexity in the region. This conclusion is based on analysis of artifact distributions and the continued prevalence of organized, nucleated hill forts in the environs.

Consideration of existing social structures in the region preceding Roman expansion is pivotal to understanding how identities interacted in this provincial context. The separation of Roman and native identity is the crux of the issue in Roman Illyricum—namely, regional identities were never successfully integrated into any kind of overarching Roman identity.

SESSION 2F

Ostia and Portus

CHAIR: *Lynne Lancaster*, Ohio University

An “Assyrian Carpet” for Pius IX, and Polychrome Mosaics at Ostia: Excavation of the Palazzo Imperiale, 2012

Joanne M. Spurza, Hunter College of the City University of New York

An early discovery of Pietro Ercole Visconti and Carlo Ludovico Visconti in excavating the so-called Palazzo Imperiale at Ostia was the polychrome geometric floor mosaic paving the large frigidarium hall (ca. 18 x 15 m) in the baths of this deluxe insula complex on the Tiber. The pavement’s colors and intricate patterns, “like an Assyrian carpet,” so impressed Pius IX, sponsor of these excavations, that he had the mosaic removed to the Vatican (1858–1864). The focus of our fifth season of investigations of the Palazzo baths, in collaboration with the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma–Sede di Ostia, was a reexamination of the frigidarium zone, which yielded new evidence for ancient mosaic production at Ostia and for 19th-century excavations there.

Previous studies of this exceptional pavement, possibly Severan in date, centered on its design iconography and on archival accounts of its Vatican installation. By clearing through the modern (Visconti-era) fill down to the bedding layer

whence the pavement was detached, we uncovered fragments of the original mosaic left behind in the removal process. These well-preserved remnants—detachment debris—enabled us to document and examine ancient mosaic techniques in an unusually high-quality polychrome pavement, from its smooth, highly polished, well-grouted upper surface down through the full sequence of setting/bedding layers. Visual scrutiny indicates the pavement comprised a range of locally available types of limestone and (perhaps reused) marble. For more precise provenancing, a selection of loose tesserae was sent for mineralogical analysis (Lorenzo Lazzarini, Laboratorio di Analisi Materiali Antichi, Venice), a type of testing seldom used for Ostian mosaics. While the imperial port city of Ostia is, arguably, the premiere Roman site in Italy for ancient mosaics in situ, polychrome pavements there are statistically rare (under ca. 10%) and chronologically late (ca. third–fourth centuries C.E.); this closely observed case now gives qualitative, technical, and dating comparanda for other Ostian examples.

Our excavation results also shed light on another aspect of the frigidarium's resplendent decorative program, marble wall revetment, which P.E. Visconti celebrated in his reports and removed by the cartload for modern reuse. Little of the Palazzo's marble incrustation survives today, but our frigidarium excavations yielded more than 3,500 fragments, again attesting the enthusiastic, if predatory, efforts of the papal archaeologists.

Assisted by mosaicist Valerio Commandatore (Ravenna), we consolidated major polychrome fragments left in situ before backfilling, in preparation for future exploration.

Seeing the Light: Open Windows and Fuel in the Forum Baths at Ostia

Ismi A. Miliareis, University of Virginia

The Forum Baths at Ostia, near Rome, are an excellent example of an ancient Roman imperial bathing complex. Regular and rectangular in their northern sector, the baths contain unique and polygonal rooms in their southern sector. Most of the heated rooms are equipped with grandiose windows facing southwest, spanning several meters in height. The effects on fuel consumption in the baths resulting from having open, glazed, or partially glazed windows is determined in this study through the compilation of archaeological evidence, ancient literary sources, and modern heat-transfer equations. The nature of these windows has been debated in several articles, beginning with that of Edwin Daisley Thatcher in 1956. Thatcher claimed that all the windows were left open to the air, since he found no evidence of glazing in situ. Other scholars find it surprising and unrealistic that Romans would have been so wasteful, but they do not present tangible evidence to contradict Thatcher's claim.

Leaving these windows completely uncovered would have allowed cold wind and rain to enter the structure, while permitting large volumes of heated air to escape. As a result, greater quantities of fuel would have been needed to maintain the high temperatures of the spaces, and these rooms may not have been usable on days with significant precipitation. Glazing the windows would have prevented this weather from entering and much of the heat from being wasted, but it would

have also reduced the strength of the sun's rays and perhaps diminished the view to the outside palaestra, or exercise yard.

With little material evidence having been collected during the late 1920s excavations of the site, definitively proving whether these windows were glazed is a difficult task. By determining how much fuel was needed to maintain the temperatures in the heated rooms of the baths in each of these scenarios, a more scientific answer to the question is presented, and a thorough understanding of the efficiency of Roman bathing practices and technology is gained. Finally, the question of how significant a role the baths had in ancient deforestation is addressed.

Breaking an Interpretive Circle: Ostia's Quattro Tempietti and CIL 14 375

Mary Jane Cuyler, University of Sydney

Ostia's "Quattro Tempietti" are four temples built on a single platform. Excavations of the temples between 1886 and 1913 revealed four phases of construction, with the earliest foundation dating to the second century B.C.E. As some of Ostia's earliest known temples, their construction and subsequent renovations are extremely important for our understanding of the urban and sacred landscape of the colony.

An altar inscribed with "VENERI SACRVM" was found in the easternmost temple, but excavations in the remaining temples revealed no clues about the identity of the other three divinities. A temple of Venus is mentioned in an undated inscription (CIL 14 375), found at Portus and subsequently lost, that outlines the career of an Ostian man, P. Lucilius Gamala, who is said to have built ("constituit") temples of Venus, Fortuna, and Ceres. He then constructed the scales ("pondera") at the macellum and built or restored ("[.]stituit") a temple of Spes.

Van Buren suggested that the Venus altar of the Quattro Tempietti could be identified with the Temple of Venus constructed by Gamala and that the Temples of Fortuna, Spes, and Ceres named in the inscription were the goddesses of the other three temples. This correlation has been universally accepted for more than a century, with scholars debating dates for the inscription to pinpoint the construction/renovation dates of the temple.

I argue that the inscription and the temples are not archaeologically connected and therefore this correlation must be abandoned. The inscription was not found near the temples (or even at Ostia). The four temples are not grouped together in the inscription, and nothing demands that Gamala's Temple of Venus be associated with the altar in the temples. Finally, Gamala lived in the first century B.C.E. or later, so he could only have restored (*restituit*) the Quattro Tempietti, not built (*constituit*) them.

I demonstrate that by separating the inscription from the temples, we gain two unique narratives of Ostia's urban landscape. The archaeology of the temples tells a rich story of their enduring role in the colony. The inscription in turn provides a grand picture of the building program of a prominent citizen whose work might reasonably be examined in light of the Augustan building programs at Rome if we accept Salomies' compelling argument for an Augustan date ("A Study of CIL XIV 375, an Interesting Inscription from Ostia," *Arctos* 37 [2003] 133-57).

Status Updates of Rome's Imperial Harbors: Using Public Construction to Contextualize the Changing Significance of the Ports of Central Italy

Gregory Tucker, University of Michigan

It is commonly contended that with the opening of the Trajanic basin at Portus in the early second century C.E., Roman trade and patronage shifted north to this new harbor at the expense of the great harbor on the Bay of Naples, Puteoli. In this paper, I examine the public building programs enacted at Puteoli and Portus, including Ostia, in the Early Roman Imperial period to determine the strength, or weakness, of a correlation between investments at the two port towns. The building identifications and dates assigned to these construction events have been collected from previous studies, such as those by Blake and Jouffroy, as well as from excavation reports and epigraphic data.

The patterns of construction of public works in these towns reveal how the emperors and others attempted to influence the pattern of daily life among their citizens and visitors. They also shed light on the Roman elite's perspective on the changing significance of the harbors. Whether investment in Puteoli's public buildings throughout this period reflects continuing prosperity and importance or a decline to a more regional significance is contextualized through a comparison of Portus and Italy in general. By identifying the increase or decrease in investment in the harbors, this paper draws an indirect conclusion as to if and when there was a major shift in the significance or purpose of these harbors from the perspective of Rome itself.

The results of this analysis show that both of the ports maintained levels of public construction higher than those in the rest of Italy throughout this period, which implies a continued prominence in the minds of those dictating building programs. A closer look at specific building types reveals a change in the intent or purpose of public construction throughout the same period, which differs between the two harbors. It is clear that the construction of Portus affected the number and nature of public works at Puteoli, but not to a level that would seem to indicate that the latter fell out of favor. This paper elaborates on these results and further discusses the dynamic nature of the status and significance of these harbors through the lens of public investment.

SESSION 2G**Recent Work in Egypt**

CHAIR: To be announced

The Sunshade of Nefertiti: Hieroglyphic Inscriptions from Kom el-Nana and the Discovery of a Second Lost Temple

Jacquelyn Williamson, University of California, Berkeley

In 2010, the author presented information at the AIA conference demonstrating the discovery of the "lost" sun temple of Nefertiti at the site of Kom el-Nana in the southern suburb of Amarna. New evidence from the site demonstrates a second

“lost” temple structure was located there as well. This temple was mentioned only a few times primarily in economic documents from the city. This paper reviews the evidence for this structure and offers a first-look analysis of the possible function of the site in context of Nefertiti’s sun temple. It is posited that this second rediscovered temple is a site dedicated to the interaction of the king with his court, the king enacting his cosmogonal responsibilities as the son of the god Aten.

Tell Timai, Egypt 2012 Season: A Possible Temple of Ptolemy II

Robert J. Littman, University of Hawaii at Manoa, and *Jay Silverstein*, University of Hawaii at Manoa

The ruins of Thmuis (Tell Timai) are a rare instance of an entire Nile Delta Graeco-Roman-Egyptian city in an excellent state of preservation. Thmuis is the southern extension of the pharaonic city of Mendes. While the site has suffered considerable degradation over the last century, particularly over the last 10 years, the University of Hawaii mission has begun work there, securing a moratorium on further encroachment. Results from the 2009–2012 seasons have begun to illuminate the Hellenistic occupation in the city. In 2010, in the southern boundary of the site, pillars of a Ptolemaic temple were discovered, along with a cartouche of a Ptolemy; in late 2010, a statue was unearthed, possibly of Arsinoë II as Isis. Both this temple and the statue may be connected to Ptolemy II Philadelphus’ (284–246 B.C.E.) visit to Mendes. Ptolemy II rebuilt the temple of Banebdjedet in Mendes, as commemorated in the Mendes stele. This stele also relates that Arsinoë II was honored and that her image should be placed in all temples. Ptolemy II made Mendes tax exempt. Given that he built other temples for Arsinoë II, he may well have built this temple in the southern section of the city for her as well. During the 2012 season, by the use of magnetometry and ground penetrating radar, the outlines of this temple were mapped in preparation for excavation in 2013.

Excavations at South Abydos, Egypt: Unlocking the Secrets of 13th Dynasty Kingship

Dawn McCormack, Middle Tennessee State University

The 13th Dynasty of ancient Egypt was a period in which more than 50 kings ruled during a span of only 150–170 years (ca. 1800–1630 B.C.E.). While one of these rulers, Merneferre Ay, may have reigned for 23 years, most seem to have held the throne for only one or two years. With such an unstable royal situation, many questions arise in relation to this much understudied era. Such issues include changes in the status of the king within society, the nature of the relationship between the king and the elite, and adaptations in the means of legitimizing rulers. Though sporadic texts allow for some insight into these questions, reanalysis of excavation reports related to the handful of known funerary monuments of these kings as well as new excavations are necessary to provide additional data.

In 2011, Middle Tennessee State University, with the support of the Penn-Yale-Institute of Fine Arts Expedition, completed a second season of excavations at South Abydos. Though unrecognized until relatively recently, these monuments

belong to the corpus of 13th Dynasty royal tombs, even though the identities of the rulers entombed inside remain unknown. Though Arthur Weigall excavated S9 and S10 in the winter of 1901–1902, it has become clear that many deposits at the site remain in situ, providing for exciting opportunities to obtain new information using modern excavation techniques.

In 2011, the excavation team began to remove a large spoil heap from the top of the local eastern enclosure wall. Here, excavators discovered a relatively well-preserved mudbrick building, likely a small temple for the cult of the deceased king, his mummification, or his funeral. The team has now excavated two small rooms of this structure, which contains about 0.50 m of intact fill and has thus far included more than 70 seal impressions, fabric, resin, and ceramics. The material is providing clues concerning the date of this tomb and the officials who participated in activities associated with it. This, along with other data collected at the site, is providing significant information related to the nature of kingship during the 13th Dynasty.

Temple, Church, and Mosque at Luxor: Initial Findings of the Upper Egypt Mosque Project

Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis, Graduate Center, City University of New York,
Mohamed Kenawi, Alexandria Centre for Hellenistic Studies, Alexandria University,
Judith McKenzie, Oxford University, and *Andres Reyes*, Wolfson College, Oxford University

This paper presents the initial findings of the Upper Egypt Mosque Project. This project focuses on mosques erected in, or near, former enclosures of Egyptian temples or churches. It is a collaborative effort with the “Late Antique Egypt and the Holy Land: Archaeology, History and Religious Change” Leverhulme project at the University of Oxford.

Examination of the major temple sites in Alexandria and elsewhere in Egypt that later had a church beside, or in, them reveals a more complex pattern of conversation of sacred space than is generally appreciated. Furthermore, Egypt is unusual for the survival of temples that remained standing when churches, and subsequently mosques, were erected in their vicinity, showing how the orientations of these later buildings were influenced by them, e.g., at Luxor and Tod.

The temple at Luxor in Upper Egypt was one of the preeminent temples of ancient Egypt. The placing of the Mosque of Abu al-Hajjaj on top of the Coptic church in the first court of the Luxor temple is a rare example of direct continuity of the use of sacred space in Egypt, as are the religious practices associated with the site. In pharaonic times, at the yearly Opet festival, statues of the gods were carried in barques, on the Nile or dry land, between the temple at Karnak and the one at Luxor. In the modern *mulid* at Luxor in honor of Abu al-Hajjaj, held two weeks before Ramadan, boats are carried through the streets. This merits further investigation given that in the so-called Holy Land former temple and/or church sites with a later mosque are generally major shrines—with continuity of meaning but a change in control (e.g., the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus). In this context, a reevaluation of the archaeological evidence also raises the issue of whether Luxor Temple really was decommissioned in the late third century C.E.

Thus, this paper argues that at specific temples, such as the temple at Luxor, there is evidence for religious and architectural continuity that spans from Pharaonic to Islamic times.

SESSION 2H

Minoan Crete

CHAIR: *Joanne Murphy*, University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Transitional Spaces in Pre- and Protopalatial Minoan Tomb Architecture

Miriam G. Clinton, University of Pennsylvania

The concept of a transition between life and death is a recognized facet of Minoan ritual from at least the end of the Neolithic onward. Perhaps the clearest case of transition in the burial ceremony is the ritual decomposition of bodies before their final deposition in secondary burial sites, such as the cave of Hagios Charalambos. While many types of evidence, especially ceramic, attest to the Minoan interest in the liminal time and space between the living and the dead, the architecture of the tombs themselves offers a particularly rich field for inquiry into transitional rituals. Transitional spaces in Minoan tomb architecture, however, have not previously been discussed. This paper traces the architectural evidence for ritual transitions associated with burial in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete. It provides examples of transitional spaces in Minoan tomb architecture, beginning with Final Neolithic/Early Minoan (EM) I cave sites, including chamber tombs from sites such as EM I/II Hagia Photia, and discussing Prepalatial house tombs from Mochlos. The paper presents a fully developed example of a house tomb with an architecturally and functionally distinct transitional space: EM II/Middle Minoan IB House Tomb 2, a tomb recently excavated in the Petras cemetery. Each of the burials discussed shows evidence of a deliberate attempt to provide a transition between the exterior and the interior, the realms of the living and those of the dead. The examples highlight the importance of transitional spaces in tomb architecture and show how the Minoans, in these cases, made efforts to incorporate such transitional spaces into various types of burials. This paper provides clear evidence that Minoan burial rituals in the Pre- and Protopalatial periods not only symbolized but also frequently made physically manifest the transition between life and death.

Evidence for Regional Traditions in the Construction of the Tholoi on Prepalatial Crete

Emily Miller Bonney, California State University Fullerton

This paper presents evidence from an on-site study of the Prepalatial and Protopalatial tholoi in south-central Crete and aims to understand tombs as structures through which communities expressed their identities. The results of that investigation support recent analyses that do not so much associate the tombs with a

particular settlement but instead situate them in the formation and mediation of regional social relationships during the Prepalatial phase. In particular, the paper argues that close inspection of the remains of the earliest tombs suggests that there were regional traditions according to which the tholoi were constructed. These local techniques produced monuments that embodied a shared understanding of what was appropriate and effective in mortuary architecture. The remnants of 43 Pre- and Protopalatial circular stone tombs are sufficiently well-preserved to permit some analysis of the way in which they were built, and of these more than a dozen appear to have been constructed during Early Minoan I. Three of these tholoi—the tombs at the sites of Kaloi Limenes, Ayia Kyriaki, and Stou Skaniari to Lakko Building 1,—appear to have been constructed in the same manner. The walls were erected first and then the tomb chamber was excavated. In addition, the arrangement and size of the blocks and packing that make up the walls in each are similar among and unique to these monuments. Finally, all three are situated in or near the Ayiofarango catchment and are separated by only a few kilometers. These circumstances suggest that the people responsible for these particular tombs shared a concept of mortuary architecture that was different from that of the people who built the nearby Tholos A at Moni Odigitria or the tholoi at Lebena Yerokambos and Trypiti Kalokambos. Indeed, the latter two, a few kilometers apart on the coast at the eastern end of the Asterousia Massif, appear to represent a different tradition. Architecture, as Andrew Jones has argued, is a means of forging social memory, of expressing materially a group's identity. In this respect, then, the particular commonalities of the tholoi at Kaloi Limenes, Ayia Kyriaki, and Stou Skaniari to Lakko were material articulations of the relationships among the groups who used them and perhaps even the embodiments of a regional (i.e., within the Ayiofarango) network.

Gournia Revisited: Study of the Ceramic Evidence from the Early 20th-Century H. Boyd Hawes Excavation at the Prehistoric Settlement of Gournia (East Crete)

Dimitra Kringas, Technological Educational Institution of the Ionian Islands

In the century since the publication of the excavation at Gournia, many things have changed in the study of prehistoric Aegean pottery. When in the very first years of the 20th century H. Boyd Hawes conducted the extended excavation project at Gournia, the ceramic finds were very important, and in a way these finds still play a very important role in the study of the Neopalatial period in Crete.

The pottery from the Boyd Hawes excavation at Gournia constitutes a large assemblage of vases that covers all parts of the Bronze Age. There are quite a few examples from the Early Minoan period and some vases from the Old Palatial period. Most of the pottery is from the Neopalatial period, the Late Minoan (LM) IA in particular. A small amount of pottery is dated to the LM IIIA period, the period of reoccupation, which indicates that the site was in use since the Early Bronze Age and was continuously inhabited.

The Neopalatial settlement in Gournia was a flourishing town of fishermen, merchants, and land cultivators who lived quite independently in the eastern part of Crete but kept in continuous contact with the more advanced centers in central Crete, such as Knossos and Malia, and furthered overseas trade contacts.

Many scholars have dealt with the similarities between the Gournia Neopalatial pottery and the contemporary Late Cycladic pottery of Akrotiri (Thera), and interestingly enough a number of imported Neopalatial vases at Akrotiri have been identified as coming from Gournia. This study aims to define more sites (in and outside Crete) with which Gournia used to have trade contacts and to characterize Gournia's role in the international trade network of the time.

This paper offers new and useful perspectives on the types of vessels at Gournia and their decoration. The amounts of pottery in each of the various buildings are analyzed so that the percentage of pottery found in each area can be defined. Finally, the fabric of local production is identified.

The Golden Signet Rings of Minoan Crete: Form, Function, and Social Significance of a Bronze Age Prestige Object

Nadine Becker, Institute of Classical Archaeology University of Heidelberg

Golden signet rings suddenly appeared between 1700 and 1600 B.C.E. on the Aegean island of Crete as a completely new form of jewelry. In the following centuries, they were used by the social elite as symbols of prestige and status. Despite their value as personal ornaments, they played an important role in palatial administration, and their impressions on clay sealings permit insight into hierarchical, economic, and social structures.

The golden signet rings provide the main source for the study of Aegean Bronze Age iconography, which has been subject of intense research. Although impressions on clay sealings form the major part of the archaeological record, the two genres have never been treated as a unit.

Today, nearly 90 extant golden signet rings are known from Minoan and Mycenaean contexts, but the contemporary existence of more than 300 rings can only be inferred from their impressions in clay. The iconography of these rings changed from Minoan to Mycenaean times and was steadily adapted to new "symbols of power". Not only the iconography but also the practical use in administrative processes changed over time: while the Mycenaean rings outnumber the Minoan examples by far, there are only about 30 impressions on clay sealings deriving from mainland contexts. On the Minoan side, however, there are more than 250 different motives coming from the sealing deposits and archive rooms of the palaces and subcenters.

The questions discussed in this paper are concerned with the use of the signet rings, the objects they sealed, their difference from contemporaneous seals made of stone or other metals, and the status of the seal owners. Another focus is their distribution, their life span, and their afterlife in Mycenaean times. How can the different aspects of signet rings as status markers and participants in administrative processes and their deposition in burial contexts be reconciled?

This paper aims to combine the information provided by the iconography, style, form, and function of the signet rings in order to contribute to the picture of the internal structure and value systems of the social elites of the Aegean Bronze age.

Uncorralling the Economy: Crete Through the Eyes of the Minoan Shepherd

Jeffrey F. Leon, Cornell University

Recent work in the field of Aegean Bronze Age economics has noted the need to interrogate models of “redistribution” and “palatial control,” within these early complex societies (e.g., M. Galaty, D. Nakassis, and W. Parkinson, “Introduction: Why Distrobution?” *AJA* 115 [2011] 175–176). This growing body of research acknowledges that palatial redistribution was not a one-size-fits-all affair and that the Minoan and Mycenaean economies were likely not monolithic systems based simply on the redistribution of goods by elites at central administrative locales but instead featured various entities (e.g., the palace, the sanctuary, and the *damos*, after S. Lupack, “A View from Outside the Palace” *AJA* [2011] 207–217) pursuing their own economic and political goals. One result of this new mode of thinking is the acceptance that palatial control and elite/nonelite interactions were likely born of a complex series of power relations. This requires an engagement with the “political” aspects of these political economies, one that views politics as a recursive process—something more than a social adaptation necessary to improve economic production or a means of coercion and exploitation, something more complex, where negotiations between the producers, the bureaucracy, and the environment led different societies to take up different strategies of production and exchange.

This paper seeks to investigate the Middle and Late Bronze Age political economy on Crete through the lens of the Minoan shepherd by considering the role of shepherds in the substantial Cretan wool-production economy (which, based on Linear B evidence, was comprised of perhaps 100,000 sheep requiring pasturage amounting to thousands of hectares). Far from being individuals simply concerned with the care and upkeep of these flocks of sheep, these shepherds can be seen as local and regional political actors whose links with the palatial administration and control over palatial flocks imbued them with political and economic power. This paper also explores alternative sources of evidence for understanding the herding strategies of shepherds (esp. isotopic analysis of sheep remains) in order to better understand the movement of flocks and thus comment on environmental and political factors that led to pasturing decisions. By focusing on the politics of small-scale economic actors such as Minoan shepherds, we stand to better understand the political relationships that buttressed the political economy on Bronze Age Crete.

SESSION 2I: Workshop**The Job Search: From Start to Finish**

Sponsored by the Student Affairs Interest Group (SAIG)

MODERATORS: *Maryl B. Gensheimer*, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University and *Elizabeth Wolfram Thill*, Independent Scholar

Workshop Overview Statement

For many graduate students, finishing a Ph.D. requires such an investment of time that it is easy, in the push to the finish, to lose sight of the next challenge: the job search. Once the search has begun, the various expectations and qualifications for different positions—whether postdocs, visiting assistant professorships and/or tenure-track professorships, or museum curatorial work—can be daunting, with requirements varying widely between institutions. Only infrequently are students and young professionals privy to discussions and strategies for compiling the strongest possible dossier, and as a result, the job search remains somewhat clouded in confusion.

This workshop aims to clarify the search process for graduate students and junior scholars in order to assist them in the job market. The panelists in this workshop provide an overview of the key milestones from start to finish, from initial cover letters and statements of teaching philosophy to final campus visits and job talks. These speakers bring a variety of perspectives and experiences: our senior scholars will give advice on how to structure an application in order to effectively apply for and receive job opportunities, while our more junior faculty can address questions of “what to expect,” based on their own recent searches (and successes).

Our panelists span the various fields of classical studies, including archaeology, art history, and philology, making this workshop indispensable for all advanced graduate students. Through this discussion, attendees will better understand the search process and will learn about various strategies and methods for compiling a competitive—and, importantly, successful—job application in the field of their particular expertise and interest.

PANELISTS: *Elizabeth M. Greene*, University of Western Ontario, *Sheila Dillon*, Duke University, *Jennifer Trimble*, Stanford University, *Robert Vander Poppen*, Rollins College, and *Susan E. Alcock*, Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, Brown University

SESSION 2J**Undergraduate Paper Session**

CHAIR: *Mary Hollinshead*, University of Rhode Island

Grissom Site (45KT301) Inter- and Intrasite Comparisons of Stone-Tool Technology and Function Through Time

Anne Vassar, Central Washington University

Research into precontact settlement and subsistence patterns on the Columbia Plateau has largely focused on “pit house” villages in the river valleys. Little research has been done on regional upland sites, which were part of the seasonal round. To contribute to greater knowledge about such sites on the plateau, I analyzed the lithics from five units at the Grissom site, an upland site in Kittitas County in central Washington State. I tested two hypotheses: that there are differential function areas within the Grissom site across both space and time, and that the site is regionally unique in function.

Using object, functional, and technological stone-tool classifications, based on previously published plateau research, I analyzed 525 stone tools. After classifying the stone tools from the five units, an intrasite comparison was conducted to determine whether there were differential use areas at the site. Six AMS radiocarbon dates from bone specimens were obtained to determine timing and duration of use at the site. All dates place the site within the Cayuse phase (2,500 b.p. to the historic period). Once classification had been completed and AMS dates obtained, an intersite comparison of the Grissom site with three other plateau sites from the same time period was conducted. The comparison included both pit house village and camp sites.

The Grissom site does display differential functional areas across space, based on classification and analysis of the stone tools. While different units show evidence of having been used for different activities, the same activities took place at the same locations within the site through time. Activity at the site as a whole was focused on resource extraction and processing, as well as creation/maintenance of stone tools. These activities remained constant through time; however, there is some indication the resources being accessed changed through time, toward a greater reliance on processing plant materials.

I was unable to accept or reject the hypothesis that the Grissom site is regionally unique, because there was insufficient data for comparison. Of the three comparison sites, the Grissom site most closely resembled pit house villages in the Chief Joseph Dam reservoir area. Reporting of classification and counts of tools is inconsistent from site to site, making direct comparisons difficult. Further, some comparison sites had very few tools recovered. A suggestion for future research on the site is to broaden the comparison to include more plateau sites, it can be determined whether the site is truly unique.

Hybridization and Nabataean Identity in the Khazneh Facade at Petra

Lauren Bearden, Kennesaw State University

Ancient Petra's rock-cut facades, situated in modern-day Jordan, are undoubtedly works of advanced artistic style that display both Greek and Near Eastern elements. Petra was inhabited by the mercantile Nabataeans as early as 312 B.C.E. It was located at the crossroads of Egypt, Greece, Rome, and the Near East. This convergence of cultures brought transference of not only goods but also artistic styles. The best artistic example of this cultural exchange is the Khazneh, a rock-cut facade dated to the first century B.C.E. by scholar Judith McKenzie. The most probable Nabataean king associated with the Khazneh is Aretas IV Philopatris. Under his rule from 9 B.C.E. to 40 C.E., the Nabataeans thrived economically and often warred with neighbors. Previous scholars have focused on the Graeco-Roman aspects of the Khazneh facade, and often overlooked the elements of native Nabataean style. Therefore, the Nabataean components of the Khazneh are not well defined. In this paper, I clarify what Nabataean style is by exploring the hybridization in the Khazneh facade. To understand Nabataean style, I compare aspects of the Khazneh's ornamentation with similar forms found in ceramics and painting. The paintings' subjects include local fauna and a winged child and his flute. I argue that such images exhibit some artistic qualities that are solely Nabataean. I suggest that, once these artistic qualities are recognized and defined, they become evident throughout much of the Khazneh's sculptural artistry. Moreover, scholars have had difficulty coming to terms with the dichotomy between aniconism and figural representation in Nabataean art. To reconcile these elements, I argue that aspects of aniconic *djinn* and betyl blocks are present in the ornate Nabataean rock-cut facades. I then compare Petra's architecture with a similar set of Nabataean facades, dated to the first century C.E., along the east ridge of the Wadi Musa. I demonstrate that Graeco-Nabataean hybrid art helped construct Nabataean culture. To conclude, I offer a reexamination of Nabataean art as a subcategory of Hellenistic art. From this understanding of Nabataean aesthetics, a greater sense of Nabataean identity and artistic influence emerges.

Temple Boys: Reevaluating Traditional Views on a Type of Cypriot Votive Sculpture

Gretchen Stricker, Creighton University

This paper investigates the religious significance of a distinctive type of Cypriot votive statue: the so-called Temple Boy. Temple Boys are limestone or terracotta depictions of young boys seated in a distinct pose with genitals exposed, wearing elaborate dress and jewelry. These statues were common dedications at several sanctuaries on the island of Cyprus in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Despite the number excavated, there is little consensus regarding their meaning. This study reevaluates traditional scholarship on this class of votive offering, especially Cecilia Beer's *Temple-Boys: A Study of Cypriote Votive Sculpture*, in light of unpublished examples from the rural sanctuary at Athienou-Malloura. Close examination of both the archaeological contexts and the iconography of the known corpus of Temple Boys allows for a more accurate reconstruction of this votive type's use and meaning. Past interpretations have included identifications of these statues as divine

children, temple servants, or votaries. My research supports the identification of these statues as votaries dedicated to ensure protection of the children depicted.

These statues seem to depict individual children that follow a specific iconography; each statue exhibits unique traits. The distinctness of each dedication suggests that these are depictions of children, not deities. Several aspects of the statues' dress and pose suggest that they served an apotropaic purpose: the consistent exposure of the genitals, the elaborate necklaces with amulets, and the presence of Bes iconography. My paper also contextualizes these votives within their religious settings. Temple boys are primarily found in sanctuaries associated with male deities, including Kourion and Athienou-Malloura. In fact, the Malloura dedications (at least 11 to date) are an important contribution to the known corpus and provide important evidence that this type is linked to male deities. Based on their religious contexts, iconography, and individual features, I argue that these statues were dedicated to ask the deity to protect young children at a vulnerable age and to ensure successful transition into adolescence.

The Part and the Whole: An Assyrian Synecdoche

Lindsay Oxx, Amherst College

Like many of its peer institutions, in the mid 1850s Amherst College acquired a collection of reliefs from the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud in present-day Iraq. Arguably one of the strongest collegiate suites of reliefs, the collection, for most of its time at Amherst, has been prominently displayed on campus, and it has been on continuous display in its current home in the Mead Art Museum for the past 63 years. In August 2011, a Mead Staff member noticed, apparently for the first time, that the upper right-hand corner of the relief of a winged, human-headed genie (inv. no. AC S.1855.4) does not belong to the rest of the relief. The rectangular slab, one of nine sections of the relief—all cut in the 1850s for easier shipment—bears a “sacred tree” whose tendrils do not line up exactly with those on the lower slabs. The “pinecone” element also varies in the size of its “kernels,” compared with that on the adjoining slab.

Prompted by this discovery, I examined the details of this relief's shipment from Nimrud to Amherst and compared this history with the larger narrative of the excavation and dispersal of reliefs from the site. Analysis of modern reconstructions of Ashurnasirpal II's palace, as well as evidence from letters detailing the relief's shipment, leads to the conclusion that the mistake was likely made in Nimrud and that the correct corner cannot be found in the United States.

I also explore the forces that allowed the incorrect restoration to go unnoticed for more than 150 years despite multiple installations and regular examinations. The mismatched corner reveals a tendency among American institutions to put undo emphasis on reliefs' value as status symbols, pedagogical tools, and financial assets rather than on their inherent value as works of art. While recognizing and crediting these institutions for their respect and maintenance of the reliefs, I conclude that the ways in which American colleges have displayed, used, and judged the caliber of these reliefs detracts from their artistic merit and contributes to an environment in which details of craftsmanship could be overlooked. The Mead's interloping, substitute corner is a microcosm of such macroscopic, selective framing.

A Temple Above All: The Architectural Cohesion of Pompey's so-called Theater Complex

Megan S. Wilson, Wellesley College

In a scathing critique of Pompey's theater complex, Tertullian (*De Spect.* 10.5) pointedly pits its constituent parts against one another, dismissing the temple as a mere excuse to build a permanent theater in Rome. Although it is commonly accepted that Tertullian's biases impair his credibility, scholars still replicate his rigid division of the space into its constituents, interpreting them separately based on their individual typological predecessors. Recent excavations and three-dimensional reconstructions analyze the theater and temple jointly but still avoid explicating the complex in its full context. But this theater is not a mere theater. It is part of Pompey's monument to his own victory and to his tutelary deity, Venus Victrix. This paper analyzes the architectural features of the entire monument, using both ancient sources and modern reconstructions, to demonstrate that the complex is meant to be perceived as one cohesive structure, not a conglomeration of its constituent elements or a theater with appendages. I discuss how lines, patterns, and perspectives create a progression and direct the viewer's attention through the complex and the architecture articulating its thematic purpose.

Gleason indicates in reconstructive drawings how the portico might interact with the temple. Gleason stresses sight lines, arguing that originally, and without a scaenae frons, the portico-cum-nemus would obscure the curve of the cavea to present it as a huge, rectilinear staircase. A. Russell takes a different approach: she sees the complex as a conceptually unified victory monument. She places less emphasis on sight lines, comparing the complex with the sanctuary at Praeneste to suggest that visibility is not the essential condition for unity. With that in mind, I perform a close reading of the architecture, using multiple plans and reconstructive theories to demonstrate how, even with a permanent scaenae frons, the juxtaposition of lines and shapes in Pompey's building create an inwardness and cohesion powerful enough to transcend vision, permeating the entire space. This analysis, taken together with ancient testimony (Cat. 55.6, Plin. *HN* 36.4.41, Mart.11.21.6), indicates that the complex was recognized as one entity. Its participation in the Republican tradition of votive victory monuments explains why it is the temple, not the theater, that dominates the complex both architecturally and ideologically, providing a numinous atmosphere and the reason behind the design.

The Burial Practices of Bronze Age Jericho: Idealized Past or Present?

Paige Bockman, Creighton University

Mortuary evidence is used by archaeologists as a window into past societies, but its analysis is often best compared with other types of evidence to reconstruct the past. Funerary evidence can be destroyed or fragmented by numerous agents, and what is left is often difficult to interpret or suggests a different kind of society than is evidenced by the remains found in contemporary settlements. In her study of Bronze Age Jericho burials, Hallote ("Real & Ideal Identities in Middle Bronze Age Tombs," *NEA* 65 [2002] 105–11) interprets the discrepancies between burial and settlement evidence as an example of the idealization of a society by

individuals through their burial practices. The display of constructed identities in the mortuary record complicates matters for archaeologists seeking a real—not ideal—portrayal of history. This paper challenges the predictive capacity of Hallote's theory to claim that "tombs of any given period are as, or even more likely to reflect the previous time period than their own." Careful analysis of the burial evidence with contemporary settlement material from Jericho from the Early and Middle Bronze Ages does not consistently support Hallote's theory. This contextual study analyzes evidence for social stratification that is absent in Early Bronze Age burials, different criteria of stratification found in tomb architecture and body treatment during the Intermediate Bronze Age, and the conflict between constructed identity in burials and the reality of society in the Middle Bronze Age.

My study asserts that Hallote's emphasis on retroactive burial practices is not fully supported by the evidence from Bronze Age Jericho and is therefore explanatory rather than predictive. While her interpretation remains valid for the Middle Bronze Age, it does not apply to other periods. Differences between settlement and funerary evidence are not always explained by a reflection of past burial practices—for example, the egalitarian ideal expressed in Early Bronze Age graves is preceded and followed by burial practices emphasizing social stratification. Hallote's interpretation of different tomb types as markers of social status and ethnicity in the Intermediate Bronze Age can be countered by evidence of stratification markers throughout all tomb types and interpretations of permanent necropoleis constructed by nomads. Hallote's theory applies only in certain cases, but her ideas are important reminders about the need for a holistic and theoretical approach to material remains. While there does appear to be some idealization, the mortuary record of Bronze Age Jericho provides a more realistic picture of society than Hallote's theory would suggest.

SESSION 2K

Poster Session

Lead Ingot Trade from Iberia to Rome in the Late Republican and Early Imperial Ages: New Remarks on the Presence of People from Northern Campania and the Gulf of Naples in the Exploitation of Iberian Mines

Michele Stefanile, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"

The analysis of the epigraphic records from the towns of Carthago Nova, Ilici, Lucentum, Allon, Dianium, Saetabis, Valentia, Saguntum, and Edeta along the eastern coast of the Iberian Peninsula highlights an important component from Campania within the flow of people that spread into the new provinces of Hispania after the end of the Second Punic War to exploit the newly conquered resources.

This vast and complex phenomenon which formed the basis of the Romanization of the Iberian Peninsula, is the object of the author's doctoral research. New data comes from the examination of the marked lead ingots molded in the minery districts in southern Iberia and found in most cases in the cargoes of shipwrecks in the western Mediterranean. The analysis of the *gentilitia* attested on the already-known and often well-published ingots, together with the data from those

of minor interest for scholars or those recently discovered during underwater research, thanks to comparison with the epigraphic corpora related to the towns of the Iberian and Italian peninsulas, permits, in fact, a reconsideration of the scale of the Campanian component in Iberian mine exploitation in the Late Republican and Early Imperial Ages. It also provides updated information.

At the same time, all this focuses and defines geographically, in the setting of ancient Campania, the area from which the aforementioned people had come, showing clearly the importance of the northern Campanian centers and the area of Teanum and Caes, in addition to the Gulf of Naples. This study asks new questions about the role of ports such as those of Minturnae, Sinuessa, and Volturnum, as well as that of Puteoli, in the new maritime routes established between the Campanian area and the Iberian west.

Spatial Distribution of Mycenaean (Late Helladic) Sites and Proximity to Arable Land in the Nemea Valley, Greece

Phillip Cook, Trent University

The Nemea Valley is a distinct topographic zone that has hosted a long sequence of human occupation dating back to the Early Neolithic period. Researchers with the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (NVAP) have documented the surface densities of Mycenaean pottery and other Late Helladic artifacts within an area of approximately 80 km², and have been able to locate 29 new Late Helladic sites distributed across the landscape (excluding the known prehistoric settlements of Tsoungiza and Phlius). This project adopts a GIS-oriented analysis to address whether the distribution of Late Helladic sites reveals a tendency toward arable land, as defined by slope. Examining the spatial layout of identified sites against the terrain of the valley, I set out to demonstrate that the establishment of activity or occupation areas by the local inhabitants of the Late Helladic period was influenced by a concern for land quality and that, accordingly, the distribution of sites across the landscape exhibits a statistical proclivity toward arable land. In the absence of substantial or convincing evidence concerning the immediate role of social forces in the distribution of Late Helladic sites across the Nemea Valley, it may prove useful to turn to environmental aspects and issues of subsistence as a general impetus for local settlement and activity during the Late Bronze Age. The research question therefore takes a preliminary step in addressing the open issue of Late Helladic subsistence patterns in the Nemea Valley by defining the geospatial relationship between identified sites and arable land. The results show a weak statistical correlation between site location and land arability, suggesting that Late Helladic sites were probably not influenced significantly by the slope of the terrain. As a corollary to the absence of a significant spatial pattern based on slope, future studies may instead look toward other variables of the terrain related to agricultural productivity. Such research must also take into account the role of geomorphological processes and modern agricultural practices in the valley, which have caused noticeable irregularities in the distribution of finds and consequently distort our understanding of past activities.

Vestal Hairdressing: Recreating the Seni Crines

Janet Stephens, AIA Member at Large

Rome's vestal virgin priestesses wore an ancient and symbolically charged hairstyle usually referred to as the *sex crines* or *seni crines* (Fest. 454L). This hairstyle is believed to have required a *vitta* (cloth band) and six braids for its construction. Testing this hypothesis has heretofore proved elusive because, in artistic depiction, vestal hairstyles are obscured by ceremonial headgear (e.g., *infula*, *suffibulum*). However, the bust of an early second-century vestal in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (inv. 1914, no. 150), reveals enough of the hairstyle to suggest credible methods for its reconstruction. In this poster, I closely examine the Uffizi vestal hairstyle and show how it may be reconstructed on a human-hair mannequin. Period-appropriate tools and techniques are used throughout. The methodology is based on my article "Ancient Roman Hairdressing: On (Hair)pins and Needles" (JRA 21 [2008] 110–32).

Thucydides, Topography, and the Battle of Amphipolis

C. Jacob Butera, University of North Carolina, Asheville

The maneuvers of Brasidas and Kleon during their engagement at Amphipolis in 422 B.C.E. has been complicated by Thucydides' specific, yet elusive description of the topography and fortifications of the ancient city and its environs. The historian's description of Kleon's position on a fortified hill in front of the city and Brasidas' vantage point from Kerdylion has led to numerous studies of the region surrounding Amphipolis. Thucydides' account of Brasidas' sortie through the palisade and the so-called First Gate as well as Klearidas' exit through the Thracian Gate has also led to varied interpretations of the partial excavation of the walls of Amphipolis undertaken by Lazaridis since the 1970s.

While early commentators argued that the battle probably occurred southeast of the city, the archaeological discoveries of a Classical-era wooden bridge and two additional gates in the northern portion of the city walls have led most scholars to shift the engagement to the northeast and to identify Kleon's position as a steep outcropping known as Hill 133. Using topographic analysis of the region around Amphipolis and the excavated portions of the city walls, this paper reexamines the strategic and tactical movements of Brasidas and Kleon. It reconsiders the likelihood of a southeastern battle in light of this archaeological evidence and situates Kleon's army on the so-called Hill of the Macedonian Tombs and Brasidas' original position on St. Catherine's Hill. Such positions not only resolve some of the problems presented by Thucydides' account but also clarify both generals' military movements and objectives.

American Research Center in Sofia Field School Excavations at the Site of Heraclea Sintica near the Village of Rupite, Southwest Bulgaria

Emil Nankov, American Research Center in Sofia, *Hallie Franks*, New York University, and *Lyudmil Vagalinski*, National Institute of Archaeology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

This poster presents the results of the first season of the American Research Center in Sofia's (ARCS) field school excavations at the ancient site of Heraclea Sintica, located near the village of Rupite, in southwest Bulgaria.

A Latin inscription discovered in 2002 preserves the granting of city status to the Heracleans under Galerius, definitively identifying the site at Rupite as that of Heraclea Sintica, a city previously known from ancient literature and coinage. Located at the juncture of the ancient Strymon and Pontos Rivers, Heraclea Sintica was a major city of the Roman province of Macedonia Prima; it was probably founded in the Early Hellenistic period by Cassander and occupied through the late fourth century C.E. The ARCS field school joins the excavations of the National Institute of Archaeology with Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, which have been underway since 2007.

The 2012 ARCS excavations concentrated on the area adjacent to a Roman terracotta workshop in order to clarify the phases of occupation, urban layout, and use of urban space. This season's excavations forwarded these research goals through the exposure of the northwest corner of a large room (probably from the second and third periods of occupation during the third century C.E.), a north-south street to the west of this room, and a hastily constructed partition wall inserted to divide the room in the fourth period of occupation during fourth century C.E. While conclusions are still preliminary, finds have confirmed the prominence of high-quality terracotta production, the prevalence of fishing, and the use of local marble.

Disinterring a Pompeian Middle-Class Neighborhood

Ambra Spinelli, University of Southern California, and *Aimee Francesca Scorziello*, Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia

This poster presents a compilation of the many artifacts recovered from the excavations of two town blocks at Pompeii during the 19th century (VIII.7.1–15 and I.1.1–10); this research was carried out on behalf of the Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia, led by the University of Cincinnati, which is currently undertaking a campaign of excavations in this part of the city. Apart from outlining the novel methodologies developed to recover this wealth of legacy data, the poster presents various ways in which data can be revitalized and reestablished in their original spatial context. Through an analysis of the handwritten, unpublished reports of the first excavations of the 1870s and early 1900s, and the establishment of the bureaucratic pathway and life history of each artifact since its collection, combined with an examination of the archaeological remains in situ and information from our current excavations, our ongoing aim is to establish the spatial context of the material culture to better understand the function of the various properties in 79 C.E.

Starting from the analysis of contemporary bibliographic sources, our research focused primarily on the “*Giornali degli Scavi di Pompei*,” the daily, (mostly) unpublished excavation notes, and the “*Librette del Rinvenimento degli oggetti antichi*,” which is an inventory of objects that were later sent to the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. The latter step led us to the “*Notamenti*” (the list of objects received by the museum, with inventory numbers), which allowed us to access the ancient materials from these properties. This analysis of the “data-path” revealed various discrepancies in approaches to the excavation and recording of each insula. In the case of I.1.1–10, an area occupied by *tabernae* and *hospitia*, the primary interest appeared to be in the wall paintings, especially those that could be compared with others discovered in *tabernae* elsewhere in the city. In VIII.7.1–15, however, which features houses, shops, and outdoor eating establishments, the emphasis in recording the excavations was placed on the wide variety of household and commercial objects.

This combination of archival research and current excavation data is enabling us to establish and map a spatially comprehensive view of the artifacts and wall paintings of a Pompeian middle-class neighborhood over time.

Excavations of the “Idol Hill” in Hassloch, Germany

Philip Kiernan, University at Buffalo, *Kali Grable*, University at Buffalo, and *Erin Warford*, University at Buffalo

In 2011 and 2012, the University at Buffalo conducted the excavation of a multi-phased burial mound located just outside the village of Hassloch in southern Germany. Known locally as the “*Götzenbühl*” (Idol Hill), the mound measures 36 m in diameter, rises to a height of 2 m, and is one of the largest tumuli of the region. The name of the mound is almost certainly medieval and was probably derived from a prehistoric sculpture or standing stone that once stood on top of the monument. The very existence of this medieval name underscores the fact that the mound continued to be meaningful part of the landscape millennia after its construction. Initial excavation has confirmed this hypothesis, suggesting an initial construction date in the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1400 B.C.E.) followed by an augmentation in the Hallstatt period (800–450 B.C.E.) and secondary burials in the La Tène period (450–50 B.C.E.). The presence of a Late Roman jug in the uppermost filling of the mound provides a link between the prehistoric and Medieval periods, which is hardly surprising given the presence of a Roman villa and possible tile workshop nearby. In its more recent history, the Idol Hill was badly disturbed by excavations conducted in 1902, as well as by deposits of garbage left by the United States military in the 1970s and pits dug by modern treasure hunters. Soil samples have been taken from the mound, and a soil monitoring system has been installed, which will allow changes between undisturbed and disturbed features in the tumulus to be understood on a microscopic level over extended periods of time. The preservation and protection of ancient tumuli, as well as their presentation to the public, play a major role in this project. Eventually, the excavation of the mound will result in its reconstruction and the creation of educational signage that will form part of an archaeological walk in the area. With an active history of more than 3,000

years, the Idol Hill is an amazing example of the endurance, changeable function, and perception of ancient burial mounds over time.

An Exploration of Remote Sensing as a Tool for the Detection and Intensive Analysis of Historical Trail Features as Applied to the Old Spanish Trail in the Silurian Valley, California

Amy M. Oechsner, United States Bureau of Land Management

In 1829, New Mexican trader Antonio Armijo blazed the Old Spanish Trail. It was the first regular overland conduit of immigration and commerce to pierce isolated Alta California and connect it to the ever-expanding east. Hafen and Hafen, Steiner, Warren, contemporary accounts, and historical maps evidence the Old Spanish Trail's progression through California's Silurian Valley. However, extensive field surveys of the desert valley, conducted in 1998 and 2011, failed to identify corroborating archaeological artifacts or features. As a singular method of detecting historical trail features, field survey is highly ineffective. Alternative methods, such as passive remote sensing used in combination with GIS and image-enhancement software, allow cultural resource professionals to not only reliably detect but also represent and analyze subtle historical trail features in undervegetated environments. An intensive investigation of the Silurian Valley, conducted using this alternative method, effectively detected, examined, and mapped remains of the Old Spanish Trail. Trail condition, widely considered exclusively classifiable via field survey, was accurately classified remotely. Intensive field survey of the Old Spanish Trail provided a benchmark by which to compare remote survey results. As a guide for, or complement to, archaeological field survey of historical trail features, remote sensing is a valuable tool. Potential applications of the technique as a substitute for preliminary extensive field survey and as an independent classification tool are discussed.

Glass Unguentaria from the Roman Temple Complex at Horvat Omrit

Caroline Gerkis, Queens College, City University of New York

The Roman Temple complex at Horvat Omrit is located on the eastern slope of the Hulah Valley in northern Galilee, Israel. Omrit is situated about 40 km from Tyre (on the Mediterranean coast) to the west and Damascus to the east and lies near an ancient road that connected these two ancient cities. Omrit is in the region of Caesarea Philippi near Banias, Tel Dan, and Tel Anafa. Excavations at Omrit began in 1999 by Macalester College and yielded a series of temple constructions. The first temple was built during the first century B.C.E. Two subsequent Roman temples erected atop this ornate shrine, the Early Shrine (ca. 40–30 B.C.E.), date to the late first century B.C.E., and the late first century C.E., respectively.

This poster is an analysis of the glass unguentaria recovered from areas in and around the Early Shrine. The poster shows the relationship of these glass unguentaria with other unguentaria in the region. The Early Shrine was partially disassembled and buried by the first Roman temple. The piriform unguentaria were excavated in clusters at certain sections of the shrine and are believed to have been

used as votive offerings as part of a ritual ceremony for the Early Shrine by those who were responsible for the construction of Temple Two and had discovered the Early Shrine.

Phasing the Roman and Byzantine Bath House at Humayma, Jordan: The Contribution of the Ceramic Building Materials

M. Barbara Reeves, Queen's University, and Craig Harvey, University of Victoria

In the early second century C.E., an auxiliary fort and external bath house were built at ancient Hawara (modern Humayma, Jordan) within the new Roman province of Arabia. This bath house remained in use until the sixth or seventh century C.E. and underwent numerous renovations during this long period. Excavations conducted in 1989, 2008, 2010, and 2012 in the field containing the bath house have revealed architectural information relating to these renovations, but the dating of the phases has often been hampered by a lack of traditional diagnostic artifacts. However, fragments of ceramic building materials (bricks, water pipes, flue pipes, and roof tiles) were abundant in most soil loci in and around the bath house. The individual classes of ceramic building materials (particularly the hypocaust bricks and flue pipes) showed clear variations in form and fabric indicative of distinct subtypes. After the 2010 excavation, we began creating a typology of all the bricks and flue pipes found at Humayma. As part of this study, we reopened several previously excavated parts of both the bath house and the fort in 2012 to collect in situ samples of ceramic building materials from different construction periods. The poster shows how the linkage between this in situ material and the fragments of brick and flue pipe from dump contexts has been of great assistance in refining the dating of Humayma's multiphase bath house. The investigation of parallels with the bricks and flue pipes from other sites in Roman Arabia is also providing insight into the supply routes used by Humayma's Roman and Byzantine garrisons. These common but often-neglected ceramic objects are providing new information about the dynamics of the Roman occupation of Arabia.

The Razor's Edge: The Multivocality of Bronze and Iron Age Razors in Northern Europe

Kaitlin Kincaid, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

Many interpretations of prehistoric European societies overlook examples of personal hygiene paraphernalia. Razors are found in large numbers in burials and hoards, but to date there has not been any extensive research on the role of razors in secular or sacred life. Most of the razors that appear in archaeological publications are simply described as grave goods and are not discussed in detail. The few English-language examples of research on razors, such as Margaret Piggotts' work, are short articles that for the most part classify razors into groups and do not discuss the larger implications razors may have had within society. Only recently have some archaeologists posited that razors may have had an important role in European prehistoric society. In this presentation, I look at the role of shaving and razors in the secular and sacred spheres of life in northern Europe and the British

Isles from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. I include an examination of razors and the context in which razors are found, a discussion of the iconography of Iron Age European men from both an etic and emic view, a comparison of iconographic elements on razors and rock art, and an analysis of preserved hair on bog bodies. I propose that razors were not only secular objects. They had possible sacred functions as well.

Differential Distribution of Sanitation Features in Pompeii

A. Kate Trusler, University of Missouri

New research on the latrines in Pompeii has expanded discussions and provided an opening into the inquiry of the evidence for second- and third-story sanitation systems, adding a further layer of complexity to the historic and modern problem of how to deal with human waste. Hobson and his team of students, including the author, have now concluded their survey of sanitation features in Pompeii. Although Hobson's study gathered essential research data, a comparison of the locations of downpipes vs. ground-floor latrines in commercial and residential areas has not been completed. A definable difference between patterns in latrines and downpipes may indicate a behavioral distinction or, alternatively, architectural preferences in construction and in the modification of existing structures. Studying downpipes provides opportunities to increase our knowledge of Roman concerns about privacy and social distinction. There may also be a correlation between city growth and the development of downpipes. This study provides an overview of the spatial distribution of downpipes and latrines across Pompeii.

In Artifacts We Trust: Geological Forces and Their Effect on the Integrity of Geospatial Artifact Relationships at the Lower Town Excavation of Mycenae

Ryan P. Shears, Mississippi State University, and Daniel J. Fallu, Boston University

Alluvial and torrential landscapes present a unique challenge to the traditional analysis and interpretation of artifacts and their relationships. The high-energy cycles of aggradation and degradation can confuse and alter lateral distribution of finds as well as generate irregular vertical stratigraphy, confusing site chronology and intrasite function areas. The Lower Town of Mycenae, excavated by the Dickinson Excavation Project and Archaeological Survey, demonstrates a long history of alluvial deposition and torrential development spanning more than 3,000 years of settlement, abandonment, and reuse. The deposition, representing sediment influx from multiple sources, has buried the site under 2–3 m of natural deposits and has horizontally skewed the artifact record of the site. The solution to such difficulties is careful, multiscalar spatial and sedimentological analysis. A combination of sedimentology and geographic information science (GIS) applications can help archaeologists better understand the disruption of the archaeological record and the depositional context of artifact scatters present on-site.

This poster presents analysis of current data from the Mycenae Lower Town to demonstrate the usefulness and effectiveness of geographic-geologic collaborations for understanding the interpretive viability of ceramic and artifact scatters

in certain high-energy depositional environments. Sedimentary geomorphology and photogrammetry, coupled with a comprehensive geospatial recording system, allow for the comparison of forces generated by ground-surface flows with the present scatter of evidence across three dimensions.

Spatial statistics, performed in a GIS framework, provides quantitative measures of clustering and other spatial patterning of sediment clasts and artifacts to further characterize stratigraphic units and any possible deformation thereof. An understanding of the current state of these stratigraphic layers and the geologic forces affecting them is synthesized into a deeper understanding of the original depositional nature of the cultural deposits represented in stratigraphic layers. Observation of spatial patterning suggests that, in some cases, alluvial action and slope debris transported finds in excess of 0.5 m. A quantitative understanding of post-depositional deformation allows excavators to better understand the character of destroyed or deformed cultural deposits. This understanding can color and enrich all other interpretations of archaeological context and helps mediate a significant source of bias in the analysis of variation through space and time.

Desert Agriculture: An Examination of the Archaeobotanical Remains from Bir Madhkur, Jordan

Jennifer H. Ramsay, College at Brockport, State University of New York

I present the results of a study that examines local agricultural production at the ancient site of Bir Mahdkur, a major way station along the ancient spice route west of the Nabataean capital of Petra. The arid nature of the Wadi Arabah region that surrounds Bir Mahdkur has not changed appreciably since its occupation in antiquity, and yet the site is surrounded by ancient agricultural fields and farmhouses. By analyzing the archaeobotanical remains identified from the 2008 excavation season, I address questions related to crop choice and the way agriculture functioned in the local and regional economy. Preliminary analysis identified two varieties of wheat (*Triticum aestivum* and *T. aestivo-compactum*), barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and several legumes, such as lentils (*Lens culinaris*). There is also considerable evidence in the assemblage of crop by-products (chaff) and weeds specific to crop fields, which supports the likelihood of successful local agriculture occurring in the Nabataean through Roman occupation periods of the site. The results of this study can aid in illuminating the production potential of dry-land agricultural techniques and its significance to populations living in such arid environments.

Fingerprints in Iron: Identifying the Production Origins of Iron Artifacts with Major Elemental Analysis of Slag and Slag Inclusions

Michael F. Charlton, UCL Institute of Archaeology, *Eleanor Blakelock*, Archaeometallurgy, *Tim Young*, GeoArch, *Marcos Martín-Torres*, UCL Institute of Archaeology, *Janet Lang*, British Museum, and *Sarah Paynter*, English Heritage

Iron was an important component in many preindustrial Old World economies and was frequently cited as a material of trade. The ability to accurately identify the site or region of an iron object's primary production can offer new insights

into the relationships between economic agents, whether individual producers and consumers or whole societies. This poster summarizes a multivariate statistical strategy for comparing the major elemental “fingerprints” of bloomery iron production slag with those of the slag inclusions found in the metal. Application of the strategy to the products of three experimental smelts demonstrates its efficacy. Its archaeological potential is shown through two case studies from the British Iron Age.

Revealing Domestic Religious Practice: A Study of the Distribution of Private Altars in Olynthus

Chelsea Gardner, The University of British Columbia

One of the most intriguing aspects of the town of Olynthus is that excavations have revealed few or no surviving public buildings and absolutely no trace of a sanctuary, a temple, or any major “religious” architecture typically found in Greek poleis. Consequently, the Olynthus excavations spurred a flurry of research into Greek domestic spatial organization, city planning, and urban layout; the scholarship surrounding Olynthus has focused almost exclusively on the “secular” aspects of the city, as though a discussion of religion cannot be justified in a city without visible remnants of the gods, made manifest in public architecture. Moreover, within Greek archaeology, a heavy reliance on historical sources (both for the interpretation of Greek religion and for the identification of the physical manifestation of religion), in conjunction with the fanatic excavation of large-scale sanctuaries, has ironically led to a limited understanding of the quotidian religious experience. This study aims to amend the gap in knowledge of ritual and religion at the household level. It highlights Olynthus as an unparalleled and largely untapped wellspring of information about the archaeology of Greek religious practice. Specifically, this poster presents detailed information regarding the spatial distribution of domestic altars in the classical Greek city of Olynthus.

This study examines each individual house that contained an altar, as well as information about each house in relation to the rest of the houses in the city. The following considerations are included in the analysis: number of altars found; type of altar(s) found; location in which the altar(s) was/were found (room and specific orientation, when available); description of the altar(s), when available (size, material, decoration); characteristics of the room in which the altar(s) was/were found (type of room, visibility from the house entrance, and access to other rooms of the dwelling); whether the house was identified with a particular domestic trade/industry; and, finally, house type, based on respective plans and assemblages.

This poster demonstrates that religious items found in domestic contexts were, in Olynthus, not only existent, but widespread and pervasive. Moreover, while further details surrounding the rituals remain elusive, the results of this study reveal that one aspect of cult featured prominently throughout the city of Olynthus: namely, religious practice centered around a permanent or semipermanent altar within a private dwelling.

Waste and Expertise: Assessing Skilled Production from Metallurgical Residues

Michael F. Charlton, University College London, Institute of Archaeology, and Daniel Sahlén, University of Glasgow

Assessments of skill are routinely found in archaeology and art history discussions in reference to (1) the degree of time and difficulty required to make an artifact or artwork, or (2) the degree of standardization attained for some class of artifacts. Recent research, especially in the area of lithic analysis, has reframed skill as a theme central to theoretical studies of craft learning and production processes. Skill is redefined as a combination of social and individual learning put into practice. It is the capacity to turn a cognitive template into a physical reality. The conformity of artifacts to designs is determined by material constraints and skill level.

Analyses of materials from manufacturing activities can shed significant light on skill and its broader implications. An investigation of skilled production refocuses attention away from morphologies and elaborations on finished artifacts toward variation in technological recipes and practice. Slag, ore, fuels, and ceramics are the dominant material remains indicating metallurgical production in the archaeological record. These materials are used to reconstruct technology, but they also provide a means of observing and measuring variability in the repeated handling of resources and the preparation of materials.

In this poster, we demonstrate how variation within technical recipes can be examined to illuminate skilled production in metallurgical contexts across space and time. An analysis of skill in bronze casting in Scotland raises new questions concerning the organization of production and the nature of specialist knowledge. Analyses of iron making in Wales reveal new details about the relationships between craft learning, economics, and the development of skill. These studies highlight the function of skill in the local expression of technological traditions and help clarify our understanding of the craftsman as a social agent.

Comprehensive Compositional Analysis of an Attic White-Ground Lekythos of Unknown Provenance

Lana M. Georgiou, Brandeis University, Andrew Koh, Brandeis University, and Richard Newman, Boston Museum of Fine Arts

Attic white-ground lekythoi show intimate interactions and mourning pictorials of people from fifth–sixth century B.C.E. in Attica, Greece. This makes them a valuable window into understanding the prevailing culture of the time and is in stark contrast to the religious aspect of many artistic artifacts that have survived from that period. This poster confirms the authenticity and provenance of a previously unanalyzed Attic white-ground lekythos, owned by Brandeis University's Teaching Collection, via a thorough analysis of the lekythos' composition. To this end, samples from the clay structure and paint pigments are tested at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts with fourier transform infrared spectroscopy (FTIR) microscope, raman microscope, scanning electron microscope (SEM), wavelength dispersive x-ray spectroscopy (WDS), energy dispersive x-ray spectroscopy (EDS), liquid chromatography-mass spectrometry (LC/MS), polarizing light microscopy, and gas chromatography-mass spectrometry (GC/MS). These analytical methods

yield the compositional makeup of the lekythos clay and the type of pigment used for the paint. A comparison is made between the original paint pigments and the pigments added during a modern conservation attempt. The data show this Attic white-ground lekythos to be an authentic ca. fifth-century B.C.E. artifact from the Attica region of Greece that has been conserved on at least two separate occasions.

Mapping London's Cholera Epidemics: 1849–1866

Tessa Cicak, Dickinson College, and *Nicola Tynan*, Dickinson College

London experienced its first outbreak of Asiatic cholera in 1832 when the disease killed about 800 people. The next waves of London's cholera would set in motion huge developments in public health, led most famously by John Snow. Snow rejected the miasma theory for the spread of the disease and demonstrated that the water companies were a factor in the epidemics. Contemporaneously William Farr, the Compiler of Abstracts for the Registrar General, recorded information on elevation, population, and income in an effort to find a connection between those factors and the people who were contracting the disease. Farr's theories have been disregarded because of their connection with the idea of miasma; however, the connection between elevation and cholera mortality should not be dismissed entirely.

Unfortunately, many diseases leave a lack of forensic evidence, and we cannot fully examine which populations were at high risk. However, when historical records are available we can combine them with geospatial information to aid analysis. We show that Farr's data on cholera deaths can illuminate important relationships in the spread of an epidemic by analyzing the spread of three historical London cholera outbreaks with GIS.

We created a composite map of mid nineteenth-century London from historical sources: seven maps of London and its subdistricts; four maps demonstrating the boundaries of the eight London water companies and the locations of their pumping stations; and two contour maps of London during the late 1800s. All maps were scanned, digitized, and spatially referenced to create one combined image of London's district, subdistrict, and water-company boundaries in the 1800s. Demographic data gathered by Farr was correlated to the composite image allowing for spatial display.

By using ArcGIS to display each of these factors in relation to cholera rates, we can see that water companies may not have been the only factor in the high spread of cholera at the time. While many water companies were certainly taking water from polluted sources, the maps show also that elevation was still key and needs to be considered.

We show that GIS can be used in the analysis of a historical epidemic. Visual display can demonstrate patterns and factors of disease that statistics alone may miss.

SESSION 3A: Colloquium

The Afterlives of Monuments: Reuse and Transformation in the Ancient World

ORGANIZERS: *Rachel Kousser*, Brooklyn College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, and *Brenda Longfellow*, University of Iowa

Colloquium Overview Statement

Studies of ancient monuments usually focus on their creation, although classical archaeologists and art historians have recently begun paying attention to subsequent uses of monuments. Often such studies focus on violent transformations like the so-called *damnatio memoriae*, but destruction was only one option among the rich and varied ways in which monuments were repurposed in antiquity. This colloquium analyzes the neglected ancient afterlives of objects, addressing questions such as, Which monuments were particularly targeted for reuse, when, and why? How much did an artwork's prior history matter to those who refashioned it, and to what extent did repurposing create new meanings? And finally, would ancient spectators be expected to recognize the reuse?

The papers in this colloquium are case studies that provide a broad-ranging examination of how ancient artworks and monuments evolved beyond the moment of creation. Drawing on archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence, they question traditional assumptions about the chronology and meaning of spoliation, demonstrate its ubiquity in the classical world, and analyze its significance for identity formation as well as collective memory practices.

The colloquium begins and ends with considerations of the political repurposing of monuments in capital cities: Hellenistic Alexandria and Tetrarchic Rome. The first paper examines the Ptolemaic practice of recarving ruler portraits, arguing that it was driven by dynastic cult practices, while the final paper contrasts the pragmatic recycling of materials in the Maxentian Audience Hall with the contemporary and ideologically charged rebuilding of the *Templum Romae*. The three intervening papers complement these discussions of imperial reuse by examining how individual communities in the Hellenistic and Roman east redeployed older monuments and objects to bolster particular visions of local history and the present-day community. The second paper of the session shows how the Eleians controlled the reuse of honorific statues and other materials to underscore their historical and contemporary presence at the sanctuary, while the third discusses how the Roman colony at Corinth transformed part of the archaic temple of Apollo into a colonnade that showcased the community's engineering capabilities and aesthetic sensibilities. The fourth paper demonstrates how Bronze and Iron Age objects were selectively reused in Roman Asia Minor to assert local ties to the preclassical past. Taken together, these papers show how the archaeological investigation of repurposed monuments can enhance our understanding not only of the works in question but more broadly of the anthropology of the art object in the ancient world.

DISCUSSANT: *Brenda Longfellow*, University of Iowa

Hellenistic *Damnatio Memoriae*: Recarved Ruler Portraits from Ptolemaic Egypt

Rachel Kousser, Brooklyn College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York

In the ancient world, one frequent motive for the reuse of sculpture was political, as the image of a disgraced king was reworked into that of his successful rival. While this kind of recarving has been documented in the Roman empire as well as pharaonic Egypt, I examine the less familiar evidence for the Hellenistic era. Drawing on close visual analysis of particular works of art as well as literary texts, I seek to answer questions such as, Why was recarving done? How common was it? And what made it useful to the later Ptolemies?

Late Ptolemaic portraits (second–first centuries B.C.E.) were especially liable to recarving for several reasons. First, there was extensive production of such portraits in marble, along with the more common Hellenistic material of bronze. These portraits, with their colossal scale and marble medium, were meant to recall agalmata (statues of gods); they served as a focus of the ruler cult and were promoted by the Ptolemies to a greater extent than by other Hellenistic dynasties. While these sculptures were numerous, they were also increasingly threatened by the brutal internecine struggles of the late Ptolemaic monarchy, which encouraged both attacks on the portraits of deposed kings and reuse of such images by their successors. In addition, the limited quantity of marble available in the Ptolemaic realm made recarving an attractive option, particularly in periods of economic and political instability.

The recarving of late Ptolemaic portraits has important broader implications for our understanding of the ruler image in Hellenistic Egypt. The portraits were not simply representations of the reigning king but foci for religious practice. Wreathed, hymned, and worshiped in monumental shrines, they served as intermediaries between the civic community on earth and the gods above—the traditional role of rulers in Hellenistic as in pharaonic Egypt. When the king was assassinated in a palace coup or forced into exile, the practices surrounding such images lost their efficacy. New sculptures of the current ruler were required, lest the community forfeit its privileged relationship with the gods. The recarving of sculpture helped address this need by providing a faster and more efficient method of portrait production. As an inventive technical solution to a metaphysical predicament, the recycling of Ptolemaic portraits merits appreciation not only for its artistic finesse but also for its utility within the cosmological system of Hellenistic monarchy.

The (Re)uses of the Monumental Past in the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia

Catherine M. Keesling, Georgetown University

Previous scholarship on the afterlives of Greek monuments has focused on practices that obscured their original appearance, identity, purpose, or location (e.g., so-called *damnatio memoriae*). In Greek sanctuaries in the first century B.C.E. and the Roman Imperial period, bewildering combinations of reuse practices involving sculpture, architecture, and other material remains—renewal, replacement, rehabilitation, and repurposing—occurred in response to changing local

imperatives. The Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia in particular benefits from a more comprehensive view of afterlife and reuse. Here, the period from the second century B.C.E. through the third century C.E. was characterized both by practices attested in other sanctuaries and by the occurrence of other forms of reuse lacking close parallels elsewhere in the Greek world.

Statue removals by Sulla, Nero, and others beginning in the second century B.C.E. led to the routine reuse of earlier marble bases, or parts of them, to support new statues. In some cases, the original inscriptions were erased, but in others the bases were flipped upside down with the original inscriptions still legible. In other sanctuaries (notably the Athenian Acropolis and the Amphiareion at Oropos), the names of new (primarily Roman) honorands were inscribed on the bases of earlier Greek portrait statues in the first century B.C.E. At Olympia, in contrast, the Eleans who controlled the sanctuary took vigorous action to preserve the monumental record of the earliest victors in the Olympic games: eight of the 15 extant bases for archaic and fifth-century victor portraits had their inscriptions renewed in the first century B.C.E. or later. In one case, an original portrait of a local Elean victor taken to Rome was replaced on the same base.

At Olympia, earlier material was either repurposed intact or cannibalized for reuse in ways that served to reinforce local (Elean) identity. In the first century B.C.E., a series of four exedras of Early Hellenistic type were moved to the area in front of the entrance to the Temple of Zeus and reused to support portrait statues representing members of prominent Elean families. In a type of reuse with no close parallel in other Greek sanctuaries, several campaigns of repairs to the roof of the Temple of Zeus led to the reuse of old Parian and Pentelic marble roof tiles for inscribed lists of cult personnel dating from the first century B.C.E. through the third century C.E.

The Archaic Colonnade at Ancient Corinth: A Case of Julio-Claudian Spolia

Jon M. Frey, Michigan State University

From 1904 to 1933, archaeologists at Corinth uncovered the battered remains of a limestone colonnade at the west end of the upper Roman Forum. Cuttings on the surface of these monolithic columns showed they had once been part of another building, and the profile of their associated capitals suggested that this structure was none other than the nearby archaic Temple of Apollo. Further excavation in this area in the 1970s pointed to a Julio-Claudian date for the re-erection of these columns.

This often-overlooked colonnade is a very significant monument. First, it provides evidence for the original appearance of the Archaic-era temple and the extent of its destruction in the sack of the city in 146 B.C.E. Second, it stands as an example of spoliation centuries before the traditionally held Late Antique origin of the practice of programmatic reuse. In this paper, I present the results of my own architectural survey of the remains of this colonnade. I consider the ramifications of this evidence for the appearance of the interior of the archaic temple and offer a reconstruction for the elevation of the western end of the upper Roman Forum before discussing the monument within the larger context of Roman Achaia. Along with monuments such as the late first-century B.C.E. Gate of Athena Archegetis in

Athens, the colonnade at Corinth speaks to an ongoing Roman fascination with earlier Greek architectural forms. Even more significantly, the reuse of interior columns in an outdoor setting that could be seen from the partly destroyed temple from which they came made them true spoils of war. Therefore, this colonnade would have served as a stark reminder of Corinth's recent reversals of fortune. At the same time, the choice to reuse large monolithic columns also served as a visual display to all who traveled through the Roman colony that those who now controlled Corinth were capable of architectural feats on par with those of the original builders of the archaic temple.

Anatolian Material Culture and the Roman Viewer

Felipe Rojas, Brown University

Bronze and Iron Age material remains abound in Anatolia. Even in antiquity, the magnificent rock-cut reliefs of Hittite kings and the colossal earth mounds of Phrygian and Lydian royals confronted locals and visitors alike and demanded reflection; so, too, did a profusion of lesser monuments, such as iconic and aniconic statues, inscriptions in a variety of native Anatolian languages, and even portable objects such as maceheads and rings. But what did the inhabitants of Roman Asia Minor think about and do with the preclassical monuments and objects in their midst? Who took notice of Bronze and Iron Age realia in cities such as Roman Ephesus, Pergamon, or Smyrna? And why did those people manipulate the scattered traces of prior human habitation in their territories? While the co-opting of the physical traces of the classical past in late antiquity has incited varied and sustained reflection for many decades, almost no attention has been paid to Greek and Roman interest in Anatolia's preclassical material remains because it is assumed that an unfordable chronological and cultural divide separates, say, Pausanias from the Hittites. But in fact Anatolian material remains were repeatedly reinterpreted, refurbished, and redeployed. Thus, in Roman Magnesia the monumental rock-cut effigy of a Hittite mountain god was venerated as a statue of the goddess Cybele; in the Troad, Roman emperors restored Iron Age tumuli to house what were thought to be the bones of Homeric heroes; and in Roman Sardis, even material as humble as archaic mudbrick was treasured precisely because it was known to be Lydian. By analyzing these and other example, I demonstrate that the material remains of Anatolia's preclassical civilization were not only a source of local antiquarian fascination but a key part of cultural debates about the location of political and religious authority both among the cities of Roman Asia Minor and between these cities and Rome itself.

Visual Literacy and the Reuse of Architectural Marbles in the Late Roman Empire

Elisha Dumser, University of Akron

By the late third century C.E., the reuse of architectural marbles had become commonplace in Rome. Existing scholarship on reused marbles, or "spolia," often focuses on their ideological import, yet the employment of reused materials to express an ideological message was the exception rather than the rule. The ideologi-

cal value of spolia depends on its visibility, and recognizing reused architectural elements is often difficult. More often than not, unless the reuse of architectural elements was known to ancient viewers through anecdote, their inclusion on a structure would have gone unnoticed. Yet any ideological use of spolia requires an audience literate in its language. What happens when the lithic words composing the spolia narrative prove largely invisible? How could viewers have been expected to interpret the unseen? Without a visible presence, reused architectural elements could not function as bearers of ideological meaning; instead they comprise evidence for a fairly standard and pragmatic late-antique architectural practice. Yet wielding reused architectural elements to ideological ends was not unknown in the late empire, and examples do exist of astute patrons who capitalized on the power dynamic of appropriation to express their political ideology in architectural terms.

Demonstrating these opposing poles of reuse are two early fourth-century buildings, both attributed to Maxentius: the Audience Hall on the Via Sacra (the so-called Temple of Romulus) and the *templum Romae* located about 250 m east on the Velia. The Audience Hall facade is built almost exclusively with reused marble and bronze architectural elements, yet a nonconnoisseur would find them difficult to discern. Thus, the Audience Hall serves as a paradigm of “invisible spolia” that lack an ideological purpose. In contrast, the prominence of the *templum Romae* ensured that the general populace knew that the Maxentian phase of the temple, a rebuilding occasioned by a devastating fire, reused the double peristyle of 50 ft. columns and the expansive bronze roof of its Hadrianic predecessor. These spolia were put to tremendous ideological advantage to construct a multi-layered narrative of continuity and endurance that suited the temple’s dedication to Roma Aeterna, and mirrored the city’s revival under Maxentius’ political policies.

SESSION 3B: Colloquium

Changes in Sicily from the Late Classical Through the Hellenistic Period

ORGANIZERS: *Spencer Pope*, McMaster University, and *Jason Harris*, University of Southern California

Colloquium Overview Statement

The Late Classical and Hellenistic periods were times of substantial transformations in Sicily. The fundamental shifts that changed the Greek world in general—the evolution of the polis that coincided with the rise of federations and kingdoms—had particular effect on Sicily, which was a territory already familiar with political turmoil and stasis. Sicily provides a useful case study for these activities: following shortly after the defeat of the Athenians in 413 B.C.E., Syracuse was dominated by tyrants as it waged nearly continuous war against the Carthaginians. Mercenaries brought in from the Italian mainland, Greece, and elsewhere altered the demographics and settlement patterns on the island as they ultimately settled in inland areas and largely displaced the indigenous population. From Dionysius I to Timoleon, Agathokles, and Hieron II, the Greek-Carthaginian bor-

der was continually disputed with the result that new or refounded settlements established the frontier between the two territories. Syracuse was constrained to continually redefine its social and political relationship with outlying communities by wholesale relocations of populations, settlement of groups of mercenaries, creation of new foundations, and military conquest of Greek and indigenous communities alike. As the island is a closed system, it provides a particularly insightful case study for population movements and the effects of rule by single individuals over expanding spheres of interest. This panel focuses on these important transformations through analyses of new archaeological data from eastern Sicily, including both inland sites (e.g., Morgantina) and venerable Greek *apoikiai* (e.g., Naxos, Syracuse). Numismatic evidence is particularly important to the investigation, since numerous new coin types from this period indicate new issuing authorities, and the distribution of coins is useful for reconstructing political and economic relationships within the kingdom of Syracuse. The objective of this panel is to use historical and epigraphical evidence to examine with close scrutiny how these transformation occurred.

Divine Protection of Craft Production in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Sicily

Randall Souza, University of California at Berkeley

From the Late Classical period onward, Sicily was culturally heterogeneous, chiefly because of the interactions of the colonial period and the demographic violence of the Greek tyrants. While historical sources provide useful indications of the nature of population movements in the fourth and third centuries, discerning distinct cultural groups through the archaeological record is a much more difficult process. Nevertheless, archaeological remains across the island provide clues to the fate of different ethnic groups during this period.

I propose that since both mobile and settled populations were still exchanging cultural practices, we can understand the consequences of Sicilian mobility by tracing the diffusion of these practices as documented archaeologically. In this paper, I discuss invocations of divine protection for craft production, in the form of decorated and inscribed loomweights, in order to give a more nuanced account of population dynamics in Sicily.

For most productive activities in antiquity, the specific practices of propitiating relevant tutelary divinities are elusive, although the discernible knowledge of these rites constitutes valuable evidence for the traditions, knowledge, and connectedness of the producers. Sicilian evidence is often too thin to indicate, for example, whether farmers on the western and eastern coasts of the island asked the same gods for a good harvest or whether potters in Akragas and Himera prevented their kilns from misfiring with similar apotropaic rituals. The weavers of Sicily, in contrast, have left a small but significant number of pyramidal and discoid loomweights dating to the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods from sites across Sicily; these loomweights contain figural and epigraphic attestations of symbols and practices shared between members of different Sicilian populations. Examples from collections now in Messina and Trapani allow for the comparison of images and inscriptions, while loomweights excavated from a range of domestic and public contexts at Gela, Motya, Entella, and Scornavacche suggest that their

practical use is a significant way to understand interaction between the various ethnic groups on the island. The changing sets of populations sharing propitiatory practices offer solid evidence of one specific arena in which differentiation between Greek, Carthaginian, and native appears to have become less relevant over the period in question.

The Status of Greeks and Non-Greeks Under the Mass Migrations of Dionysius I

Jason Harris, University of Southern California

During the reign of Dionysius I of Syracuse (405–367 B.C.E.), the theme of immigration repeatedly appeared. Through his control of migrants, Dionysius maintained control of his own city and expanded his empire over eastern Sicily and southern Italy. This paper evaluates migration on a large scale, as the tyrant transferred entire polis populations and thousands of mercenaries. Such events occurred often throughout his reign for various reasons. After uprooting Naxos and Catane in 403 (Diod.Sic. 14.14), Dionysius turned over their land to Sikel settlers and Campanian mercenaries. The founding of Adranum ca. 400 (Diod.Sic. 14.37) provided a new center of Sikel support and identity with its temple to Adranus. The movement of settlers and mercenaries to *phrouria* in the center of the island and to larger cities, such as Tindari (Diod.Sic. 14.78), protected eastern Sicily from the advance of Carthaginians.

By researching these episodes of mobility, this paper creates a spectrum for the ethnic preferences of the tyrant. Each group appears on this spectrum, which shows who benefited and suffered most from these programs of Dionysius I. The Campanians and the Sikels belong to the former group, while the Carthaginians and cities of Chalcidian extraction form the latter. Such preferences by the tyrant do not follow a strict Greek-barbarian system. Although Dionysius asserted his role as protector of the Greeks in his campaigns against the Carthaginians (who previously had stable relations with the Syracusans), he encouraged the migration of other “barbarians” (e.g., Campanians and Sikels) who were seen by other authors as equally dangerous (Plato, *Epistles* 8.353e). Other Greek cities and the Syracusans themselves, however, often suffered through these mass migrations.

After detailing this spectrum, the paper discusses the reasoning for such movements. Most migrations were created for strategic reasons: to punish those who would not cooperate with the regime (e.g., Naxians and Catanians), to reward those who served the tyrant (e.g., Campanian mercenaries), or to protect Dionysius from political threats (e.g., the Carthaginians and inhabitants of Leontini). In addition, ideological factors were in play, as the tyrant negotiated his status as leader of Syracuse and a larger Syracusan empire, as well as political migrant and outsider. Finally, this paper addresses the results of such ethnic preferences in the political and economic spheres. Many of these mass migrations drastically altered the landscape of the island for many years during and after the reign of Dionysius.

Apollo Archegetes and the Construction of Sicilian Identity

Leigh Anne Lieberman, Princeton University

The citizens of Tauromenium struggled during the colony's early history to find stability in the turbulent political and cultural landscape of eastern Sicily. Settled in the early fourth century B.C.E., immediately following the destruction of nearby Naxos, Tauromenium was a young and culturally aggregate community that developed as the direct result of political and social revolution in eastern Sicily.

In this paper, I focus on both the iconography and the circulation of a striking set of coins minted at the settlement throughout the fourth and third centuries B.C.E.; this evidence suggestively illustrates some of the ideological considerations that were assessed when the colony was founded. These coins prominently feature the image and legend of Apollo Archegetes, but beyond this body of numismatic evidence, the divinity is otherwise unattested at Tauromenium. Rather, Thucydides notes the foundation of the cult during the Archaic period at Naxos, the first of the Sicilian Greek colonies. While the Naxians minted coins following the destruction of their city with the legend Neopoli affirming a continued Greek presence in the region, it was the Tauromenitans thereafter who adopted the image of Sicily's patron divinity in a way that the original colonists never had. I demonstrate that because this cult of Apollo was a visible and recognizable manifestation of divinely sanctioned Greek presence in this unfamiliar land, it allowed the newly established Tauromenitans to lay their own claim to the surrounding regularly contested territory.

The later settlement's deliberate emphasis on this particular religious emblem both defined the citizens' Hellenic identity and placed the Tauromenitans in line as the true heirs to the Naxian legacy. Furthermore, the limited circulation of these coins implies that the intended audience for this meaningful iconographic message was local. In this way, the Tauromenitans were able to look back beyond recent political and social turbulence to the history of their ancestors in order to construct their own identity and advertise it to nearby settlements. I explore the relationship between predecessor and inheritor, between community and neighbors, to show how the Tauromenitans creatively manipulated the iconography and ideology of the past as they strove to create and maintain a sense of self in the present.

The Twilight of Sikels: Inland Sicily in the Fourth Century B.C.E.

Spencer Pope, McMaster University

One result of the expansion of the Greek world was the acculturation of indigenous populations in Sicily. Across the fifth century B.C.E., the indigenous population of eastern Sicily retained political autonomy and discrete cultural identity; however, the protracted battles with the Carthaginians and the introduction of mercenaries under the reign of Dionysius I brought about fundamental changes. Syracuse's territorial expansion, taken together with numerous population movements, diluted non-Greek territory to the point that indigenous identity is difficult to discern.

This paper examines archaeological evidence for the transformation in the Plain of Catania and eastern Sicily in the Late Classical period. Numerous indigenous

settlements were either destroyed or abandoned at this time, while others were enlarged to accommodate new population groups. Territories and settlements that constituted the Sikel heartland became home to new foundations including Syracusan subcolonies—namely, Adranon and Tyndaris. Archaic *phrouria* such as Monte San Basilio and Monte Turcisi were resettled, often with ex-mercenaries, to create a secure border for the kingdom of Syracuse at the same time that other sites such as Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa and Monte Bubbonia were transformed into military outposts. Recent archaeological excavations in the vicinity of the venerable Sikel Sanctuary of the Palikoi (modern Rocchicella di Mineo) in the valley of the Margi River have revealed a small-scale settlement dated to the fourth century B.C.E. that conforms to these new settlement types. While the sanctuary remained active across this period, the new use of the site indicates new exigencies and a new political orientation that marginalized indigenous traditions. These changes in settlement patterns, taken together with extensive numismatic evidence indicating new political bodies and issuing authorities, provide a new basis for discerning the end of an ethnicity.

Defining Territories and Trade in Early Hellenistic Sicily

D. Alex Walthall, Princeton University

This paper focuses on the territories belonging to the kingdom of Hieron II (269–215 B.C.E.) and examines two results of the consolidation of his rule in southeastern Sicily.

First, I discuss the geopolitical transformation surrounding the formation of the Hieronian kingdom. I argue that the legal definition of the kingdom's boundaries, as specified in the treaty of 264/3 B.C.E., marked a significant step away from the far more abstract concept of *epikrateia*, which had come to define Carthaginian and Syracusan interests on the island during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. Furthermore, the treaty, which recognized Hieron's political authority over specific territorial boundaries, left the kingdom and its member poleis largely free from the turmoil of the First Punic War.

Second, I address developments within the kingdom, focusing on monetary policy and commercial exchange. While the poleis subject to Hieron's authority seem to have enjoyed a relatively high degree of local political autonomy, they faced new restrictions in matters related to the administration of royal taxation. One such policy appears to have manifested itself in the closing of local mints and a resulting increase in the use of a bronze coinage that was struck at Syracuse in the name of Hieron II. Based on recent research, I propose that by tracing the circulation of bronze coinage at sites in the interior of the island (e.g., Montagna di Marzo, Grammichele, and Morgantina), we may document the movement of grain from the agrarian hinterland of Hieron's kingdom to its commercial and political center at Syracuse. With this observation, I advance a model that posits the emergence of a market economy in southeastern Sicily during the reign of Hieron II. This model takes the view that the administrative infrastructure designed to facilitate the collection of royal taxes created the appropriate conditions and stimuli for economic growth based on the sale of surplus grain.

SESSION 3C: Colloquium

New Approaches and Insights into Etruscan Art and Culture

ORGANIZER: *Alexandra A. Carpino*, Northern Arizona University

Colloquium Overview Statement

During the past five years, not only has there been an increased interest in Etruscan art and archaeology in the United States, but new assessments of their material culture have changed the way we understand their art, traditions, and contributions to Western culture. The papers in this panel revisit traditional themes and media and use new approaches to aid our understanding of how visual language was used to convey Etruscan social and cultural paradigms.

The first paper, "Etruscan Bodies," employs a multidisciplinary approach to advocate for a new perspective on the Etruscan conception of the body, particularly with respect to the reception and development of ponderation. The author situates the latter within the broader context of local attitudes about bodily agency, energy, and movement and proposes that the Etruscan visualizations be viewed via their interaction with, rather than their opposition to, Greek conceptions of the human form. "Etruscan Jewelry and Identity" also looks at Etruscan bodies, but this time from the perspective of their ornamentation and the concept of self-fashioning. The author examines the use of jewelry by men, women, and children, focusing on the personal and public identities conveyed by their materials, scale, and forms. Issues of identity also underlie the theme of the third paper, "Tanaquil: The Conception and Construction of an Etruscan Matron." By reexamining the literary sources that discuss this queen and by comparing this evidence to Etruscan visualizations of women and textile production during the Archaic period, the author broadens our understanding of how and why Tanaquil gained her Roman identity. The fourth paper analyzes the iconography of violence against women that appears on fifth- to third-century engraved mirrors. The author argues that the artifacts' original functional context (the domestic sphere) played a critical role not only in terms of the narratives' visualization but also with respect to their meanings and messages to users. Rounding out the session is "Innovations in Etruscan Wall Painting," a paper that breaks new ground on the role Etruria played in the beginnings of Roman monumental painting. By revisiting both artistic and literary data, the author proposes that innovations traditionally identified as Greek had early roots in Etruria and that the Etruscans themselves passed these along to the Romans. The colloquium concludes with the observations of Helen Nagy, who has published widely on topics related to Etruscan sculpture and mirrors.

DISCUSSANT: *Helen Nagy*, University of Puget Sound

Etruscan Bodies: Anthropology and Style

Francesco de Angelis, Columbia University

Scholars have traditionally understood the relationship between the art of Greece and that of Etruria in mainly aestheticizing terms, as if it were first and foremost a matter of taste. By adopting an anthropological approach to issues of style and iconography, it is instead possible to sketch a more theoretically nuanced and historically resonant picture of this phenomenon. In particular, given the centrality of the human body in both Greek and Etruscan art, the analysis of its representations—of the analogies and the differences between the two cases—allows more than a formalistic view of artistic interaction.

This paper focuses on four themes, with the aim of showing the potential of such an approach and providing a blueprint for future research. First, it proposes to understand the partial representation of the body in votives and other media—a phenomenon that is usually considered to be peculiarly “Etruscan” or “Italic”—in its interaction with Greek naturalistic style rather than just in opposition to Greek organic conceptions of the body. Second, it examines the reception and development of ponderation in Etruscan art and situates it within the broader context of Etruscan attitudes about bodily agency, energy, and movement. Third, it considers the use of Greek iconography in the visualization of Etruscan divinities to understand how the body could be used to convey information about the character and nature of its owner. Finally, it revisits the issue of nudity and dress, this time against the background of both Etruscan social practices (e.g., athleticism, warfare, weddings) and the functions of image-carrying artifacts.

Etruscan Jewelry and Identity

Alexis Castor, Franklin & Marshall College

Jewelry is rightly numbered as one of the notable achievements of the wealthy, sophisticated culture of Etruria. Nineteenth-century discoveries of elaborately worked ornaments prompted an immediate fad for “archaeological jewelry” that revived Etruscan fashion in contemporary Europe. The ability of jewelry to connect ancient and modern cultures is unusually strong because jewelry taps into universal desires: desires to display the wearer’s personal wealth, to denote control of exotic materials, and to beautify the body. I examine the use of jewelry by Etruscan men, women, and children to establish a range of identities centered on their age, sex, marital status, and participation in civic and religious rituals. This investigation builds on the foundational work already established for Etruscan dress to consider new ways in which jewelry may have further delineated the wearer’s personal and public roles within a community.

Such an approach requires use of both primary and secondary evidence. Little Etruscan jewelry was excavated under controlled circumstances, making it difficult to reconstruct all the elements of funerary dress. It is possible, however, to draw some conclusions about the types of jewelry found in graves and to consider the significance of ornaments in this context. Etruscan painting and sculpture shows considerable attention to details of dress, allowing us a glimpse of men and women wearing jewelry. A broad chronological survey of archaic, classical

and Hellenistic art gives a sense of the distinctive styles that flourished in the imagery. Certain periods, such as the Late Classical era, demonstrate a new artistic concern for depicting ornaments in detail. Men and women wear large, elaborate pieces of local manufacture that help create a distinctive costume that appears in votive sculpture, tomb painting, and mirrors. Significant changes in styles and types of jewelry appear in Hellenistic art, typically drawing on Greek styles. By taking a broad view of all the evidence for jewelry and dress, it becomes possible to integrate jewelry, together with dress, hairstyle, and other details of personal appearance, into broader questions of gender, status, and identity.

In sum, jewelry was never simply a decorative accessory in the Etruscan world. Instead, its materials, manufacture, and manner of use communicated hints of the wearer's social and economic position, one that changed throughout the life of the wearer.

Tanaquil: The Conception and Construction of an Etruscan Matron

Gretchen Meyers, Franklin & Marshall College

Recent attention to gender identity in ancient Etruria has significantly broadened our portrait of the social roles of Etruscan men and women. The application of theoretical approaches to the construction and performance of gender to the Etruscan visual and material record has contributed to further disentangling of the social role of Etruscan women from the salacious and sensationalist reports of ancient Greek and Roman authors, most famously Theopompus of Chios (*Histories* 115). The purpose of this paper is to continue such work through an exploration of the complicated relationship between the conception and the construction of Etruscan gender in the literary depictions of the Etruscan queen of archaic Rome, Tanaquil. Although she is perhaps the most famous Etruscan woman known from antiquity, most discussions of Tanaquil are limited and one-dimensional. By means of a close reading of literary sources for Tanaquil (notably, Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus) within the cultural context of Rome, I detail how the standard view of Tanaquil as a manipulative, ambitious, and "un-Roman" woman emerged from the more typical model of an elite Etruscan woman. Particular attention is paid to her (in)famous roles in the performance of social ceremonies, such as weddings and funerals, and her reputation as a producer of ceremonial textiles. This image is then evaluated in light of visual depictions of archaic Etruscan women and ceremonial cloth—for example, on a series of cippi from Chiusi. Such images argue that aspects of the literary version of "Tanaquil" may preserve (and at one time even perhaps promoted) important rituals through which Etruscan women participated in and shaped their own society.

The Iconography of Violence Against Women on Engraved Etruscan Bronze Mirrors

Alexandra A. Carpino, Northern Arizona University

Etruscan bronze mirrors not only symbolized the status, prosperity, and superiority of their owners but also reinforced the cultural importance of adornment, marriage, and the family in aristocratic Etruscan society. While their polished ob-

verses provided multiple opportunities for self-transformation, their nonreflecting sides frequently contained a changeless scene that functioned as a sophisticated form of visual communication within the domestic sphere. Most often, the iconography of the engraved mirrors is uplifting and inspirational, with many subjects related to the life cycle of their owners. Nevertheless, stories that depict women as victims of male hostility or violence also appear, sometimes in the context of narratives avoided or only rarely depicted in Greek art.

Given the privileges apparently enjoyed by elite Etruscan women and the importance of balance between the sexes in their society, these scenes are difficult to understand; to date, there has been no satisfactory explanation for the collective use and significance of representations such as the decapitation of Metus (Medusa), the enchainment of Uni (Hera), or the murder of Clutumita (Klytaimnestra) within their original functional context (e.g., the domestic sphere). In this paper, I consider the broader implications of the iconography of violence against women that is depicted on these artifacts through the lens of the Etruscans' cultural paradigms, suggesting that these provocative narratives functioned as both inspirational and cautionary reminders about men's and women's social roles and responsibilities.

Innovations in Etruscan Wall Painting

Lisa Pieraccini, University of California, Berkeley

For centuries, artists, archaeologists, scholars, and poets have been captivated by the phenomenal images found on the painted walls of Etruscan tombs. These tomb paintings offer an extraordinary look at the earliest examples of monumental painting in ancient Italy (a corpus that has not survived in the Greek world). In quantity, only the Roman paintings of Pompeii are comparable. The striking paintings on tomb walls and terracotta plaques provide us with intimate details of daily life, funerary ritual, and the murky world of the afterlife. But they tell us much more about the early traditions and innovations of wall painting in ancient Italy. The so-called masonry style, landscapes, "portraits," and the motif of the procession all have a place in Etruscan wall painting, although mainstream scholarship often identifies these innovations as Greek, claiming that they were later passed directly to the Romans. How much of this is true, and did Etruria play a role in the early beginnings of Roman monumental painting? Pliny wrote about the early paintings of Etruria, certainly because he saw them firsthand.

SESSION 3D

Campania: Domestic Space and Public Infrastructure

CHAIR: To be announced

Storage and Display in Pompeian Houses

Elisabetta Cova, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

Since the time of Giuseppe Fiorelli and August Mau in the 19th century, the *alae* (symmetrical spaces lateral to the atrium) have been identified with storage activ-

ity in Pompeian houses. In particular, the remains of low masonry structures and/or holes in the walls of some *alae* have been interpreted as evidence for armaria, or built-in cupboards. Little has been written about the exact nature and form of these storage installations, the many variations, how they functioned, or what they may have contained. The evidence suggests that storage in Pompeian houses, far from being of a single type, ranged from simple (open?) shelves to freestanding cupboards and/or walk-in closets. Based on an architectural survey of atrium houses in Pompeii's Regio VI, this paper presents the archaeological evidence for armaria and other storage strategies found in *alae* and thus seeks to contribute to the larger discussion of the use of space in Roman houses of the Late Republic/Early Empire. Like the atrium, the *alae's* role as reception areas for guests and clients and for the display of family wealth seems entwined with their more practical and private use as storage spaces for the household. The multifunctional nature of domestic space is stressed, as is the potential for blurred distinctions between private and public within the house.

Shrines of Jupiter: Religious Gesture in Campanian Domestic Space

Zehavi V. Husser, DePaul University

Considerable evidence remains for Roman domestic religiosity in the Campanian region, especially Pompeii, where households frequently established permanent installations for worship within the domus. While many buildings feature the god Jupiter in mural frescoes, several include him in what can be reasonably identified as shrines, defined here as installations with at least one image of a deity associated with a place for ritual. This paper attempts to reconstruct the nature and import of cultic gestures that transpired during the daily routines of residents and frequenters of Campanian houses. This research combines literary and epigraphic evidence with an analysis of the structure, location, and layout of Jovian shrines and their related material assemblages. Shrines served not only as sites of ritual performance but also as signs that concurrently marked the piety, wealth, and status of ritual participants and activated a spectrum of ephemeral religious gestures. Several factors affected a shrine's impact and significance. One of the most crucial was location within a home: it influenced the type of ritual likely to be performed; circumscribed the number and types of worshippers; regulated access of non-participatory witnesses to a shrine's contents and ritual events; and regulated the frequency of contact with a shrine. Associated paintings and statuettes, moreover, drew and focused attention. An important consideration in shrine placement was projected movement through domestic spaces, since even casual interaction with shrines could trigger anything from simple cognitive acknowledgement of a deity to a cascade of memories involving past ritual performance or specific occurrences of divine aid.

Archaeological Evidence for Child Care in Roman Italy

Katherine V. Huntley, Boise State University

Historical sources such as Galen and Quintilian offer insight into Roman ideas about the proper way to raise children, including appropriate caretakers, activities, diet, and education (formal and informal). Bioarchaeological evidence gathered from mortuary remains has been extremely useful in illuminating many conditions of children's lives related to care, such as health, trauma, diet, and feeding practices. Outside of mortuary data and iconography, archaeologists struggle to find evidence to help us understand many of the other conditions of childhood in the Roman world. Assessing care through the study of settlement sites has proven problematic because of the absence of an identifiable presence of children, which stems from the apparent lack of distinctive children's material culture. However, proper identification of children's graffiti from the sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum provides information about the location of their activities both in domestic and nondomestic contexts. This paper discusses how the presence or absence of such graffiti, the production of which can be considered a play activity, attests to the level of supervision and control of children's behavior in particular locations. Taking into account the use of spaces and rooms, it is possible to ascertain places and situations where children were more likely to be supervised and the various activities in which they may have been involved. When considered along with ethnographic research, this archaeological evidence also raises questions about the level of supervision children would have received, which individuals were in charge of the supervision, and how these two aspects align with or differ from the historical record.

New Insights on Roman Diet: An Examination of the Food Remains from a Herculaneum Sewer

Erica Rowan, University of Oxford

The Roman town of Herculaneum, owing to its burial by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 C.E., provides the unique opportunity to study Roman diet through the surviving food remains. The recent excavation of the *Cardo V* sewer by the Herculaneum Conservation Project has uncovered the largest single deposit of Roman foodstuffs within the empire. The sewer, situated beneath *Insula Orientalis II* on the eastern side of the town, was fed by a series of ground- and upper-floor latrine shafts. This means that the biological assemblage is composed almost exclusively of human and kitchen waste, providing a direct correlation with diet. The absence of rainwater drains from the street ensured that the material remained stagnant, turning the sewer into a large cesspit and creating an ideal environment for the preservation of delicate mineralized material.

This paper demonstrates how the multiple types of preserved material recovered from the sewer, including carbonized and mineralized seeds, seashells, eggshells, and fish bones, provide information about the dietary diversity, nutrition, foreign imports, and consumption practices of the inhabitants of this town. I identified more than 110 edible foodstuffs in the sewer deposit, which attest to the fertility of the Vesuvian region and the widespread exploitation of these resources

by the residents of Herculaneum. This is particularly evident in the range of identified fish and shellfish remains, which would have provided a valuable source of concentrated protein in an otherwise highly plant-based diet. The various sizes of the upper-floor apartments indicate that people of differing socioeconomic status lived in *Insula Orientalis II*. Thus, the food remains also give insight into the diets of people with varying degrees of wealth, including the often-understudied middle and lower classes. The high diversity of foodstuffs throughout the length of the sewer strengthens the notion that Herculaneum was a wealthy town, and it appears that the majority of the inhabitants could afford a wide range of cereals, fruits, seafood, and seasonings.

Imperial Interest in Pompeii: Titus Suedius Clemens, Vespasian, and *Loca Publica*

Kevin Cole, Miami International University

Four nearly identical inscriptions from Pompeii record Titus Suedius Clemens restoring to the community of Pompeii public places held by private individuals. A *primipilaris* and former centurion of the *legion X Gemina*, Clemens was an imperial agent whose presence at Pompeii places the city into the greater narrative of Vespasian's economic policy during the 70s C.E. and provides evidence of the relationship between Pompeii and Rome. This paper examines the connection between the two individuals named in the texts (Titus Suedius Clemens and Vespasian) and traces Clemens' career through inscriptions and the works of Tacitus to reveal how and when the four Pompeii inscriptions were set up. It also contextualizes the actions of Clemens within the larger historical circumstances of the fiscal policies of Vespasian to explain why he sent an agent to Pompeii. Finally, it analyzes the findspots of the four inscriptions to enhance our understanding of *loca publica* at Pompeii. Studies in which these inscriptions play a central role have either focused on their specific legal meaning or outlined Clemens' military career. What is still needed, however, is a full account of the context in which they were erected.

Networking in Pompeii: Wall Inscriptions, Dwellings, and Social Networks in an Ancient City

Eeva-Maria Viitanen, *Laura Nissinen*, and *Kalle Korhonen*, University of Helsinki, Finland

The contents of Pompeian wall inscriptions, both electoral programmata and graffiti, have been studied frequently and with varying aims. Their topographical distribution and contexts have, however, received much less attention until quite recently. The aim of this paper is to analyze the find locations of almost 1,700 inscriptions from facades of buildings in three areas of Pompeii (Regions I, VI, and VII). Various indicators of street activity, such as public fountains, crossroads shrines, benches, bars, and prostitutes' cribs were used to map active and inactive streets. Perhaps not surprisingly, inscriptions almost invariably occur in the most active streets. Some inactive streets featuring graffiti contain possible prostitutes' cribs, and the overall distribution of the inscriptions strengthens these hypotheses.

In addition, the housing units with inscriptions were analyzed: are the wall inscriptions connected with shops and bars or dwellings? Although shops, bars, and other modest housing units outnumber large dwellings in Pompeii, most inscriptions can be found close to the entrances of the large private houses. It seems likely that the proprietors were able to control who could paint their electoral notices on the facades of the houses. Lastly, the contexts and the contents of the texts were analyzed to see who advertised where: which of the candidates had their notices in the bars and shops, and who could get their advertisements to the facades of the private houses? Contextualizing wall inscriptions gives a more concrete picture of the social networks in Pompeii.

SESSION 3E

Bronze Age and Iron Age Mainland Greece

CHAIR: To be announced

Early Helladic II Decorated Hearths: Function and Iconography

Erin Galligan, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Early Helladic (EH) II ceramic hearths are often one criterion for identifying first order, or “central place,” sites in the EH II landscape, which are otherwise characterized by some combination of corridor houses, fortification walls, and sealings or seals as evidence of an administrative system. Often decorated with incised, impressed, or roller-impressed geometric designs, these hearths are presumably one component of an elite assemblage, despite that these installations have not yet been studied comprehensively as features and artifact types in their archaeological context. This paper presents the results of a project that examines the decorated Early Helladic ceramic hearth, surveying the available evidence for their production and function and examining the iconography of the hearths in comparison with other glyptic evidence of the period—namely, sealings and roller-impressed pithoi. I find that the hearths have their own unique iconography, similar to that of the pithoi but with significant differences. The implication is that elites at these emerging centers of economic control are creating a new iconographic repertoire to distinguish themselves—one that is then reduplicated across the landscape at these central places.

Ships and Chariots as Evidence for Ideological Manipulation During Late Helladic IIIA–B

Margaretha Kramer-Hajos, Indiana University, Bloomington

Two new iconographic themes appeared in the Aegean in the beginning of the Late Bronze Age: that of ships in a narrative (rather than an emblematic) context, and that of chariots. Both are found in elite contexts, and their presence on the mainland (chariots on stelae at Mycenae and on seals at Mycenae, Vapheio, and elsewhere; ships on rhyta at Mycenae and Epidauros) suggests their appeal to Early Mycenaean elites.

After the Early Mycenaean period, ships apparently lost their attractiveness. Whereas the chariot motif was embraced by palatial elites at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos, only two ships and an *ikria* frieze are known from palatial frescoes. Given the previous appeal of the theme and the rich iconographic tradition, the palatial lack of interest in ship depictions demands an explanation. The Mycenaean invention of the galley in Late Helladic (LH) IIIA–B, the large tax exemption for shipwrights recorded on tablet PY Na 568, and the evidence for the maintenance and manning of a regular war fleet of 12–30 ships as indicated by PY An 1, 610, and 724 (all three written by the “master scribe”) suggest that the palatial elites were invested in ships at least as heavily as the Early Mycenaean elites. Yet ships were not associated with the palatial elites the way chariots were. This paper considers several possible explanations for this, emphasizing that manipulation of chariot and ship imagery was used by the palaces as a strategy to ensure their dominance.

A major strategy employed by the palaces to ensure their power was restricting access to exotic prestige goods. Ships were instrumental in procuring these, but were never under complete control of the palaces. As Van Wijngaarden has pointed out (in J.P. Crielaard et al., eds., *The Complex Past of Pottery* [Amsterdam 1999] 30), there were always private traders. Palatial responses to the threat posed by these traders to the status quo may have included the embellishment of exotica in palatial workshops (for which see B. Burns, *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity* [New York 2010] 138, 192)—which not only ensured palatial monopoly over the sphere of exotic goods but also symbolically subordinated the exotic to palatial domination—and the marginalization of ship imagery. Both strategies deemphasized the importance of the world outside the palatial sphere.

Internationalization in the Room of the Fresco at Mycenae

Anne P. Chapin, Brevard College

The so-called Room of the Fresco (Room 31) in the Cult Center at Mycenae, dated to Late Helladic (LH) IIIB1, is a small but unusual shrine, the cult function of which is recognizable from its architectural features, ritual finds, and an altar-like platform constructed with three small hearths and painted with Minoan-style horns of consecration. Above and to the side are three frescoed female figures, each distinguished by costume and attribute, in a columned setting. Their identities remain the subject of continuing debate, and the fresco itself is viewed as unique in Aegean art. This investigation examines the fresco first through the lens of internationalization—a methodological approach that has been applied to the study of Minoan painting since the discovery of Aegean-style frescoes at eastern Mediterranean sites (e.g., Tell Kabri, Qatna, Tell el-Dab’a) but seldom brought to the investigation of Mycenaean frescoes. It is observed here that certain iconographic and stylistic features particular to the Room of the Fresco find good parallels in the broader cultural and artistic milieu of the eastern Mediterranean, particularly in Egyptian offertory scenes. Some objects found in the shrine, such as the faience plaque of Amenhotep III, also suggest connectivity with the intercultural environment of the eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age. It is suggested that the fresco reflects a conscious strategy for promoting elite identity at Mycenae

through an intentional display of internationalizing elements of iconography and cultural hybridity. Contextual analysis is then brought to the investigation of the composition within its broader architectural and archaeological settings. Dating to LH IIIB1, the shrine and other structures that make up the Cult Center were situated outside Mycenae's Cyclopean walls before their mid LH IIIB expansion. The implications of this redefined setting, together with its internationalizing iconography, are explored.

Laying the Foundations for Mycenaean State Formation: Late Helladic Tomb Construction as a Measure of SocioPolitical Complexity in the Bronze Age Argolid

Rodney D. Fitzsimons, Trent University

Prior to the appearance of the first palatial structures on the acropolis of Mycenae toward the end of the 15th century B.C.E., the most impressive architectural manifestation of elite authority in the Argolid was not the palace, or even the house, but rather the tomb, specifically the shaft grave and the tholos tomb. Not surprisingly, the funerary data supplied by these burials have long served as the primary means by which scholars have approached the study of Early Mycenaean state formation, but for the most part such studies have tended to focus almost exclusively on the grave goods that were deposited in the tombs rather than on the tombs themselves. Indeed, while almost all discussions of Early Mycenaean state formation provide some sort of qualitative description of the tomb structure that served to house the artifacts being examined, there has been little systematic research conducted on the funerary architecture itself from a quantitative perspective.

This paper seeks to address this lacuna in the scholarship by approaching the funerary landscape from a perspective of architectural energetics, an approach that posits that the quantity of labor expended on any particular architectural project correlates directly with the sociopolitical complexity of the society that produced it. Using this approach, individual structures, discrete portions thereof, or even widespread and durative building programs can be analyzed on a sort of piecemeal basis, thus generating precise calculations for the amount of time and manpower required for their execution and rough estimates of the size of the population pool that supplied the necessary labor force. Since one aspect of social and political power is defined by differential access to human labor resources, the values generated by such studies serve as quantifiable and easily comparable measures of the power and status of those individuals or groups responsible for their undertaking. This approach injects a new, easily quantifiable yet rarely considered dimension to current discussions of "wealth" and "status" and offers a fresh, new insight into the nature of the sociopolitical transformations that swept over the Argolid in the Early Mycenaean period.

New Darkness on a Dark Age: Early Iron Age Greece by the Numbers

Sarah C. Murray, Stanford University

This paper assesses the view that the Greek “Dark Age” is a scholarly construct by determining whether the rate of discovery of Early Iron Age sites has increased during the last 30 years. In the 1960s and 1970s, the period between 1100 and 900 B.C.E. was considered a time of stark decline in nearly every category of social and economic development. Spectacular discoveries at Lefkandi in the early 1980s, however, raised the possibility that the darkness of the Dark Age was a product of archaeological and scholarly bias rather than a real phenomenon. According to this view, we knew very little about the Early Iron Age because archaeologists had not been interested in it during most of the 20th century and therefore did not choose to seek out and excavate sites that would reveal more information about it.

To test this hypothesis, I assembled a database of 1,989 Mycenaean and Proto-geometric sites discovered between 1900 and 2010. This database includes the extent of exploration of each site and its date and method of discovery. If Early Iron Age sites were being systematically ignored before Lefkandi came to light but treated fairly afterward, we would expect the annual rate of Proto-geometric site discovery to increase after 1980 in a way that diverges from the rate of discovery of Mycenaean sites. However, the data show that this is not the case. The rates of discovery for the two periods normalize very well, to roughly 1:1 over the whole data set. The ratio of Mycenaean to Early Iron Age sites in 1980 (2.3:1) is very close to the ratio in 2010 (2.2:1). Other aspects of the data confirm the notion that Proto-geometric sites are not only fewer in number but also tend to be smaller in size than Mycenaean ones. Taken together, these data suggest that the poverty of the Early Iron Age cannot be explained as the result of scholars ignoring the evidence and that this period may be correctly referred to as a Dark Age.

Argive Geometric Pottery: Some Remarks on Chronological Issues from New Funerary Evidence.

Camila Diogo de Souza, Université de Paris X, Nanterre

It has been a while since Paul Courbin stated in an exhaustive study the main characteristics of the Argive Geometric pottery production. *La Céramique Géométrique de l'Argolide* (Paris) published in 1966 as a supplementary volume of the series *Études Péloponnésiennes of the Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* of the École Française d'Athènes is still considered a work of reference for studies on Greek pottery in general but is mainly a comparative chronological study for the most important production centers of Greek Geometric pottery. Particular techniques of pottery production as well as peculiar ornamental and pictorial elements displayed on Geometric-style pottery enabled Courbin to characterize specific Argive workshops and to establish the precise chronological boundaries of this long period, from ca. 900 to 700 B.C.E., in this particular region, the Argolid, in the Peloponnese.

However, numerous Geometric vases and fragments, mainly from graves, have been revealed by Greek and French excavations in the modern city of Argos in the last 30 years. The analysis of this material has enriched the Argive Geomet-

ric repertoire of decorative motifs and figured forms and has brought some new chronological limits to light.

Accordingly, this paper attempts to present some new aspects of the Argive Geometric pottery production in order to discuss and evaluate some of its patterns and characteristics. It will consider technical aspects and iconographic elements. A few chronological insights based primarily on shapes and on pictorial records enable us to bring some date limits forward and in turn rethink the Argive role and importance in Greek Geometric Art.

SESSION 3F: Colloquium

The Packard Humanities Institute: A Quarter Century of Contributions to Archaeology

ORGANIZER: *Laetitia La Follette*, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Colloquium Overview Statement

Founded in 1987 by David and Lucile Packard, the Packard Humanities Institute has quietly provided generous long-term support to a wide-ranging series of archaeological projects in the Mediterranean region, including projects at Herculaneum and Metaponto in Italy, Butrint in Albania, the Athenian Agora in Greece, Zeugma in Turkey, and the Chersonesos in the Ukraine.

These multiyear collaborative partnerships with local archaeological authorities represent a model in best practices in public-private archaeological conservancy, yet they are poorly known. This panel showcases some of that work. Presentations will address salvage excavation and conservation at Zeugma (Turkey) that has illuminated our understanding of Hellenistic and Roman settlement on the Euphrates frontier (Aylward); the cofounding of key archaeological centers and foundations in Albania, including the Butrint program, as a model for archaeological research (Bejko and Hernandez); a series of initiatives including the use of new computer technologies and opportunities for students at the Athenian Agora (Camp); the conservation and publication of field surveys focusing on Greeks living outside urban centers in southern Italy and the Black Sea region (Carter); and a major conservation program at the site of Herculaneum undertaken with the Italian Soprintendenza as a model for good practices in continuous maintenance (Wallace-Hadrill).

Packard Humanities Institute Rescue Excavations and Conservation at Zeugma

William Aylward, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The Packard Humanities Institute (PHI) launched an ambitious program of excavation and conservation in May 2000 at Zeugma, where a reservoir for a new hydroelectric dam on the Euphrates River threatened to destroy much of the ancient city. This bold effort faced formidable challenges, but the international collaboration organized by PHI seized a fleeting opportunity to illuminate the archaeology of Zeugma and earned the worldwide attention it received. This presentation il-

lustrates how these excavations have enriched our understanding of Hellenistic and Roman civilization on the Euphrates frontier.

Situated at a coveted Euphrates crossing between Anatolia and Mesopotamia, Zeugma commanded strategic importance for military security and overland trade along a western branch of the Silk Road. After Zeugma was founded and developed by dynastic successors of Alexander the Great, its fortunes peaked under Roman emperors intent on victory and conquest in the East, and the city collapsed at the hands of Sassanian invaders in 252/3 C.E. Its final hours are vividly preserved in destruction deposits found among the impressive remains of lively neighborhoods that reveal a profound emulation of Graeco-Roman elite culture no doubt encouraged by Zeugma's proximity to Antioch. In many houses, the remarkable survival of polychrome mosaics and wall paintings sheds light on the cultural proclivities and aspirations of the inhabitants. PHI organized a program to restore and preserve these and dozens of other mosaics and wall paintings removed from Zeugma by other archaeologists before almost half of the ancient city disappeared below the reservoir.

Discoveries across multiple categories of material culture now demonstrate that Zeugma struggled with isolation from long-distance trade networks but nurtured a surprisingly robust economy based on regional trade. Evidence of Hellenism and Roman acculturation align Zeugma with Antioch far more than other frontier cities like Dura-Europos and Palmyra, where local traditions were known for their resilience. The PHI rescue excavations illuminate Zeugma's place in antiquity as a gateway to Greek and Roman civilization from the perspective of the East. Most of all, PHI has guaranteed a future for inquiry and appreciation of the archaeology of Zeugma.

Packard Humanities Institute and the Transformation of Albanian Archaeology

Lorenc Bejko, University of Tirana, Albania

In the first decade of the new century the Packard Humanities Institute (PHI) and David Packard provided instrumental support for archaeology in Albania. With its generous support for the International Centre for Albanian Archaeology (ICAA), PHI stimulated several important developments within the discipline. This paper identifies some of these directions and argues for the importance of visionary thinking in keeping archaeology one step ahead of the sociopolitical developments in a rapidly changing Albanian society.

Numerous challenges facing Albanian archaeology in early 2000 included, but were not limited to development of new research methodologies and questions; establishment of contemporary standards of fieldwork; setting of clear priorities for the community; and reform of the archaeological/cultural heritage institutions. The ICAA worked for 10 years (2000–2009) with the generous support from PHI to negotiate these challenges within the reality of the Albanian archaeological community, institutions, inherited research tradition, and radical changes in the social and natural landscapes of the country.

Working from within the existing archaeological system, the ICAA developed a number of archaeological research projects, promoted new methodologies and field techniques, pointed to the importance of some standardization of data-collec-

tion strategies, and promoted prioritization of endangered sites and regional field surveys as a means of controlling damages to archaeological resources from economic and infrastructural development. Encouraging international collaboration and engaging major resources in education and training proved to be a successful strategy. It has been more difficult, however, to reform the heritage management institutions and to establish the new ones necessary for the implementation of a complete new practice of “development-led archaeology.”

Through the presentation of some examples, this paper illustrates the important contribution of PHI and Packard throughout the exciting 10 years of their support for ICAA in Albania. It also argues that some of the most prominent achievements of this decade have proved to be sustainable. They have not only resisted the passing of time in the post-PHI funding but have also developed into new directions and opened up new perspectives in the country’s archaeology and heritage.

The Butrint Model: The Packard Humanities Institute’s Role in the Rebirth of Archaeology in Albania

David R. Hernandez, University of Notre Dame

The descent of archaeology in Albania, brought about by a lack of government direction and funding after the end of communism in 1990, reached its nadir in 1997, when the country plummeted into outright anarchy resulting from the collapse of the national economy. The turmoil included the burning of libraries, the ransacking of archaeological sites for treasure, and the looting of museums. The museums at Apollonia, Butrint, and Durrës, after having been plundered in 1991, were robbed once again. Invaluable archaeological collections, assembled from decades of excavations, vanished. By the end of the year, UNESCO added Butrint to the list of World Heritage Sites in danger.

In the aftermath of this devastation, no foreign government or private institution has provided more funding and support to revitalize archaeological research and conservation of cultural heritage in Albania than David Packard, founder of the Packard Humanities Institute (PHI). Packard’s benefaction began in 1998, when he embarked on a long-term plan to support the Butrint Foundation, which was spearheading an advanced archaeological research program at Butrint under the direction of Richard Hodges. Packard also founded the International Centre for Albanian Archaeology (now the Albanian Heritage Foundation) and the Albanian Rescue Archaeology Unit to change the fundamental trajectory of Albanian archaeology by working with government ministries, universities, and global institutions. The results of these efforts have been profound and wide reaching, affecting the cultural heritage of virtually every district in Albania.

At Butrint, PHI was a key supporter of the reopening of the museum in 2005. The infusion of large teams of international experts made Butrint the gateway to cutting-edge archaeology in Albania. The Butrint program—its rigorous methodological approach to fieldwork, multidisciplinary studies of material culture, conscientious investments to sustain tourism, and devotion to the conservation of monuments—became a model for archaeological research in Albania. Numerous research projects at Butrint, combined with synthetic studies of the landscape and environment, have redefined the history of Butrint. This paper highlights one of

them: the major program of excavation that resulted in the discovery of the Roman forum in 2005. The project, which I continue to direct, is now in its second phase funded by the University of Notre Dame. It explores the diachronic history of the forum and the origins of Butrint's ancient urban center and it represents the legacy of PHI's contribution to archaeological research at Butrint.

Philhellenes: Past and Present

John McK. Camp II, American School of Classical Studies at Athens and Randolph-Macon College

The term "philhellenism"—or at least the concept—goes back to the Romans, many of whom were of course enthusiasts for most things Greek, especially Greek learning, education, philosophy, and art. In the past 200 years, the term has been applied more specifically to Europeans and Americans who have devoted their lives and resources to the pursuit of studying what the Greeks achieved and how. This paper will explore briefly two projects among many that David Packard has fostered in his endeavors to understand and preserve the past.

The Athenian Agora Excavations have now passed 80 years of fieldwork. This paper discusses the contributions Packard has made to the success of the project for several decades, since the inception of the Packard Humanities Institute (PHI), and before. His impact on the site and on the field of classical studies has been extensive, in terms of excavation, results, opportunities for students, publication, and exploration of the use of new computer technologies. These will be reviewed and put into their wider context.

In 1801–1806, another philhellene, Edward Dodwell, traveled extensively throughout Greece with an Italian artist, Simone Pomardi. Trained as a classical scholar, Dodwell wrote about his travels, and he and Pomardi created 1,000 pictures of antiquities and landscapes. This collection of watercolors, sepias, and drawings has been acquired from the Dodwell family by Packard through PHI and represents an unparalleled picture of Greece in the last decades of Ottoman rule. This part of the talk will introduce the collection, parts of which are about to go on public display and to be published under the auspices of PHI and its president, David Packard.

Packard Humanities Institute and Institute of Classical Archaeology: New Frontiers in Classical Archaeology

Joseph Coleman Carter, Institute of Classical Archaeology, The University of Texas at Austin

Packard Humanities Institute's (PHI) support of Institute of Classical Archaeology's (ICA) projects in the last decade and a half has allowed exceptional sites over a wide geographical range to reach their full potential. Projects have emphasized two areas essential to the field that do not always receive enough attention: conservation and publication.

At Chersonesos, the historically most important classical and Byzantine site in independent Ukraine, a unique archive covering two centuries was digitally

preserved. Farm sites in the *chora* and most of a city block of the ancient city were excavated and conserved using the most up-to-date methods and recording systems; many young archaeologists in Ukraine have benefited from this training. A publication series began with the polychrome Greek grave stelae of the fourth and fifth centuries. A plan was developed to save approximately 400 acres of the ancient *chora* and nine farmhouses from future development.

The projects supported by PHI at Chersonesos and Metaponto have focused on the lives of Greeks who lived outside the urban centers. The fieldwork at Metaponto since 1974 has produced an enormous quantity of data—through excavation, survey, and paleoenvironmental studies of the *chora*—but relatively very little publication. The survey of the *chora* alone identified more than 1,000 sites, predominantly Greek farmhouses and necropoleis, and it produced by conservative estimate some 100,000 artifacts, mostly pottery, to be studied. Five Greek and Roman farmhouses, a seventh-century Greek village, and two rural sanctuaries are in the course of publication. Most risked never being published comprehensively. The PHI grant made it possible to respond to the challenge by giving work to a large number of young archaeologists at a critical stage in their careers.

Ten volumes—four on the survey alone—have been published so far, and more are in the pipeline. The *chora* of Metaponto is now unquestionably the most fully explored and best known of all the colonial *chorai* of the west. Without any doubt, much of the credit belongs to PHI.

While reviewing these projects, some of the brief time allotted will be devoted to the discovery at Metaponto of one of the most ambitious public works projects of the Greeks of the fifth century B.C.E.—the drainage and resettlement of the *chora*. Intensive field survey, excavation, and recent advances in remote sensing of the divisions of the *chora* converge to produce a unique picture of Greek land management.

Packard Humanities Institute's Conservation Project at Herculaneum and New Discoveries

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, Herculaneum Conservation Project and Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge

The Packard Humanities Institute (PHI) has been supporting a major conservation project at Herculaneum since 2001. Undertaken in close collaboration with the Soprintendenza, it has aimed to help the Italian authorities preserve this exceptional site at a time when the crisis of conservation at Pompeii has become an issue of national and international debate. The paper illustrates how the presence of a closely coordinated multidisciplinary team has helped to transform the condition of the site and to set new models of good practice and continuous maintenance. It also illustrates how, despite the project's focus on conservation, it has succeeded in making important new discoveries and shedding new light on Herculaneum. In particular, he illustrates the discovery of the timberwork of an ancient roof carried down by the eruption to the ancient shore, including the elements of a decorated ceiling.

SESSION 3G: Workshop

“Porous Borders”: Presenting Ancient Art in the Encyclopedic Museum

Sponsored by the AIA Museums and Exhibitions Committee and the Seattle Art Museum

MODERATORS: *Kenneth Lapatin*, J. Paul Getty Museum, and *Sarah Berman*, Seattle Art Museum

Workshop Overview Statement

Following last year’s highly successful workshop “Presenting the Past in the 21st Century,” this workshop, cosponsored by the AIA Museum and Exhibitions Committee and the Seattle Art Museum, addresses the challenges facing curators and other professionals responsible for the presentation and interpretation of ancient artifacts: how best to display a diverse array of antiquities, often produced over a range of thousands of years by a variety of different cultures, in the context of the larger “encyclopedic” collections of many of our museums. While a few institutions have dedicated departments of Greek, Roman, Egyptian, or Near Eastern art and archaeology, many more, owing to constraints of space, budget, and collecting history, have grouped together—administratively and often also physically—some combination of objects from the above-mentioned cultures as well as those from the Bronze Age Aegean, Etruria, Byzantium, and Islam under the rubric of “ancient” or “Mediterranean” art. What are the particular challenges and advantages of presenting these rich and complex artistic heritages alongside one another to diverse museum audiences, including scholars, advanced and beginning students, and the general public? What might be the most effective approaches for creating balanced and accurate presentations of diverse cultures? How might artifacts best be arranged—chronologically? geographically? thematically? Should differences between cultures and styles be stressed for clarity, or might a focus on similarities across time and space and/or an exploration of cross-cultural exchange provide the opportunity to unify a diverse collection and engage a heterogeneous audience? How might objects best be related to those of other collections and cultures displayed in adjacent galleries?

Taking advantage of local resources, the workshop begins with a walk-through of the Seattle Art Museum’s galleries of Ancient Mediterranean and Islamic art, led by research associate Sarah Berman. Then, in the museum’s lecture hall, respondents from a variety of backgrounds comment, followed by open discussion.

PANELISTS: *Susan E. Alcock*, Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, Brown University, *Gina Borromeo*, RISD Museum, *Robert Cohon*, Nelson-Atkins Museum, University of Missouri, Kansas City, *Margaret Laird*, University of Washington, Seattle, *Marden Nichols*, Walters Art Museum, and *Jessica Powers*, San Antonio Museum of Art

SESSION 3H

Recent Work in Cyprus

CHAIR: *William R. Caraher*, University of North Dakota

Aphrodite's Consort in Paphos, Cyprus: Results of the Rantidi Forest Excavations

Georgia Bonny Bazemore, Eastern Washington University

Mainland Greeks have accepted from at least as early as the eighth century B.C.E. that their goddess Aphrodite had her home and fragrant altar within the temple at Paphos in Cyprus. Although mythology has paired this goddess of desire with numerous lovers, Greek sources, are silent concerning the consort of Aphrodite in her Paphian home.

More than a decade of excavation, survey, and research within the Rantidi Forest have identified the shrine of the male god whose hilltop sanctuary was linked both by geography and by ritual to the shrine of Aphrodite on the flatlands below. Although called Aphrodite in the Greek sources, this goddess was known as the *wanassa*, or the queen, in the inscriptions of ancient Cyprus, written in their peculiar and archaic script, the Cypriot syllabary. Folk memories recorded following the conquest of the island by western powers preserve numerous local legends concerning the queen, now called Regina, and her lover Dhigenes. Confirmation of the identification of the Rantidi Forest sanctuary complex comes from its local toponym, *Lingrin tou Dhigeni*, or "the playing stones of Dhigenes."

In the absence of surviving accounts of local Cypriot mythology, Greek sources and local theonyms must be combined with archaeological findings in any attempt to reconstruct the religious cult and the associated rituals of the Rantidi Forest sanctuary complex. This paper argues that the aspects of many, if not all, of the consorts and lovers of Aphrodite preserved in Greek mythology are found in the rituals and activities associated with the Rantidi sanctuary complex. Archaeological research has shown that the male deity of the Rantidi sanctuary complex controlled, and perhaps monopolized, the smelting of metals, most probably iron, in the Early Iron Age. Mapping and survey have documented hundreds of tombs in vast necropoleis both surrounding and within the sanctuary complex itself. Excavation combined with epigraphic, philological, and literary evidence has revealed that the god of the Rantidi sanctuary practiced the lucrative trade of prophecy, for which the Paphian kingdom was famous in the ancient world. Orgiastic rituals proceeded from the Paphian temple into the Rantidi sanctuary complex, where erotic dedications have been found.

The results of the Rantidi Forest excavations, then, are set to shed new light on the cult and personality of the goddess Aphrodite in the ancient Greek world.

The Grotesque and the Uncanny: A New Look at Apotropaism in Iron Age Cyprus

Erin Walcek Averett, Creighton University, and Derek B. Counts, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

“[T]he image of fright set to frighten the frightful,” was Jane Ellen Harrison’s memorable evocation of the apotropaic power of masks and “ugly faces” (gorgons, satyrs, and the like) as part of what she called an “apparatus of a religion of terror among the Greeks.” While Harrison’s broader views on Greek religion have been repeatedly challenged over the past century, few scholars have tackled the complex role of the grotesque, the monstrous, and the strange in Mediterranean religion, ritual, and society. Although apotropaic images, as well as ritual activities and incantations, are widely recognized throughout the ancient Mediterranean and beyond, this phenomenon is usually addressed superficially.

This paper investigates apotropaic imagery in Iron Age Cyprus. Cyprus’ position at the intersection of east and west provided fertile ground for a wide range of grotesque and monstrous representations. Such images are a common part of the island’s material culture, from sculpted figures and masks found in sanctuaries to furniture appliqués and amulets associated with funerary and domestic contexts. The iconography attracts the viewer’s gaze and emphasizes the grotesque and uncanny through disembodied heads or faces (masks), distorted or exaggerated features, gaping mouths with extended tongues and prominent teeth, or theriomorphic traits. While many objects depict demonic figures, such as the so-called Humbaba masks, head amulets, and figures of otherworldly monsters such as Bes and Ptah, other examples include unidentified bearded males or so-called Hathor heads. Although these objects are commonly attributed supernatural powers, the variety of contexts and intended audiences has been underappreciated by scholars. Likewise, their seemingly universal appeal to different groups argues against a single interpretation of their meaning. Grotesque visages and monstrous figures have been found in wealthy tombs and palaces and on jewelry and monumental sarcophagi, as well as in industrial workshops, in sanctuaries, and on furniture, household items, and religious paraphernalia. Thus, the efficacy of their apotropaic power was not reserved (or restricted) to an elite, ruling class but also protected artisans, worshipers, and even children. Because these images are cast within the realm of the otherworld, they break the monotony of human and animal subjects and become visually distinct, powerful apotropaic objects. Rather than focus on the problematic issue of assigning foreign theonyms to these images, this study considers the complex function of apotropaic devices within local Cypriot contexts and in service of local communities.

New Kids on the Block: Identifying the Work of Novice Potters in Middle Bronze Age Cyprus

Laura Gagne, Trent University

The contribution of children and novices to the potters’ workshop is understudied in Cypriot archaeology. Some attention has been paid to the migration of potters and their pottery from one part of the island to another (Frankel), but very little consideration has been given to how and when people learn to make pottery.

This study focuses on handmade pottery of the Middle Bronze Age, paying most attention to White Painted Ware. Handmade pottery facilitates the assessment of the potter's motor skills in forming vessels, while painted decoration reveals the painter's ability to plan designs as well as to control tools. In some cases, it would seem that potters began to learn their craft at a very young age, perhaps through playing with the raw materials while the older members of their household made pottery. That their work was valued is attested in the fact that these small objects were fired. Not all potters began as children, however. There is evidence that suggests some novices may have been older children or even adults when they started to work with clay and handle paintbrushes. Novices were assimilated into the community of potters by more experienced teachers who sometimes assisted them with more difficult tasks and who offered models or verbal instructions to them while they worked. This paper examines six levels of directive participation by experienced potters ranging from young children working with no assistance at all to novices being corrected or receiving substantial assistance from someone of greater skill. That not all levels of assistance are present at every production center may reflect gaps in the archaeological record rather than differences in the way novices were acculturated. It seems clear, however, that some potters grew up in potting households where they learned the craft from an early age, while others learned later, after their cognitive abilities and fine motor control had developed. These late learners may represent apprentices or perhaps nonpotters who married into a potting family and learned the trade from experienced family members.

Athienou Archaeological Project, 2011–2012: Investigations at Athienou-Malloura, Cyprus

Michael K. Toumazou, Davidson College, Derek B. Counts, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, P. Nick Kardulias, College of Wooster, Erin Walcek Averett, Creighton University, Clay M. Cofer, Bryn Mawr College, and Jody M. Gordon, Boston University

This paper presents the results of the 2011 and 2012 excavation seasons at Athienou-Malloura by the Athienou Archaeological Project, sponsored by Davidson College and funded in part by the National Science Foundation (NSF-REU, Award SMA 1156968). The Late Geometric to Roman rural sanctuary remained the focus of our work. Investigations sought to clarify (1) the nature and extent of the northern and western portions of the Hellenistic-phase peribolos; (2) activity associated with earlier phases of the sanctuary; and (3) the stratigraphy and chronology of the pisé/mudbrick altar (discovered in 2007) in use during the Hellenistic period and possibly earlier.

Excavation of the altar proved extremely challenging but ultimately revealed its western, eastern, and northern limits, as well as its maximum depth; high concentrations of associated burnt soil provided insights into the altar's use as a receptacle for burnt offerings. Clear evidence for its foundation date were not forthcoming, and additional work is required to understand fully how and when the altar functioned with respect to the rest of the sanctuary. At the site's northern and western edges, four new excavation units were opened to trace the extent of the sanctuary's peribolos. Despite serious damage from looting activity, a 19.5 m

span of the Hellenistic-phase rubble/mortar wall (ca. 0.50 m wide, preserved to various heights) was uncovered. Additionally, the remains of a massive, well-cut building foundation or stepped platform (presumably of an earlier phase) measuring 3.5 m in length were found below the Hellenistic peribolos. This architecture is distinctly different and more impressive than any previously excavated structures, and we anticipate investigating its significance further in 2013.

Finds from the northern section of the sanctuary included a large number of limestone votive sculptures—among which were a life-sized, draped, male votary and several Antigonid-era coins. Along the western edge, excavations provided a glimpse into cultural activity within the sanctuary in the form of a large and somewhat enigmatic concentration of Roman moldmade lamps and the first tangible evidence of Christian activity. Also recovered were limestone statuette fragments associated with Cypriot Herakles and Pan types, as well as a limestone quadriga with two riders. The discovery of additional Cypro-Geometric III ceramics in the western portion of the site reconfirmed the dating and location of the sanctuary's earliest phase.

The 2012 Season of the Lycoming College Expedition to Idalion

Pamela Gaber, Lycoming College

In the 2012 season, the Lycoming College Expedition to Idalion worked in the sacred grove of Adonis on the shoulder of the West Acropolis. The founding levels of some of the earliest structures in the 6 ha sanctuary were reached on bedrock. Pits had been cut in the original rock of the hill, and the earliest walls were laid upon it, those dating to the 11th century B.C.E. This earliest level of the sanctuary most closely resembles the sanctuary to the Great Goddess on the top of the acropolis of ancient Amathus.

Further west, work continued in the so-called Sanctuary of the Paired Deities below the West Acropolis Administrative Center. Here, too, the founding levels were reached on bedrock; these levels can be dated to the end of the Late Cypriot III period and the beginning of the Protogeometric period, ca. 1100 B.C.E. This is the earliest material found in this area, although we know the industrial installations on the West Acropolis and in the Lower City date to the 12th century B.C.E. or earlier. The most interesting finds of the season were discovered beneath the standing stones reported in previous seasons.

These stones were revered from the fifth century B.C.E. to the Roman period, perhaps to the first century C.E. They were set atop a platform on which two wooden pillars stood. These objects of worship were burned completely ca. 450 B.C.E. as part of the conquest—that is to establish the new rule of the Phoenicians over the Cypriots of Idalion. A thick brick-like floor was laid over the burnt area, and a pair of standing stones was placed in an ash pit over the location, to commemorate the position of the original paired symbols.

Paired standing pillars or columns representing deities were common in the ancient Near East. Biblical texts record that there was a pair of columns in front of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem (2 Chronicles 3:17; 1 Kings 7:21).

Next year, we hope to pursue the early history of the ancient city kingdom of Idalion. We will continue working in the Sanctuary of the Paired Deities, in the Adonis temenos, and in the industrial area below the East Acropolis. All of

our work is undertaken with deep gratitude to the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus and with the support of the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute.

SESSION 3I

Regional Survey in the Eastern Mediterranean

CHAIR: *James Newhard*, College of Charleston

The Roman Castellum of Khirbat az-Zuna: Results of the Wadi ath-Thamad Project's Regional Survey

Jonathan Ferguson, University of Toronto

The Wadi ath-Thamad Project is a collaborative archaeological program led by P.M. Michèle Daviau of Wilfrid Laurier University in Canada, which has focused on the excavation of Khirbat al-Mudayna, an Iron Age and Nabataean site in central Jordan. The author serves as the director of the project's regional survey, which has explored and documented more than 150 sites located in the adjoining watersheds and dating from the Paleolithic to Ottoman periods. One of the sites selected for more intensive study is Khirbat az-Zuna, a small Roman fort (or *castellum*) overlooking the Wadi ath-Thamad. Because of discrepancies among earlier descriptions and plans, a new topographic and archaeological survey of this site was carried out in 2005. The resulting plan shows that this *castellum* was highly developed for a fort of its size (ca. 43 m²), with towers at each corner and at the midpoint of each interval except on the west, where two towers flanked a gate. Excavations from 2006 to 2008 focused on three areas: the northern half of the gate and its adjoining tower, the fort's interior opposite the gate, and outer face of the northwestern corner tower. These limited excavations have clarified the fort's construction, showing that its walls were built of ashlar masonry on their outer faces but of boulder-and-chink stonework on the inside, with rough foundations laid directly on bedrock. Moreover, the walls include many reused blocks of stone (spolia): bossed stones, column elements (including a Nabataean capital), frieze blocks, and, most notably, a Nabataean inscription. This fragmentary text, found built into the foundation of the gate and recently translated by Laïla Nehmé, wished for the well-being of a Caesar, a first among Nabataean inscriptions. Preliminary analyses of the pottery and coins from Khirbat az-Zuna are consistent with this *castellum* being founded in the late third or early fourth century as part of a strengthening of the Limes Arabicus along Rome's eastern frontier under Diocletian.

The Petra Area and Wadi Silaysil Survey, 2010–2012: Motivations, Methods, and Preliminary Results

Alex R. Knodell, Brown University, and *Susan E. Alcock*, Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, Brown University

The Brown University Petra Archaeological Project (BUPAP) is a multidisciplinary archaeological research project designed to enrich our understanding of

the development of the landscapes of Petra (southern Jordan), diachronically and from a regional perspective. One of the principal components of BUPAP, the Petra Area and Wadi Silaysil survey (or PAWS), has conducted three seasons of fieldwork, from 2010 to 2012, as an intensive pedestrian survey that has systematically documented the distribution of artifacts and features across the landscape north of Petra. This fieldwork has revealed evidence of multiple periods and patterns of occupation ranging from the Lower Paleolithic to the present.

The Petra area has received almost constant archaeological attention since the city center was rediscovered by Burkhardt in 1812. However, fieldwork has tended to be site, monument, and period focused, resulting in a rather fragmented picture of the area as a whole. Unsurprisingly, most attention has concentrated on the Nabataean and Roman urban core of Petra. PAWS took as its study area the agricultural hinterland to the north of the Petra city center in order to understand the development and dynamics of this landscape in the long term. While this area contained a few previously known sites, it had never been subject to this type of intensive pedestrian survey, more familiar in the Mediterranean than the Middle East, which is particularly appropriate for an area so densely populated with archaeological material.

In three seasons, PAWS intensively surveyed some 600 ha in 1,422 survey units, recording more than 1,000 built and rock-cut archaeological features in addition to huge amounts of lithic, ceramic, and modern material from multiple periods. Analysis of surface assemblages reveals a widely distributed presence in the Middle Paleolithic and late prehistoric periods, as well as in the Nabataean and Roman periods, with an unexpected drop in the Late Roman to Byzantine periods. We have also been able to supplement the surface record with geophysical survey and excavations at select locations. Finally, the distributions of modern material have substantial implications for how we view tourism and cultural heritage management in the area. These three seasons represent the completion of one phase of fieldwork. In this paper, we present the motivations, methods, and results of this survey, focusing in particular on our diachronic approach to this artifact-rich landscape and the spatial and temporal patterns that have emerged within it.

A Tale of Three Places: Intensive Survey of Second-Millennium B.C.E. Sites in Western Anatolia

Peter Cobb, University of Pennsylvania, *Bradley M. Sekedat*, Dartmouth College, *Christopher H. Roosevelt*, Boston University, and *Christina Luke*, Boston University

During the 2012 field season, members of the Central Lydia Archaeological Survey (CLAS), a Boston University research project operating with permission from the General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Republic of Turkey, conducted intensive survey at three second-millennium B.C.E. sites. Since 2005, CLAS has conducted an extensive and intensive survey of settlements and other sites in the Marmara Lake basin of the Gediz (ancient Hermus) River valley. One focus of these efforts has been the investigation of second-millennium B.C.E. citadels, as well as settlements located on the valley floor, to understand local agency within the broader spectrum of western Anatolian political alliances and economic networks. Presented here are the results of

targeted, intensive surveys of three sites of this period: kiztepe, a small, mounded site located in the Büyükbelen Valley, south-southwest of the regional capital of Kaymakçı, and two citadels, Gedevre Tepesi and Kızbacı Tepesi, located along the western and northern foothills of the Marmara Lake basin, respectively. Using established methods from prior seasons, material was collected from within 20 m² circles spaced 40 m apart at each site, with a higher-resolution, 20 m grid of collection units applied within the fortifications of the citadels. This paper presents the extent and relative chronology of each site within the context of local geography and associated finds, especially ceramics. Interpretation of the data includes analysis of microtopographic and architectural surveys. Preliminary conclusions focus on the viability of intensive site survey to gain a firmer understanding of site-level architectural and material correlates within a regional context.

On the Rocks: Landscape Modification and Archaeological Features in Petra's Hinterland

Cecelia Feldman, University of Massachusetts Amherst, and *Christian Cloke*, University of Cincinnati

Since 2010, the Brown University Petra Archaeological Project (BUPAP) has been conducting fieldwork in the area immediately north of Petra, southern Jordan. One component of this project, the Petra Area and Wadi Silaysil survey (or PAWS), is an intensive pedestrian survey focused on recording artifacts and features of all types and periods across the landscape. While we have, up to this point, avoided the often ambiguous and problematic practice of site definition, meaningful patterns among particular feature types have emerged from field recording and GIS-based mapping of both anthropogenic elements of the landscape and artifact densities. This spatial and typological perspective provides a means to draw conclusions about the ways in which people from antiquity to the present have inhabited and modified this landscape.

The high density of built and rock-cut features, in particular, has presented a unique set of methodological and interpretative challenges not often encountered in Mediterranean survey archaeology (i.e., more than 1,000 archaeological features or feature groups were recorded in a survey area of ca. 600 ha). Of special interest are complex and extensive systems of dammed wadis and terrace walls over large areas of land north of the city center. The documented landscape saw more significant human modification of the terrain than previously recognized, much of it designed for the purposes of directing water and improving agriculture. Alterations included the construction of vast terraced plots, most likely in the service of growing grapes, wheat, and perhaps olives. When contrasted with the area's current desiccation, signs of former productivity are especially striking.

Mapping of other features that are not purely functional in nature, such as rock-carved inscriptions, petroglyphs, and aniconic representations of Nabataean deities, shows that the landscape in this area was also symbolically significant to Petra's ancient inhabitants and visitors. Moreover, such installations, combined with traces of ancient structures and roads, have helped situate probable ancient entryways into the city for travelers coming from the north. This paper describes the broad patterning of features by type and the different strategies inhabitants

have used to manage the landscape over time. The survey data thus supplement the well-known history of Petra itself with extensive evidence of human activity in its hinterland.

Local Landscapes of Water and Hittite Imperialism: The Two Roads to Yalbur

Ömür Harmanşah, Brown University, Peri Johnson, AIA Member at Large, and Müge Durusu-Tanrıöver, Brown University

The Yalbur Yaylası Archaeological Landscape Research Project is a regional survey in western-central Turkey concerned with the relationship between the local landscape and Hittite imperial projects in the western borderlands. After concentrating on the sacred pool of Tudhaliya IV at Yalbur Yaylası, the Hittite dam at Köylütölu, and the fortress at Kale Tepe in 2010, the project studied the second-millennium settlements in the Ilgın and Atlantı Plains in 2011. We turned in the 2012 season to the western approaches to Yalbur Yaylası and the previously unsurveyed northern Çavuşçu Lake basin at the southern foot of Karadağ-Gavurdağ Massif. The project surveyed a dense landscape of second-millennium B.C.E. settlements located at springs, along rivers, and in the marshy edges of Çavuşçu Lake. This work revealed two separate western approaches to Yalbur Yaylası from the principal route connecting the Aegean to the Hittite Lower Lands. The first approach branches at Kapaklı Höyük and gradually descends northward to the Reşadiye River valley, where several Middle and Late Bronze Age mounds were surveyed. Where the river debouches into the lake, the approach turns north to meet the 30 ha fort and settlement at Uzun Pınar with adjacent Late Bronze Age pithos cemetery. This site is now the closest significant imperial Hittite site to the Yalbur monument. The second approach branches from the principal route farther east in the Ilgın Plain at the imperial Hittite foundation of Boz Höyük before turning north along the eastern shore of Çavuşçu Lake. This shore supports dense settlement with numerous Middle Bronze Age to Early Iron Age sites. One of the most significant discoveries of the 2012 season was Aktepe Cave, which overlooks the shore and contains Neolithic and Chalcolithic occupational levels and Middle Bronze Age, Hellenistic, and Roman ritual deposition. At the foot of Aktepe Ridge is a spring with an adjacent low Middle Bronze Age mound and a high Early Bronze Age mound. With this newly documented landscape of lakes, rivers, springs, and caves, we now have a clear understanding of the connection between the mountain spring at Yalbur and the Hittite military road to the west. This landscape of movement emerges not from an imposed imperial settlement project but from a gradually developing local landscape dependent on water.

Recent Results from the Amuq Valley Regional Project Survey

Lynn Swartz Dodd, University of Southern California, *Adam Green*, New York University, *Nancy Highcock*, New York University, *Michelle Lim*, University of Southern California, *Sarah Butler*, University of Southern California, *Mary Ellen Jebbia*, University of Southern California, *Lillian Green*, AIA Member at Large, *Aslihan Yener*, Koç University, *Mine Temiz*, Mustafa Kemal University, *Hicran Özdemir*, Pamukkale University, and *Anna Bishop*, University of Southern California

The Amuq Valley Regional Project survey in the Hatay province of Turkey extends research begun by a University of Chicago team led by Robert Braidwood in the 1930s and continued by researchers led by Aslihan Yener from the mid 1990s onward. This presentation details the results of recent research in the northernmost portion of the Amuq Valley. This area has been underexplored in comparison with the southern half of the Amuq Plain.

More than two dozen sites dating from the Neolithic through Ottoman periods were located, documented, and then studied during 10 days of field research. Based on this partial survey of the northern region, a significant contrast in settlement regimes between the northern and southern halves of this survey region, particularly during the Middle Bronze through Iron Age, appears to exist.

A range of interlocking survey methodologies were employed to identify and rapidly document sites during two short survey seasons in 2010 and 2011. This includes the use of KH-9 photographic satellite imagery, which was employed as a tool for site identification in the diverse environments encountered in this portion of the valley (extensive volcanic basalt fields and outcrops; complex field systems, and foothills with various cover types). Numerous sites were investigated rapidly by surveyors on the ground as a means of testing the validity of remote site identification on the satellite imagery.

This presentation provides an assessment of the data from the recent field seasons along with an assessment of the factors that enable and constrain the hypothesis that a zone of differential settlement, possibly even a buffer zone, was created in this narrow, northern portion of the valley during the period when Alalakh and then Tayinat were palatial centers. The new survey results also are relevant for understanding the developments that took place in this region during the first and early second millennia C.E.

On the Grounds of Gaugamela: Imperial Landscapes in the Erbil Plain

Lidewijde de Jong, Groningen University, and *Jason Ur*, Harvard University

This paper presents the results of the first season of the Erbil Plain Archaeological Survey (EPAS) directed by Harvard University and the Directorate of Antiquities for the Kurdistan Regional Government, in collaboration with Groningen University. The project combines a study of historical satellite and aerial photographs with on-the-ground survey. Located in the Seleucid heartland and, subsequently, in the zone of conflict and interaction between the Romans and the Parthians, the hinterland of ancient Arbela can provide new insights about past imperial landscapes.

EPAS aims to collect archaeological and topographic data related to all periods, from early prehistory to the Mesopotamian and Iranian empires to the period of Saddam Hussein's destructions in the 1980s and the current phase of population growth and agricultural intensification. Special emphasis, however, is placed on the reconstruction of the impact of ancient empires on local landscapes, as evidenced by settlement structures, hydraulic engineering, agricultural and husbandry practices, and trade patterns. Research in the surrounding territories of Mesopotamia and Syria has demonstrated the deep imprint of, for instance, the Assyrian, Roman, and Abbasid empires on urbanization, waterways, agriculture, and the local economy as a result of monetization, taxation, and redirection or intensification of trade routes. Imperial architecture in the form of victory monuments, roads, and military camps filled the conquered territories.

This paper concentrates on the period between the third century B.C.E. and the third century C.E. Although the region is close to the setting for the Battle of Gaugamela, little is known about its development as part of the Seleucid empire or its integration into the wider Hellenistic world. Excavations of military colonies at Dura-Europos and Jebel Khalid in Syria have shown how the population combined architectural elements from the Greek world and pottery from the eastern Mediterranean with local and Mesopotamian traditions in, for instance, temple construction. The same region underwent changes in settlement patterns, such as the movement and growth of agricultural communities. The Parthian period presents an even larger gap in our knowledge of Upper Mesopotamia and the Erbil region. Through the investigation of pottery assemblages, subsistence practices, and changes in settlement patterns, EPAS aims to reconstruct the interaction of local communities with towns in nearby Roman territory, the participation of those communities in long-distance trade, and the impact of the Parthian-Roman wars on the local economy.

SESSION 3J

Roman Gaul and Britain

CHAIR: *James C. Anderson*, University of Georgia

Religion at Bath, England: A Reconsideration

Eleri H. Cousins, University of Cambridge

The Roman site at Bath, in England, with its hot springs, extensive bathing complex, and remains of temple sculpture and architecture, is renowned as one of the most impressive sites in the country. From the first archaeological discoveries in the 18th century to the large-scale excavations of the late 20th century, Roman Bath has been understood as a healing sanctuary centered on the worship of the Romano-British goddess Sulis Minerva; the baths, temple, and hot spring which are the focus of the settlement's walled area, have traditionally been interpreted as highly structured expressions of syncretic religious activity in a usually unsophisticated province.

In this paper, I begin by discussing the historiography of Bath scholarship. I show that Georgian Bath's reputation as a spa and watering hole for the wealthy has influenced scholarly understandings of the Roman remains from the 18th century until the present day; meanwhile, 19th- and early 20th-century models of a dichotomy between Roman and Celtic religion have dominated interpretations of the goddess Sulis Minerva and the rituals involved in her worship. I argue that there is little evidence from the Roman period to suggest that Bath was primarily a healing sanctuary, or Sulis Minerva a healing goddess, and that it is time for a fundamental reevaluation of the site's religious role.

If we examine the religious evidence from Bath unfettered by the healing-sanctuary hypothesis, the complex ways in which Bath and its deities were used by visitors to the site in the construction of provincial individual and communal identities become clear. A wide range of religious strands, including many derived from the iconographic and epigraphic lexicon of the imperial cult, can be demonstrated, and even the worship of Sulis Minerva, still arguably the principal deity, can be shown to be not nearly as homogenous as scholars have believed. Finally, the "happy marriage" of Roman and British ritual, the heart of traditional interpretations of the site, can be questioned. The initial impetus for the Roman building program was potentially more of an act of domination than many have believed; meanwhile, changes in ritual and architecture at Bath through the Roman period indicate the ultimate development of a unique and highly localized set of religious practices.

Numismatic Evidence for Regionally Specific Fiscal Crises in the Third Century C.E.

Daniel Hoyer, New York University

Since Gibbon, scholars have frequently seen the military and fiscal crises that plagued the Roman empire in the third century C.E. as marking the end of antiquity and the beginning of the Middle Ages. Yet in recent years the very existence of these crises has been called into question. Even those who do acknowledge this as a tumultuous period often argue, following Witschel, that the effects of these crises were not experienced uniformly throughout the empire. Witschel's ideas about regionally specific crises are compelling, although he has been criticized for generally underestimating the extent to which events in the third century changed the workings of the Roman state. This remains a controversial point, and as yet no consensus has been reached even on what sort of evidence should be marshaled to investigate the existence and importance of these so-called crises.

In this paper, then, I argue that numismatic evidence is the best means available to the ancient historian for investigating this crucial topic in Roman history. Through a detailed examination of coin hoards found in different regions of the Western empire, I establish that the coinage circulating in northern Gaul and Britain, areas that experienced several military conflicts during the third century, was significantly lighter than that which circulated in more peaceful regions such as Africa. Using both statistical analysis as well as typological study, I demonstrate that different sorts of coins began circulating in different regions in the Late Antonine period and that the more unstable areas received the lighter, more heavily debased issues. Economic theorists and historians closely link such debasement with

periods of inflation, fiscal insecurity, and general economic crisis, which certainly appears to be the case here as well. I argue, moreover, that the best explanation for this pattern is that the state deliberately separated the coinage it sent to different areas, reflecting the differing degrees of fiscal crisis these areas were experiencing.

My findings in this paper provide the clearest evidence offered to date not only that Rome indeed experienced fiscal crises in the third century, but also that these crises began earlier than is often thought and their effects were regionally specific. This paper thus shows the significance of numismatic evidence for the study of the fiscal history of the Late Roman empire as well as for the broader study of Late Roman economic and political history.

Understanding Orpheus: An Examination of Bacchic Imagery on Orpheus Mosaics in Late Roman Britain

Kara K. Burns, University of South Alabama

In the late third and the fourth century C.E., eight mosaics depicting the legendary singer Orpheus were laid in wealthy Roman villas in southwest Britain at the sites of Barton Farm, Brading, Littlecote Park, Newton St. Loe, Wellow, Whatley, Withington, and Woodchester. Along with the central image of Orpheus, all eight mosaics contain Bacchic iconography such as kantharoi and large felines. While the Orpheus mosaics in Roman Britain have been the topic of several publications, none has addressed the appearance of Bacchic imagery in conjunction with that of Orpheus on these mosaics. This paper investigates the relationship between Orpheus and Bacchus through iconographic and philological lenses to understand the relationship between Orpheus and Bacchus in the Late Roman empire. The evidence denotes an intimate connection between Orpheus and Bacchus that began in the Greek Classical period and was solidified by the Greek Hellenistic period. By the fourth century C.E., Orpheus was considered the founder of the Bacchic Mysteries by both the pagan and Christian elites, a belief that continued for more than a century after the Orpheus mosaics were installed in the houses of wealthy Romans in southwest Britain. I argue that the appearance of Bacchic iconography on the Orpheus mosaics reflects the association between Orpheus and Bacchus attested in Greek and Latin literature. Furthermore, I suggest these images of Orpheus should be considered part of the larger Bacchic iconographic program, and that they thus provide further evidence for a Bacchic cult in Roman Britain.

Children's Shoes in the Archaeological Record of the Roman Army

Elizabeth M. Greene, University of Western Ontario

An important debate concerning the presence and role of civilians in the communities of the Roman army has focused predominantly on the evidence for women in the archaeological record. This approach has been fruitful but also blurred by the ambiguous identification of artifacts associated with female occupancy, particularly where gender roles may have been atypical, such as at Roman military sites. Even women's footwear, found in abundance at a few military sites, has been challenged; it has been suggested that either the shoes belonged to adolescent boys

or they found their way into the archaeological record by some means other than occupation.

The presence of children's shoes, however, has been scrutinized less, even though this evidence is often far more explicit than that suggesting the presence of women. This paper looks closely at the footwear that belonged to children from the sample of more than 4,000 shoes from the Roman fort at Vindolanda on the northern frontier in Britain. It presents the evidence for children's occupancy on the military site and discusses the depositional patterns of children's shoes and their presence in the community through time. The investigation focuses on the late first and early second centuries; conventional approaches suggest that families were not present in military communities, especially not on newly formed frontiers, at that time. The evidence, however, indicates the presence of children in all periods of military occupation at Vindolanda, from the earliest settlement of the army in the mid 80s C.E. through the third century.

Tracing Emigrants From Roman Britain: British-Made Brooches As an Evidence of Mobility

Tatiana Ivleva, Leiden University

Brooches, also known as fibulae, formed part of a dress for any inhabitant of the Roman world; they served to hold two pieces of a person's clothing together and were positioned on the upper part of the dress, which covered the upper torso/chest area. During the period of the first to the late third century C.E., particular types of brooches were in circulation around the Roman empire, while other types were confined to particular provinces and, in some cases, even small regions. Inhabitants of Roman Britain wore brooches specific to this province, and these objects rarely reached destinations outside the province. That said, 242 British-made brooches have been identified at 103 sites across Europe, from Roman Germany and the Netherlands to Roman Hungary and Romania.

This paper analyzes the distribution of these British-made brooches to outline factors relating to their presence on the Continent, a subject that has received cursory attention because brooches are usually seen as trade objects. In my analysis, I compare epigraphic material with archaeological evidence from the sites where these brooches were located to determine possible groups of people with whom the brooches may have reached these sites. The analysis shows that many of these dress accessories were brought by soldiers serving in 14 auxiliary units raised from various tribes of Roman Britain and sent to Continental Europe and the soldiers' female partners. British-born recruits serving in Roman legionary and auxiliary forces of a different ethnic origin stationed on the Continent account for another group of people who brought these objects with them. Moreover, there is enough epigraphic evidence to suggest that the occurrence of British-made brooches can be connected with the movement of various people (whether male or female) of various ethnic origins who traveled from Roman Britain to Continental Europe during the High Roman empire, especially the returning from Britain veterans of the Roman army and their wives, and craftsmen in training at the Continental workshops.

This presentation therefore illustrates the potential of British-made brooches to provide information about personal mobility in the Roman empire. It also suggests when brooches traveled, it was mailly because they were serving as clothes fasteners or as personal decoration, not because they were being traded as precious objects.

Between Rome and Gaul: Narbo Martius, Roman Coinage, and Gallic-Roman Interaction in the Late Roman Republic

Marsha B. McCoy, Southern Methodist University

The foundation of the Roman colony of Narbo Martius in southwestern Gaul in 118 B.C.E. marked the first time that a Roman colony was founded outside Italy and only the second time since the war with Hannibal that Roman coinage was minted outside Rome. The denarii minted in Narbo Martius reflect the social, political, and military circumstances of Rome's relationship with Gaul that led to the colony's foundation. Likewise, the denarii's distinctive iconography—a triumphant Gallic warrior on the reverse carrying a *carynx*, the Gallic war trumpet, and the distinctive Gallic shield—reveals the economic and cultural conditions at work in this colony situated at the border between two worlds (cf. S. Scott and J. Webster, eds. *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art* [Cambridge 2003]). As Rome's engagement with Gaul increased, growing conflicts as well as Rome's shifting perception of itself in relation to peoples beyond its frontiers ultimately led to Caesar's campaign to subdue all of Gaul. This shift is most strikingly seen in the iconography on Caesar's coinage of his campaigns, a contrasting bookend to the Narbo coinage; the reverses of the Caesar's coinage depict bound Gallic prisoners stripped of their armor, which sits by their sides, prepared for triumphal display by the victorious Roman conqueror.

SESSION 4A: Colloquium

Altars in Greece and Italy: New Finds and Insights

ORGANIZERS: *Lea K. Cline*, Illinois State University, and *Katherine Rask*, The Ohio State University

Colloquium Overview Statement

As one of the most essential elements in ancient Mediterranean religion, altars are by no means rare in the archaeological records of Greece, Etruria, and Rome. Excavation in the last few decades, though, has dramatically increased not only the corpus of altars in situ but also our knowledge of monuments and how they functioned in sacred contexts. This colloquium demonstrates how new methods, archaeological sciences, and theoretical frameworks contribute to our understanding of ancient altars. Through a reconsideration of well-known examples and the introduction of recently excavated materials, the papers in this colloquium reconstruct ancient practice and highlight the role of altars in the social, religious, and phenomenological experiences of ancient Greeks and Italians. For this reason, the

unifying factor of these papers is not methodology but subject; that is, while altars are the common subject, each author approaches his or her particular monument or monuments in distinct ways.

Belis combines survey data with excavated material to suggest that Greek ash altars, most famously associated with the low-lying Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, are better understood as phenomena connected to mountaintop sanctuaries. Rask presents recent excavations of the altar at the Etruscan sanctuary at Poggio Colla and discusses what zooarchaeology, archaeobotany, and topography reveal about the sacrificial activities occurring there. Baglione, who has overseen the excavation of many altars at the Etruscan sanctuary at Pyrgi, discusses the newest finds from this site and shows that a wide variety of altar types and deposits can characterize the same sacred space. Moser examines the miniature terracotta altars found at Largo Argentina in the context of their monumental models and argues that votive, miniature altars might be the individual, symbolic equivalent to the communal sacrificial offering that took place at the monumental altar. Cline reexamines the often overlooked altar to Caesar and its companion giallo antico column in the Forum Romanum, recasting it as a heroon, a monument instrumental in elevating Caesar to the realm of the divine. Finally, the sixth paper casts light on the monumentalization of the altar form in the Augustan period by examining Augustan altars other than the Ara Pacis.

Together, these papers represent an attempt to open a scholarly debate not only about the monument type itself but also about how we, as an academic community, address these ubiquitous monuments. By diversifying and complicating the conversation about ritual, performance, and architectural form, we hope to broaden our understanding of altars in the ancient, archaeological context.

DISCUSSANT: *Fritz Graf*, The Ohio State University

Ashes to Altars: The Remains of the Altar of Zeus on Mount Phoukas

Alexis Belis, Princeton University

The isolated peak of Mount Phoukas dominates the landscape of the northeastern Peloponnese. It is identified as the ancient Apesas, the site of an ash altar to Zeus Apesantios. The remains of the altar are visible on the surface today, distinguished by dark ashy soil mixed with burnt animal bone fragments and pottery sherds that covers a roughly 800 m² area at the western edge of the summit. In the mid 1980s, this site was systematically investigated for the first time as part of the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project's survey of the region. The project identified ceramic material dating from the Geometric to Hellenistic periods. This paper reexamines the results of the survey, taking into account not only the composition and chronology of the altar remains but also the significance of its immense scale and striking topographic setting. Although many Greek sanctuaries may have initially focused on an unbuilt ash altar, often this was replaced by a built stone altar. When an ash altar remained in use, the accumulated remains of repeated animal sacrifice became a permanent feature of the sanctuary. While the most renowned example of this kind of altar is that of Zeus at Olympia, my research shows that

both the archaeological and literary record associate this type of monumental ash altar primarily with mountaintops. Excavations beginning in 2007 of an ash altar on Mount Lykaion in Arcadia, along with earlier excavations at sites such as Mount Olympos, Mount Oiti, and Mount Parnes, suggest strong parallels with the altar on Mount Phoukas, in terms of both the composition and scale of the altar and its location in a mountaintop sanctuary. Moreover, similar altars have been recognized since antiquity, and even then were considered extraordinary phenomena in Greek religion.

Accordingly, Greek mountaintop sanctuaries present an appropriate framework in which to view the ash altar on Mount Phoukas. Rarely, however, has an ash altar on a mountaintop been investigated through intensive field survey. This paper combines the unique survey data from Mount Phoukas with excavated material from other mountaintop ash altars in order to explore the relationship between this type of altar and the landscape, the concept of monumentality, and associated patterns of ritual activity.

Altars at Pyrgi

Maria Paola Baglione, Sapienza–Università di Roma

The Sapienza–Università di Roma Pyrgi Project began in 1957 and continues to the present. More than 50 years of excavations have brought to light the entire sanctuary of Ilitia-Leucothea, a site well known by ancient sources and connected to the main harbor of Caere, the motherland polis situated 8 miles to the southeast in the hinterland. The complex includes two different sacred areas, the northern monumental sanctuary with the famous Temples A and B (510–460 B.C.E.), and the southern sanctuary stretching along the seafront for more than 180 m. This massive structure is unique in Etruria, both for its size and for its location along the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea. In the northern monumental sanctuary, an important discovery was Area C, a quadrangular enclosure (*consaepium sacellum*) located along the north side of Temple B. Area C contains a shaft and a cylindrical altar with a hollow; it was devoted to chthonic ritual practices and supported a fire altar. In the southern sanctuary, a complex system of altars has permitted the reconstruction of the ritual actions of foundation and consecration celebrations. The dedication inscriptions, together with the mass of the offering, including mainly Attic ceramics, characterize the southern sanctuary of Pyrgi as the largest and most peculiar Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Etruria. In this area, there are at least five altars, belonging to different types and dated to different periods. The consecration ritual in the center of the area is represented by foundation deposit ρ connected with the Altar ν ; it was covered by a sandstone lid reminiscent of the so-called solar disk and the cult of the chthonic goddess Cavatha (identified as Kore). The deposit (44 Attic vases and female ornaments) can be dated to the fifth century B.C.E. It might recall the burial of the divinity herself (symbolized by the Attic amphora in the center of the pit).

Ca. 470 B.C.E., in the southern part of the sanctuary, a similar ceremony is attested: in foundation deposit κ , three groups of finds (revealing Dionysian and Demetriac characteristics) testify to an assortment of different libations (*phillobolia*). Beside the altar is Tholos λ ; its foundation is marked by the deposition of seven

lead ingots associated with iron andirons, which appear to be connected with the Cavatha *paredrus*, Śuri. The lead, devoted to the underworld deity and peculiarity among the gifts, suggests the ceremony was a public ritual action.

The Courtyard Altar at Etruscan Poggio Colla: Animal Sacrifice and Topographic Placement

Katherine Rask, The Ohio State University

Excavations (2001–2005) in the courtyard of the rural Etruscan sanctuary at Poggio Colla revealed part of a rectangular stone altar. The partially destroyed western half of the structure, composed of large worked limestone blocks, was surrounded by a black, greasy soil containing fragmentary animal bones. In 2011, further excavation uncovered the extremely well-preserved eastern half of the altar. With a total length of approximately 3 m, the altar sits on an east–west axis and is centrally aligned within Poggio Colla’s main courtyard. Stratigraphic evidence suggests that when the complex was finally destroyed, animal sacrifice no longer occurred at the altar, although it was still a visible feature within the courtyard. Numismatic evidence provides a *terminus post quem* of the last decade of the third century B.C.E. for the destruction of the building complex.

The remaining portion of the altar was uncovered in the 2012 season. This paper presents the combined evidence from the altar’s excavation, although special emphasis is given to the 2011 and 2012 seasons. I discuss two major topics with relation to the altar: (1) the evidence for burnt animal sacrifice—the soil matrix, animal remains, and bioarchaeological evidence for flora; and (2) the chronological and topographic position of the altar within the event history of the sanctuary.

The altar at Poggio Colla is significant for several reasons. First, it is a rare example of an Etruscan altar with sacrificial debris to be closely examined for zooarchaeological and bioarchaeological evidence. Whereas corresponding deposits of feasting and altar debris have been documented at a number of Greek sanctuaries, almost all zooarchaeological publications from Etruscan sites explore only the feasting debris. Therefore, Poggio Colla provides an ideal opportunity to consider whether an Etruscan context reflects the pattern observed at other Mediterranean sanctuaries, where meat-bearing bones, knee bones, and tail bones were burnt on the altar and the rest of the carcass was deposited following consumption by human participants. Second, the architectural position of Poggio Colla’s altar is significant because Etruscan altars tend to be situated outside temples and have not otherwise been documented inside courtyards. The east–west axis of the altar also raises interesting questions about altar alignment, since in this case it may face north or south. Finally, in a sanctuary dramatically altered by massive construction projects throughout antiquity, the altar and in situ sacrificial debris provide critical insight into the history and type of religious activity occurring at Poggio Colla.

Reiterating Ritual: Multiple Altars and Their Replicated Miniatures at the Area Sacra di Largo Argentina, Rome

Claudia Moser, Brown University

The important and complex role played by votive offerings in the overall material drama of republican Roman sacrifice can be best understood by examining how these objects interact with the material focus of ritual performance—the monumental altar. This paper examines the material record of one very particular type of bloodless votive ritual: the deposits of miniature terracotta altars, so-called *arulae*, at the Republican-era altars of the Area Sacra di Largo Argentina in Rome. *Arulae*, personal votive objects, are intended to evoke the function as well as the architecture of their more august archetypes. The act of personal deposition of this durable object, however inexpensive and diminutive, would necessarily engage the offerer in a dialogue with the larger-scaled, more elaborately orchestrated, yet ephemeral communal blood sacrifices on the actual altar. Reestablishing the placement of these *arulae* in their proper architectural and chronological contexts at the monumental altars of Temples A and C at Largo Argentina allows us to examine the nature of the interaction between these miniature objects and their monumental, architectural models.

The aniconic and rectangular form of these *arulae* from Largo Argentina—the simple, and perhaps conservative, architectonic iconography—seems a deliberate and meaningful choice determined by the architectural character and contours of the communal altars and the kind of ritual performed at these monumental structures. This paper argues that the *arulae* from Largo Argentina, in their seemingly intentional imitation of neighboring architectural types and in their departure from the fashionable hourglass style of *arulae* common to Middle to Late Republican Rome, testify to the intricate network of connections linking miniature and monument, sanctuary and setting, dedicator, community, and the divine.

Death and the Altar: The Altar and Column of Caesar in the Forum Romanum

Lea K. Cline, Illinois State University

Five days after Caesar's murder, at the tail end of a dramatic and emotional funeral, Caesarian loyalists erected a column and an altar to the deceased dictator at the place of his cremation in the Forum Romanum. Oft dramatized, the murder of Caesar evokes images of treachery and cowardice, not altars. But the altar and giallo antico column erected for Caesar in the Forum Romanum are the only physical remains of these infamous events. Because they were erected with little notice, scholars traditionally view them as haphazard and temporary. I would argue to the contrary: although they were hastily put together, what they represented was anything but impermanent.

As a combined monument, the column and altar of Caesar physically encapsulate the political divisions of Caesarian Rome, trends and competitions in the use of architecture for self-promotion, and the divine potential of Rome's rulers. Together, these monuments mark a decisive change in altar construction in Rome, a tradition that previously had focused on the appeasement of gods and the delineation of sacrosanct environments. Caesar's monument was used to solidify and

advance the cause of one man and his political allies; the altar and column together effectively divinized Caesar, placing him in a pantheon of Roman hero-gods.

Though modern Romans famously venerate the remains of the Augustan-period altar, the original Caesarian monuments have received surprisingly little scholarly attention. In this paper, I examine the altar and column of Caesar as they were originally constructed. Using both literary and archaeological evidence, I disentangle the many ancient accounts of the altar and column of Caesar, trace the use of altars for honoring heroes within the city, and examine the traditional appearance of columnar monuments in the Forum Romanum. An extensive and contentious discourse surrounds the issue of Caesar's death and his transition from dictator to *divus*. I propose that the altar and column of Caesar be included in this discussion; using long-established traditions, these monuments argued architecturally for Caesar's deification months before Augustus found proof in a great daylight comet.

The Ara Fortunae Reducis and Freestanding Altars at Rome

Megan Goldman-Petri, Princeton University

Amid a republican tradition of temple building, the early Julio-Claudian erection of freestanding altars constitutes a striking phenomenon. The *Res Gestae* attests to a moment of innovation concerning freestanding altars. Augustus' text recounts that in 19 B.C.E., the Senate consecrated an altar to Fortuna Redux in honor of his successful return from the East. Then, in the following section, the text records that another altar to Pax Augusta was awarded subsequently in 13 B.C.E., and consecrated similarly on behalf of his return, this time following campaigns in Spain and Gaul. The decision to dedicate an altar without a temple and an altar to a private individual—for in these years, Augustus was, technically, a private—as a public monument of a religious nature was novel in Rome, and the altar's establishment belonged to a series of events that palpably broke with republican tradition and were contemporaneous with the rise of the Principate.

The quality and extent of the Ara Pacis' preservation, as well as its wealth of sculpted adornment, have granted that altar a rare and exceptional status among the extant ancient evidence. Yet the *Res Gestae* demonstrates that the Ara Pacis was not the first altar awarded to Augustus by the Senate. Nor is it likely that its form was unique. In this paper, I treat the earliest known example of a freestanding altar at Rome—the Ara Fortunae Reducis—and its relationship to the better-preserved Ara Pacis. And through a study of the altars' forms and location, I suggest that historical and religious changes can be read from the introduction of this novel architectural form into the topography of the city.

SESSION 4B: Workshop**Cultural Heritage by AIA–Military Panel (CHAMP) Workshop:
Cultural Heritage Challenges in the New Military Environment***Sponsored by the Cultural Heritage by AIA–Military Panel (CHAMP)*MODERATOR: *Laura Childs*, Cultural Heritage by AIA–Military Panel (CHAMP)**Workshop Overview Statement**

The military environment is changing in various, often unpredictable ways because of the shrinking military budgets, shifting national strategic priorities, political revolutions, and other factors. Military priorities and capabilities to protect cultural heritage can be minimized or lost in such a changeable environment. CHAMP supports the military through close partnerships with many military and academic constituencies to provide cultural heritage education and training, good policy guidelines, good cultural resource tools, and scholarly advice about sites and artifacts. This workshop will address these issues and determine the best practices for aiding the military in preserving cultural heritage.

The workshop will last for one three-hour session divided into two sections. The first section will be an hour long and will be devoted to five-minute lectures; the second section will consist of roundtable discussions. Five of the lectures will consist of the 2012 CHAMP Workshop roundtable moderators summarizing actions taken since last year. Priority for the other lecture slots will be given to students summarizing their theses/dissertations on military operations and cultural heritage preservation.

In the second section, the roundtable discussions will continue last year's discussions:

Education: Discuss the types of education material, methods, and training aids that are available or in development for both the military and academia.

Contingency Plans: Develop contingency plans for immediate implementation (within 60–90 days) whenever crises occur.

Cultural Heritage Resources: Develop and make available of cultural heritage information such as GIS maps, site descriptions, and a list of the cultural property covered by the 1954 Hague Conventions (e.g., museums, libraries, archives, religious sites) for military personnel to access easily.

International Military Cultural Heritage Working Group (ImCurWG) Integration with and Support to CHAMP/CHCAG: Understand how ImCurWG can work with CHAMP and other groups to provide support in crises.

Original Research: Present original research topics and ongoing projects in the areas of cultural heritage preservation and military operations.

Audience members will be encouraged to engage in dialogue that will result in actionable results. Students may find the original research roundtable the most helpful for their coursework. Those who attended last year's roundtables are encouraged to join other roundtables in 2013 to interchange their knowledge in different forums.

PANELISTS: Education: Moderator, *Lisa Kahn*, George Mason University. Contingency Plans: Moderator, *Benjamin Roberts*, Brockington Associates. Cultural Heritage Resources: Moderator. *Cori Wegener*, Smithsonian Institute. International Military Cultural Heritage Working Group (ImCurWG) Integration with and Support to CHAMP/CHCAG: Moderator. *Joris Kila*, MOD the Netherlands. Original Research: Moderator, *Patrick Swan*, Army War College

SESSION 4C: Colloquium

The Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace: Architecture, Cult, and Connections

ORGANIZER: *Bonna D. Wescoat*, Emory University

Colloquium Overview Statement

Archaeological work in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace has long centered on the innovative and often idiosyncratic designs of the architectural spaces central to the rites of initiation in the cult of the Mysteries. Recently, in addition to assessing archaeological reconstructions, scholars have emphasized broader questions raised by the intriguing structures, including problems of patronage, function, access, viewer experience, and pan-Mediterranean influence. This colloquium presents a cross-section of current research on these issues as they affect the island's architecture, dedications, cult, and international connections.

The first two papers propose new reconstructions for key buildings serving the cult and its visitors, exploring the implications of artistic choices on viewers' experiences. Each addresses the significance of the patron, situating the structures squarely within Late Classical and Hellenistic cultural and political dynamics. A third presentation further considers patronage, examining sculptural dedications placed strategically along the sanctuary's processional route. The monumental size and expensive, imported Egyptian granite that forms the base of at least one such dedication attest to foreign benefactors' desire to maintain a monumental, material presence at Samothrace. A fourth paper centers on important new developments in geospatial technologies used for capturing, managing, and visualizing data from the Sanctuary of the Great Gods.

Further broadening our understanding of viewer experience and cult practice are two contributions that consider intersections of archaeology, architecture, and epigraphy. The first investigates the problem of access into the sanctuary's sacred buildings, analyzing the contexts and meanings of the so-called prohibition inscriptions. The second proposes the celebration of an annual Dionysia festival in the sanctuary, on the basis of inscriptions found on the island and elsewhere. Both papers add invaluable to our understanding of the uses of the sanctuary and its structures, a problem that has proved elusive in previous research. Finally, reflecting growing interest in the site's significance in the Roman period and in identifying the legacy of the cult abroad, the last paper investigates cultic and architectural references to Samothrace in the city of Rome, arguing that the small island had an impact far beyond its own harbors.

Offering a fresh view of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods as the locus of cultic practices and architectural and sculptural innovations that shaped the island and reached across the Mediterranean, this colloquium highlights recent research and signals the direction of future research in this important Hellenistic cult center.

Reconstructing the Decorated Ceiling of the Hall of Choral Dancers in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, Samothrace

Amy Sowder Koch, Towson University

Ornamental marble ceilings seem to have been a favored form of architectural sculpture in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace. Sophisticated coffering systems crowned with sculpted floral, animal, and figural motifs adorn the ceilings of at least three key buildings lining the processional route through the sacred precinct. These decorative embellishments represent a major investment of artisanship and expense for the sanctuary and provoke considerations of the significance of ceiling decoration as an important component of the initiates' experience as they moved through the sanctuary and, by extension, through the rites of the Mysteries.

The Hall of Choral Dancers, in particular, held the finest and perhaps most elaborate of these three ornamented ceilings. Placed squarely in the center of the sacred valley, the building, which is the earliest and largest of the all-marble structures in the sanctuary, may have been dedicated by Philip II, whom we know from literary sources to have been an initiate into the cult. He legendarily met his future wife (mother of Alexander), Olympias, at the site. The sophistication of the porch construction and the quality and character of the sculpted heads and busts from the ceiling of the colonnaded porch, which strongly resemble Greek gods, heroes, and portraits of the Macedonian royal family, certainly suggest an elite donor.

This paper reconsiders the archaeological evidence for the coffered ceiling of the Hall of Choral Dancers in light of excavations in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace in the 1990s. Parameters for constructing the heavy ceiling atop the broad, winged porch space are explored; a new design for the complex scheme of massive marble beams and multiple sizes of recessed coffer blocks is proposed; and new interpretations of the identities and importance of the sculpted figural ornaments displayed in the lids are offered. In addition, the impact of the elaborate ceiling treatment on the experience of the viewer is discussed.

The Milesian Lady's Banquet Hall in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, Samothrace

Bonna D. Wescoat, Emory University

In the middle of the third century B.C.E., a woman from Miletos donated a remarkable Ionic marble building to the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace. Nearly everything about the building sets it apart from the traditional trajectory of Greek architecture. The design—a temple-front facade with flanking side wings—is exceedingly rare in ancient Greek architecture. A large fragment of an inscribed architrave block known since 1854 identifies the donor as a private woman from Miletos, a situation so exceptional in a sanctuary dominated by royal dedications

that Alexander Conze, at least, suspected she was the hetaira of a Diadoch. Known in the 19th and early 20th centuries as “le temple ionique” or “le temple des Cabires,” the Milesian dedication as we now understand, chiefly on the basis of its plan, served as an elegant dining facility. The central chamber acted as a staging area for feasts enjoyed by diners in the two wings, in the manner of the finest dining chambers in Macedonian royal palaces and fancy houses.

In this paper, I offer a new reconstruction of the Milesian Banquet Hall based on recently uncovered elements as well as newly assigned material, and I assess the building within the broader context of Hellenistic architecture, cult practice, and patronage. The proposed elevation demonstrates that the architect drew explicitly on Macedonian forms not only for aspects of the plan but also for the Ionic elevation of the central pavilion. The Corinthian window jambs, however, are an ingenious addition. They tie the Milesian Banquet Hall to two other Samothracian buildings that famously employ the Corinthian order—the Propylon of Ptolemy II and the Rotunda of Arsinoë II. In addition to its contribution to Hellenistic architecture, the Milesian Banquet Hall epitomizes the importance of celebratory dining in the mystery cult of the Great Gods. Its dedication signals the role wealthy private women enjoyed as benefactors far beyond the confines of their hometowns in the High Hellenistic period.

Epiphany in Bronze: Colossal Commemoration in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods

Susan L. Blevins, Emory University

Famous for its innovative buildings that housed the enigmatic Mysteries, the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace was also a dynamic site of sculptural commemoration and self-representation. The entrance complex on the Eastern Hill and the stoa terrace on the western side of the sanctuary have emerged as primary locations for individual commemoration. Yet an often-overlooked colossal pink granite statue base discovered on the slope northwest of the Hieron between the Hall of Choral Dancers and the ravine demonstrates that the sacred heart of the sanctuary was also a fitting location for a sculptural dedication, but to what end?

Though only partially preserved, the two foot-shaped cavities for the tenons of a colossal bronze statue are discernable on the base. After calculating the approximate height of the sculpture based on recent studies of colossal statue proportions and norms of statue base size, I contextualize the monumental work within the religious and political history of the sanctuary. An examination of potential subjects suggests a Hellenistic or Roman ruler; I review the few prime candidates. The expensive pink granite base imported from the Aswan quarries in Egypt, combined with the statue’s colossal size, signaled the importance of the dedication and distinguished it from commemorative statuary elsewhere in the sanctuary. More important for our understanding, however, is the strategic location of the dedication on a podium immediately west of the Hieron. As initiates and other visitors progressed through the sanctuary and rounded the portico of the Hall of Choral Dancers, the colossal bronze would have been revealed to them. In a complex synthesis of sacred and political associations, this epiphany echoed the revelation of the Mysteries in the adjacent Hieron and resonated with the ideas of epiphany prevalent in eastern ruler cults. In addition, the dedication may have

evoked conceptions of the ruler as savior, a characteristic reflected in the capacity of the Great Gods to protect initiates from peril at sea. After ceremonies in the central sanctuary, the colossal bronze as visual panegyric would have remained present, visible to initiates and visitors from the western side of the valley and the stoa terrace.

Toward a Spatial Archaeology of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, Samothrace

Michael C. Page, Emory University

While archaeologists were early adopters of GIS, recent technical improvements in geospatial technologies offer new potential for capturing, managing, and visualizing data. The recent trend in spatial archaeology involves spatial analysis as much as it does the creation of inventories from field surveys. This paper therefore discusses the various digital methods being employed at the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace with regard to data collection, post-processing, and management of temporally and spatially referenced data, which are organized in a geodatabase.

Within the current geodatabase, there is a digital elevation model (DEM) of the entire island of Samothrace at an accuracy of approximately 15–20 m horizontally and 30 m vertically. Previous work at the sanctuary has produced both a general site plan and a higher-resolution digital surface model (DSM) that focused on man-made structures collected by total station survey data. The current topographic survey seeks to expand our knowledge of the existing terrain by producing a high-resolution digital terrain model (DTM) using both total station and GPS. The terrain model seeks to capture the site as it exists today and is intended to be the first step toward geomorphic predictive analysis of the history of the sanctuary.

Changes in remote sensing and other digital-imaging processing technologies pose new opportunities for photographic survey efforts. Standard and gigapixel panoramas are now being combined with existing scene photographs and aerial images. These assets are assigned a spatial and temporal reference and are organized within the geodatabase. This inventory offers researchers and site managers a means to examine the site from a distance in both context and detail and the ability to detect change over time.

Key to success is the proper data management of our field-collected data. A geodatabase of the island proper and the sanctuary was constructed that includes elevation, aerial, satellite, GPS, total station, and other vector-based data. Such a geodatabase allows us to bring together spatial and temporal data of the sanctuary, organize it in a meaningful way, and place it within the greater context of the island for further spatial analysis. However, combining different data sets that are captured by various formats, methods, resolutions, and scales poses unique challenges in developing such a global geodatabase.

Entering the Hieron at the Sanctuary of the Great Gods

Clemente Marconi, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

The question as to whether those who had not undergone preliminary *myesis* were permitted to enter the Sanctuary of the Great Gods lies at the core of the understanding of the local mystery cult and the interpretation of the relation between ritual and architecture on Samothrace. Critical to this question is the interpretation of two inscriptions expressly forbidding the uninitiated to enter to the hieron (variously taken as referring to either a specific building or the temenos as a whole). This paper revisits the evidence concerning the findspots and original topographic and architectural context of these two texts, drawing on a new analysis of the archival sources pertaining to the excavations of the inscriptions and of the buildings to which they have been associated. One inscription was found in the so-called Anaktoron (Samothrace 2.1, no. 63), in a context of reuse that is post-Antique: this inscription can hardly be used to support the argument that the uninitiated were allowed to enter the sanctuary and forbidden entrance only to specific buildings. The second inscription (Samothrace 2.1, no. 62), however, was found among the marble debris from the superstructure of the Hieron, and it can confidently be associated with this building: most likely, this text was engraved on one of the blocks of the string course of the walls. This inscription, dated to the first century B.C.E., can be best explained within the context of an increased number of visitors to the site during this period, which may have prompted an express reference to which buildings could be entered by specific categories of pilgrims.

The Annual Samothracian Festival Attended by *Theoroi*

Kevin Clinton, Cornell University, and *Nora Dimitrova*, American Research Center in Sofia

The Mysteries in Samothrace were held at several different times each year, throughout the sailing season. In addition to these, presumably minor celebrations, it has been commonly assumed that there was also a great annual celebration of the Mysteries (as at Eleusis), which attracted *theoroi* from many parts of the Graeco-Roman world.

Nora Dimitrova, however, has advanced strong arguments that this annual festival was actually the Dionysia. She has pointed out that two Samothracian decrees, honoring *theoroi* and published in the last 20 years, announce the honors at the Dionysia, at which we should expect the honorands to be present. She has also called attention to the importance and brilliance of the Dionysia. Two lists of *theoroi* include representatives of the Leagues of Dionysiac Artists from Ionia and the Hellespont and from another region. A tragic poet from Lasos received a golden crown at the Dionysia as well as Samothracian citizenship for composing "a treatment in drama of the deeds of Dardanos," undoubtedly put on at the Dionysia in the theater at the sanctuary. A Prienian epic poet was honored at the Dionysia for writing epic poems about the story of Dardanos and Aetion and the marriage of Cadmos and Harmonia, presumably recited in the theater. A fresh examination of a recently published fragment of a copy of a Samothracian decree in Cos shows that the Samothracian festival attended by the Coan *theoroi* was indeed the Diony-

sia. The Dionysia were probably held in late spring or early summer, a time of year ideal for sailing, and this was also the occasion, as *theoroi* lists attest, for initiations in the Mysteria, which we can imagine taking place over several days after (and perhaps also before) the Dionysia.

Samothracian Influences at Rome: Monuments and Cultural Exchange in the Second Century B.C.E.

Maggie L. Popkin, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

Roman influence at the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace has been well studied, from the capture of the Macedonian king, Perseus, on the island in 168 B.C.E. to the interventions of emperors such as Hadrian. Roman initiates into Samothrace's mystery cult, attested to by initiate lists, left an indelible mark on Samothrace. Yet Samothracian influences in the city of Rome remain relatively unexplored, despite a wealth of material evidence.

I focus on a series of monuments in Rome indebted to the cult and/or architecture of Samothrace: the Temple of the Lares Permarini, the altars of the Samothracian gods in the Circus Maximus, the Temple of Apollo in Circo, the Temple of Hercules Musarum, and the Round Temple to Hercules on the Tiber. A systematic reexamination of the archaeological remains of these structures and their literary, epigraphic, artistic, and numismatic representations reveals the influences of Samothrace's renowned marble Hellenistic architecture on these Roman monuments. Questions that arise include, Why did Samothracian architectural elements appear in these particular Roman structures? What drew Roman patrons to turn to Samothrace for inspiration? It becomes clear that the monuments in question were almost all built during Rome's conquests of Greece and Asia Minor in the second century B.C.E. by generals who had earned triumphs for victories in these areas and would have been familiar with Samothrace's cult and architecture. I argue that these monuments shaped the architectural elaboration of Rome's triumphal route when Rome had to define itself in contrast to the Hellenistic cultures it was conquering. Yet these buildings did not set up a simplistic contrast between Rome the conqueror and Greece the conquered. Rather, I demonstrate that Romans embraced Samothracian influences because Samothrace and its gods belonged by the second century to both Roman and Greek culture; these monuments along the charged route of the triumph positioned Roman generals—and Romans generally—as conquerors of and inheritors to Greek culture. Ultimately, this paper illustrates that Samothrace was hardly just a receptacle for foreign influences; it had a critical impact on foreign cultures—including Rome itself—that far outstripped its diminutive size.

SESSION 4D: Joint AIA/APA Colloquium
Attica Beyond Athens: The Athenian Countryside in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods

ORGANIZERS: *Danielle Kellogg*, Brooklyn College, City University of New York, and *Jessica Paga*, College of William and Mary

Colloquium Overview Statement

Despite recognition of its significance, there have been few concerted efforts to analyze and understand the nature of rural Attica in the Classical and Hellenistic periods in ways that take into account both its dynamic nature and its political unification under the dominance of the *asty*. Investigations have tended to one of two extremes: studies focused on individual demes (Müssche, Goette, Platonos-Giota, Garland, and others), many of which emphasize the differences between disparate Attic locales; or examinations of particular issues associated with the countryside, such as farming practices, the political nature of the demes, or the economics of the grain supply (Moreno, Osborne, Whitehead, and Jones), which have a tendency to regard Attica as a more or less undifferentiated whole and which subordinate rural issues to interest in Athens. These studies, while informative and beneficial to the field, have nevertheless served to illuminate the relative scarcity of treatments of Attica that consider the evidence comprehensively—this is, that attempt to respect the interconnectivity of the demes and at the same time investigate regional differences.

To address these issues and emphasize the integral importance of Attica to the study of the polis of Athens, our panel considers the countryside as a unified and dynamic area. The integrated nature of the Athenian countryside is examined through analysis of monumental architecture in the first paper; the distribution and location of border demes in the first and second papers; epigraphic evidence considering property ownership, territoriality, and intra-Attica movement in the second, third, and fourth papers; literary sources that describe particular aspects of the demes or countryside in the first and third papers; the existence of microregions within the countryside in the second and third papers; and the role of graffiti in determining identity in the fourth paper.

Collectively, these papers explore the nature of the Attic demes, not just in juxtaposition to the *asty*, but as autonomous units that helped shape and define the urban polis of Athens. They demonstrate the variety and richness of evidence—epigraphic, literary, archaeological, and topographical—for the countryside and indicate how attention to rural Attica can complement, augment, and even contradict the more traditional understandings of classical and hellenistic Athens. The examination of questions of mobility, territoriality, identity, and claims to space with regard to the Attic countryside shows that it is necessary to consider the entirety of the polis to more fully understand the functioning of Athens in the fifth through third centuries B.C.E. Closer attention to the demes and countryside is one way to move beyond the *asty* and think about the Athenian democracy worked, how Athenian society operated, and how a polis—consisting of both *asty* and countryside—can be considered a dualistic unit, one in which the individual demes also have autonomy and are part of the broader city.

Ultimately, this panel seeks to reintegrate the Athenian countryside into broader discussions of Athenian society and politics and to point the way toward a new approach to and understanding of the Attic demes. The demes should no longer remain in the background or serve as mere illustrations of particular aspects of the polis, such as the silver mines near Thorikos or the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes. Rather, the demes deserve their own active and multivalent voices in the study of Athens.

DISCUSSANTS: *Danielle Kellogg*, Brooklyn College, City University of New York, and *Jessica Paga*, College of William and Mary

The Monumental Definition of Attica in the Early Democratic Period

Jessica Paga, The College of William & Mary

This paper seeks to explore how the vast geographic territory of Attica was defined and delineated during the period between the reforms of Kleisthenes in 508/7 B.C.E. and the Persian Wars of 490–480/79. These decades were a transitional time in Athenian history, when a new chapter in Athenian identity—specifically, a new democratic identity—was being forged. Part of this new conception of what it meant to be an Athenian hinged on both the abstract notion of “belonging” to a deme and the physical concretization of what was considered Attica. This dualistic definition—the former part predicated on the use of the demotic and registration within a single deme and the latter on built structures, road networks, and topographic modifications—contributed to the overarching transformation of the countryside from a loosely conceptualized area subservient to and/or ignored by the *astu* into an integrated and integral component of Athenian citizenship, democratic identity, and sociopolitical functionality.

Previous scholarship concerning the countryside of Attica and its definition has frequently focused either on individual demes or regions or on the northwest border areas between Attica and Boeotia. In this paper, I argue that we should approach the Attic countryside as a unified topographic entity rather than as a collection of disparate villages and geographic areas. One of the ways in which such an approach is made possible is through the analysis of monumental architecture built along the border areas—both coastal and terrestrial—in the late sixth and early fifth centuries. It is during this particular period that “Attica” as both a coherent geographic space and intrinsic component of the Athenian polis comes into being.

In 506/5, the Athenians achieved an astonishing double victory over the combined Boeotian and Chalkidian forces in northwestern Attica (Hdt. 5.74–8). At the same time, the Spartans and Corinthians, who had previously gathered at Eleusis in the hopes of making a triple-pronged invasion, disbanded and made their way home without recourse to any military engagement (Hdt. 5.74). These military episodes, documented both in Herodotus and inscriptions (IG 1³ 501; SEG 54 518), speak to a concern with the western borders of Attica in the years soon after the Kleisthenic reforms. Concurrent with these attacks on the southwestern and northwestern edges of the territory of Athens, the Aeginetans continued to domi-

nate the coastal areas, attacking Phaleron (Hdt. 5.79–89) and causing havoc along the southern border. The Athenian response to these attacks can be measured in the buildings erected along border areas during the period between ca. 508/7 and 480/79.

An examination of large-scale monumental construction projects at Eleusis, Rhamnous, Thorikos, Brauron, Sounion, Halai Aixonides, and Piraeus demonstrates how the Athenians attempted to define their borders during this period of sociopolitical upheaval, transition, and military threat. The building of temples, theatral areas, and fortifications indicates an interest in the delineation of Athenian territory as well as an attempt to announce the newly established Athenian sociopolitical and military power in monumental fashion. Moreover, the geographic distribution of the new buildings, their chronological specificity, and their forms and materials indicate that they were part of a comprehensive building program in Attica during the first three decades of the nascent democracy. In this way, the evidence of the built environment, when taken together with the accounts of Herodotus and the epigraphic testimonia, shows how the Athenians quickly and concretely established the physical boundaries of Attica as a visible counterpart to the adoption of the demotic in order to define and confirm the conceptual and visual definition of “Attica.”

The Border Demes of Attica: Settlement Patterns and Economy

Sylvian Fachard, Joukowski Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, Brown University

Northwestern Attica has attracted scholarly attention since the end of the 19th century. The most systematic study of the entire region remains unpublished, while much work has been dedicated to the fortifications known on the Attic-Boeotian border. The most intensive survey work was done by the Stanford Skourta Plain Project in the late 1980s (Munn 1989; Munn and Munn 1989; Munn and Munn 1990). Still, the borders of Attica remain unsettled, and a systematic geoarchaeological study of the borderlands—from Eleusis to Aphidna—has never been attempted.

This paper focuses on the border demes of Attica in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Based on new mapping of all known archaeological sites, this study examines the ways in which the different microregions that form Attica’s borderland were settled and exploited. In addition, it also examines the specificities of the border demes in comparison with the rest of Attica, assesses their economic resources, and defines the profile of a particular “border identity.”

The study is divided into three parts. The first part uses GIS to combine archaeological sites with geological and soil maps, in order to study the ways in which the landscape was settled in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Focusing on the demes of Eleusis, Oinoe, and Phyle, as well as the region of Panakton and the Koundoura Valley, I show how the best alluvial soils were well exploited at an early stage by people living in nucleated settlements. Some of the settlements were fortified, offering a superior degree of protection to the people working the agricultural surfaces. The more marginal lands could attract people as well, although their settlement patterns tended to be influenced by more short-time issues.

Based on the profile of land occupation, I then estimate the “carrying capacity” of the borderland. I calculate the potential production for western Attica by recording the surfaces that could be used for grain (wheat and barley). I also assess how many people the different microregions could feed. For example, the deme of Oinoe could exploit some 627 ha of prime soils; half of these were being exploited annually (biennial fallow). Such a surface could potentially produce some 7,400 *medimnoi* of grain, enough to feed 1,000 people. Most of this land could be exploited by walking less than 4 km from the fortified deme center, although it seems that isolated individual dwellings were built in the deme as well. Similar minimal estimates can be established for Eleusis, Panakton, Phyle, and the Koundoura Valley.

These results can then be compared with those from other demes of other regions of Attica. Such a detailed bottom-up estimate of the border demes has never been attempted before. It leads to a discussion about the economic potential of the Athens borderland and the role it played in the broader *chora*.

Finally, as communities exploiting the productive opportunities of the microregions in which they lived, the demes often had their own identities. I consider whether the border demes of Attica differed from demes situated in other regions and whether the presence of the border had an influence on the settlement patterns and the economic exploitation.

Ancestral Deme and Place of Residence in Classical Attica

Danielle Kellogg, Brooklyn College, City University of New York

This paper examines the epigraphic evidence from several rural Attic demes as an important, hitherto underexamined, aspect of the determination of social and economic historical patterns in classical Athens. It is well known that a substantial percentage of the Athenian population did not reside full-time in the deme with which they were politically affiliated. Prevailing theories often contain two underlying assumptions about the movement of people in Athens: first, that the movement was bipolar—that is, from the city to the country or the country to the city; second, that the movement was centripetal, with the Athens-Piraeus urban complex acting as the locus of attraction for movement within Attica, to the virtual exclusion of other locations. Such assumptions privilege the political and economic attractions of the city and port over other factors in determining residence in the territories of ancient Athens, and they fail to recognize the sophistication of the dialectic between city and country. Even studies that have attempted to nuance the picture of mobility in Attica have focused nearly entirely on evidence from the funerary inscriptions, ignoring other avenues of investigatory relevance.

Demographic analysis of the entirety of the epigraphic record demonstrates that this picture does not accurately reflect the true circumstances of personal mobility in Attica (Taylor 2007 and 2011; Akrigg 2007 and 2011). Instead, we see the emergence of several different residence patterns that demonstrate, first, that the Athens-Piraeus complex did not exert a centripetal pull on the inhabitants of ancient Attica to the degree that is sometimes assumed, and second, that a complex nexus of factors—social, political, and economic—influenced the decision of an individual to reside or own property in a given locale.

My study combines a close examination and analysis of the extant material culture as contextualized by the literary tradition with an exploration of current scholarly theories on the economic and social networks of ancient Athens. By comparing the epigraphic record from several rural Attic demes whose locations, economy, and settlement structure differ, I demonstrate that a surprisingly large percentage of those residents whose movements we can track remained in the ancestral deme or moved to other areas of rural Attica rather than moving full-time to a city or port. This finding has important implications for how we should view the relationship between Athens and rural Attica in the Classical period. My analysis also reveals that smaller, regional networks in the Attic countryside existed, which allowed some "rural" locations to act as loci of population attraction. The existence of such regional networks supported the emergence of more localized spheres of influence in the political, social, and liturgical realms, which had little to no overlap with those of the city. It becomes clear that the migration patterns of rural Attica reveal a far more dynamic interaction between city and countryside than has hitherto been fully appreciated.

Territoriality and Mobility: Defining Space in Attica Through Graffiti

Claire Taylor, Royal Holloway, University of London

This paper uses rock-cut graffiti to examine territoriality and claims of belonging in the Attic countryside. It argues that the large number of short textual and pictorial graffiti that appear across the Attic landscape represent ways in which both citizens and noncitizens laid claim to space and negotiated personal identities. Examination of this material questions current ideas about territoriality within demes and also provides new ways to think about mobility within Attica.

Most studies of rupestrial inscriptions in Attica have focused on *horoi* (boundary markers) and have situated these within political or economic contexts, interpreting them as "quasi-official" or "authoritative" texts that delineate deme boundaries or private property. As such, they have become integral to the debate on the territoriality of demes and closely linked to the political machinery of Athens. But *horoi* are not the only form of epigraphic material that appears within the Attic landscape, and they are arguably not the most common: the past 25 years have revealed large quantities of graffiti dating to the Archaic through Hellenistic periods. These comprise personal names, *kalos* inscriptions, sexual insults, abecedaria, ships, horses, dogs, footprints, and phalluses carved into rocks in a variety of locations. If *horoi* have a quasi-official function (which is by no means certain), this corpus is, by contrast, intensely personal, and interrogating it in terms of spatial dynamics, identity negotiation, and human mobility prompts a reconsideration of the nature of territoriality within Attica.

This paper therefore compares graffiti from two different Attic contexts: hillsides (Hymettos, Vari) and streets within demes (Thorikos). Recent work has argued that the graffiti at these sites can be interpreted as a mechanism in which communities were created over space and time; if this is true, these two case studies raise questions about the use of space, and the movement of different types of persons in it, from a noninstitutional and (probably) nonelite viewpoint. Graffiti therefore define space differently from the deme acting in an official capacity. The

following questions will be posed: Why do we find relatively large quantities of writing (textual and nonverbal) in seemingly isolated places such as hillsides? To what extent are these markings similar to or different from those within a busy deme streetscape? Are they inspired by the same cultural impulses, or do they negotiate space in different ways? Does the content reveal by whom—or for whom—they were made? What do these marks suggest about temporal aspects of mobility within Attica, not only to and from busy “industrial” areas, but also to what appear to be out-of-the-way places?

Recent work on graffiti has shown that this mode of writing was not necessarily an antisocial activity in the ancient world. Therefore, simply arguing that these were the subversive marks of bored peasants does not interrogate this material fully enough. Instead, here it is argued that these graffiti defined space in sophisticated ways, provided a way in which personal, sexual, and religious identities were negotiated over space and time, and demonstrate contexts of mobility within Attica. They suggest that territoriality was of interest to a wider group of people than the deme qua deme alone.

SESSION 4E: Colloquium

Immigration and Provincialism Through Inscriptions

ORGANIZERS: *Andrea F. Gatzke*, Pennsylvania State University, *Sarah E. Bond*, Marquette University, and *Alexander Meyer*, The University of Western Ontario

Colloquium Overview Statement

Populations and individuals in the Roman world relocated for a variety of reasons, including military deployment, trade, employment, and opportunities for social advancement. Inscriptions can provide extensive firsthand attestations of immigrants and their interactions with local communities. By extension, epigraphic evidence can inform us about identity, assimilation, and cultural exchange within the Roman provinces. This panel explores the many ways in which epigraphy can supplement literary evidence and further our understanding of cultural assimilation and resistance in the Roman provinces.

The panel begins with an exploration of dual identity in “Patterns of Enlistment and Identity in the Roman Imperial Fleet,” wherein the author considers the question of Romanization within the Roman fleets by tracing the perpetuation of sailors’ native identities and traditions as recorded through their epitaphs. This concept of dual identity is further developed in the second paper, “The Settlement of Freedmen in Roman Anatolia,” which analyzes language choice in the private inscriptions of Roman freedmen who settled in the Greek East. This paper explores how individuals negotiated their ties to both their Roman past and their new provincial communities.

The third and fourth papers look specifically at the interactions of Roman soldiers with the local communities. In “Epigraphic Evidence for Auxiliary Veterans in Moesia: Settlement and Social Ties,” the author uses veteran tombstones, votives, and military diplomas from Moesia to trace the origins of these soldiers and to illuminate the dynamics of their relationships with both the military and local

communities. The fourth paper, "Brewer, Businessman, and Barbarian: The *Cervesarii* in the Latin West," shows how the evidence of *cervesarii* (beer makers) and beer drinking among Roman troops indicates cultural transmission and assimilation between the Roman army and local communities.

The last two papers use inscriptions to supplement and challenge the ancient literary sources for the provinces. The author of "Fictionalizing Immigration: The Ancient Novel in Light of Epigraphic Onomastics," compares epigraphic onomastics from the Greek world with the names of characters in Greek novels, revealing inconsistencies between the two and ultimately questioning the cultural accuracy of such literary works. The final paper, "Reverse Immigration: Home and Death in Roman North Africa," examines the idea of "home" through epigraphic and literary evidence for the immigrants returning to their North African fatherland.

Patterns of Enlistment and Identity in the Roman Imperial Fleet

Steven Tuck, Miami University

Studying the epitaphs of sailors in the Roman imperial fleet along with the few surviving documents on common sailors reveals the pattern of recruitment and enlistment in the fleet. The 324 surviving epitaphs that record place of origin—province, region, or tribe—allow us to draw some conclusions about the movement of people from specific areas into this branch of the Roman military. The unequal distribution of places of origin can probably be traced to one of two factors: a long tradition of sea faring, as with Egypt, or the relative poverty of a province, as with Pamphylia. What is also clear from this evidence is that while the sailors and marines became components of the Roman system, arguably supporting and benefitting from it, they retained forms of dual identity throughout their lives. As their epitaphs reveal, when they entered Roman military service they adopted Roman names, ranks, and burial practices. For example, on enlistment, all took or were given the *tria nomina* of Roman citizens. The vast majority of their burials, even those of discharged sailors, are found in communities clustered around the major naval bases and deployment locations. Their final ranks, service records and ship deployments are also repeatedly precisely recorded. Nevertheless, the sailors did not abandon their native identities. As noted, their birthplaces are recorded as an important element of their identities throughout their lives. In addition, some documents also report their birth names and tribes; others record filiation with native names; and a number record the native names of their wives. The result of these documents is an image of a dual identity, through which sailors adopted Roman practice for official practice and maintained non-Roman identity for personal life. The results should call into question the level of Romanization undergone by military enlistees who may in fact have been creating small communities of immigrants across the Roman world and bringing their local names and traditions into long-held Roman territories.

The Settlement of Freedmen in Roman Anatolia

Andrea F. Gatzke, Pennsylvania State University

Much scholarship on immigration within the Roman world focuses on groups of free people moving throughout the provinces, with particular emphasis on groups such as soldiers, merchants, and colonists. Less attention has been devoted to the settlement patterns of Roman freedmen, who frequently took the opportunity of their newfound freedom to move to the provinces and find their own fortunes.

In this paper, I focus on the immigration of Roman freedmen to Roman Anatolia. Through the study of the private inscriptions left by these individuals, we gain an understanding of how freedmen reestablished their personal identities in their new homes and to what degree they maintained or eschewed their ties to Rome. To do this, I briefly trace the settlement patterns of Roman freedmen throughout the provinces of Roman Anatolia, as far east as Cappadocia. When possible, I also discuss the movements of these freedmen in relation to their former masters or one another. The close ties between the imperial freedmen and the imperial administration are well documented by Weaver (*Familia Caesaris* [Cambridge 1972]), but these continuing ties of loyalty apply to many nonimperial freedmen as well. Further, the evidence shows that freedmen often settled in Anatolia together in family groups and, in some cases, formed their own collegia.

After establishing the geographic distribution of these settlements, I explore how freedmen used language to identify with or separate themselves from their former Roman masters. Many chose to erect their inscriptions in Latin, even though in most cases Latin would not have been their first language. Yet others returned to the use of their original Greek language or opted for bilingual inscriptions, perhaps as an effort to reassert their place within the Greek community. When paired with the mapping of these settlements in the first half of the paper, this linguistic data reveals that the retention of a Latin/Roman identity was more beneficial in certain regions of settlement than in others.

Epigraphic Evidence for Auxiliary Veterans in Moesia: Settlement and Social Ties

Alexander Meyer, University of Western Ontario

The Roman *auxilia* played a significant role in the integration of its soldiers into the fabric of the empire by exposing them to military culture and causing them, at times, to move long distances in the course of their service. However, after 25 years of service, auxiliary veterans were free to settle wherever they chose. While some remained near their former posts, others retired to military or civilian communities some distance from their units. Individual veterans' decisions to settle at particular locations, in turn, suggest the ultimate effects of their military service, their interaction with local communities, and their ongoing contact with their places of birth.

This paper explores the settlement patterns of Roman auxiliary veterans in Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior as they are reflected in known inscriptions on stone and military diplomas in order to illuminate the dynamics of soldiers' relationships with military and civilian communities. In so doing it continues the exceptional work of Birley and Roxan, whose excellent papers show the regional

diversity and complexity of veteran settlement in Britannia, Germania, and Pannonia. It also builds on Mirković's examination of military diplomas in Moesia Superior. To identify patterns of veteran settlement, this paper presents a summary of an exhaustive examination of the epigraphic record of the veterans known to have served in Moesia, while discussing several particularly notable cases in detail. It compares soldiers' origins with the evidence for their final places of residence as suggested by the locations where their tombstones, votives, and diplomas were discovered. It also investigates the circumstances that may have led veterans to settle at particular urban, military, and rural sites. This contribution thereby reveals the complexity of the cultural and social factors at play in auxiliary soldiers' lives and considers soldiers' influence on their homelands and local populations.

Brewer, Businessman, and Barbarian: The *Cervesarii* in the Latin West

Sarah E. Bond, Marquette University

Within the Roman world, one's drink of choice could advertise both social status and identity. While wine was the preferred drink of civilized Romans and Greeks, the Graeco-Roman elite viewed beer as the drink of the Other (cf. Tac. Germ. 23). Though the cultural dichotomy has long been recognized, this paper argues that the making and selling of beer is a strong indicator of cultural transmission and assimilation. This contribution addresses the epigraphic evidence for professional *cervesarii* (beer makers) and other tradesmen connected to the production and sale of beer in the Latin West and use them to reexamine the military diet, trade networks, and interplay between the Roman army and local traders. Although recent investigations into beer in the western parts of the Roman empire have clarified its association with "barbarians" and explored the archaeological evidence for breweries, there has been much less focus on the identities, religious associations, and communal interactions of the brewers and traders themselves.

A particular focus of the paper is an inscription from a sanctuary in Trier that cites the dedicator as a soldier and a "negotiator cervesarius artis effectur(a)e." An investigation into this soldier, businessman, and brewer, together with the account records from Vindolanda, demonstrates the interaction of the army with provincials. Moreover, other inscriptions point to brewer guilds in Gaul and provide evidence for the inclusion of women in these voluntary associations. Though largely overlooked, these brewers were cultural mediators in the provinces that profited from the promotion of a "barbarian beverage" demeaned by the elite but enjoyed by the provincial masses of the north.

Fictionalizing Immigration: The Ancient Novel in Light of Epigraphic Onomastics

David P. C. Carlisle, Washington and Lee University

In the last several decades, a burgeoning interest in ancient novels among scholars of the ancient world has led scholars in the historical disciplines to consider the novels' potential value as sources, especially for the study of social history. Their value for this purpose, however, depends in part on the degree to which their authors took pains to create a "realistic" depiction of the Mediterranean world. The

data from the ancient novels must thus be checked against evidence from other, nonliterary sources. In this paper I continue the work begun in Hägg's (1971) article on the naming of characters in Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesian Tale* by comparing the authors' use of names in four novels depicting immigrant communities with epigraphic evidence for onomastic trends as documented in the PHI compendium of Greek epigraphic collections and the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*.

The novels abound in named characters, and many of the names belong to Greeks living in communities outside Greece: Magna Graecia, Cilicia, Caria, Cappadocia, Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia, for example. The authors' fascination with Greeks on the "fringe" of the Hellenistic world has led some to tout the ancient novel as a valuable window into Hellenistic society in the more remote regions of the Mediterranean world. Others, however, have questioned the degree to which this interest in distant regions reflects any real knowledge of those regions on the authors' part. A careful comparison of the names given to the novels' characters with inscriptional evidence suggests, in fact, that there are significant variations among the authors, and that each took a different approach to the problem of depicting Greeks living outside Greece. A number of tentative conclusions may be drawn from this examination, the most significant of which is that the novelists vary considerably in the level of detail at which they take care to make their narratives "realistic." Much of the evidence is unremarkable; there are, however, significant oddities that can offer fleeting glimpses of how an immigrant's Greek name may have advertised aspects of his or her nonlocal identity to, or hidden them from, a local community.

Reverse Immigration: Home and Death in Roman North Africa

Josephine Shaya, College of Wooster

Recently, scholars have shown the great degree to which immigrants moved around the Mediterranean and the strategies they used to maintain their ethnic identities while abroad. This paper, by contrast, explores returns home. Putting funerary epitaphs of North Africans together with literary texts (especially Augustine's *Confessions*), it asks: who returned, what was home (was it a region, a city, a family? a spiritual home?), and what role did home play in the definition of an individual?

Overall, the epitaphs of those who came home (predominantly veterans and their wives, but also merchants, slaves, freedmen, and pilgrims) offer idealized images of homecoming and home. Their commemorators wrote that the deceased found comfort in burial in their native soil. Burial abroad, in contrast, was typically viewed as a grave misfortune; some commemorators even related that they had brought the dead home to keep them close by in death as they had been in life. Most often, home was with one's ancestors and family. The wise man prepared a tomb in his homeland for himself and his relatives before death. One epitaph recounts the benefits of doing so: to live for eternity in the inscribed record, to stay in familiar groves, to look upon the tomb with continuous pleasure in one's native city, and to have nearby the household gods that one gave to one's children.

While inscriptions offer idealized images of homecoming and home, Augustine shows that for returning immigrants, home could be a complicated place. When

his mother, Monica, died at Ostia, Augustine observed, she did not want to die at home (Thagaste), nor was she interested in the tomb she had prepared there for herself beside the remains of her husband. Rather, for Monica (and Augustine), home had come to mean something else entirely. Yet even as Augustine rejected his earthly homeland, he marshaled the language of home and homecoming to speak to a higher world. While remembering Thagaste was difficult, imagining the return to an eternal homeland was a deeply charged experience.

Augustine's story of Monica's death, like the epitaphs, offers an idealized image of home. As idealized visions, these sources help us understand some of the meanings of home and homecoming in the Roman world and the role they played in shaping the identity of those who moved around the empire.

SESSION 4F

New Research on Mainland Greece

CHAIR: *Zarko Tankosic*, Indiana University

Excavation in Thebes, Boeotia, Greece: Results of Work on and near the Ismenion Hill, 2011–2012

Kevin Daly, Bucknell University, *Stephanie Larson*, Bucknell University, *Alexandra Charami*, Ephor, 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, *Pari Kalamara*, Ephor, 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, and *Vassilis Aravantinos*, Honorary Ephor

This paper offers preliminary results from the first two seasons of exploration in the areas of the Ismenion Hill and Herakleion in Thebes, Boeotia, Greece.

An ongoing *synergasia* between the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, and the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, this project has explored these areas through noninvasive investigation and systematic and scientific excavation.

The Ismenion Hill, a multiperiod site offering material from the Bronze Age through the Late Byzantine period, has been investigated sporadically and somewhat irregularly for more than a century. Unfortunately, at times excavators have not fully published or reported the outcome of these investigations. In more recent years, well-documented rescue excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service in an area adjacent to the Ismenion Hill have brought to light important remains from a site now recognized as the Herakleion. As well as the Ismenion Hill itself, the current project explores the land between these known shrines.

In the summer of 2011, noninvasive studies set in place a local grid, yielded a detailed microtopographical plan, and produced magnetic and electromagnetic data. In addition, the architect generated a detailed digital plan of the extant on-site remains of the Temple of Apollo Ismenios. Resistivity and GPR surveys were completed in summer of 2012.

In addition to other materials, cleaning and test excavation in 2011 revealed a Late Byzantine bothros containing a range of coarse vessels, fine wares, and coins. This important deposit offers the potential for a well-dated seriation of cooking

pots and thus synchronization of coarse and fine pottery of the period. Additionally, two Late Byzantine graves were explored, and these graves produced evidence of multiple internments and the likely use of charneling.

More extensive excavation in 2012 exposed a broad range of discoveries, including Mycenaean, classical, and Byzantine material. In addition to significant finds from the Mycenaean and Late Classical periods, of particular note is a series of Early Byzantine graves, which offer a glimpse of changing funerary practice in Thebes throughout the Byzantine period, especially when contrasted with the 2011 graves from the same site and regional comparanda.

The results of two years of study provide an outline of a history of the Ismenion Hill and the possibility of characterizing specific changes in the cultural use of this sanctuary space. Future exploration—especially that centered on the Temple of Apollo—promises much.

Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project 2012: Excavations at Ancient Eleon

Brendan Burke, University of Victoria, *Bryan Burns*, Wellesley College, and *Alexandra Charami*, Greek Ministry of Culture, 9th Ephorate

The Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project (EBAP), a Greek-Canadian *synergasia*, conducted its first full season of excavation in 2012. Our work at the acropolis of ancient Eleon (adjacent to the village of Arma) expanded our knowledge of the Mycenaean occupation and also produced important new information about the site's reuse and rebuilding in the Archaic and Classical periods.

We have uncovered remains of two substantial buildings of the Mycenaean Palatial period, when Eleon (referred to as *e-re-o-ni* in Linear B) was a secondary center of the Theban kingdom. Multiphase architecture that transitions from the Late Helladic (LH) IIIB to LH IIIC periods indicates a sustained presence throughout the period of palatial collapse. The broad range of artifacts recovered point to a diversity of activity and social complexity: painted pottery, ivory and bone carvings, ceramic rhyta, and terracotta figurines, along with strong evidence for textile production.

The best-preserved phase of activity dates to the period after the great fires that destroyed the major Mycenaean palace centers. Complete pots of the early LH IIIC style are preserved in a destruction level. One room contained a ceramic basin set within the floor near a large sherd hearth. Also uncovered were ceramic vessels—including cooking pots, hydriai, deep bowls, and kylikes—comparable to material found in a similar destruction level at Lefkandi (Lefkandi Ib).

The most prominent visible feature at the site of Eleon is a large, beautifully constructed polygonal wall dating to the later Archaic or Classical period. Yet our initial excavations recovered no evidence for settlement activity of either the Archaic or Classical periods within the walled area. We have, however, uncovered material that is suggestive of cult activity, in the form of numerous miniature vessels, terracotta figurines, and bronze phialae dating to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. The most significant aspect of the polygonal wall, which follows an unusual curved path along the east side of the acropolis, is its placement in relation to earlier constructions at the site dating to the Mycenaean period. The classical builders at Eleon intentionally elaborated and mimicked the Mycenaean constructions,

creating a dialogue with the past while at the same time constructing their own historical present. The wall at Eleon is an impressive monument that has not been previously discussed adequately. Our research is beginning to address the many issues regarding the wall's chronology, typology, and significance.

Micromorphological Analysis of Sediments at the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Site of Mitrou, East Lokris: Patterns of Floor Construction and Maintenance

Aleydis Van de Moortel, University of Tennessee, and *Panagiotis Karkanas*, Ephoreia of Palaeoanthropology-Speleology of Southern Greece

The study of ancient settlements is usually based on the analysis of architectural or cultural phases. The sediment that builds up the excavated deposits inside or outside houses is rarely studied. This paper presents preliminary results of the micromorphological analysis of sediments at the site of Mitrou, excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service and the University of Tennessee.

Mitrou has an approximately 5 m deep archaeological sequence starting in Early Helladic IIB and ending in the Late Protogeometric period (ca. 2400–900 B.C.E.). The preliminary micromorphological study of more than 240 thin sections derived from 103 samples taken in the field shows that the occupational deposits from the Early Helladic to Late Helladic (LH) I phases are characterized by meticulous maintenance practices with multiple replastered floor sequences. These include resurfacing of debris produced inside houses by day-to-day activities. In this way, an impressive thick sequence of overlapping worn-out floors and occupational deposits was produced with a characteristic finely layered macroscopic appearance. This practice largely ended sometime in the LH I phase, and from then on, floors as a rule were not frequently repaired and their construction technique was more standardized. The observed change is broadly correlated with the rise of a local ruling elite at Mitrou.

The Norwegian Archaeological Survey in the Karystia: Preliminary Results of the First Field Season (2012)

Renate Storli, University of Hamburg, and *Zarko Tankosic*, Indiana University

In this paper, we present the preliminary results of the first field season of an archaeological survey project sponsored by the Norwegian Institute at Athens. Survey was carried out in the vicinity of the town of Karystos in southern Euboea (the Karystia), Greece. The 2012 season was the first in a series of four planned years of exploration in an area called the Katsaronio Plain, a hitherto archaeologically almost completely unmapped part of Euboea. The project took place over a period of five consecutive weeks in the field, and it consisted of an intensive diachronic archaeological surface survey conducted using an arbitrary 100 x 100 m grid superimposed over the entire designated survey area. Based on previous work in the Karystia, we expected to find an artifact-rich landscape with evidence for habitation and use spanning several millennia (from at least the Final Neolithic period until modern times).

During the 2012 season, the survey focused on the southern third of the Katsaronio Plain. Our finds were numerous and consisted of both clearly outlined concentrations of archaeological remains (findspots) and individual transect finds, whether features or artifacts. The preliminary results indicate an intensively and persistently used and constructed cultural landscape. As in most of the Karystia, the earliest known finds from the Katsaronio Plain can be tentatively dated to the Final Neolithic period and consist of ceramic and lithic (overwhelmingly obsidian) evidence. The wealth of obsidian found in the Karystia thus far singles out this area as an important consumption and/or redistribution center for this material during Aegean prehistory. In addition, finds from the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods further testify to the continuous occupation of the Katsaronio Plain and its significance as an important agricultural resource for people living in the Karystia during the past 6,000 years. In this paper, we briefly enumerate the project's goals, present the finds and achievements of the 2012 field season, and offer some tentative interpretations of current results in light of the data from earlier archaeological work in the area.

Terraces and the Organization of Agricultural Production at Late Bronze Age Korphos-Kalamianos

Lynne A. Kvapil, Xavier University

This paper presents new data on agricultural terrace walls in the Korphos-Kalamianos region of the southern Corinthia. The data presented here shed light on the organization of agricultural production in this region during the Late Bronze Age (1400–1200 B.C.E.) and the integration of Korphos-Kalamianos into the political economy of the palace state of Mycenae.

Agricultural terraces, although difficult to date, can reflect the expansion of cultivation at various times in the past and, in some circumstances, the nature of past agricultural programs. Fieldwork documenting agricultural terraces in the vicinity of Korphos-Kalamianos was conducted in 2009 and 2010 under the auspices of the Saronic Harbors Archaeological Research Project (SHARP). Ten targeted areas in the SHARP survey zone were investigated. The data collected from this investigation, together with data from the intensive survey conducted by SHARP, suggest that the earliest phase of terracing in the region dates to the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E., when the settlement at Kalamianos was occupied and the Mycenaean palaces were at the height of their power.

The agricultural terraces, when considered together with data from SHARP, reflect variability in the modes of cultivation designed to increase agricultural production in the Korphos-Kalamianos region during the Late Bronze Age. Terrace construction was also extensive and would have required a significant investment of resources. All this indicates that there was a demand for agricultural resources beyond what would have been required for a hinterland settlement and that the resources needed to meet this demand were likely supplied by an external source, such as the palace at Mycenae. Mycenae's contribution of resources dedicated to the improvement of agricultural production may have been made in exchange for use of the natural harbor near the settlement of Kalamianos. If Mycenae did directly contribute skilled labor and resources, then the relationship between the palace

and the Korphos-Kalamianos region would be unique given the direct involvement of the palace in agricultural production at a distance from the palatial center.

A Preliminary Examination of the Miniature Vessels from the Bronze Age Site of Iklaina

Joann Gulizio, College of Charleston

Recent excavations at the Late Bronze Age site of Iklaina in the southwest Peloponnese are revealing the remains of an important second order center, believed to be *a-pu₂*, a district capital mentioned in the Linear B tablets from Pylos. Among the numerous finds, nearly 40 miniature vessels have been recovered from various contexts throughout the site. Miniature vessels, as their name suggests, are diminutive pots found in various contexts in the Late Helladic period. Often they have the same shape as larger vessels known in the Mycenaean repertoire, but their miniature size suggests that they did not serve the same functional purpose as their larger correlates. Little scholarly attention has been paid to vessels of this type, primarily because they are generally found in small numbers at individual sites scattered throughout the Mycenaean world. Moreover, when these miniature vessels are published, the focus is on those decorated in the Mycenaean style; very few undecorated miniature vessels receive any attention in publications. As a result, little attempt has been made to establish a typology for these vases based on technique of manufacture, fabric, form, and decoration, so much so that all miniatures, except for baskets (FS 319), belong to a single pottery class (FS 126).

The number of miniature vessels from Iklaina offers a unique opportunity to analyze this class of pottery. I begin with a presentation of the examples from this site, all of which are undecorated and consist primarily of open shapes. A clear distinction can be made between handmade and wheelmade examples, not only in the technique of manufacture but also in the clay fabrics used to produce these vessels and the shapes employed. Developments in shape can also be discerned; based on comparisons with their larger correlates, miniature vessels at Iklaina probably began to be manufactured in the Early Mycenaean period (LH I–II) and continued well into LH III. Using the Iklaina evidence as a starting point, I apply the information obtained from this data set to the study of other miniature vessels throughout the Mycenaean world. Such a detailed and analytical study allows for a discussion of the purpose that these unique vessels may have served.

Mud: From Huts to Palaces

Julie Hruby, Dartmouth College, and *Jen Glaubius*, The University of Kansas

Most discussion of prehistoric Greek architecture focuses on structural remains in stone, despite the acknowledged importance of less archaeologically visible materials such as wood and mudbrick; it is difficult to study materials that no longer exist, or that exist only in heavily degraded form. However, mudbrick comprised extensive and critical parts of structures that ranged in size and stature from small field huts to palaces, and fully understanding the stratigraphy of these structures requires an evidence-based understanding of the ways in which they failed.

The MUD (Messenian Undertakings in Decay) project has photographed and mapped scores of modern vernacular mudbrick structures in Messenia regularly over the past decade, allowing us to test a series of hypotheses about the ways in which building collapse might occur and about the ways in which architectural and landscape features affect the deposition of the mudbrick remains. For example, some structures are nearly fully mudbrick and others have small mudbrick elements, such as blocking walls, while some have ashlar ground floors with wood and mudbrick superstructures. The evidence from both watching individual structures over time and seriating structures by degree of decay suggests that despite a range of proximate causes, a limited number of collapse sequences are common. It is also clear that the rate of collapse of mudbrick structures is substantially slower than we might have estimated. Critically, we have found that visible disintegration occurs in infrequent bursts rather than steadily over time, which suggests that we should model building collapse as a punctuated equilibrium.

Similar failure sequences can be visible archaeologically. The conclusions from observations of mudbrick decay in modern structures are applied to build an understanding of the physical collapse of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos, which originally had a mudbrick superstructure. Our research reveals that despite the catastrophic nature of the palatial collapse, even some parts of the structure above the ground floor would have remained visible for decades after the palace was abandoned.

SESSION 4G

Commercial Activities in Campania

CHAIR: *Rabun Taylor*, University of Texas at Austin

Gems and Gem Working at Pompeii

Lydia Herring-Harrington, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

This paper assesses the contributions of archaeological context to our knowledge of Roman gems and gem working. Engraved gemstones and cameos—small, portable, and highly collectable since the Renaissance—are typically lacking in contextual information. Often, we are fortunate to know even the city in which a gem was found, and analyses focus primarily on questions of iconography and style.

Pompeii, however, is one city for which we possess information about the original contexts of gems. Gems were notable enough that even early excavators frequently recorded the specific rooms in which gems were uncovered. Furthermore, gems from recent excavations are part of studies that heed not only findspots but also the context of the surrounding neighborhood.

I discuss gems found throughout the city in order to explore what can be learned about the circumstances of their production and use. As an example, two gem deposits of particular interest have been interpreted by scholars as craftsmen's hoards and evidence for gem carving at Pompeii. In one, there are also implements of some sort, perhaps for gem working. The other deposit is located by a private

shrine. These deposits provide the opportunity to address what might be learned about technique in the absence of much direct evidence for it and to consider whether there were ritual aspects to the production and use of gems. Analyzing these deposits in light of hoards from other sites, local epigraphic evidence, and other gems from Pompeii helps determine what the Pompeian context contributes to our understanding. Were they produced locally?

As another example, I consider the discovery of gems in various fill deposits. These gems are not set in rings or other forms of jewelry in which they would have been worn. The deposit of gems in this manner, despite their presumed value as items of personal adornment and expressions of identity (when used as seals), offers a window into the life cycle of engraved gems. Gems can be challenging to interpret in a physical context since they were connected primarily to specific individuals rather than to specific properties the way a set of tableware would be.

The Pompeii Artifact Life History Project: Aims and First Season's Results

J. Theodore Peña, University of California, Berkeley, *Caroline Cheung*, University of California, Berkeley, and *Elizabeth Niespolo*, California State University, Long Beach

This paper presents the results of the first field season of the Pompeii Artifact Life History Project (PALHIP), a long-term research project aimed at elucidating the life history of portable material culture at the Roman city of Pompeii through the detailed analysis of sets of previously excavated materials from selected archaeological contexts. The goal of the project, carried out under the auspices of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei, is to collect evidence regarding the acquisition, use, storage, maintenance, reuse, recycling, and discard of craft goods at Pompeii, which will advance our understanding of how information of this kind can be employed to investigate synchronic and diachronic patterns of consumption in the Roman world.

A four-person research team conducted a pilot season during June and July 2012, which focused on the development of the methodology to be employed in the long-term project. This involved the analysis of the artifact assemblage recovered at the Villa Regina at Boscoreale, a modest farmhouse located 1.2 km to the northeast of Pompeii that was excavated in its entirety during the period from 1978 to 1983. The materials examined came for the most part from three contexts: a storeroom that contained a large number of intact, in-use objects arranged on shelving and on the floor; a large ash layer deposited on the floor of the villa's kitchen which contained whole and fragmentary objects in primary discard; and the surface soil of the vineyards that surrounded the villa, which contained mostly fragmentary objects in secondary discard. The objects examined included pottery, ceramic lamps, glass vessels, bronze vessels, iron implements, stone objects, and objects in bone. These were characterized for their material and manufacturing technique; for alterations caused by use, including abrasion, chipping, and breakage; for the presence of incrustations and sooting; and for the presence of repairs and other modifications. This involved the use of traditional techniques, such as examination by naked eye and weighing, as well as examination under ultraviolet light and examination under a digital microscope. A CAD routine was used to

calculate the displacement, capacity, surface area, specific gravity, and efficiency of the complete vessels. The results shed light on the techniques employed for the manufacture of many of the objects, the specific ways in which many of the objects were used, and the types and degrees of wear and breakage displayed by objects still in use and those subject to discard.

Nunc est bibendum: An Analysis of Pompeian Commercial Ceramic Assemblages

Victoria Keitel, University of Reading

Commercial properties in Pompeii have previously been analysed using viewshed analysis, frescoes, graffiti, and ancient texts with varying degrees of success. To date, artifact analysis has not been successfully conducted on these properties, partially because of the incomplete nature of the recording of the archaeological material. This paper uses recently excavated 79 C.E. commercial ceramic assemblages to determine the accuracy of the interpretations made about the different functions of commercial properties in the city. A comparison between the ceramics from two commercial properties (VII.6.26–7), excavated by the Via Consolare Project, and an assemblage from the commercial property incorporated into the House of Amarantus (I.9.11–12), excavated by the University of Reading, reveals that the ceramic assemblages can help determine the function of the property.

Recent artifact analysis has centered on the use of assemblages to determine the different functions of rooms in Pompeian households. This paper uses the same methodology to determine what the types of ceramic vessels found reveal about the function of the space. Correspondence analysis allows the assemblages to be compared using vessel ratios and functions, revealing variations in trade, status, and consumption practices in the ancient city.

A Wine Distribution Center on the Bay Naples? New Evidence from Villa B at Torre Annunziata

Michael L. Thomas, University of Texas at Austin

The Italian Ministry of Culture, through the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei, has granted the Oplontis Project permission to carry out a full study and publication of Oplontis B, sometimes called Villa B or the Villa of L. Crassius Tertius. Though located very near the luxurious and sprawling Villa A (Villa di Poppaea), Villa B is strikingly different in what it preserves, and the nature of these remains tell us that it had a very different function from its opulent neighbor. Excavations and study conducted by the Oplontis Project in the summer of 2012 suggest that Villa B may not even be a villa in the traditional sense but rather a distribution center that focused primarily on wine. The presence of two nearby roads and what may be a row of townhouses to the north seems to confirm that Villa B occupies a position in a small settlement or town, perhaps even the town of Oplontis itself.

Originally excavated in the 1970s and 1980s, the plan of the primary structure reveals a central courtyard surrounded by a two-story peristyle of tuff columns. Surrounding the courtyard are more than 50 rooms, on both ground floor and sec-

ond-story levels. The site preserves unparalleled material for new study in several underrepresented areas, including human remains, foodstuffs, coins, jewelry, and more than 400 amphoras. An important find is the discovery of the skeletons of 54 individuals in Room 10, one of the large ground-floor rooms that opened onto the southern portico. These were people who had gathered in this room to escape the eruption and presumably to await rescue from the sea overcome by the hot gas and poisonous fumes of the first pyroclastic flow that hit Villa B.

The Oplontis Project's comprehensive study of Villa B places these extraordinary finds—many of which have never been published—into the larger context of the trade and economy along the Bay of Naples. This paper reports on the project's first season of work at Oplontis Villa B, which included excavation, geophysical prospection, and preliminary study of ceramics.

The Life Cycle of a Roman Amphora: Repurposed Amphoras and Pompeian Infrastructure

Catherine Baker, University of Cincinnati

The development of frameworks and models for the life cycle of Roman pottery has been the subject of much discussion in recent scholarship, but additional case studies are needed to illustrate how these models can be applied to excavated materials. This paper utilizes reuse models to investigate the life cycle of one class of ceramics, amphoras, in the context of two Pompeian insulae (I.1 and VIII.7) excavated by the Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia (University of Cincinnati). These excavations have demonstrated that amphoras could serve in many different capacities in an urban environment; reused amphoras were utilized in aboveground drainage systems, in underground soak-away systems for the removal of commercial or industrial waste, in construction and leveling fills, and in various other infrastructural roles.

My analysis brings together the ceramic, architectural, and environmental data related to these instances of reuse in order to reconstruct patterns and preferences in the ways in which the inhabitants of Pompeii chose to repurpose amphoras. These patterns of reuse suggest that in an urban environment, discarded amphoras were an important and readily available resource in industrial and commercial infrastructure. Furthermore, this study demonstrates that patterns of reuse and repurposing differed between the two excavated insulae, suggesting variability both in access to discarded amphoras and in the nature of industrial and commercial activities taking place in each insula. By focusing on the provenance and dating of these vessels, as well as the date of their reuse in urban infrastructure, this case study also reveals evidence for the time lapse between the use and reuse of the amphoras, which in turn reveals something of the length of their journey from production to infrastructural use. Through this careful examination of reused and repurposed amphoras from two Pompeian insulae, it is therefore possible to both examine the applicability of models for the life cycle of Roman amphoras and to illustrate in greater detail the frequency and importance of reused amphoras in an urban context.

SESSION 4H: Workshop

Minoanization vs. Mycenaeanization: Two Sides of the Same Coin?

MODERATORS: *Evi Gorogianni*, INSTAP, and *Peter Pavúk*, Comenius University, Bratislava

Workshop Overview Statement

The purpose of this workshop is to evaluate and rethink the manner in which we, as archaeologists, approach, understand, and analyze the various processes associated with acculturation, agency, and the “formation of cultural identities,” using as a test case the Bronze Age Aegean. Participants will compare and contrast the phenomena of Minoanization and Mycenaeanization, which share the basic defining feature of material culture change in a periphery, change driven by trends manifesting in a core zone. Ongoing research in the region continues to demonstrate that Minoanization and Mycenaeanization affected the development of material culture in large parts of the Aegean during the Bronze Age, and it is therefore no surprise that these topics have served as the focus of numerous independent papers and a variety of scholarly conferences.

Scholarly discourse on these two phenomena, despite their similarities, differs profoundly. Over the past decade or so, our understanding of how processes of acculturation developed and functioned has changed considerably. Whereas current discussions on Minoanization have already been informed by more recent theoretical trends, especially in material culture studies and post-colonial theory, the process of Mycenaeanization is still very much conceptualized along traditional lines of explanation, with a few notable exceptions. Since these phenomena occurred one after the other in chronological sequence, it makes sense that any reappraisal of their nature and significance should target those regions of the Aegean Basin that were affected by both processes. This approach will highlight their similarities and, perhaps most importantly, their differences. Thus, the present workshop focuses on the southern and eastern Aegean, in particular the Cyclades, Dodecanese, and northeastern Aegean Islands.

The core questions this workshop seeks to address are: How did these acculturation phenomena develop over time? How did they vary geographically? In what ways did these processes affect local artistic and technological traditions? How did these processes affect various media (e.g., pottery, architecture, sculpture, clothing)? What were the responses by local populations to these phenomena (e.g., wholesale or selective appropriation? domination and/or resistance)? Does the core-periphery concept apply here? How useful is the newly coined concept of “hybridization” for the study of the above-mentioned aspects? And how did these processes (acculturation, emulation, and hybridization) affect local identity formation?

The workshop is divided into three sections. The first section consists of short presentations on the topic by workshop panelists, who will discuss the phenomena from the point of view of their site or region or the artifactual category of their expertise. In the second section, the moderators will conduct an open discussion (involving workshop panelists and the audience) on the phenomena, their manifestation in different regions and archaeological sites, and the interpretive

models used there to make sense of the archaeological record. In the third and final section, two discussants will comment on Minoanization and Mycenaenization, respectively, integrating recent work and developments and the preceding discussion.

PANELISTS: *Cyprian Broodbank*, Institute of Archaeology, University College London, *Luca Girella*, Università Telematica Internazionale Uninettuno, Rome, *Amy Raymond*, Diablo Valley College, *Ivonne Kaiser*, University of Bonn, *Julien Zurbach*, École normale supérieure, Paris, *Salvatore Vitale*, University of Calabria, *Eleonora Ballan*, Ca' Foscari University of Venice, *Nicholas G. Blackwell*, Bryn Mawr College, *Jerolyn E. Morrison*, University of Leicester, *Arianna Trecarichi*, University of Pisa, *Jason W. Earle*, Institute for Aegean Prehistory, *Natalie Abell*, University of Cincinnati, *Jill Hilditch*, University of Amsterdam, *Joanne Cutler*, University College of London, *Rodney D. Fitzsimons*, Trent University, *Bryan Feuer*, California State University, Dominguez Hills, *Carl Knappett*, University of Toronto, and *Michael L. Gally*, Millsaps College

SESSION 4I: Colloquium

Microarchaeology: Stephen Weiner's Contributions to Archaeological Science

ORGANIZER: *Lynne A. Schepartz*, University of the Witwatersrand

Colloquium Overview Statement

Weiner is a world-renowned expert in archaeological science and biomineralization. In his latest book, *Microarchaeology: Beyond the Visible Archaeological Record* (New York 2010), Weiner argues that “archaeological science” is not the best term for what we are honoring—because all of archaeology is science. Instead, he offers “microarchaeology” as a better descriptor of what most archaeological scientists do, including the studies of archaeobotany, ceramic technology, trace residue analysis, taphonomy, site formation analysis, dietary reconstruction, and dating.

Initially trained as a geochemist and geobiologist, Weiner began to collaborate with archaeologists as the “expert” who could decipher the intricacies of the archaeological record. He is perhaps best known for his work on bone diagenesis and biomineralization applications for stable isotope analysis and the refinement of dating techniques (radiocarbon, amino acid racemization, and thermoluminescence) and for his studies of ancient fire traces—including the remains of fire undetectable by the naked eye.

Weiner pioneered the use of on-site Fourier transform infrared spectrometry—the key technology for understanding anthropogenic aspects of complex prehistoric deposits. Applying this technique to ancient hearths, he was able to document the use of specific plant remains as fuels by collaborating with phytolith researchers.

Unquestionably, one of Weiner's major contributions has been the development of research facilities at the Kimmel Center for Archaeological Science, where many scholars have learned to apply the different analytical techniques he champions.

In this session, a group of international scholars who have trained with Weiner—or benefitted from his guidance and intellectual generosity—present case studies that reflect the different areas of archaeological science that have benefitted from his innovations. The papers cover a broad geographic range (China, South Africa, Greece) and temporal span (the Paleolithic to the Middle Bronze Age). Following the brief introduction, there are three 20-minute papers, a break, two 20-minute papers, and then a 30-minute discussion led by Weiner.

DISCUSSANT: *Stephen Weiner*, Weizmann Institute of Science

Evidence for the Earliest Controlled Use of Fire at Wonderwerk Cave, South Africa

Michael Chazan, University of Toronto, *Francesco Berna*, Boston University, *Paul Goldberg*, Boston University, *James Brink*, National Museum Bloemfontein, *Ari Matmon*, Hebrew University, and *Liora Kolska Horwitz*, Hebrew University

The ability to control fire was a crucial turning point in human evolution, but the question of when hominins first developed this ability still remains. Developing methodologies that can offer compelling evidence that the presence of fire is the result of human action is a major challenge. While microscopic analysis of intact sediments has played a major role in the analysis of hearths found on Middle Stone Age and Middle Paleolithic sites, these methods have rarely been extended to early hominin localities. Here, we show that micromorphological and Fourier transform infrared microspectroscopy analyses of intact sediments at the site of Wonderwerk Cave, Northern Cape province, South Africa, provide unambiguous evidence—in the form of burned bone and ashed plant remains—that burning took place in the cave during the early Acheulean occupation, approximately 1.0 Ma. To the best of our knowledge, this is the earliest secure evidence for burning in an archaeological context. The presence of burning in an archaeological context at Wonderwerk Cave raises major questions about the way early hominins used fire that will be the focus of the next stage of research at the site.

New Methods for Extraction of Information Embedded in Microscopic Plant Remains: Implications for Archaeological Spatial Analysis

Ruth Shahack-Gross, Weizmann Institute of Science

The spatial distribution of artifacts often leads to reconstruction of activity areas in archaeological sites. The distribution of microscopic plant remains, in the form of calcitic wood ash crystals and opaline grass phytoliths, is thought to define areas where social and economic activities took place. Yet, patterns of ash and phytolith distribution may be changed because of post-depositional chemical diagenesis. Inspired by Stephen Weiner's approach of studying the completeness of the archaeological record, I present here two new methods related to the study

of wood ash and grass phytoliths. The first method, based on the stable isotopic compositions of carbon and oxygen in calcitic wood ash, enables unequivocal identification of wood ash in bulk samples, allows reconstruction of burning temperatures, and thus helps define the spatial distribution of hearths. The second method enables determination of the degree of preservation of phytolith assemblages. Both new methods allow for more secure reconstructions of activity areas based on the palaeobotanical record.

Burnt, Stained, or Lost Forever? Taphonomy and Bone Patterning at Panxian Dadong, South China

Lynne A. Schepartz, University of the Witwatersrand, and *Sari Miller-Antonio*, California State University, Stanislaus

Analyzing the faunal evidence for human behavior at early prehistoric sites is often a challenge that goes beyond the recognition of taxa, bone element representation, or spatial patterning. Bone chemistry and sediment analyses are now some of the most important tools available for understanding bone condition and representation. At Panxian Dadong, a late Middle Pleistocene cave site in Guizhou, China, the mammalian bones were highly fragmented and appeared to have been subjected to numerous taphonomic and diagenetic processes. It was first necessary to distinguish burnt bones from those stained by groundwater by examining the bone chemical composition and the internal and external bone surfaces.

We next identified spatial patterns of differential bone and tooth density in the deposits. One stratum was termed the “tooth layer” for its disproportionate representation of dental elements. The question then became whether bone absence in some areas was reflecting human behavior or whether it was due to bone diagenesis and loss. We sampled the sediments and analyzed them for evidence of bone dissolution. This study, conducted by R. Shahack-Gross, concluded that differential preservation of bone was not a likely reason for the tooth layer and led us to consider human behavioral explanations for the bone layer.

Detailed microstratigraphic studies of the Dadong sediments by P. Karkanas documented paleoclimatic fluctuations and an unexpected phenomenon—freeze-thaw activity. These data helped us interpret the taxonomic composition of the faunal assemblage and the changes in human use of the cave over time.

These examples illustrate how microarchaeological techniques were an integral part of the fieldwork at Panxian Dadong and how nuanced understandings of site-formation processes and site use can be achieved through such integrated approaches.

Supported by the National Science Foundation, the Henry Luce Foundation, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the National Geographic Society, the L.S.B. Leakey Foundation, the University of Cincinnati, and California State University at Stanislaus.

Microstratigraphic Study of a Middle Bronze Age Updraft Pottery Kiln, Kolonna, Aegina, Greece

Panagiotis Karkanas, Ephoreia of Palaeoanthropology–Speleology of Southern Greece, *Francesco Berna*, Boston University, *Walter Gauss*, Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens, Greece, and *Daniel J. Fallu*, Boston University

Ceramic kilns are an indispensable part of the study of ceramic technology. However, studies of the construction and maintenance of ceramic kilns are mostly based on field observations during excavation. Here, we report the petrographic and micromorphological study of a Middle Helladic updraft ceramic kiln from the archaeological site of Kolonna, on the island of Aegina. The study focuses on the construction details and stratigraphy of the interior of the kiln as well as on the ashy sediments of the entrance area with the aim to better understand the operation of the kiln. In addition, Fourier transform infrared microspectroscopy applied directly on thin sections has provided information on the temperature of firing and on the observed mineralogical transformations.

A highly calcareous clay characterized by the presence of large amounts of marine calcareous oolite was used for the construction of the kiln. The main construction of the kiln followed two major reconstructions affecting both the walls and the floor but not the door area. This work required the total dismantling of the upper chamber and the perforated clay floor. In between the reconstruction phases, the kiln was left open for a considerable amount of time, probably during the rainy season, as is attested by the preservation of water-laid sedimentary crusts on the floor of the kiln. The firing process formed a poreless, well-reacted sealing lime crust on the surface of the plaster floor and wall of the kiln, which presumably acted as an insulating shell. The micromorphology of the ashes and the inner burnt surface of the wall suggest extensive transformation of calcite to quicklime and subsequent recalcification, which produced indurated surfaces resembling lime constructions. In contrast, the burnt remains in the entrance area are mostly attributable to cleaning of the stoking area. These burnt remains have a closer resemblance to open hearth remains, although they differ in many ways. The mineralogical transformations observed in the ashes of the burnt surfaces suggest temperatures in excess of 800°C but probably lower than 900°C. The use of highly calcareous material for the construction of the kiln, which generally is considered unsuitable for inferior thermal insulating properties and strength, is discussed in the light of the observed mineralogical transformations and fabric.

Flora and People at the Paleolithic Cave of Theopetra, Thessaly, Greece

Georgia Tsartsidou, Ephoreia of Palaeoanthropology–Speleology of Southern Greece

This paper discusses the results of the phytolith analysis conducted at Theopetra Cave in Thessaly, central Greece. Theopetra consists of one of the most important Late Pleistocene sites in Greece with occupation spanning the Middle Paleolithic to Neolithic. The aim of this study is to contribute to our understanding of the nature of human occupation during the Paleolithic and the Mesolithic horizons of the cave. Paleoenvironmental issues are addressed to unfold the climate and

vegetation conditions around the cave during that time. To this end, 12 layers described as geogenic and anthropogenic (hearths) have been sampled; these layers mark distinct successive occupation episodes. Geogenic sediments can provide evidence of the climate and the plant community structure that existed around the cave. Hearths, in contrast, are valuable indicators of the human activities that occurred within the cave. For example, they can indicate the type of vegetation collected for everyday activities and consumption. Moreover, issues related to the taphonomic integrity of the above sediments are discussed.

The results show an intensive occupation of the cave during the last interglacial, a period of mild climate, high precipitation, and rich vegetation in the catchment area. On the contrary, the phytolith assemblages of the last glacial layers show sporadic use, harsh climatic conditions, and poor vegetation. The climate ameliorated during the end of Pleistocene, and the use of cave was again more intense. Regarding plant exploitation by those frequenting Theopetra, a variety of plants, including woody parts of trees as well as the seeds of wild grasses and the leaves from dicot trees and shrubs, were used for fuel and a range of mundane activities.

Finally, Theopetra is discussed in comparison with Klissoura, another Paleolithic cave in southern Greece. On the basis of this discussion, similarities and differences in terms of environmental conditions and plant exploitation in the region during the Late Pleistocene are drawn.

SESSION 4J

Excavations in Italy

CHAIR: To be announced

Stepping Stones at Narce During the First Iron Age

Jacopo Tabolli, Sapienza–Università di Roma

Archaeological discoveries in the summer of 2012 at Narce, a settlement in the Ager Faliscus—the only Italic-speaking region on the western shore of the Tiber River, surrounded by the Etruscans—have finally made it possible to trace the evolution of two types of stone containers for the dead: *custodiae* and sarcophagi. As in Etruria, in the Ager Faliscus, cremations and inhumations coexist in the same necropoleis. *Custodiae* and sarcophagi appear to have been “stone houses” for the dead, the lids of which reflected the ancient settlement’s evolution from huts to houses.

This paper presents the first typochronological sequence of such stone containers in ancient Etruria and especially in the Ager Faliscus between the Final Bronze Age and the beginning of the First Iron Age in Italy (10th–8th centuries B.C.E.). The use of stone *custodiae* and sarcophagi appears to be one of the funerary customs that marks the difference between Latium Vetus and southern Etruria. At that moment of history, in Latium, cremations were mostly collected in dolia and inhumations in dugout coffins made from tree trunks. In the Ager Faliscus, the use of *custodiae* seems to have gone beyond the limits of the First Iron Age and persisted even in the seventh century B.C.E., when they were employed in “heroic”

burials. While in Etruria, especially at Veii, the stone sarcophagus was used only for infants, in the Ager Faliscus at Narce it characterized men and women of all ages.

Deposed in a simple trench, the recently discovered sarcophagus was a tuff monolith covered by irregular stone blocks. The unparalleled discovery of complex stratigraphy reveals ritual practices during the funeral. The finds date the tomb to the mid eighth century B.C.E. and suggest that it was a female grave. The excavation of the human remains in the sarcophagus permitted us to recognize on the bottom inside of the chest the presence of a drainage channel in the form of a "Y" ending in a circular hole at the foot of the body. Major stonecutting operations in the mid 8th century are certainly surprising. A current survey of sarcophagi from Narce stored in several different museums is allowing us to find other examples of this peculiar feature of the tomb, used as recently as the second half of the sixth century B.C.E.

The Initial Excavation of an Etruscan Pyramidal Hypogeum in Orvieto

Claudio Bizzarri, Parco Archeologico e Ambientale dell'Orvietano, and *David B. George*, Saint Anselm College

This year commenced the initial exploration of a subterranean structure in the form of a pyramid beneath the city of Orvieto. The excavation moved through a mid 20th-century floor onto a 17th floor below which was a medieval floor. Directly beneath the medieval floor, a layer of Etruscan fill was discovered. The latest material that can be securely dated in this fill is mid fifth-century B.C.E. Etruscan and Attic ware; the earliest, Bronze Age. This fill layer seems to have been brought from various tombs as part of a clearing operation and was deposited into the pyramidal cavity through the center of its apex, which is now capped with a medieval arch. The layer is striking for its lack of Etruscan black gloss, which indicates that the site was sealed before the Hellenistic period. Beneath this diverse layer of fill was a homogeneous, gray, pozzolana-like sterile fill, about 1.5 m in depth, again deposited through the central apex. The removal of this layer of fill revealed a staircase carved into the tuff descending from the apex on the north wall. At the point at which these stairs reach the adjoining wall, the carved stairs turn and descend two more steps, followed by postholes for wooden stairs. The excavation has yet to reach the level required to understand what happens when the postholes reach their adjoining wall opposite the tuff stairs. The removal of this gray sandy material exposed another layer of brown fill containing, animal bones, at least four broken braziers, broken bucchero vessels, and numerous fragments of Attic black-figure pottery. The fill and material of this locus were deposited from a point halfway down the steps.

The material found in this locus is more consistent than that from the first Etruscan locus and dates securely to the mid fifth century B.C.E. At this level, a tunnel was uncovered; it was cut from inside the pyramidal structure to an adjacent structure, also pyramidal. The floor of this tunnel is at the same level as the top of the brown fill. Currently, the cavity is 5.5 x 5.5 m at the bottom of the excavated level. It is 5.7 m from the lowest point to the closed-in apex. The walls are well dressed and show no evidence of hydraulic mortar.

Preliminary Report of Seven Years of Excavations at Monterubiaglio, Italy

David B. George, Saint Anselm College, and *Claudio Bizzarri*, Parco Archeologico e Ambientale dell'Orvietano

The last two seasons have been particularly productive in the phasing of Etruscan and Roman walls, and recent discoveries have suggested the nature of the site. Of import for the Etruscan phase are two walls that are located in the northern area. One of simple stone construction is securely datable to the Archaic period; it runs under Late Republican walls as well as imperial floors and walls. To the west and perpendicular, is an Etruscan wall of more refined construction that can be dated to the end of the fourth century B.C.E. on the basis of a foundation deposit; over that deposit was an *opus signinum* floor associated with a Roman wall to the north that follows the earlier wall's course. The soil behind the two walls is virgin. These walls run parallel to two other walls (one, a Roman wall of monumental construction with weep holes and drainage; the other, an Etruscan wall, 1.5 m thick), 25 m to the south. The latter walls run 50 m east–west and are bounded on the east by a road, and on the west by a corner. These series of walls seem to define two terraces, each with the Roman wall respecting and replacing the Etruscan. We uncovered a third Roman retaining wall to the north, near a bath; it defines a fourth terrace. Also elucidating was a mudslide of Early Imperial date covering some walls and running under others. The site was rebuilt with ceramics, frescoes, mosaics, and building material of Etruscan and republican date collected and used as fill in a third-century C.E. wall.

To the southeast is a series of roads that date from the Hellenistic Etruscan phase to at least the sixth century C.E. on the same footprint. At some point after the sixth century, another landslide changed the direction of the slope of this part of the site and seems to have changed the character of the site. At the far north, there is a kiln constructed of reused material from the bath complex.

To the south, also covered by the landslide after the sixth century C.E., are *vascae* that have a terminus ante quem of the mid third century C.E. in association with a substantial Late Antique intrusive wall. The material from undisturbed loci across the site dates from the seventh century B.C.E. to the sixth century C.E. This suggests that a water sanctuary of long-standing use changed function to a *statio* with associated production functions following the ninth century C.E. *incastellamento* of Monterubiaglio.

Sangro Valley Project: 2011–2012 Excavations in San Giovanni di Tornareccio

Alexis M. Christensen, University of Utah, and *Susan E. Kane*, Oberlin College

In 2011, the Sangro Valley Project (SVP) began new excavations on the outskirts of San Giovanni, a farming community located in the southern Abruzzo, to further the SVP's stated mission of exploration of land-use patterns and cultural change within the Sangro River valley. Since 1994, the SVP's work in the Sangro Middle Valley has focused on the region dominated by Monte Pallano, (1,020 masl), where both field survey and excavation have revealed agricultural, domestic, and monumental sites dating from the Iron Age to the Late Imperial period.

The site at San Giovanni is situated at the edge of a wide natural terrace on the southeastern slope of Monte Pallano in fields that have been subject to extensive agricultural use. We currently recognize two main phases of activity at the site: (1) late first century B.C.E.–early second century C.E., and (2) late third–seventh centuries C.E. The first phase consists of a small, private bath complex composed of three structures (A, B, and C) constructed in an *opus incertum* technique with a distinctive sandy mortar. Structure A, 4.30 x ca. 7.30 m, is poorly preserved and of uncertain function. Structure B, 6.50 x 23.30 m, consists of four rooms, one of which features an apse and doubled foundations, which suggests the use of a vaulted ceiling. Structure C, 3.36 x 5.96 m, features a *cocciopesto* flooring with an unusual rectangular void in one corner and a drain constructed of terracotta pipes and tiles. It may have functioned as a cistern or pool. The identification of a bath complex is further supported by the discovery of elements of a hypocaust system, including circular *pilae* bricks and *tubuli parietali*. Ceramic material deposited within Structure C indicates that it went out of use by the early second century C.E. Numerous finds of domestic common and fine wares suggest that these structures constituted part of an Early Imperial villa. The second phase indicates domestic and agricultural activity currently defined by a midden of tile, ceramics, slags, bone, and a series of foundations, Structure D, largely constructed in dry stone masonry. Portions of Structure D, in *opus incertum*, may be reused from the previous phase. The function and full extent of Structure D is currently unclear and requires further excavation, but it appears to consist of at least five distinct spaces and to cover an area of more than 90 m².

A Sanctuary and Its Relationship with the Territory: The Case of the Roman Temple Area of Diana Umbronensis at Alberese (Grosseto, Italy)

Alessandro Sebastiani, University of Sheffield

Last year I presented the river port of Rusellae, set at the last bend of the River Ombrone in the regional park of Maremma; this year I present a paper related to another key site located only 1 mile south of the harbor: the temple area of Diana Umbronensis at Alberese.

The discovery and excavation of the rural sanctuary and temple dedicated to Diana Umbronensis (Diana of the River Ombrone) in south Tuscany (Italy) has been the focus of the Alberese Archaeological Project for the last three years. The sanctuary represents the first case of a stratigraphic investigation of the deposits of this kind of settlement in Tuscany; excavation uncovered 80% of the site, and a clear sequence is now available ranging from the third century B.C.E. to the sixth century C.E. Additional data come from the nearby Scoglietto Cave, where excavations led in the 1960s recorded a long-term settlement sequence from the Bronze Age to the mid sixth century C.E., revealing that the cave and sanctuary underwent the same phases in the Roman period.

Within these centuries, the religious area underwent several refurbishments and abandonments, all strictly linked with major events in the nearby Roman colony of Rusellae.

In this paper, I present the results of the 2009–2011 excavation seasons along with a general overview of the settlement trends in this part of Tuscany, in an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What was the aim of the first construction of the sanctuary on the borderline between the Ager Rusellanus and the Ager Cosanus during the second half of the third century B.C.E.?
2. Which relationships were formed between the sanctuary and the Roman colony of Rusellae?
3. How was the territory of Alberese organized around the sanctuary, with a particular focus on trade routes run along the Tyrrhenian coast?
4. What was the role of the sanctuary in terms of connectivity between the sea and the mainland?
5. How did the sanctuary area react at the crisis of the second century C.E.?
6. Which were the main changes for the site during late antiquity?

A New Roman Town in the Veneto: University of Kentucky Geoarchaeological Investigations at Tezze di Arzignano (Vicenza) in 2012

George M. Crothers, University of Kentucky, and *Paolo Visonà*, University of Kentucky

The presence of a major Roman settlement at località Valbruna in the environs of Tezze di Arzignano, in the lower Agno-Guà Valley ca. 20 km west of Vicenza, has been known since the Renaissance. Uncovered twice by river floods (in 1795 and 1882), and said to have extended more than 35 ha, this site has never been systematically explored. Following archival research and topographic reconnaissances on the left bank of the Guà River, remote sensing through fluxgate magnetometer and GPR has located substantial remains of an urban grid, including a 5 m wide street oriented east-northeast to west-southwest and orthogonal to an architectural complex. The Roman structures overlie a series of circular features of different sizes (the two largest exceed 20 m in diameter), which are preserved at a significantly lower depth. The latter are presumed to be prehistoric dwellings possibly ranging in date from the Neolithic to the Late Bronze/Early Iron Ages and akin to examples from the Fiorano Culture (Savignano), Le Basse di Valcalona, and Montebello Vicentino. They would indicate that an indigenous village occupied the valley floor before Romanization. Ceramics, roof tiles, glass, mosaic tesserae, painted and moulded plaster, slag and metal implements, and human and faunal remains found sporadically in the survey area during farmwork suggest that the Roman settlement flourished between the Late Republican period and late antiquity. It may have been an oppidum of the Dripsinates, a subalpine population that was known to Pliny the Elder and enjoyed a modicum of political autonomy under the empire.

The Upper Sabina Tiberina Project: Report on the First Excavation Season at Vacone

Dylan Bloy, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, *Matt Notarian*, Tulane University, and *Gary Farney*, Rutgers University Newark

We report here on our first full field season at a Roman villa site in Vacone, Italy. The investigation of this villa, with the support of the Soprintendenza for archaeology in Lazio, is the first stage in the Upper Sabina Tiberina Project, an international collaborative research project, under the aegis of Rutgers University, investigating Roman settlement in a region where little systematic excavation has been done. We are particularly interested in the development of villas and have identified a study group of villas in the area that have *basis villae* with masonry styles that suggest Republican dates. One of these is the Vacone villa, long known from its concrete substructures, which were excavated and restored by the Soprintendenza during a limited rescue campaign from 1986 to 1987. They excavated a 40 m long mosaic floor atop the lower cryptoportico and a wine or oil press above the upper cryptoportico. Both substructures proved to be well constructed in *opus incertum* with limestone facing blocks of varying size. Our project's summer 2012 season had two components: a GPR survey in the area between the two cryptoporticoes to find subsurface anomalies that can be explored through excavation in subsequent seasons, and a five-week excavation concentrated in the area immediately north of the mosaic-floored portico atop the lower cryptoportico, where threshold blocks found during the Soprintendenza's intervention suggested the presence of rooms facing the portico. Our excavations identified six such rooms with mosaic floors along the portico. The largest threshold block led to a room with a black-and-white reticulate mosaic, which opened up through interior doorways to rooms both east and west of the central room. The easternmost room preserved evidence of a plaster collapse including decorative stuccowork. Farther west along the portico, another threshold block entered a room with a black-and-white geometric mosaic with a red border. Just west of this room was another room decorated with an *opus scutulatum* mosaic. The entry threshold had been robbed. The area between the well-preserved sections of these mosaics preserved evidence for both earlier and later use of the site. A child about three years old was inhumed in a stone-lined grave built through the mosaic floor and above the remains of the wall separating two rooms. This cross-wall bore unpainted plaster on both faces beneath the level of the mosaic floors, which suggests an earlier phase of habitation, possibly corresponding to the construction of the cryptoportico.

SESSION 5A: Joint AIA/APA Workshop Reacting to Athens, 403 B.C.E.: Historical Simulation in the Classroom

MODERATORS: *Paula Kay Lazrus*, St. Johns University, and *Saundra Schwartz*, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Workshop Overview Statement

This workshop provides attendees a hands-on opportunity to learn about “Reacting to the Past” (RTTP), a nationally recognized, Hesburgh Award-winning pedagogy that immerses students in elaborate simulation games set in pivotal historical moments. To experience the pedagogy in action, attendees will play a condensed version of a game that is of particular interest to members of the AIA and APA: *The Threshold of Democracy: Athens in 403 B.C.*, written by Carnes and Ober (New York 2005).

The Athens game centers around the political debates in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian Wars. Students are introduced to a core text—in this instance, Plato’s *Republic*—and the general historical background, then given specific role sheets that plunge them into debates on the major issues at hand.

In teaching with RTTP, faculty coach, advise, guide students, and grade written and oral work, but students are actively involved in driving the discussions and activities. RTTP promotes a wide range of crucial skills, including but not limited to critical thinking and analysis, oral presentation and writing, and independent and collaborative thinking, all skills promoted by the Association of American Colleges and Universities’ LEAP initiative and much esteemed by employers.

This workshop requires a time slot of at least two hours. Handouts with descriptions of the roles will be distributed as attendees enter the session. The session will begin with two brief introductions in lieu of formal paper presentations: The first panelist will discuss “Reacting to the Past Pedagogy: A Primer,” a brief introduction focusing on the philosophy, methodology, and pedagogical values embedded in the RTTP pedagogy. The second panelist will follow with “Athens, 403: Will Reconciliation Be Possible?,” a brief introduction setting up the historical context of the game and giving instructions for the activity to follow.

Approximately 1 hour and 20 minutes will be devoted to experiencing RTTP as direct participants. Afterward, the panelists will lead a question-and-answer session, which may also provide the opportunity to address the value of games in the classroom, RTTP and student retention, and assessment.

RTTP is a dynamic and active method of teaching and learning used by more than 300 institutions, and we believe it has a place in a wide range of courses in classics, archaeology, and history. See <http://reacting/barnard.edu/> for a bibliography and further curricular information.

SESSION 5B**Baths and Aqueducts**

CHAIR: *Fikret Yegul*, University of California, Santa Barbara

Hierarchical Stratigraphy of Travertine Deposition in Ancient Roman Aqueducts

Duncan Keenan-Jones, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, *Anneleen Foubert*, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, *Glenn Fried*, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, *Mayandi Siaguru*, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, *Davide Motta*, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, *Marcelo H. Garcia*, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, *Mauricio Perillo*, University of Texas at Austin, *Hong Wang*, Illinois State Geological Survey, *Julia Waldsmith*, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, and *Bruce W. Fouke*, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Ancient Rome established the largest and most complex water supply system yet envisaged by humankind. This enabled unprecedented population densities that rival those of modern-day urbanization. Layered calcium carbonate (CaCO_3) limestone deposits, called travertine, were deposited from water that once flowed through these aqueducts and now provide a sensitive record of the hydrology and chemistry of those ancient waters. A multiscale cross-disciplinary investigation of aqueduct travertine indicates that their characteristic fine layering does not reflect annual banding but instead records the complex interaction of physical, chemical, and biological processes on multiple spatial and temporal scales.

Optical field and laboratory analyses, integrated across a wide range of length scales, allowed the precise correlation of sub-millimeter layering in travertine deposited within the Anio Novus (Rome's highest and farthest-reaching aqueduct) along a 149 m flow path section at Roma Vecchia. Coupled plane-light/autofluorescence/cathodoluminescence microscopy and confocal microscopy reveal that dark-light layering visible in hand sample is actually present in a descending hierarchy of scales from 1 mm to 250 nm. The dark layers show much higher concentrations of organic matter and deposits of angular sand-sized particles, both best explained by storm events. The Anio Novus' source sharply increases in organic matter concentration during storm events. The probable impact of such organic matter on the microbial ecology of the aqueduct explains the observed chemistry of the majority of dark-light layering. We propose that the hierarchy of layering corresponds to individual storm events on smaller scales and to groupings of storm events on larger scales. Such groupings would sometimes, but not always, represent an autumn/winter period, resulting in a more complex relationship between layering and chronology than a strict annual one. Five erosional horizons may be associated with the flash-flood restarting of the aqueduct. This suggests at least five periods of unknown duration when the aqueduct was not functioning. It also appears that the very last phase of the Anio Novus' operation was during a period of prolonged drought, judging from the paucity of dark layers in the youngest part of the deposit. These observations require that the process of layer formation and its archaeological applications be thoroughly reinvestigated and reevaluated with particular attention to the context of each sample and aqueduct.

Excavations of the Roman Baths at Carsulae, 2005–2012

Jane K. Whitehead, Valdosta State University

The Roman city of Carsulae, founded along the Via Flaminia in the third century B.C.E., was extensively excavated by Umberto Ciotti from the 1950s to the 1970s; he created an archaeological park but left behind no field records and little published documentation. Our team began excavating in 2005 to re-explore the baths, which had lain exposed for more than 40 years.

The first five years of excavation, from 2005 to 2010, concentrated on re-excavating areas within the decaying architecture that could most easily be shored up and protected. Our first goal was to untangle the histories of the building and rebuilding of the ancient structure and of the many excavations and pillages that it had suffered since its abandonment. The site yielded evidence of the reuse of materials from earlier bath technologies as well as from tombs, and it offered a glimpse of possible earlier structures beneath the foundations of the Imperial-period baths. We also began to explore the baths' connections to several features 50 m to its east: a wall in *opus polygonale*, an *opus caementicium* cistern of the Imperial period, and the Via Flaminia. Here, overlapping walls of different construction indicate the continuous use of the site from the republic to the late empire. We continue to define these baths' unusual character, which is evident from their small size, their liminal and sequestered location with respect to the rest of the city, and the high preponderance of artifacts associated with women.

Grants in 2011 from Italian sources have allowed us to construct a roof over the ancient remains. The greater protection from the elements that this provides has allowed us to open up areas to excavation that were more structurally delicate and to begin to expose the entire structure of the baths so that consolidation and eventual reconstruction can begin in 2014.

The results of the 2012 season have been surprising. They have yielded walls running in all directions from the main structure, walls that had never appeared in the site plans of previous excavations. They give evidence for other rooms as well as for the ancillary functions of the baths: the supply and drainage of water and the circulation of hot air from the furnace through the hypocaust. Most dramatic is the discovery, *in situ*, of the central design of the mosaic floor of the tepidarium; this was thought to have been removed long ago.

Imperial Imagery and Allusion within the Baths of Caracalla

Maryl B. Gensheimer, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

Bathing was the highlight of the Roman day and a major social event. Small wonder, then, that Martial (*Epigrams* 7.34.4–5) quipped: "What is so bad as Nero; what is so good as his baths?" In fact, between 25 B.C.E. and 337 C.E., the emperors built eight public baths in the city of Rome to great acclaim. I analyze the extensive decoration of the best preserved of these complexes, the Baths of Caracalla (inaugurated 216 C.E.). This decoration was a carefully strategized ensemble, meant to impart a particular message to a diverse Roman audience. I examine the sub-text of this sumptuous display, addressing the visual experience of the baths and elucidating the decoration's critical role in articulating innuendo and advancing

imperial agendas—critical elements in the baths' design that have not been previously addressed.

Some of the images on display were innocuous, acting only as metaphors for the healing and physically pleasurable aspects of bathing. I demonstrate, however, that many iconographic choices are rife with double entendres that directly introduce imperial themes. Hercules is a prime example of underlying innuendo. On the one hand, Hercules was simply the guardian of hot springs; on the other, since the early second century C.E., the emperor identified with Hercules as the paradigm of a man rewarded with deification. This symbolism was particularly poignant for Caracalla, since Hercules was one of the patron gods of his hometown, Leptis Magna. At least six statues of Hercules decorated the frigidarium, the large central hall, including the famous Farnese Hercules today in Naples and its pendant in Caserta. These prominently displayed statues played an important role. Endowing the baths was a concern of dynastic legitimacy and imperial largess, and iconographic programs articulated these themes by consistently drawing analogies between the subjects of the decoration and the emperor who had paid for it.

Herculean imagery and other imperial allusions within the baths emphasized to the viewer that it was the emperor who had been the benefactor of this opulence and that Caracalla alone ensured the peace and prosperity enjoyed by all Romans—and, by extension, the Roman lifestyle, which included an afternoon at the baths. Decorative choices were by no means incidental but rather purposeful decisions by Caracalla and his architect to honor the emperor and to consolidate his power and reputation.

Throwing It Out with the Bathwater: An Examination of Roman Bathing Culture Using Artifacts From the Drains of Public and Military Baths

Alissa M. Whitmore, University of Iowa

While ancient texts reveal much about Roman bathers and their activities, the information that these sources can provide is limited by the Roman authors themselves, for whom the public baths and their social environment were simply part of everyday life and unworthy of detailed discussion. Artifacts found in the drains of Roman baths can shed much light on the bathing process, bathers, and other activities that occurred in the baths. My research analyzes published and unpublished artifact assemblages from the drains of first- to fourth-century C.E. public and military baths in the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Portugal, and Italy, as another way to examine Roman bathing culture.

These objects entered the drainage systems through pools, floor drains, and occasionally associated latrines and represent the lost or intentionally discarded possessions of bathers. Some of these finds provide further evidence for activities already well attested in the baths: animal bones and ceramic and glass vessels attest to eating and drinking in the baths, while phallic amulets could have served as protection from the dangers of the baths. Jewelry found in the drains attests to not only the presence of women in public and military baths but also the common practice of wearing jewelry and adornment into pools, perhaps as a marker of social status. In other cases, artifacts can provide evidence for the activities in

the baths that are rarely or never discussed in ancient sources, such as gambling and cloth working, an activity probably performed by lower-class individuals and women.

Such an analysis is useful not only in that it can reveal the everyday activities of lesser-known social groups in the baths but also because small finds from drains can begin to allow an examination of whether the same activities occurred in public and military baths and whether variations in bathing culture existed in different geographic areas of the Roman empire.

The 2011–2012 Excavations at Huqoq/Yakuk in Israel's Galilee

Jodi Magness, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, *David Amit*, Israel Antiquities Authority, *Shua Kisilevitz*, Israel Antiquities Authority, *Matthew Grey*, Brigham Young University, and *Chad Spigel*, Trinity University

In June 2011, new excavations began at Horvat Huqoq in Israel's Eastern Galilee. The site had been surveyed in the past but was never excavated. The ancient village of Huqoq was relatively large (ca. 25–30 dunams) and prosperous thanks to a perennial freshwater spring at the foot of the eastern slope. Rabbinic sources indicate that Huqoq flourished during the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. The ancient settlement is covered partly by the modern (Ottoman to 20th-century) village of Yakuk, which was abandoned in 1948 and bulldozed in 1968. Finely carved, decorated architectural fragments made of white limestone belonging to an ancient synagogue building are visible among the ruins of the eastern part of the modern village, roughly in the center of the ancient settlement. The ancient village is surrounded by associated features, including cist graves, rock-cut tombs, and a mausoleum; quarries; agricultural terraces and installations; *miqva'ot* (Jewish ritual baths); and a wine press and olive press.

This paper reports on the findings of the 2011–2012 excavations, which focused on three areas: the ancient synagogue building and overlying modern village houses; domestic structures in the ancient village; and one of the *miqva'ot* on the ancient village's periphery.

SESSION 5C

Roman Asia Minor

CHAIR: *Joseph L. Rife*, Vanderbilt University

Globalization and Local Economies: The Denarius and Its Epigraphic Attestations in the Province of Asia (First Century B.C.E.–First Century C.E.)

Lucia Francesca Carbone, Columbia University

The tension between local economies and a more standardized set of economic patterns was certainly one of the main issues that the Romans had to face in the course of their expansion in the Mediterranean. Among other elements, the use of the denarius should be considered to have been instrumental to the establish-

ment of a sort of economic integration between Rome and its provinces by the end of first century B.C.E., as hoard evidence and fixed currency-exchange rates demonstrate.

The province of Asia, however, seems to be quite a different case. The local silver currency, the cistophorus, was issued until the reign of Hadrian, while the Roman denarius—though it was present in small numbers beginning in the late first century B.C.E.—is well attested only from the second century C.E. How can the peculiarity of the scanty presence of the denarii be explained? What led the Romans to attach such importance to local currency?

This paper focuses on an analysis of first-century B.C.E. to first-century C.E. Asian inscriptions mentioning denarii, which reconciles these separated currencies with the economic policies of Roman colonization.

There are only a few epigraphic attestations of the use of Roman currency for private transactions (testaments, burials) that date earlier than the second century C.E. This sporadic presence is matched by a scarcity of Roman silver from contemporary hoards. All of this is consistent with the view that Roman currency was largely absent from everyday life in the provinces.

The mention of Roman currency is strictly limited to strongly Romanized contexts and government-related documents. The most frequent and earliest attestations of denarii are—not surprisingly—in documents related to taxes, such as the *lex portorii Asiae* of 75 B.C.E. The exaction of taxes in denarii, accompanied by their scant presence in everyday practices, enhanced the possibility of economic control of the province by Roman tax collectors (*publicani*), who were the ones who could exchange currency, as Cicero famously laments in *Epistulae Ad Atticum* 2.6.2. At the same time, the use of local currency legitimized Roman rule, by strengthening its liaison with the pre-existent civic and royal institutions. The relevance of the cistophorus and the late (if compared to other provinces) wide-spread use of Roman currency therefore suggest a complex interplay between tradition and innovation, which were combined in order to enhance a “consensual” Roman authority in the province

The Best Seat in the House: A Political, Cultural, and Sensorial Analysis of Inscriptions in the Grand Stadium in Magnesia, Turkey

Michael Rocchio, University of California, Los Angeles

Scholars have extensively studied the architectural significance of Roman stadiums, theaters, amphitheaters, and other entertainment venues in antiquity. Such research provides a wealth of information concerning the political and social structure of Roman society, though the analysis sample has largely been limited to Rome and its surrounding environs. Well-preserved structures outside the Italian peninsula offer great potential to expand our knowledge of entertainment facilities in Roman culture. The stadium at Magnesia in Turkey provides an exemplary model of how provincial states in the Roman empire used these iconic structures to suit their specific local agendas while simultaneously operating within a broader imperial cultural context. Particularly revealing are the inscriptions and bas-reliefs at the stadium of Magnesia, which convey how stadiums in Asia Minor functioned with regards to politics, social hierarchy, crowd control, and comfort. A detailed

study of the placement and identification of the inscriptions reveals that the Magnesians favored certain cities, institutions, and religious appointments, and these preferences are witnessed in the seating arrangements in the stadium. Residents from cities such as Ephesus and priests to the patron goddess Aphrodite were among the groups whose seats resided in the desired sections of the stadium, indicating to other visitors the significance and importance of these individuals. Aside from exhibiting cultural and political importance, these inscriptions assist in our understanding of the way crowds circulated through the stadium and the impact of various experiential elements, such as temperature, acoustics, and sunlight. For instance, a seat positioned in the lower section granted superior visual opportunities and ease of access from the floor of the stadium; however, sun exposure on the lower seats would have been greater (therefore raising the temperature), and the acoustics were more ideal in the sphendone. It becomes clear that there were varying degrees of good seats, and by analyzing these experiential qualities we are able to discern which people actually were afforded the best seats and what that indicates about the political and social relations of Magnesia. The detail analysis of the stadium in Magnesia and its structural and decorative nuances allows us to unravel a fascinating story, one that exemplifies its complicated history, its relationships to surrounding cities, and the significance of cultural institutions.

Roman Urbanism in Aphrodisias

Alexander Sokolicek, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

Aphrodisias is well known for its architectural and sculptural splendor, which arose in the Early Roman empire and lasted until late antiquity, when the city had become capital of the province of Caria. Besides the opulent display of marble and statues, Aphrodisias had numerous public areas and streets. In this paper, recent investigations are presented that add new aspects to the understanding of the fabric of and activities in Aphrodisias' urban areas and link them to Roman Imperial urbanism in Asia Minor.

One of the largest and most splendid connections between the main urban quarters of Aphrodisias is the so-called Tetracylon Street, the main artery of the town, which has been the focus of targeted archaeological research since 2008. This rather avenue-like colonnaded street runs in a north-south direction and both divides and links the central zones of the town: the Tetracylon in the northwest gives access to the temenos of the Temple of Aphrodite; the North Agora, a busy center of commerce and representation, covers the area south of the temple and could be accessed by the Tetracylon Street as well. On the opposite side—east of the street—there are living quarters, separated from the hectic life of the street by the mentioned portico. The south end of the street is dominated by the Sebasteion, whose propylon links the street zone with the cultic area.

The dimensions of the street as well as its position in the town recall a *Cardo Maximus*, and in fact the layout of this street and its associated city grid can be dated to Late Hellenistic or Early Roman Imperial times, when Aphrodisias was under strong Roman influence. The street and its urban settings are a key for the understanding of Early Roman Imperial urbanism in Asia Minor, when other cities, such as Pisidian Antioch, became "Roman" in a "Greek" coat.

Architectural Benefaction and Monumentality: Evaluating the Evidence for the Commemorative Function of Public Architecture in the Greek East

Diana Y. Ng, University of Michigan–Dearborn

The social meaning of buildings has been an important mainstay in the study of Roman architecture. The idea of architectural monumentality is an especially current strand of scholarship, one that weaves through approaches to both domestic and public architecture. In public architecture, especially that of the second and early third centuries C.E., a building is closely linked to the elite person responsible for its creation. The display of inscriptions in honor of donors and patrons reinforces this connection, and modern studies of euergetism and munificence magnify it. Scholars consequently tend to see these public buildings not only as advertisements of elite status and virtue but also as landmarks of personal identity in the community. As such, there is an assumed expectation both of permanence and of a commemorative quality to these structures.

I challenge that notion in this paper and argue that modern views on architectural monumentality were not shared by the inhabitants of the Greek East. Archaeology provides some insight into the processes of architectural benefaction and building renovation but not much information about the perceptions of such actions. Therefore, supplementary evidence is needed. I demonstrate through examinations of other forms of evidence—opinions of Roman jurists contained in the *Digest* related not only to the construction of public works but also to the promises of such munificence, textual evidence including Pliny the Younger's letters regarding public construction and Dio Chrysostom's descriptions of architectural ruin and beautification, and inscriptions such as the dossier from the tomb of Opramoas attesting to the renovation and restoration of public works—that elite patronage of public buildings was not thought of as an eternal and personal addition to the urban landscape and that these structures offered opportunities for later acts of generosity by other parties. Though there were many restrictions against demolition and modifications to private properties, there were no such limits on secondary work on public buildings, which indicates an acceptance of architectural fluidity in the public sphere. In addition, credit for architectural donations was tied largely to the expenditure of money rather than to the completion or longevity of the pledged edifice. I conclude that, since in both legal and social terms architectural benefactions were not geared toward posterity but toward a temporally limited expression of liberality that would garner recognition by one's community, further consideration of the communicative rather than just commemorative potential of these gifts is necessary.

Family Matters: Visual and Epigraphic Representations of Family at Imperial Aphrodisias

Ann Morgan, University of Texas at Austin

Two statue groups have been recovered from the bouleuterion at Aphrodisias, each one representing a local family. The earlier of the two groups (dating to the first century C.E.) includes four male figures in civic costumes, which together represent three generations of a single family. The second group (dating to the late

second century C.E.) includes a woman and her uncle, wearing priestly garb and Roman hairstyles. These two statue groups serve as evidence for the importance of publicly representing familial connections identifiable in the visual and epigraphic landscape of Aphrodisias during the Early and High Imperial periods. Moreover, the choices of self-representation made by these local benefactors and the family members chosen for display epitomize the changing priorities of elites concerning references to family, as is apparent in the surviving corpus of honorific inscriptions from Aphrodisias. My analysis of first-century C.E. inscriptions (contemporary with the first statue group) reveals a preference on the part of local elites for advertising their lineage extensively. In fact, most honorific inscriptions from first-century C.E. Aphrodisias describe an honoree not with only a patronymic but also with usually two or three preceding generations, and sometimes six or more. In contrast to this first-century C.E. trend emphasizing the place of a benefactor as a member of the hereditary elite, inscriptions from the second century C.E. (contemporary with the second statue group) demonstrate an alternative choice in familial representation. During this century, there was an increasing focus on the accomplishments of living family members, specifically those who had acquired senatorial rank or who held an office in the Roman provincial administration. These inscriptions rarely provided a patronymic, let alone multiple generations. In my presentation, I discuss the developing patterns in the inclusion of lineage and references to family that I have identified in the honorific inscriptions of Aphrodisias from the first and second centuries C.E. By relating epigraphic trends to visual choices of self-representation made in two surviving statue groups from these centuries, I argue that familial connections—both past and present—served as effective rhetorical tools employed by local benefactors. The inclusion of previous generations inserted an individual into local history, while relationships with current family members often publicized imperial connections. Ultimately, however, the inclusion of family offered an honoree a means of legitimization of status, power, and authority.

SESSION 5D

Greeks Overseas

CHAIR: *Carla Antonaccio*, Duke University

Syracuse-Corfu-Corinth: A Western Wind in Early Doric Architecture

Phillip Sapirstein, Albright Institute of Archaeological Research

Doric architecture was born in the Archaic period. During the seventh century B.C.E., the small temples built largely of mudbrick and wood were transformed by enlargement, petrification, and embellishment. By the first half of the sixth century, monumental temples adhering to a recognizably Doric architectural vocabulary were rendered in stone, terracotta, and metal. The nature of this critical transformation is still poorly understood. The remains of Early Archaic temples have defied a Vitruvian reading, which interprets them as literal translations of their wooden predecessors, and 20th-century theories of Doric “evolution” have

failed to account for the wild exuberance and variety among the first generations of Doric monuments.

This paper challenges a long-standing division in the study of Greek architecture—that of material. Virtually every examination of Doric origins has focused on the stone remnants of early temples while largely ignoring the evidence in terracotta and wood. In particular, architectural terracotta has been generally relegated to a separate body of literature focused on problems such as internal typology and chronology. Because stone and terracotta were in reality united in a single building, our understanding of Doric architecture has been restricted by this arbitrary division of the scholarship.

This paper is a case study of the potential for uniting architectural terracotta and stone. I present the results of my recent examinations of the terracottas of three prominent early temples—of Apollo in Syracuse, Artemis at Corfu, and Apollo at Corinth. Corinth has traditionally been placed within the epicenter of Doric innovation, whereas the western temples, especially those of Sicily, have been viewed as reacting to and imitating mainland ideas. The terracotta simas of these three temples tell a very different story. Their decoration reveals the Sicilian colonies as inventors of a new, monumental form of cornice revetment, which, as I demonstrate through technical and stylistic analysis, was directly copied at Corfu. Turning to the Greek mainland, I identify a second translation of Sicilian technique in the new type of Corinthian sima introduced at the Temple of Apollo. These observations reveal not only that the mainland was indebted to western innovations in architectural terracotta but also that western Greece played a more prominent role than it has been credited within the synthesis of the whole Doric elevation.

A Goddess for All the People: The Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Naukratis

Megan Daniels, Stanford University

In this paper, I present a reassessment of the emporium of Naukratis through an examination of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite. Naukratis has long been regarded as a Greek settlement in Egypt, particularly in light of Herodotus' (2.178) description of the site as an area given to the Greeks by Pharaoh Amasis ca. 570 B.C.E. for purposes of trade and residency. The Sanctuary of Aphrodite, however, is a unique feature that I argue reflects a more multiethnic trading component in the early phases (seventh and early sixth centuries B.C.E.) of Naukratis: it lies in the southern zone, well apart from the other known temples to the north, and moreover goes unmentioned by Herodotus when he describes the temples and their ethnic associations following the Greek "takeover." While Naukratis' first excavators suggested the presence of other traders along with East Greeks based on material evidence, no one has considered the role that the sanctuaries, which are some of the most conspicuous features of the site, may have played in formulating relations between foreigners, whether residents or merchants. I thus apply a theoretical perspective from new institutional economics, which situates sanctuaries as institutions that structure economic and social transactions between various parties. By combining this approach with associated material evidence, including scarabs, figurines, and ceramics from the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E., along with the temple architecture itself, I suggest that the presence of Aphrodite

was indeed linked to earlier trading activities that included East Greeks as well as Phoenicians, Cypriots, and native Egyptians. This association is particularly illuminating when we consider (1) Aphrodite's strong relationships to older Near Eastern goddesses, particularly the Phoenician Astarte, who was syncretized earlier with Aphrodite at the nearby site of Amathus on Cyprus; and (2) similar situations at contemporary Etruscan emporia, where both Aphrodite and Astarte were worshiped along with more local deities. The result of my study is thus a renewed emphasis on the role of cults in trade, in particular the significance of Aphrodite and her Near Eastern counterparts within a burgeoning emporium such as Naukratis, which served to foster mutual trust and social cohesion among these mobile trading communities. Ultimately, the use of cross-disciplinary theoretical approaches and material evidence in conjunction with the literary sources can deepen our understanding of the institutions that helped structure long-distance trade in the Iron Age Mediterranean.

The Tomb of Cleopatra VII

Duane W. Roller, The Ohio State University

Recent media reports (e.g., C. Brown, "The Search for Cleopatra," *National Geographic Magazine* [July 2011] 40-63) have suggested that the tomb of Cleopatra VII was at Taposiris Magna west of Alexandria, where the queen's body had been rushed into hiding. Yet there is no evidence for this, either archaeological or literary, and it is certain that Cleopatra was buried at or near the tombs of her ancestors in Alexandria, with her tomb remaining a place of veneration for centuries.

The literary evidence is unequivocal. Plutarch's (*Ant.* 74-6) account, based on an eyewitness report, locates the tomb near the palace. It was still a tourist attraction more than a century later (Statius, *Silvae* 3.2.117-20), and there is no doubt, as Quaegebeur ("Cleopatra VII and the Cults of the Ptolemaic Queens," in *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies* [Brooklyn 1988] 41-53) has shown, that Cleopatra was an object of cultic worship into late antiquity, which would have included veneration of her tomb. It is impossible to sustain any suggestion that she was buried outside Alexandria or that the tomb of such an honored figure would be hidden. Objects associated with the queen found at Taposiris Magna prove nothing about the location of her tomb—such material is found throughout Egypt—and in fact the excavators at Taposiris Magna seem to have confused its history with that of Taposiris Parva, east of Alexandria.

Moreover, the tomb of Cleopatra seems to have been depicted in art. A Roman wall painting of the early first century C.E. shows the suicide of a royal personage in a structure with a window high up on the wall. Although the subject is generally identified as Sophonisba (Horn and Rüger, *Die Numider* [Cologne 1979] pl. 56), those viewing the painting less than half a century after Cleopatra's death would have associated it with the more recent event. Such an interpretation is reinforced by the appearance of a crocodile tray—an Egyptian, not a Libyan, motif. The window high up on the wall would also have reminded people of how the dying Antony was hoisted up to a window in the tomb.

Thus, the Pompeian painting confirms Plutarch's eyewitness version, although it expresses the suicide in more tragic terms. The account makes it clear that

Cleopatra was buried in her tomb in Alexandria, which became a major tourist and religious site for centuries to come. She was not spirited away to a secret location outside town.

SESSION 5E: Colloquium

Landscapes and Memory in Augustan and Severan Rome

ORGANIZERS: *Julie Langford*, University of South Florida, and *Eric J. Kondratieff*, Western Kentucky University

Colloquium Overview Statement

In five 15-minute papers, this panel explores how Augustus and Septimius Severus transformed the ideology of earlier monuments and traditions to legitimize their reigns. Augustus carefully adapted Republican traditions and landscapes to suit his political and social agenda, while Severus, mindful of Augustus' strategies but facing different challenges, reinterpreted Augustan monuments. The panelists offer fresh interpretations of these strategies by considering the complex interactions between monuments, historical horizons, social landscapes, texts, epigraphy, and numismatics. They contextualize Augustus with his Republican predecessors and explore how Severus emulated and reinterpreted Augustan monuments to create a Rome of his own.

Kondratieff reexamines the iconography of coins minted in 17–16 B.C.E. to commemorate of Augustus' reconstruction of the Via Flaminia and other roads (27–17 B.C.E.). For him, the depictions of varied triumphal arches constitute a programmatic redaction of earlier monuments celebrating key Augustan victories. These triumphal monuments were also monitory, visually dominating a landscape whose once-rebellious population had been subdued in 41/40 by Augustus' soldiers, now veteran colonists occupying that same landscape. The Via Flaminia was also an extension of the evolving Augustan complex in the Campus Martius: southbound travelers could experience the evolution of the Augustan principate, transitioning from civil war to celebrations of peace embodied in the Ara Pacis.

Luke considers the Augustan manipulation of landscapes through the *Res Gestae*, in which the emperor provided a new way to read the relationship between Augustan monuments and related events. By the time of the Late Republic, there was a "welding of the triumph to the sad spectacle of civil war." This presenter argues that Augustus distanced himself from this nexus of *reditus-triumphus*-civil war by shifting the emphasis on his returns from *triumphus* to *adventus*. In doing so, Augustus invoked a peaceful scene of welcome that echoed Numa's entrance into Rome.

Orlin considers how the reordering of Roman space functioned to direct attention away from Republican heroes and crises and toward a new vision of a unified Rome centered around the figure of the emperor. He suggests that the construction of the Theater of Marcellus, the replacing of the Porticus Metelli with the Porticus Octaviae, and the reconstruction of five temples in the area marked a deliberate attempt to replace the past triumphal connections of the area with a tangible, visible reminder of Augustus as the new focal point of Roman society.

Langford reexamines the contentious history of the Temple of Fortuna Muliebris. Despite claims that the temple was a manifestation of the senate's thankfulness to the *matronae* who saved Rome from Coriolanus, Augustan narratives are fraught with tensions between the sexes that resist such harmonious interpretations. Indeed, Livia's dedicatory inscription has been interpreted by feminist scholars as an expression of independence evoking the behavior of Republican *matronae*. The familial harmony claimed in the inscription of the Severan refurbishment, however, credits the entire family for the restoration, thus contrasting sharply with the monument's past evocation of tensions between the sexes. Accordingly, Severus surpassed Augustus by taming a contentious locale with an obedient wife and familial harmony.

Lusnia brings a fresh scholarly approach to the interpretation of the Forum Romanum. By the time Severus seized power, the Forum had become "museum-like," filled with honorific monuments but also badly in need of repair thanks to the fire that raged through Rome in Commodus' last days. As this presenter sees it, Severus undertook a building program by which he could insert himself into the Forum Romanum and create "a new monumental political landscape similar to the nearby imperial forums of Augustus and Trajan" without having to build his own forum from scratch.

DISCUSSANT: *James C. Anderson*, University of Georgia

Quod viae munitae sunt: Memory, Admonition, and Evolution in the Augustan Monumental Program on the Via Flaminia

Eric J. Kondratieff, Western Kentucky University

For the emperor's efforts in reconstructing the decaying Via Flaminia in 27 B.C.E. to lead an army to Gaul, "statues of Augustus were accordingly erected on arches on the [Milvian] bridge over the Tiber and at Ariminum" (Dio 53.22.1–2). Over the next 10 years, Augustus repaired many other roads and bridges (Dio 53.22.2). At the end of this period, ca. 17–16 B.C.E., imperial mints in Spain and Rome issued a well-known series of coins depicting a variety of monuments erected in Rome and on the Via Flaminia (and, perhaps, other Italian roads): the Spanish coins depict triumphal arches atop bridges/viaducts or between porticoes surrounded by the legend "QVOD VIAE MVN[ITAE] SVNT;" the Roman coins depict a triumphal arch, an equestrian statue, and a cippus, all erected in Rome to commemorate Augustus' road building.

Discussions of this series have focused on the monuments, their possible locations, and their historical context in commemorating Augustus' road building. What is argued here is that the numismatic representation of these structures—some of which may have been erected as late as 19/18 B.C.E.—is differentiated by iconographic markers that clearly refer to earlier monuments erected in Rome to commemorate Augustus' key victories at Mutina and/or Philippi, Naulochus, Actium, and, through diplomacy, Parthia. These coins may thus provide the only visual evidence for what, taken together, functioned as a programmatic redaction

of Augustus' military career, both on the Via Flaminia and perhaps on other rebuilt roads as well.

Additional significance attaches to these monuments, as the road(s) on which they stood ran through territories settled or colonized by thousands of Augustus' veterans. Such monuments played a truly monitory role in Augustus' ongoing efforts to pacify, unify, and, in some cases, Romanize communities in northern Italy that had risen against him in 41/40 because of his confiscatory efforts to settle veterans there. The monuments visually dominated with triumphalist imagery and ideology a landscape whose population had been physically dominated and subdued by the veteran-colonists who now lived among them.

Yet the Via Flaminia monuments also constituted an extension of the evolving Augustan complex in the Campus Martius. Travelers heading south toward Rome could experience the history of Augustus' achievements before passing through his triumphal arch on the Milvian Bridge, then past his enormous Mausoleum in the Campus Martius and the Saepta Iulia, the latter of which represented his restoration of civil and social order in Roman society. Indeed, a few years later structures such as the Horologium and Ara Pacis would be intentionally aligned perpendicularly, and thus related, to the Via Flaminia, thereby underscoring the southbound traveler's transition from a military sphere to one of domestic peace and prosperity. In the context of Augustus' continual reformulation of his public image, which began after his victory at Naulochus in 36, continued through his acclamation as *pater patriae*, and ended with the ultimate redaction of his career in the *Res Gestae*, the programmatic statement of the Via Flaminia monuments—and of those on other roads—represents an important transitional stage.

In sum, this presentation attempts to recover, reconstruct, and contextualize this monumental program, then offers a hypothesis for its possible relation to Augustus' colonization efforts in northern Italy and its potential impact on those inhabiting the landscape as well as on travelers absorbing the evolving image of Augustus himself.

Pro reditu meo: Arrival and Landscape in the Res Gestae divi Augusti

Trevor Luke, Florida State University

In 14 C.E., Augustus completed work on his career retrospective, the *Res Gestae*—a document that would both stand within the landscape of Rome and provide the means for readers to reinterpret that landscape. This paper examines how the princeps' accounts of his homecomings in 19 and 13 B.C.E., as well as the passages both introducing and capping them off (RG 10, 13), tie Augustus to the image of King Numa's initial arrival in Rome (Livy 1.18–19) in an attempt to substitute *adventus* for *triumphus* as the preferred way to envision the arrival of the princeps in the restored republic.

While Augustus describes the events of 19 and 13 in some detail, he places comparatively less individualized emphasis on his triumphs in the opening of the document (RG 4). He also deliberately separates these homecoming celebrations from the military successes that had occasioned them. This is particularly evident in the account of his homecoming in 13, in which his military victories are blandly referred to as affairs successfully concluded (RG 12: “rebus . . . prospere gestis”).

Augustus focuses instead on the honors of the embassy sent to greet him and the Ara Pacis. In these two honors, the memory of Numa comes to the fore. The embassy sent to meet Augustus in Campania evokes the procedure by which Numa was elected king and welcomed into Rome, while the Ara Pacis evokes the reign of Numa both in the identity of the goddess Pax, who recalls the peaceful nature of Numa's reign, and in the appearance of Numa on the altar.

Before Augustus, the *reditus* of a victorious commander was viewed as the entrée to an anticipated triumph, and such triumphal returns had an almost ritualized character in the way they evoked the returns of prior triumphators. The Late Republic had witnessed the welding of the triumph to the sad spectacle of civil war, thus problematizing the triumph's usefulness as an iconic image of an enduring restored republic. However Augustus' returns and triumphs were actually celebrated at the time, the *Res Gestae* provided him a canvas on which to depict them, and the landscape in which they unfolded, in a manner that would be mutually reinforcing, such that neither the events, nor the landscape, could be viewed in the same way again.

Monuments and Memory in Augustan Rome: The Circus Flaminius

Eric Orlin, University of Puget Sound

As is well-known, Augustus is said to have boasted that he found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble. While many scholars have focused on how Augustus reshaped the city, less attention has been paid to how his building projects reshaped Roman memory and by extension Roman identity. By focusing on the area of the Circus Flaminius, this paper shows how the reordering of Roman space functioned to direct attention away from the heroes and crises of the republic and toward a new vision of a unified Rome centered around the figure of the emperor.

The built environment played an especially important role in the construction of Roman memory. As Bettina Bergmann has pointed out, memory is deeply associated with place in Roman thought. Mary Jaeger and Catharine Edwards have further pointed out that temples and other "functional" buildings served not only as sites for religious or other activity but also as *lieux de mémoire*, where memories of the men and events of the Roman past could be stored. Analysis of the urban landscape of Rome and of its transformation under Augustus needs to take into account these associations between the built environment and Roman memory.

Augustus' treatment of the area of the Circus Flaminius provides an underappreciated example of his reshaping of both space and memory. This area had long been a favored spot for manubial constructions, perhaps because of its proximity to the triumphal route. As many as 11 temples had been constructed in the area, connecting it to the many successful generals of the republic. Augustus revamped this entire area, replacing the portico Metelli erected in 147 with the Porticus Octaviae and constructing the Theater of Marcellus, which actually involved the removal of the Temple of Pietas. Augustus also restored the Temples of Jupiter and Juno inside the portico, along with those of Mars, Apollo, and Neptune; all five temples were rededicated on Augustus' birthday, 23 September. The new visual appearance of these five temples with the rebuilt portico named after a member of the imperial family and the new date for the celebrations held in this area at-

tempted to replace the memories of the conquering generals of Roman history with connections to the imperial family. The reshaping of the area closely connected with republican triumphs coincided with Augustus' successful effort to restrict the celebration of triumph to members of the imperial family. These projects thus directed attention to the central figure of the emperor and so served as a tangible, visible reminder of Augustus as the new focal point of Roman society.

The Taming of the Shrews: Septimius Severus and the Temple of Fortuna Muliebris

Julie Langford, University of South Florida

When Septimius Severus erected the dedicatory inscription for the newly refurbished Temple of Fortuna Muliebris, he broke with tradition. He tacked on his own and his family's names to the dedicatory inscription erected by Livia roughly 200 years earlier (*CIL* 6 883). Livia's inscription identified her primarily as the daughter of Drusus and only secondarily as the wife of Augustus. Feminist scholars have interpreted Livia's inscription as "independent and self-important". This contrasts sharply with Severus' inscription which credited the refurbishment to the entire Severan family, not just to his Augusta, Julia Domna. Although another inscription (*CIL* 6 997) clearly indicates that Domna was permitted to erect or refurbish a structure for the *matronae* of Rome by herself, the empress was not permitted sole credit in refurbishing Fortuna Muliebris, ignoring Livia's sole dedication. Considering Severus's acknowledged imitation of the Augustan building project, this refusal to follow Augustus' lead demands explanation. Why didn't Severus allow this Julia Augusta to follow her namesake and claim this refurbishment under her own auspices?

In its foundation, restorations, and extant inscriptions, the Temple of Fortuna Muliebris was a contentious place. Its origins reputedly stretched back to the earliest days of the republic, but it was first attested by Augustan authors, whose interest in the place was probably sparked by Livia's refurbishing of the temple. The temple and its cult celebrated the accomplishment of Roman *matronae* who managed to dissuade the military hero Coriolanus from besieging his Roman fatherland (Plut., *Vit. Coriolanus* 37; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 8.55; Liv. 2.40, *Ab Urbe Cordita* 2.41; Val. Max. 5.2.1). With the blessing of the senate, the mother and wife of Coriolanus led a group of *matronae* to beseech him to break off his attack. Plutarch (*Vit. Coriolanus* 36) paints the encounter as a struggle between the sexes and highlights the unnatural priorities of Coriolanus' mother: "You have your victory. You have saved Rome but have destroyed your son." More contention arose when the senate asserted control over the financing and cult of Fortuna Muliebris.

The women resisted the senate's control of the cult by dedicating a second cult statue. It vindicated their efforts when it spoke aloud to them, twice commending the *matronae* for their dedication and assuring them they had acted piously (*Val. Max.* 1.8.4, 5.2.1). The senate "yielded the path to the *matronae*" since the stola in this case was more powerful than weapons (*Val. Max.* 5.2.1). Livy (2.40) reports that because Roman husbands were "free from the disparagement of others' glory and did not begrudge their wives their praise or their monument." The narratives concerning the temple foundation that supposedly honored Rome's *matronae* for

averting national disaster by inserting themselves into the masculine realms of politics and war were thus shot through with tensions between the sexes. When, how, and whether women should appear in these masculine spheres were acute questions with which Augustus and Livia wrestled. For Severus, the answers to these questions were far simpler.

Like other scholars, I believe that the temple allowed Severus to gain legitimacy. It associated him with the Augustan building project. Yet Severus' inscription did one better. It asserted his family's harmony as a contrast to the *matronae's* independence. Through this inscription, Severus reinterpreted and tamed a historic monument that was rife with tensions between the sexes, while at the same time writing himself into Rome's historic landscape. True, his building project was designed to mimic Augustus', but with this restoration, he bested his predecessor by inscribing familial harmony and the obedience of his own Julia Augusta over the assertions of independence that earlier *matronae* had claimed.

Usurping the Historic Landscape of Rome: Septimius Severus and the Forum Romanum

Susann Lusnia, Tulane University

In April 193 C.E., Lucius Septimius Severus was hailed as emperor of Rome by the legionary troops at Carnuntum (Cass. Dio 74[73].14.3–15.3; Herodian 2.9–13). When he finally arrived in Rome two months later, he was faced with several tasks. Not only did he need to establish his legitimacy, but he also had to deal with a city that had been subjected to recent disasters. In the last years of Commodus' reign, Rome had seen both a resurgence of plague (Cass. Dio 74[73].14.3–4) and a major fire that had cut a path of destruction through the heart of the city (Cass. Dio 72[71].24; Herodian 1.14.2–6). Several structures in the Forum Romanum needed rebuilding, and Severus took this opportunity to broadcast his own political message in the historic center of Rome.

Over the last two decades, scholars have focused increasing attention on the political intent that underlay Roman imperial building projects, especially in the empire's capital city, Rome. The building program of Augustus has been most studied, thanks in large part to Zanker's seminal publication, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988). Favro undertook a major reexamination of this period in her book, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (New York 1996). Most recently the role of Parthian iconography in Augustan Rome has been scrutinized. Lately, attention is now turning to the political role of monuments in other periods—for example, Flavian, Antonine, and Severan. In the latter case, Severan Rome, the majority of the scholarship is focused on individual buildings and monuments rather than on the comprehensive nature of the Severan program.

This paper examines a discrete but highly significant part of that program, Severus' restoration of the Forum Romanum. Since the time of the Late Republic, the Forum Romanum had become increasingly museum-like, filled with honorific monuments, the reflection and affirmation of Roman power and authority. The author argues that Septimius Severus laid claim to this historic space in a way not seen since the reign of Augustus. By restoring select buildings and adding new monuments to the space, Severus reshaped the forum and created a new monumental political landscape similar to the nearby imperial forums of Augustus and

Trajan, without actually having to acquire land and build a new space. Just as he had seized political and military power, so Severus usurped the age-old manifestation of that authority, the Forum Romanum, and molded it to his own purpose.

SESSION 5F

Sicily and North Africa

CHAIR: *Roger J.A. Wilson*, University of British Columbia

Preliminary Results from the Sosio-Verdura Valley Survey: 'Off-Center' Surveying in Southwest Sicily

Emily Modrall, AIA Member at Large, *Lela Urquhart*, Georgia State University, *Robert Stephan*, Stanford University, *Tijmen Lanjouw*, Leiden University, and *Rogier Kalkers*, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

In June 2012, the pilot season of the Sosio-Verdura Valley Survey was carried out in the province of Agrigento, Sicily, under the direction of Lela Urquhart and Emily Modrall, in collaboration with the provincial Soprintendenza per i Beni Culturali ed Ambientali. This survey focuses on the valley of the Sosio-Verdura River, which begins in the mountainous inland region of southwestern Sicily and empties into the Mediterranean near Torre Verdura on the island's south coast. Positioned between the ancient cities of Akragas and Selinous, this area has long been regarded archaeologically as transitional, peripheral, and useful in the past only for its coast-to-hinterland access. Setting aside these long-held assumptions, the Sosio-Verdura Valley Survey aims to gather new information to establish a picture of human land use and settlement through time in and around the river valley, with particular focus on the Bronze Age through the Islamic period.

This paper presents the results of the first phase of the Sosio-Verdura Valley Survey. We approached our preliminary campaign with three primary objectives: to establish a workable survey methodology according to the conditions of the Sosio-Verdura River valley; to test for patterned relationships between geological, modern human, and archaeological landscape factors; and to develop a strategy for future and more intensive survey seasons. With a small, international team, we targeted three zones within our survey area for investigation. Our methodology included the collection of diagnostic material that would allow us to create an archaeological map and to assign general chronologies to evidence for human presence. In this paper, we present the quantitative and qualitative information generated in 2012 and set out preliminary interpretations of our data, focusing especially on evidence for Roman settlement in the Sosio-Verdura Valley and in southwestern Sicily more generally. In addition, we discuss our methodology, including multimedia documentary strategies. Finally, we relate the results of the first survey season to the larger questions that frame the project as a whole, and we chart a plan for the survey's development.

Reevaluating the Capitulum at Timgad (Ancient Thamugadi)

Thomas J. Morton, Arizona State University

While the Capitulum at Timgad (in modern Algeria) is the largest and best-preserved Capitulum in all of North Africa, its date of construction and its place within the city's complex urban development are contested. Timgad, one of the most famous cities for students of architecture and urbanism in the Roman provinces, was created on a grid plan in 100 C.E., but the city expanded in at least four different ways during the next several centuries. Timgad's Capitulum was constructed outside the city's initial walls and at an oblique angle to the city's grid. In the scholarship from the 20th and early 21st centuries, the date for Timgad's Capitulum has ranged from 150 C.E. to the early third century C.E. A reevaluation of the archaeological evidence, especially the temple's two-piece Corinthian capitals, and a closer examination of the temporal and physical contexts of the Capitulum's construction allow one to offer a more precise construction date—mid second century—for the city's dominating temple.

Two-piece Corinthian capitals are rare in Roman Africa, and their second-century usage, when compared with the use of other two-piece Corinthian capitals in the Roman sphere, is rarer yet. The capitals from Timgad's Capitulum, while stylistically distinct from other known two-piece examples in North Africa, have parallels to more securely dated one-piece capitals, especially those from several Antonine buildings in Carthage. In addition, digital modeling of the city's urban designs clarifies the relationship between the Capitulum and other important structures and spaces in the city—namely the theatre and adjacent forum plaza.

Thus, this paper ranges from an exploration of an architectural detail—the two-piece Corinthian capital—to the study of urban design and the architectural dialogues that occurred between Roman cities. If the proposed dating of the Capitulum at Timgad, which is presented in this paper, is correct, then the urban history of one of Rome's most well-known provincial cities will be greatly clarified. By extension, this affects the discussion of urban design for many other cities in North Africa during the second century C.E.

The Roman Amphitheater at Carthage: A New Look at the Evidence for Its Use

Jeremy Rossiter, University of Alberta

The Roman amphitheater at Carthage was originally excavated by French archaeologists at the turn of the last century, but the excavations were poorly recorded and much critical evidence for the building's original appearance and use was lost. The crudely restored remains of the amphitheater today tell only a partial story of its complex history. Discussions of its use have rarely extended beyond routine comments about gladiatorial and animal shows, with little questioning of what these shows may have involved. The only systematic review of the evidence for the amphitheater's use (D. Bomgardner, *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre* [London 2000] 137–43) is far from complete. Among the key pieces of evidence for the amphitheater's use are a number of lead curse tablets found during the original excavations of the building (A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* [Paris 1904]). To this evidence can now be added some unique faunal material recovered dur-

ing excavations at the site of a nearby Roman bathhouse (J. Rossiter in T. Peña et al., *Carthage Papers* [Portsmouth 1997] 103–16). Study of this excavated material in conjunction with relevant art historical and textual evidence from Roman Carthage, some of it not previously noted, allows us to reconstruct a new picture of the use of the Carthage amphitheater and of the kinds of shows that were put on there. The results suggest a far greater use of the amphitheater for displays of bears and for bear fighting than has previously been recognized.

The Roman Villa at Caddeddi on the Tellaro (Sicily) and Its Mosaics

Roger J.A. Wilson, University of British Columbia

The Roman villa in *contrada* Caddeddi on the Tellaro River, near Noto in south-east Sicily, was discovered by chance in 1971 but was not put on public display until 2007. Although brief notes have been published about the villa, and the site is mentioned in passing in general surveys, it and its fine mosaics remain unpublished in detail and are not widely known. They likely date to the third quarter of the fourth century C.E. and so belong to a generation later than the floors of Sicily's most famous Roman villa, that in *contrada* Casale near Piazza Armerina. Illustrated by some stunning color photography, this paper considers the iconography of the three main mosaics at Caddeddi. One floor presents a mythological scene (the ransoming of the body of Hector), another depicts a bust of Bacchus at the center with satyrs and maenads in the panels around, and a third depicts an action-packed hunting scene with many episodes paralleled in general terms on the Piazza Armerina floors. The paper also sets the Caddeddi floors in context by comparing details from all three with mosaic comparanda in North Africa, and it comes to the conclusion that, although not all details can be paralleled there, the mosaics at Caddeddi, like those at Piazza Armerina, were all laid by itinerant African craftsmen, almost certainly based at Carthage.

The Changing Urban Landscape of Sicily in the Severan Period

Laura Pfuntner, University of California, Berkeley

Scholars of Roman Sicily have long been divided on the significance of the Severan period for the province and its communities. Some view the era as one of renewed prosperity and growth for the island that resulted from its advantageous geographic position in the central Mediterranean, which allowed it to benefit from the economic rise of Africa Proconsularis and to participate in the opening of the Roman market to African exports. Other scholars, however, interpret it as a time of economic, social, and political stagnation, as in Italy, a time in which cities experienced increased financial pressure and declining levels of elite participation in the maintenance of the urban fabric. However, neither evaluation gives full consideration to the complexity of the island's settlement dynamics and to the geographic, economic, and political diversity of the island's communities, especially as revealed by recent archaeological work in Sicily.

This paper examines the Severan period from the perspective of the communities of Sicily as well as from the perspective of Rome and its elite (i.e., the imperial

family and the senatorial ruling class), considering both broad changes in urban and rural settlement patterns across the island and specific developments in individual cities, including Lilybaeum (modern Marsala), Agrigentum (Agrigento), Panormus (Palermo), Soluntum, Catina (Catania), and Halaesa. It argues that the shifting commercial currents of the central Mediterranean, combined with the culmination of social, economic, and political developments in Sicily that had begun in the Early Imperial period (such as the emergence of wealthy and politically prominent provincial elite families), brought about a significant realignment in the Sicilian urban system in the late second and early third centuries C.E. This realignment, as I demonstrate, was characterized by a shift in economic and political activity away from the northern coast and toward the western and eastern coasts of the island, to cities that were more fully integrated into the routes connecting the coastal centers of Africa Proconsularis to Rome and central Italy. The paper concludes by examining how these developments were manifested in particular displays of loyalty to Septimius Severus and his family—such as the construction of a Septizodium in Lilybaeum—that tied Sicily into the broader Severan urban culture of the central Mediterranean.

SESSION 5G

Reading, Writing, and Agency in the Ancient World

CHAIR: *Dimitri Nakassis*, University of Toronto

Voices Behind Linear A Tablets

Helena Tomas, University of Zagreb

It has been observed that Linear B page-shaped tablets, as compared with most Linear A tablets, are much more advanced in terms of how the text is laid out: they are better organized, the handwriting is neat, and the arrangement of the text is careful and orderly.

In the past, I offered several possible explanations for the textual disorganization of Linear A tablets: (1) Linear A scribes did not reach the level of writing clarity achieved by their Linear B counterparts—the chronological gap between the two groups may have given Linear B scribes enough time to improve the formatting of their texts; (2) no general and strict rules about the organization of texts existed in Linear A (instead, they varied from scribe to scribe); (3) Linear A tablets may have been less exposed to their future readers than Linear B tablets, so that Linear A scribes could allow themselves to be careless. Perhaps Linear A tablets were more temporary—possibly just drafts—and clearer and more comprehensible texts were to be copied soon afterward on some kind of perishable material (such as papyrus or parchment, as suggested by several other scholars).

In this paper, I introduce a fourth explanation: Linear B page-shaped tablets are neat because they summarize records of previously written data, as has been proved by related sealings and primary records on smaller tablets shaped like palm leaves. In Linear A administration, in contrast, we have no evidence for a similar transfer of information. I therefore suggest that Linear A tablets were composed

on the basis of oral data (perhaps by dictation to a scribe), not written data—hence the lack of neatness. If Linear A scribes wrote tablets by following oral dictation, they may not have had time to organize their texts nicely. If the dictation was slow, they could have applied some of the advanced epigraphic features used in Linear B (such as ruled lines, spacing lines, majuscules), but if the dictation was fast, not only would they have had no time for such epigraphic features, but they would have been messy as a result and made mistakes.

We may conclude that the visual organization of Linear A and Linear B tablets is not just a matter of aesthetics but reveals much more about the process of composing clay tablets in Minoan and Mycenaean societies. The tradition of orality stands behind the former, and the tradition of scriptuality behind the latter.

Language, Identity, and Communication: An Exploration of Cultural and Linguistic Hybridity in Post-Colonial Peru

Anastasiya Travina, Texas State University–San Marcos

In the viceroyalty of Peru under Francisco Toledo, cultural and political organization represented a fusion of European and Andean ethos, ideology, and language. Using archaeological data and historical analysis, this paper explores the intermixture of the European colonial political structure and traditions with the Inkan quadripartite social organization and dualistic beliefs. The paper discusses the combination of two record-keeping methods used during the Toledan order: the Inkan *kipus*, a record-keeping system based on knots placed on strings of yarn, and the European double-entry bookkeeping practices. The process of combining the two cultures and systems of communication meant melding the Inkan notion of reciprocity with the Spanish colonial pragmatism. The paper explores how the exchange of knowledge, culture, and language amalgamated the opposing ideas and worldviews into a unified pan-Andean postcolonial cultural realm and identity.

Shapely Figures: The Erotics of Writing and Reading in Archaic Thera

Alexandra Pappas, Center for Hellenic Studies

This paper sheds new light on the erotic rupestral inscriptions from Thera by focusing on their shapes and dialogic arrangement (*IG* 12 3 536–44). Such an approach illustrates the symbiosis between physical form and semantic content among seventh-century graffiti: how they look informs how they communicate. The result is a clarification of the debated meaning of the verb “οἰφειν” and of the hierarchies of writing and reading at work within this sexually charged landscape.

Notable for their explicitly sexual content, these inscriptions cluster in the southeast corner of a sacred urban area and record masculine beauty, competitive dancing, and copulation. Scholars have debated the precise connotation of the repeated verb “οἰφειν”: some understand it as an act of obscene sexual domination, while others argue for its place within ritual ephebic initiation and thus excise a base sexual subtext. The debate remains inconclusive, I suggest, because critical elements of the inscriptions have been ignored—namely, their physical appear-

ance. From such an aesthetic perspective, the former definition recommends itself strongly; *IG* 12 3 537 illustrates the point.

In a boustrophedon line doubling back “as the ox plows,” 537 proclaims: “By Apollo, Krimon fucked a boy right here [τῆδε ὤπιθε παιῖδα], brother of Bathykles.” Significantly, the shape of the line renders the sexual conquest visually: it curves under at the very point of Krimon’s name and so graphically renders the physical posture of his body bent in a sexual act. Moreover, the deictic adverb “τῆδε” locates the precise spatial topography of the act’s completion. The writer thus implicates the reader in the sexual encounter between Krimon and this nameless boy by means of the content, shape, and location of the inscription that documents it, and does so from a position of power: like the other *eromenoi* recorded nearby, the reader may be next on Krimon’s list.

Proceeding with additional exempla, this paper illustrates how the Theran erotic series constructs a potentially unsettling landscape of sexual conquest in which the reader is threatened with domination. Jesper Svenbro has illustrated how writing and reading could enact sexual hierarchies in archaic Greece, with the writer as *erastes* and the reader as *eromenos*. The contents, shapes, and placement of these inscriptions relative to one another create a sexualized topography for precisely such negotiation, with “οἴφειν” setting the tone.

The Demographic Implications of Seal Production at Persepolis

Henry P. Colburn, University of Michigan

This paper demonstrates the relevance and utility of art historical data and methodologies for addressing the sorts of questions posed by economic and social historians, within the specific context of Persepolis. Persepolis is well known as an imperial capital and administrative center, but the absence of any seemingly domestic areas remains perplexing, leading to suggestions that it was only inhabited seasonally or that it was not really a city at all but rather a detached imperial residence. The presence of a large population of highly specialized seal cutters, as attested by more than 3,000 individual seals preserved through their impressions on the tablets of the Persepolis Fortification Archive, has significant implications for our understanding of the demography of Persepolis and its character as a city.

One of the early analyses of these seal impressions was a hand-attribution study carried out by Mark Garrison. Working with a large sample, Garrison identified 15 workshops or groups of artists and 35 individual artists active during a 16-year period. These seal cutters were likely independent craftsmen; this is implied by the large number of workshops and artists and by the wide diversity of carving styles, as these traits are consistent with models of independent craft production. This means that the seal cutters made their entire living selling seals to the people of Persepolis and the surrounding region, and, according to Adam Smith’s dictum “the division of labor is limited by the extent of the market,” that there were enough people to support this many specialist producers. If we put the output of these workshops at 50 seals per year (a rate compatible with the experimental and textual evidence for production speed), and if their production was commensurate with demand, in a given year at Persepolis some 750 people bought seals. Since a person typically needed only one seal, this implies that over the 16-year period

covered by the Persepolis Fortification Archive some 12,000 people bought seals there. Not all of them were residents, but those who were residents represented only a fraction of the total population; the rest was composed of women, children, and other people with less need for seals, meaning the city's population was several times this number.

The results of this hand-attribution study suggest that in addition to being an imperial capital, Persepolis was a major residential city, even in its early years.

SESSION 5H

Prehistoric Crete

CHAIR: *Donald Haggis*, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Exploring Mountainscapes: The Rediscovery and Excavation of a Neopalatial Rural Building Complex at the Site of Gaidourophas, Ierapetra, East Crete

Konstantinos Chalikias, AIA Philadelphia Society, and *Yiannis Papadatos*, University of Athens

The site of Gaidourophas is located in a small mountain valley at 900 masl, on the eastern range of the Dikti Mountains, above the village of Anatoli. Gaidourophas was found in 1898 by Arthur Evans, who described it briefly as a fort. The site was later revisited in 1939 by J.D.S. Pendlebury, who photographed it for the first time; short references were also made by P. Faure in 1955. After that time, the exact location of the site was unknown to archaeologists until its rediscovery in 2005. In the summer of 2012, the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Athens began research at Gaidourophas. The first excavation campaign revealed the remains of a megalithic Neopalatial rural building complex constructed with huge stone blocks in the outer faces. The main building measures approximately 25 x 10 m, and some of its walls are preserved up to 2.60 m. Finds include storage pithoi, clay beehives, and metal objects. Current evidence suggests that the site was destroyed by fire. Large amounts of burnt wood and mudbrick have been found in all excavated areas. Later use of the site is indicated by Late Minoan IIIA–B pottery, which has been found exclusively in areas outside the main building.

Similar large rural buildings of the Neopalatial period have been found dispersed throughout the Cretan hinterland (Zominthos, Karoumes, Choiromandres, Avgos), indicating an increased interest in large-scale exploitation of mountain landscapes during the Middle and Late Bronze Age. The site was founded in a strategic location that allowed it to control access to the natural resources and mountain routes joining the north coast with the south and the inland valleys of Kalamafka and Malles with the mountain areas of Katharo and Selakano. Furthermore, such a powerful building located so high on the mountains above the south coast should be related to a large and important Neopalatial settlement in the nearby coastal valley of Ierapetra, of which very little is presently known. On the basis of the findings noted above, it is expected that the new excavations at Gaidourophas will shed new light not only on the exploitation of the mountains by the Minoans but also on the human presence in the area of Ierapetra during the Minoan times.

Palaikastro: Palace, Town, and Landscape in Bronze Age East Crete

Carl Knappett, University of Toronto, *Alexandra Livarda*, University of Nottingham, *Hector Orengo*, University of Nottingham, *Nicoletta Momigliano*, University of Bristol, and *Charly Bank*, University of Toronto

We report on the first season of a new five-year project at Palaikastro. The broader objective is to contextualize the large Bronze Age town by both establishing the presence (or absence) of a central palatial building and studying the wider landscape within which the town is situated. This double approach sets the ground for a more integrated analysis of the conditions for Minoan urbanization. In advance of excavation proposed for 2013, this year's work consisted of creating for the site and its landscape a high-resolution, GIS-based geodatabase where georeferenced material can be integrated. Satellite multispectral imagery and vertical aerial photographs were employed to develop a high-resolution digital terrain model of the study area. Multispectral imaging was also useful in locating subsurface features and assessing soil conditions. High-resolution kite photography of the entire urban site, in combination with total station measurements, allowed the generation of orthorectified images of the area and a very high-resolution digital terrain model of the site. This material was employed to generate an accurate new plan of the site and help in the georeferencing of the geophysical survey areas. Geophysical survey of subsurface remains, which combined magnetometry with ground-penetrating radar, was directed at the putative palace area and in the wider town. Systematic GPS-assisted field walking in the landscape revealed ancient terraces, check dams, livestock enclosures, and surface scatters. Preliminary archaeomorphological analysis of field systems suggested considerable potential, as did paleoenvironmental assessments in advance of a program of coring. Combining the modeling potential of GIS with multispectral image analysis and survey data, we expect to explore changing agricultural practices and water-management strategies as adaptations to the growing Minoan urban center. This year's fieldwork sets the foundations for us to test the hypothesis of an intensification of landscape use in the Neopalatial period, as the palatial town expanded, followed by a reorganization, as the town changed in the "Reoccupation" period after the Minoan "collapse." By bringing all these research perspectives together, we hope to produce a fully integrated picture of palace, town, and landscape as a socionatural system.

2012 Greek-American Excavation at Mochlos, Crete

Jeffrey S. Soles, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, and *Costis Davaras*, University of Athens

The Greek-American excavation at Mochlos resumed in the summer of 2012 to complete the excavation of areas in the Late Minoan town that were exposed in the 2009 and 2010 seasons. Its main goals were (1) to complete the excavation of the House of the Lady with the Ivory Pyxis and to learn more about the woman who lived here, and (2) to complete the excavation of the main avenue that runs up through the town toward the northeast and discover what lay at the end of this road. Although hampered by Hellenistic overlay of the first century B.C.E. at

every point, the project succeeded in making some interesting discoveries and was partly successful in fulfilling both of its goals.

Evidence for a Late Geometric–Orientalizing Temple at Azoria, in Eastern Crete

Margaret S. Mook, Iowa State University, and *Donald C. Haggis*, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Remains of a substantial Early Iron Age building with seventh-century B.C.E. modifications were recovered during excavations at Azoria in eastern Crete. As a result of work conducted during recent study seasons, we can propose reconstructions of the building's plan, architectural phasing, and aspects of function. The original building consisted of at least two rooms from the Late Geometric period that were connected by a doorway in the middle of the cross-wall (with a visible preserved height of ca. 2.3 m) to a smaller room on the south. In the seventh century, there was a major renovation to the building resulting in the reconfiguration of the south room; the construction on a higher level, to the east, of a courtyard; and the creation of a staircase in the south room to connect it with the elevated courtyard and another room on the east side of the original building.

Although the architecture provides clues to the building's function, the most compelling evidence is from the entrance to the adjoining east room and courtyard space. In these areas, we found a very distinctive burned layer, 30–50 cm thick, of dark-gray ashy soil with considerable numbers of animal bones, plant remains, and mostly Late Geometric and Early Orientalizing sherds—debris that had probably collected in the south and east rooms before the building was abandoned. Among other distinctive features, the animal bone includes a relatively high percentage that is heavily burned and calcined, and the sheep and goat bones indicate that whole animals are represented. The pottery consists of more than 7,000 sherds, and most, some 85%, are fine ware, with more than half belonging to drinking vessels and approximately one-fifth representing pouring vessels. Furthermore, the condition of the pottery from this deposit is unique among the ceramic assemblages recovered from the site in the thoroughness and uniformity of the breakage and the infrequency with which joins among sherds could be found, suggesting ritual activity repeated over a long period of time. Even though the deposit is a dump, discarded before or at the time of the abandonment of the building, the pottery and animal bones are consistent with material derived from a hearth altar, an installation forming the focal point of communal ritual dining (feasting and sacrifice) in Early Iron Age hearth temples.

SESSION 51**Recent Research in the Levant**

CHAIR: *Andrew Moore*, Rochester Institute of Technology

Near Eastern Bronze, Silver, and Gold Bowls from Funerary Contexts

Sania D. Shifferd, University of Texas at Austin

A number of small bronze, silver, and golden bowls decorated with engraving and repoussé come from early to mid Iron Age findspots around the Mediterranean and Near East: 22 from Cyprus, 15 from Etruria, 13 from Crete, 13 from the Greek mainland, 9 from Iran, 120 from the ruins of the royal palace at Nimrud in Iraq, 1 from Israel, 1 from Sicily, and 8 with provenance unknown. Decoration typically includes a figural central medallion with concentric rings of figures, separated by cable bands. Iconography includes Near Eastern and Egyptian motifs, including files of animals, lions, flying birds, sphinxes or griffins flanking palmettes, human figures, semidivine beings, such as winged Assyrian demons, and deities.

The majority of the Cypriot and Etrurian bowls come from funerary contexts, the majority of the Greek and Cretan bowls from sanctuary contexts, and the Nimrud bowls from Room AB of the Northwest Palace (destroyed 612 B.C.E.). Many other bowls are unprovenanced.

These costly, intricately decorated objects traveled around the Mediterranean and Near East. They were described in Homer and were acquired by elites in a variety of locales. Deposition patterns indicate that there was no one formula for reception and use; rather, the bowls were both products and shapers of a pan-Mediterranean visual culture that included Near Eastern and local components.

In my overall project, I examine all the known bowls mentioned above. I investigate both manufacture/origin, including style and iconography, and dissemination. My methodology emphasizes reception and context, including change in reception over time, as determinants of the bowls' significance. Since they were highly portable metal objects, provenance is problematic, and survival rates are probably very low, particularly in situations such as temple deposits, where the bowls remained visible.

To exemplify my methodology for the purposes of this paper, I focus upon the bowls that come from secure funerary contexts. This allows me to assess connecting threads and the ways they may reflect the motivations of makers, traders, or purchasers. I examine similarities and differences in iconography, style, syntax, and specific context of deposition, including dates of deposition and other objects in the tomb.

Previous research has identified the bowls as "Phoenician" or "Cypro-Phoenician." A fuller investigation including the Nimrud bowls has assisted in the development of overall stylistic groupings and suggests that the bowls are more properly described as "Near Eastern."

In Search of Akko's Mid First-Millennium B.C.E. Harbor

Michal Artzy, University of Haifa, and Gil Gambash, University of Haifa

Fluctuations in the seacoast, as well as periodic shifts in the river course in the Bay of Akko, changed the position of the anchorages and artificial harbor during the millennia of habitation in Akko (Acre) in northern Israel. Tel Akko was settled for at least 1,700 years before the city moved to its location near the waterfront, now named "Old City," which eventually became the capital of the Crusaders.

Past studies by Avner Raban assumed that in the second and first half of the first millennium B.C.E. the anchorages were located below the ancient mound of Tel Akko in the area of the outlet of the Na'aman River. Raban further stated that in the sixth or early fifth centuries B.C.E., in association with the Persian involvement in the eastern Mediterranean and the conquest of Egypt, an artificial harbor, attributed to the Phoenicians, was constructed in the Bay of Akko, and the center of commercial activity moved from the tell to the bayside. Selective usage of the sources by Moshe Dothan, the director of the Tel Akko excavations of the 1970s and 1980s, and Raban, who excavated underwater in the Bay of Akko, has yielded a hypothesis, now turned orthodoxy, which dates the construction of the artificial harbor in the Bay of Akko to the time of Cambyses, late in the sixth century B.C.E. The repercussions of this premise reach far beyond the specialized field of Phoenician harbor archaeology or the history of Akko's habitation patterns, and it is quoted in wider relevant contexts.

We present renewed, ongoing studies of Akko's changing landscape, as well as old and new archaeological data from the tell and its vicinity, including the bay and the "Old City" of Akko. These are juxtaposed with written sources pertaining to Akko from the sixth to the third centuries B.C.E. Both approaches point to a date for the construction of the harbor several hundred years later than the sixth century B.C.E. and thus negate the traditional hypothesis.

Why the Ptolemies Lost Coele-Syria and Phoenicia: An Archaeological Perspective

Bridget Buxton, University of Rhode Island, William Krieger, University of Rhode Island, and Jacob Sharvit, Israel Antiquities Authority

At the turn of the third century B.C.E., the Seleucid King Antiochos III succeeded in conquering the rich territories of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia from King Ptolemy V Epiphanes of Egypt in the Fifth Syrian War. Subsequent attempts to restore Egyptian hegemony over the Near East also came to nothing when King Ptolemy VI died fighting the Seleucids at the Battle of Oinoparas in 145. Any analysis of these conflicts must rely heavily on the fragmentary testimony of Polybius, who juxtaposes his account of the Egyptian defeats with descriptions of the corruption and turmoil of the Ptolemaic court. Ptolemaic political weakness thus appears to be the major reason for Egypt's failure to hold on to Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. This paper surveys the archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence for a different reconstruction of the circumstances leading to the loss of Egypt's eastern provinces. The role of foreign mercenaries at strategic ports such as Akko-Ptolemais is considered in the light of recent excavations, along with critical incidents of treachery by local Ptolemaic commanders so far only attested in the epigraphic

record. The discovery of large Ptolemaic coin hoards and other archaeological remains off the Carmel Coast is also considered for what it reveals about Ptolemaic naval strategies during the Syrian Wars and an unrecorded naval disaster that may well have cost them an empire.

Tell Qudadi Iron Age Fortress in Its Wider Mediterranean Setting

Alexander Fantalkin, Tel Aviv University, and Oren Tal, Tel Aviv University

Tell Qudadi (Tell esh-Shuna) is located on the northern bank of the mouth of the Yarkon River. A preliminary trial excavation was conducted at the site in October 1937, followed by extensive excavations carried out from November 1937 to March 1938 on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. An impressive Iron Age fortress with two architectural phases was reported to have been found in the excavations. The excavators dated the first phase of the fortress to the 10th/9th century B.C.E., whereas the second phase, in their opinion, existed from the latter part of the ninth century B.C.E. until 732 B.C.E., when it was destroyed as a result of the military campaign led by Tiglath-Pileser III. Although the excavations were conducted some 70 years ago, the findings were never published. Considering the importance of the site to the history of the Land of Israel during the Iron Age, it was recently decided to publish the final excavation report. The hitherto-unpublished final results, however, challenge the insights gained by the excavators. The ceramic assemblage clearly indicates that the site's existence should be set between the second half of the eighth and first half of the seventh centuries B.C.E.; that is to say, the Tell Qudadi fortress existed during the Neo-Assyrian period, and it is reasonable to assume that it belonged to a series of fortresses that were built on behalf of the Neo-Assyrian regime (sometimes by local vassals) at the estuaries of the major Palestinian rivers into the Mediterranean. A number of imperial goals may be discerned behind this pattern: first, to protect the trade routes, accompanied by Neo-Assyrian emporia, that were established along the eastern Mediterranean coast; second, to create a "new architectural landscape" that which would project imperial power in this sensible frontier of the Neo-Assyrian empire; third, to supervise the Phoenician trading activity.

Based on the presence of the Aegean imports, the study of the Tell Qudadi Iron Age assemblage allows one to reassess a number of contested issues in the assemblage's wider Mediterranean setting; among them, it provides a first unbiased clue about the nature of hitherto poorly understood local ceramic assemblages from the first half of the seventh century B.C.E. along with a reevaluation of conventional chronology for the initial appearance of the Gray Series amphoras from the isle of Lesbos.

Material Cultural Change and Poverty in Antiquity

Justin Winger, University of Michigan

The monumental Persian/Hellenistic administrative building at Tel Kedesh (Israel) was abandoned ca. 143 B.C.E. and was quickly repurposed for domestic use by an otherwise unknown group of people who had a different material culture

than the building's previous inhabitants. I have argued that this shift in material culture is best understood as evidence not of a new social or ethnic group (as shifts in material culture are often interpreted) but as either the urban poor of the city of Kedesh, who were "squatting" in an abandoned public building, or perhaps (kindred) refugees from nearby cities. The extant classical literature preserves very little information about those people we would classify as "poor," even though they constituted the majority of the population of the ancient world. Perhaps more importantly, it preserves no references at all to squatting. However, many sites throughout the Mediterranean preserve archaeological evidence that looks very much like the above-mentioned final phase at Tel Kedesh. This paper examines the archaeological evidence for this ubiquitous but previously unstudied phenomenon of people making homes in abandoned urban buildings in antiquity and discusses its implications for nuancing our understanding of poverty in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

SESSION 5J

Greek Iconography

CHAIR: *Mireille Lee*, Vanderbilt University

The Identity of the Seventh-Century B.C.E. Athenian "Snake Goddess"

Michael H. Laughy, Jr., Washington and Lee University

In 1932, a large Proto-Attic votive deposit was discovered lying directly atop the ruins of a Geometric-period oval building located near the southwest corner of the Athenian Agora. The so-called Areopagus Proto-Attic deposit is among the largest and best preserved seventh-century B.C.E. votive assemblages in all of Attica. Included within the deposit are a number of terracotta tripods, shields, horses, and chariots, as well as a remarkable terracotta plaque depicting a goddess holding two snakes. The consensus among scholars today is that this particular array of terracotta votives best represents hero or ancestor worship. The "Snake Goddess" herself has often been interpreted as a chthonic deity, perhaps also associated with the dead. Her precise identity, however, remains unknown.

To resolve this mystery, I first present the closest contemporary parallels in Attica for the terracotta votive assemblage that accompanies the Snake Goddess plaque. Contrary to current opinion, the closest parallels are found not at hero or ancestor shrines but at sanctuaries of Athena, Artemis, and Demeter. I next examine the topographic and archaeological evidence to identify for the first time the sanctuary from which the deposit originated: the nearby Sanctuary of Demeter located at the site of the later Eleusinion. Based on this evidence, I propose that the Snake Goddess is Demeter herself. This suggestion is reinforced by an analysis of snakes as decorative and symbolic elements on other seventh-century votive plaques in Attica, examples of which are found exclusively at sanctuaries to Demeter.

Solving the mystery of the Athenian Snake Goddess opens up a new line of thinking not only for this deposit but also for the study of Athenian religion in general. A number of other seventh-century deposits have previously been identi-

fied as indicative of hero or ancestor shrines, based in large part on parallels with the Areopagus Proto-Attic deposit. Now that this deposit can be associated with Demeter, the evidence for all hero or ancestor shrines in seventh-century Athens and Attica must be reevaluated.

The Gorgon in Early Greek Art: Re-examining the Dialogue Between Art and Myth

Catherine L. Cooper, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

The Gorgon is one of the most intriguing characters of the Greek mythical repertoire, as is reflected by the amount written about the appearance of the Gorgon in art and literature. Most scholars have attempted to trace the origins of the myth and its iconography, charting the development of the story and concluding that some or all of the iconic imagery derived from the ancient Near East. Some have approached the Gorgon's appearance from a psychological standpoint, noting similar appearances of monsters in other cultures. What these treatments hold in common is the assumption that all representations of Greek Gorgon figures can be identified with the Gorgon of myth—Medusa, who was decapitated by Perseus, or her sisters. This is despite the general recognition that the gorgoneion existed in Corinthian vase painting for half a century before the earliest identifiable scenes of the myth of Perseus and Medusa. An influential proponent of this approach is Boardman (*Archaic Greek Gems: Schools and Artists in the Sixth and Early Fifth Centuries B.C.* [Evanston 1968] 38–9).

In this paper, I reassess the earliest appearances of the Gorgon in art, those dating to the seventh century B.C.E. I demonstrate that the relationship between the development of the myth and its artistic representations is far more complex than is usually acknowledged. I show that the Gorgon began as an independent Corinthian motif that only later became the standard representation of the Gorgon of myth; thus, the impetus for the creation of this motif was not originally driven by the desire to illustrate the Perseus-Medusa myth. Indeed, the Gorgon motif in Corinth continued to have an independent existence for a time after the motif had been adopted as the Gorgon of myth elsewhere in the Greek world. This should not come as a surprise. Studies of the history and material culture of the Greek world in the Early Archaic period commonly acknowledge that there is a strong sense of regional identity in everything from politics to pottery decoration. It is natural that the visual representation of myths should also be regionally distinct, yet this distinction has consistently been overlooked while the Gorgon is studied through the numerous sixth- and fifth-century B.C.E., primarily Athenian, illustrations of the Perseus-Medusa myth.

Attic Prothesis Scenes and the Wedding in Hades

Renee Gondek, University of Virginia

In Greek antiquity, the rites of marriage and death were not unrelated, and there were times when it was appropriate for both rituals to be commemorated at the same time. The conflation of these two events usually occurred at the moment of death for an unwed girl or boy, and evidence for their association can be found

in both visual and literary sources. In the tragic plays of Aeschylus and Euripides, the Underworld was described as “the bridal chamber of the earth,” and in Sophocles’ *Antigone* the burial chamber for Antigone is described as her wedding chamber (nymphaeum). Additionally, the well-known funerary sculpture of Phrasikleia associates marriage and death: the figure is ornately dressed and described in an accompanying inscription as a maiden or an unwed girl. Finally, large stone grave markers have been found carved into the shape of loutrophoroi, ritual vessels used in both weddings and funerals. As the dead were thought to be embarking on a new life and entering a new “home” in the Underworld, honoring these figures as brides and grooms would have only been appropriate.

From the examination of more than 100 prothesis scenes, it is evident that Athenian black-figure, red-figure and white-ground vase painters habitually idealized the dead as youthful figures on the verge of marriage—namely, as brides and grooms. Such a conclusion is the result and combination of two separate observations. First, extant prothesis scenes never portray children or elderly figures on the funerary bier. When observing the frequency of these types of figures mourning alongside the deceased or in the overall composition, one can conclude that the depiction of the dead as “youthful” was both premeditated and deliberate. Second, painted items of head adornment such as stephans or wreaths, previously viewed as nuptial identity markers, were depicted by vase painters inconsistently and should not be considered required attributes of either living wedded couples or their corpse counterparts. Therefore, all deceased figures in prothesis scenes, regardless of the presence of supplementary items of adornment, were represented on vases and memorialized as individuals of ideal, marriageable age.

Torches, Nocturnal Wedding Processions, and Legitimacy: Reexamining the Nuptial Associations of Paris Taking Helen from Sparta Depicted on Makron’s Skyphos in Boston

Jennifer Udell, Fordham University

This paper offers a new reading of Makron’s portrayal—on a ca. 490 B.C.E. skyphos now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston—of Paris taking Helen from Sparta. It has been observed that the vase painting is constructed using motifs drawn from the realm of wedding imagery, despite the fact that the scene does not depict a nuptial ceremony. Such careful manipulation of the iconography, it has been argued, was meant to foreshadow the couple’s marriage upon their arrival in Troy and to allude to Helen as an archetypal bride. My interpretation builds on this premise by drawing attention to an overlooked aspect of the image, the lack of a torch bearer. Figures with torches were common in Attic wedding imagery beginning in the late sixth century B.C.E. The primary narrative function of the torch was as an index of night, the customary time of day for nuptial processions. While we can explain the absence of a torch bearer in the image by recalling that Makron’s vase painting does not depict a wedding but only alludes to one, I propose, rather, that the omission of the motif is related to another significant role of torches in the context of wedding processions, as symbols of legitimacy. Thus, I argue that the conscious exclusion of a torch-bearing figure in the image, the pictorial construction of which relies on the use of other nuptial motifs, was intended to point out

the illegitimacy of Paris and Helen's impending "marriage." I suggest as well that Makron's treatment of Paris and Helen absconding from Sparta provides a clue to the origin of the cultural belief that torches carried during weddings symbolized legitimacy. Though this idea is unambiguously articulated in literature, the etiology of the association between torches and legitimate marriages is unexplained in the primary sources and unquestioned in modern scholarship. My paper offers an explanation by reexamining the connection between torches as both indices of time and symbols of legitimacy in wedding imagery.

Dionysian Ship Carts: Iconography and Context

Shelley Wachsmann, Institute of Nautical Archaeology

Replicas of galleys fitted with waterline rams played a role in the Dionysian cult at least from Archaic to Roman times. These cultic "galleys" were transported overland, either on two pairs of spoked wheels or by being physically carried by porters. Various iconographic representations, when taken together, allow for tentative reconstructions of these cultic ship carts. This paper examines the evidence for representations of Dionysian ship carts, their cultural contexts, and their possible antecedents.

Four black-figure Skypha portray Dionysian ship carts that are in the midst of cultic processions. The "galleys" carry the boar-head waterline rams and screened forecastles typical of contemporaneous archaic warships. Beginning under the center of their forecastles, a row of closely fitted parallel vertical lines representing the prototype galley's oar bank descend from below the sheer strake. The rigid manner in which these banks of "oars" are portrayed suggests that these were wooden panels on which the oars had been painted, and perhaps also carved, to simulate an oar bank.

The Dionysian ship cart was a relatively light affair. In this, it differs markedly from some other ancient cult ships transported overland, such as the Athenian Panathenaic ship and the funerary ship cart of the Egyptian Apis bull, both of which are portrayed with four pairs of solid wooden wheels.

The sterncastle fencing of the Dionysian ship carts is wrapped in what appears to be a thick hanging fabric. On a black-figure vase now in the Museum of Tarquinia, a similar covering is portrayed on the stern of a galley at sea, in which Dionysos sits amidships surrounded by his retinue.

Several ancient terracotta models of galleys raised from the sea depict in three dimensions this wrapping, draped over their sterncastles. That these ship models derive consistently from the sea indicates that their deposition there was intentional: we may reasonably assume that they were jettisoned into the sea as part of a cultic ceremony, perhaps connected with the Dionysian cult.

SESSION 6A: Workshop
Geospatial Studies in Classical Archaeology: A Survey of Approaches and Methods

Sponsored by the Geospatial Interest Group

MODERATORS: *Ulrike Krotscheck*, Evergreen State College, and *James Newhard*, College of Charleston

Workshop Overview Statement

Over the past 20 years, the use of geospatial studies in archaeology has increased exponentially as data-collection methods have moved from analog to digital. Today, geospatial studies are both pervasive and essential components of archaeological research, dissemination, and preservation. Despite this pervasiveness, until recently, few opportunities have been taken to discuss geospatial studies as a whole.

The purpose of this workshop is to bring together researchers involved in geospatial applications in Mediterranean archaeology for the purpose of identifying trends, themes, areas of mutual collaboration, and areas of collaboration with other areas of specialization. The organizers have identified five general areas of emphasis within geospatial applications, as presented in recent AIA annual meetings:

1. topographic gazetteers
2. visualization and virtual reality
3. fieldwork methodology and analysis
4. model building and hypothesis generation/testing
5. remote sensing

The workshop will begin with panelists presenting brief (5-minute), informal discussions of their research, chosen as an exemplar of one of the five approaches. Following this, the room will be divided into small groups, in which each presenter will lead a brief discussion about the direction of geospatial studies in Mediterranean archaeology, identifying potential areas of growth and synergy. The room will be reconvened, at which point ideas from the smaller groups will be shared. The conclusions will be used to develop planning documents and white papers related to geospatial studies, which will be useful for advising the AIA and its members of the current trends in geospatial archaeology and for identifying areas of innovation and growth worthy of exploration via symposia and colloquia.

This workshop provides the unique opportunity for practitioners of these approaches to interact with specialists in other areas for the purpose of facilitating communication and potential areas of collaboration.

PANELISTS: *Tom Elliott*, New York University, *Ryan Murphy*, University of Michigan, *Diane Faoro*, University of California, Los Angeles, and *James Newhard*, College of Charleston

SESSION 6B: Colloquium

AIA President Elizabeth Bartman's Plenary Session: The Ancient City

ORGANIZER: *Elizabeth Bartman*, AIA New York Society

Colloquium Overview Statement

As part of a series on the major themes in archaeology, this panel looks at urbanism. Drawing on a range of diverse Old and New World cultures, the panel investigates the origins of cities and their development and demise. Important themes that emerge include the roles of ceremony and pilgrimage in city formation, the divisions between public and private space, and the relation between the city and its surrounds. The evidence presented by several speakers argues against the notion of city as the result of a steady, linear development.

Understanding Ancient Southeast Asian Cities: Perspectives from the Lower Mekong Region

Miriam Stark, University of Hawai'i-Mānoa

After more than a century of research, archaeologists still disagree about the nature of early urbanism in the ancient world. Some contend that ancient cities were, variously, ritual centers, administrative cores, or redistributive loci; others argue that cities served many or all of these functions serially; still others argue that cities served all these functions simultaneously. Debate rages over whether the world's earliest cities shared basic functions and "evolved" in lockstep with broad state developments or whether such generalizing approaches are deterministic and sterile. A burgeoning literature now exists on the origins, nature, and development of ancient cities and holds the key to evaluating divisive debates that currently characterize archaeological approaches to urbanism.

Until recently, however, little archaeological research has been published on ancient Southeast Asian urbanism. Southeast Asia here necessarily emphasizes mainland Southeast Asia and its contemporary nation-states of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and Myanmar. Areas of China south of the Yangtze River were integral to these developments but cannot be included because we lack sufficient knowledge of pre-Han state formations in the region. Island Southeast Asia contained major states but little substantial urbanism until the 15th–16th centuries. Three major sources provide information about inform on the large agrarian states that emerged across mainland Southeast Asia in the first–second millennia C.E. and their urban centers: (1) historical records (both indigenous, as inscriptions and chronicles, and exogenous, primarily as Chinese dynastic annals) that describe these centers; (2) excavations and surface surveys of the urban centers; and (3) landscape-level archaeological studies of regions that contained urban centers.

Research discussed in this presentation draws on eight decades of archaeological work in the region and nearly 20 years of my own research in the lower Mekong Basin of Cambodia, in the region that became renowned for the ninth–15th century Khmer empire. Such work indicates that mainland Southeast Asia's earliest cities

lay on major trade routes and near rich agrarian lands; their functions were simultaneously political, economic, administrative, and ritual. These first-millennium C.E. urban forms were templates for succeeding classical Southeast Asian cities such as Angkor and Pagan, whose occupations spanned many centuries and whose individual histories form the foundations for contemporary nation-state identities. This paper looks at regional patterns and the Angkorian example to examine the forces that led to the foundation of Southeast Asian cities, variations in urban structure and function across the region, and the ways particular cities became integral to some Southeast Asian national identities.

The Embryology of Central Italian Cities: Recent Insights from Gabii and Rome

Nicola Terrenato, University of Michigan

In recent decades, the emergence and development of urbanism in central Italy have often been studied with a significant emphasis on chronology and, in Rome, on the confirmation of the literary tradition. The dates of the first Forum floor or of the first temples in Tarquinia and Satricum have long been debated, mostly to decide whether Greek colonial foundations triggered the creation of Etruscan and Latin cities. Some survey archaeologists have usefully attempted to track the early formative steps in the process, with the coarse resolution dictated by the available data quality. But the relative scarcity of urban excavations in major centers, including Rome, has so far significantly hampered any detailed reconstruction of the developmental phases that an emergent central Italian center underwent between the ninth and the third centuries B.C.E. New projects at Gabii and in Rome's Forum Boarium are beginning to cast light on the processes that produced the fully grown urban individuals of the second century B.C.E. and later. The new picture, however incomplete and preliminary, shows that, as is the case for most complex organisms, their embryological development went through a number of different stages and did not always follow a linear sequence. The role of autonomous aristocratic groups, for instance, is a new element that helps explain puzzling steps such as the creation of discrete foci of centrality across the emerging city site. Also, large-scale construction, together with human modification of the environment, seems to have happened in rapid bursts (rather than gradually), at key junctures in time that seem to have affected the entire urban system of central Italy. The private and the public spheres within the city were engaged in a complex dialectic, sometimes competing over limited resources for development and at other times expanding together. Clearly, a renewed effort to investigate these formative processes can be highly beneficial to our understanding of one of the most spectacular phenomena in Mediterranean history—that is, the mature Roman urbanism.

Chan Chan and Its Hinterland

James Kus, California State University, Fresno

Chan Chan was the urban capital of the kingdom of Chimor (also known as the Chimu culture), the dominant polity in northern coastal Peru prior to the rise of the Inca state. The city was located along the Pacific coast in the lower Moche River

valley and spread over an area of more than 12 km². Today, the archaeological site is dominated by 11 large walled compounds (*ciudadelas* or royal residences), whereas when it was occupied most of the population (estimated to have been at least 30,000 people) lived in smaller compounds or what archaeologists have called SIAR (small irregular agglutinated rooms), which were home to the urban poor (craft workers, attendants, and others who helped maintain the Chimu capital). Extensive irrigated fields surrounded Chan Chan in the lower Moche Valley. Although most of the lower valley had been farmed for millennia, the Chimu turned much of the nearby agricultural land into state fields, which were controlled from several rural administration centers. Other state fields in more distant valleys also supplied food and raw materials (particularly colored cottons) to Chan Chan.

American Indian Urbanism and the Case of Ancient Cahokia

Timothy Pauketat, University of Illinois

Before the mid 11th century C.E. in North America, little if anything qualified as urban. At that time, however, the city of Cahokia was founded along the Mississippi River. An order of magnitude larger than any previous ceremonial center in eastern North America, Cahokia's foundation was coincident with urban renewal projects, large-scale immigration, likely pilgrimages, and the coalescence of a new religion. With 10,000-plus people from diverse backgrounds, a redesigned plan, and an expanded agricultural base, Cahokia seems a protourban phenomenon that faded in just three centuries. New evidence suggests that animistic religious practices and celestial observations were key to Cahokia's development, if not also its demise. While it lasted, the consequences of the new city and its religion were historically dramatic, altering the histories of many midwestern and southern peoples.

The Incentives of Minoan Urbanism

Jan Driessen, Université Catholique de Louvain

Densely packed settlements with paved roads, drainage systems, courts, access systems, and demarcation walls appeared on Bronze Age Crete from the late Prepalatial period onward, and from the Middle Bronze Age, or Protopalatial period, there is evidence for fully functioning towns that would flourish for the next 500 years. This paper examines the reasons behind the beginning of the urbanization processes of these towns as well their disappearance. It argues that ceremonial and religious motives were behind the initial development and that the road network was specifically created to connect the main ceremonial center at the core of the settlement with meaningful nearby natural sites, such as peak and cave sanctuaries. For this, specific devices were created, including paved courts and roads and raised walks, all of which helped to lead local and nonlocal participants to join in, reinforcing regional cohesion. The arteries were hence pilgrimage routes and sacred processional roads that connected the natural and the man-made world in a harmonic unity rather than simple economic connections or communication thoroughfares. The destruction of the bipolar destination (and, by implication,

the processions and pilgrimages) took away the incentive for the urbanization process. This may explain why Mycenaean society—despite the presence of city culture during the earlier phases of the Bronze Age—did not really witness a full developed urbanism during the Late Bronze Age, other than in some outlying areas (Thessaly, Cyclades).

SESSION 6C: Colloquium

Caere and the Etruscan World

ORGANIZERS: *Lisa Pieraccini*, University of California, Berkeley, and *Nancy T. de Grummond*, Florida State University

Colloquium Overview Statement

Why was Caere such an important Etruscan metropolis? How much do we know about the ancient city and cemeteries? Today, most visitors see only a small part of one of the cemeteries—namely, the Banditaccia—while other cemeteries and the entire urban area are largely unknown. The time has come to offer an up-to-date synthesis of this once-vibrant Etruscan center. Recent discoveries, combined with new perspectives, allow us a broader view of Caere's leading role in the formation of the first Etruscan city-states and its early production of painted pottery, painted rock-cut tombs, and temple decor. The abundant objects discovered in tombs and sanctuaries demonstrate not only the wealth of the Caeretan aristocracy and their rich trade relations with the Greeks and Near East but also the remarkable talent of local craftsmen. Leading scholars come together in this panel to highlight some of Caere's noteworthy contributions to Etruscan art, architecture, and culture.

Thanks to recent excavations of Caere's complex civic center, we can now better understand the ancient city. The first panelist reports on the topography and ancient monuments of the urban area. Early tomb architecture and painting is treated by the second panelist, with special attention to the primary role Caere held in pioneering painting in Etruria. Likewise, some of the earliest workshops of painted vases in Etruria began at Caere. These workshops thrived under the influence of imports from the Aegean and Near East, all the while producing innovative and highly original Etruscan products, such as Caeretan hydriae, Pontic Ware, and red-figure painted vases. The third panelist explores a select group of early Caeretan vases dating to the seventh–sixth centuries B.C.E. and looks at how their rich iconography relates to their inscriptions. The fourth panelist provides an assessment of some of Caere's most important vase-painting workshops from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. Excavations of the urban area make it possible to understand the complex and intricate decor of Caere's early civic and religious buildings. The fifth panelist addresses the significant characteristics of power and pride in Caeretan temple decor. Etruscan religious customs and culture at Caere can be understood in numerous ways. For example, the thousands of votives that have surfaced in the city communicate the deities worshiped and their general Etruscan attributes. The sixth panelist offers an overview of terracotta votives, focusing on their connections to specific deities and urban sanctuaries.

DISCUSSANTS: *Richard De Puma*, University of Iowa, and *Ingrid Edlund-Berry*, University of Texas at Austin

Caere: The Urban Center

Vincenzo Bellelli, Institute for the Study of the Italic and Ancient Mediterranean Civilizations, CNR

Much is known about the cemeteries of ancient Caere, but precious little is revealed to the modern visitor of Cerveteri of the actual ancient city. This paper focuses on the ancient urban area of Cerveteri, where the Institute for Studies on Italic and Ancient Mediterranean Civilizations (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche [CNR]) has been excavating since the 1980s. This paper provides an overview and synthesis of the results of recent excavations. Particular emphasis is placed on topography and ancient monuments brought to light by the CNR in different areas of the urban plateau. In particular, the results of recent excavations in the area called Vignali are discussed. This area—namely, the Vigna Parrocchiale and Manganello Sanctuaries—was excavated from 2004 to 2011. Besides the so-called elliptical building in the Vigna Parrocchiale, some well-preserved structures dating to the Roman Imperial period have come to light. They provide useful information for understanding the Roman phase of Cerveteri, which doesn't correspond to the judgment of Strabo. Descriptions of the sanctuaries, in addition to the industrial areas, water-supply structures, roads, city walls, and gates, are presented here to provide an up-to-date and clear understanding of this remarkable Etruscan city.

Early Tomb Painting and Architecture at Caere

Alessandro Naso, Universität Innsbruck

Etruscan tomb paintings had their origin in Etruria in the second quarter of the seventh century B.C.E., when local elites received goods and customs from several regions of the eastern Mediterranean. The earliest tomb paintings are found in southern Etruria—namely, in Caere and Veii. Technical differences in painting between Caere and Veii clearly demonstrate two different local workshops and traditions. At Caere, the earliest paintings were employed to emphasize architectural elements and depict fantastic animals. These animals may represent symbolic iconography related to funerary ritual. Virtually half of all of the painted tombs in Etruria dating to the seventh century B.C.E. are found at Caere; certainly, this city held a special role as a leader in early tomb painting in Etruria. The paper presents in detail these early Caeretan tomb paintings, some of which are scarcely known to the academic world today.

Myth, Meaning, and Inscriptions at Caere

Larissa Bonfante, New York University

A group of vase painters at Caere developed early on a school of vase decoration that introduced original narrative art and intriguing inscriptions into Etrus-

can iconography. This paper focuses on three seventh-century B.C.E. vases that illustrate Greek mythological scenes used to express Etruscan realities and beliefs. It also considers different ways in which images and the accompanying inscriptions worked together. The first vase is signed by the artist Aristonothos. A mythological scene of Odysseus and a diminished Cyclops appears on one side and a wholly original scene of a Greek warship attacking an Etruscan merchant ship on the other. On the second, the Tragliatella urn, apparently mythological scenes mingle with contemporary named Etruscan figures. The third is a bucchero vase with inscribed images of *Metaia* and *Taitale* (Medea and Daedalus), discovered at Cerveteri in 1988, on which scenes from the Voyage of the Argonauts seem to have a particularly Etruscan resonance. There are many questions about the iconography of these three vases that are yet to be resolved.

An Etruscan Red Figure Lekanis: Meaning and Shape at Caere

Laura Ambrosini, Institute for the Study of Italic and Ancient Mediterranean Civilizations, CNR

An Etruscan red-figure lekanis of the fourth century B.C.E. from a tomb in the necropolis of the Cerveteri, is examined with regard to its function, use, and decor. The details of the iconography (which depicts Dionysus and Ariadne), style, and general production are investigated to further illuminate the significance of these vases found in tombs. Although the use of the lekanis is not yet entirely clear (the shape of the vase could lend itself to more than one purpose, and even ancient writers do not all agree), the iconographic representations seem to indicate that it was used as a toiletry vase for women, perhaps holding jewels given by a father to a bride. This use seems to be confirmed by the testimony of Lucian of Samosata (Lucian, *Erotes* 39), who describes silver lekanides among women's toiletry vessels. Often the body of the vessel was divided into compartments probably used to preserve cosmetics and jewelry. Through careful analysis, one important aspect emerges regarding the function of this vase shape in Etruria. The vase, like similar Attic red-figure vases (with scenes of bridal processions), seems to have been intended to serve as a wedding gift for Etruscan women.

Images of Power and Pride: New Perspectives on the Roof Decorations of Caeretan Temples

Patricia Lulof, University of Amsterdam

This paper examines a range of primary sources, such as architectural remains, terracotta fragments of roofs, and, in particular, the imagery of acroteria and reliefs. Recent discoveries from excavations as well as from the art market have led to new reconstructions and the identification of individual groups of statues that were placed on temple roofs. The ancient city of Caere offers spectacular examples of these statues, especially for the period between 550 and 500 B.C.E. It is shown that previous chronologies of roof systems and attributions to workshops and artistic backgrounds need to be revised. This study will eventually lead to a better understanding of the symbols of political propaganda and religious power in and

on temples, which functioned as first-rate media at the time, as well as of the historical implications and relationship between Caere and Rome.

The Terracotta Votives of Caere: Aspects of Exchange and Workshop Practices

Ili Nagy, University of Puget Sound

Of the several known sanctuaries at Caere, two have yielded especially large numbers of terracotta offerings: the Vignaccia and the Manganello. The examples from these sites number in the hundreds if not thousands, and listing them would be pointless and tedious. However, an examination of typological categories yields rewarding results regarding exchange and workshop practices. Each site includes (1) types such as the ubiquitous "Tanagras" paralleled widely throughout the Mediterranean in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods; (2) Etrusco-Italic types of wide distribution; (3) types found mainly in central and southern Etruria; (4) types unique to Cerveteri and its port, Pyrgi; and (5) types unique to a specific sanctuary. This paper, offered in honor of Mario del Chiaro, examines these categories with special emphasis on types 3–5 in order to highlight aspects of exchange between sites and certain workshop practices in the context of cult, such as series, iconographic alterations, and the reworking of poses and compositions.

SESSION 6D: Colloquium

New Analytical Perspectives on Ceramics in the Corinthia, Attica, and the Argolid

ORGANIZER: *Peter M. Day, University of Sheffield*

Colloquium Overview Statement

Since the pioneering work of the 1960s and 1970s, which included several studies in the lands around the Saronic Gulf, the analysis of archaeological ceramics in the Aegean has changed in a variety of ways. First, the archaeological questions asked of analytical programs are no longer almost exclusively focused on provenance. Second, there are more scholars who conduct both archaeological and analytical research. Finally, the analytical programs themselves more regularly involve a combination of chemical, mineralogical, and microstructural investigation techniques and several aim to incorporate, ethnographically informed understanding of ceramic material culture.

During the last 30 years, an array of work has been carried out with a focus on Crete, the Cyclades, and northern Greece, often using thin-section petrography as a lead technique, which has highlighted issues of the wide and regular circulation of ceramics, even from the Neolithic. As well as being conducted mainly in the Aegean Islands, much of this research has concentrated on the Bronze Age. Scholars have drawn important conclusions about topics as varied as specialization, technological traditions, and exchange.

In a return to the core area of the Corinthia, Attica, and the Argolid, this colloquium highlights new work, much of it combining complementary techniques

of analysis. It addresses issues such as the production and circulation of pottery, technological variation over space and time, and the implications of these insights on key archaeological questions of identity, patterns of consumption, and the rise of political economies in the region.

Importantly, the colloquium highlights a new generation of scholars whose innovative work is advancing our understanding in these key areas, always with the active and explicit collaboration of those excavating, studying, and publishing major pottery assemblages. We concentrate on three rather different time periods: Early Helladic I–II, Late Helladic IIIB, and the Hellenistic to Late Roman phases. The study of pottery production in the key center of Aegina is used as an exemplar of a diachronic study of an island tradition by a large team with complementary areas of expertise.

Ceramic analysis is now taking on important and innovative questions, and this colloquium aims to showcase the best new work. We present these papers to illustrate long-standing traditions of pottery production and distribution around the Saronic Gulf and to highlight the place of the potter from the Early Bronze Age to the Late Roman period.

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

Analyze That! Style and Composition in the Early Helladic II Ceramics from the Health Center Excavations at Koropi, Attica

Peter M. Day, University of Sheffield, *Kerasia Douni*, 2nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Greece, *Anno Hein*, Institute of Materials Science, NCSR Demokritos, Greece, *Vassilis Kilikoglou*, Institute of Materials Science, NCSR Demokritos, Greece, *Maria Relaki*, the Open University in the East Midlands, and *Olga Kakavoyianni*, 2nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Greece

Attica has long been considered an important crossroads between different regions of the Early Bronze Age Aegean. Its material culture has been thought of as reflecting influences from both the island and mainland worlds. Koropi, a site that dates from 3200 to 2300 B.C.E. (Early Helladic [EH] I and II periods), is situated in the center of the fertile plain of Mesogeia, in the southeastern part of Attica (to the east of Mount Hymettos). This site has produced an exceptionally rich and well-preserved assemblage (pottery, stone tools, animal bones, metallurgical remains) that demonstrates links not only with neighboring sites but also with the Corinthia, the Argolid, and the Cycladic Islands.

Rescue excavations in advance of the construction of a new health center at “Lambrika,” revealed rich settlement deposits of the EH II period. The pottery consists of a large number of vessels for domestic or other uses, which occur in a variety of fabrics and wares. These vessels were used for food production (cooking pots and saucepans), for storage (pithoi, amphoras), and for the serving and consumption of food (bowls, cups, jugs and sauceboats). The very large number of fine ware vessels, and their variety in shape, fabrication techniques, and decoration reveal a rich society with delicate habits.

Material culture from the site suggests links to specific cultural groups, such as the dark-on-light sauce boats that echo those found in the Cyclades and fall in with marble figurines and frying pans to suggest an active part in exchange networks with the islands. Other material, such as the urfurnis sauceboats, suggests links with the Peloponnese and central Greece.

A substantial program of analysis has been carried out, characterizing chemical composition by instrumental neutron activation analysis, and producing insights on both provenance and technology through thin-section petrography and information on production technology from scanning electron microscopy.

This research suggests a diverse social landscape in Attica, where the cultural links of surface decoration on ceramics can be misleading. As well as characterizing what seems to be a flourishing and varied Attic pottery production, the analysis reveals links of specific shapes to the Corinthia, Aegina, and the Cyclades. When combined with other evidence from the site, this produces a picture of a technologically and economically advanced society that took an active part in exchange and social networks.

Crafting Choices: Early Helladic Ceramic Production and Consumption in Corinthia and the Argolid, Greece

Clare Burke Davies, University of Sheffield, *Peter M. Day*, University of Sheffield, *Daniel Pullen*, Florida State University, *James Wiseman*, Boston University, *Anthi Theodorou-Mavrommatidi*, University of Athens, *Angeliki Kossyva*, 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Greece, and *Alcestis Papadimitriou*, 4th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Greece

A key aspect of research in Early Bronze Age Greece has been the nature of ceramic technology and its changes over time. Such work has attempted to detail and understand pottery production and patterns of consumption, relating trends to wider discussions of societal organization and development in this formative period.

Forming part of a broader program of analysis of Early Bronze Age pottery from the Corinthia and Argolid, this paper examines the results of macroscopic and petrographic analysis of ceramics from Early Helladic Tsoungiza, Nemea, a large fill in ancient Corinth, the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros, and finally the sites of Delpriza and Hagios Pandleimon in the southern Argolid. This analysis builds on previous chemical analyses by Michael Attas in these regions and has enabled the reconstruction of Early Helladic technological choices and practices, thus revealing important information about the development of craft practices in these areas.

Early Helladic pottery production is shown to have taken place in the vicinity of all the sites under consideration and to have been characterized by the specific fabric recipes of each site. Some locations demonstrate clear change between Early Helladic (EH) I and II, while both Tsoungiza and Epidauros give a flavor of the substantial changes in ceramic technology by the EH III period.

Of great interest are the scale and diversity of production within each community, which appear to have differed considerably. This is exemplified through different trajectories of technological development and exchange. Some sites, such as

Tsougiza, in EH II move to rather homogeneous crafting practices with a limited number of producers, but contain regional and supraregional imports (most notably from Aegina). Others, such as ancient Corinth, appear to be characterized by a number of variant paste recipes, which derive from local sources and may reflect a larger number of workshops or a greater scale of production.

These trends are cross-cut by evidence for shared technological behaviors such as the mixing of calcareous and noncalcareous clays, particularly for Urfirmis Ware, and the wide appearance of products of particular recipe traditions or workshops across sites, such as siltstone-based fabrics. Through detailing such technological traditions, their diachronic alteration, and spheres of interaction with the surrounding region, these results provide insights into the varied character of Early Helladic production between sites in the Corinthia and Argolid and the consumption practices of small-scale communities.

Production and Consumption of Late Mycenaean Pottery from Kanakia, Salamis, and Attica: An Integrated Analytical Approach

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Recent excavations at Kanakia, Salamis, reveal a fortified Mycenaean harbor town with impressive architectural and material remains, including megaron-style buildings and a rich ceramic record, primarily of the late Late Helladic (LH) IIIIB period. Based on typology and fabric study, samples were taken to investigate production technologies and provenance. A restricted number of well-defined fabrics were found, which were suggested by petrographic analysis to have an origin beyond the island of Salamis; in other words, potentially all the pottery groups at Kanakia were imported.

Most pottery from Kanakia has an origin in Attica, which is reflected by metamorphic rocks present in both fine and coarse pottery. Another group, primarily represented by cooking and kitchen wares, contains the andesite fabric familiar from Aegina. Still other storage jar and bathtub fabrics, characterized by altered volcanic rocks and serpentine, are matched to Bronze Age production in the area of ancient Corinth. The picture at Kanakia is rounded off by imports of very fine pottery, some perhaps originating in the Argolid and two transport stirrup jars in the familiar fabric of Chania in west Crete.

Our research project, which examines pottery from a range of late LH IIIIB sites, has since included contemporary comparative material from rescue excavations in Plaka, part of the large Mycenaean settlement surrounding the Athenian Acropolis. Analysis shows the common presence there of the putative Attic fabric found at Kanakia, as well as matches with serpentine-rich fabrics.

Subsequently, the discovery in rescue excavations of a settlement and craft-production installation of the Late Minoan (LM) IIIIB period at Kontopigado, Alimos,

has provided a wealth of new evidence, including kiln wasters, suggesting the manufacture of pottery types similar to those suggested by our analyses to be of Attic origin. Petrography, typology, and fabric analysis indicates that the pottery produced at Alimos matches the "Attic" products from Kanakia and Plaka. The production of Alimos includes fine tableware, quality cooking vessels, and tubs in a range of sizes.

These important findings, which are based on analyses of total assemblages, show not only that pottery circulated widely at the time of the Mycenaean palaces but also that sites such as Kanakia consumed pottery from a variety of places: in this case, from Alimos, only 4 km from Mycenaean Athens, from the Corinthia, and from Aegina. We discuss the implications of these results for research that attempts to reconstruct political boundaries from selected pottery-distribution patterns.

A Petrographic Study of Late Helladic Cooking Pots from the Corinthia

Debra A. Trusty, Florida State University, and *Thomas Tartaron*, University of Pennsylvania

Current knowledge of the production, distribution, and exchange of cooking pottery, defined here as a coarse fabric used for food production and able to resist frequent thermal shock, maintain toughness, and withstand repeated exposure to heat, represents a lacuna in Mycenaean studies. In the illumination of socio-economic connections, Mycenaean cookware has not been as closely considered as its fine ware counterpart. This is because the latter's elaborate decoration is more amenable to stylistic study, while the former was considered less susceptible to imitation and change.

Cookware has great potential to indicate economic, political, and social changes, and its coarse nature is suitable for many forms of ceramic analysis, especially thin-section petrography. In this paper, ceramic petrography is used to determine the origin, choice, and manipulation of constituent raw materials.

The analytical program presented here involves the petrographic analysis of cooking vessels from four Mycenaean sites located in the Corinthia: the Potter's Shop at Zygouries (Late Helladic [LH] IIIB), the East Alley deposit of Korakou (LH I-II), the harbor settlement of Korphos-Kalamianos, and nearby Stiri (LH I-III). Each of these sites seems to have been connected politically and economically to the ruling elite at Mycenae as observed through the consumption of material culture, the scale of which changed as this major citadel evolved and grew. Using petrographic analysis of cooking pots, this study demonstrates that short-distance trading contacts changed gradually, by influence and contact, from Kolonna on the island of Aegina during the beginning of the Late Helladic period to Mycenae by the end of the Mycenaean period. Fabrics with an origin in Aegina are characterized by volcanic inclusions such as andesite, in contrast with those originating in Mycenae and the Argolid, which contain frequent quartz and limestone. As control of the Corinthia changed from Kolonna to Mycenae, so did the source of vessels (both fine and coarse), as can be seen in specimens from Kalamianos, Stiri, and Korakou. By the end of the Late Bronze Age, the Corinthia was connected strongly with Mycenae, politically and economically, as fabrics found in the assemblage at Zygouries demonstrate.

This study produces valuable conclusions that affect our understanding of the centralization and organization of craft production and elite involvement in the early state political economy. In addition, it suggests potential conclusions concerning broader questions of methods of control by a major palatial center over the economic activities of neighboring and peripheral territories.

The Production and Distribution of Corinthian Cooking and Southern Argolid Fabrics in the Late Roman Northeast Peloponnese

Heather Graybehl, University of Sheffield, *Samantha Ximeri*, University of Sheffield, *Mark D. Hammond*, University of Missouri–Columbia, *Christian Cloke*, University of Cincinnati, and *Peter M. Day*, University of Sheffield

Recent studies of Late Roman ceramics (fourth–seventh centuries C.E.) at the sites of Corinth and Nemea have revealed several fabric groups in a variety of vessel shapes, which were exchanged around the Corinthia and Argolid. Two fabrics—Corinthian cooking fabric, thought to be manufactured in the vicinity of ancient Corinth, and the “southern Argolid” fabric—represent large centers of manufacture that seem to have supplied the surrounding region with utilitarian and transport vessels. This paper presents analyses of ceramics from Panayia Field, Corinth, and the Nemea Valley Archaeological Project (NVAP), to characterize and compare the fabric categories from each location.

The Corinthian cooking fabric is the one of the most prevalent types of ceramic fabric found in the Late Roman assemblages in Panayia Field and NVAP. Employed in the manufacture of coarse ware vessels during the course of the Roman period from the first century B.C.E., this fabric was used not only for cooking pots but also for amphoras, basins, and some table wares. These coarse red fabrics are dominated by characteristic large chert inclusions, quartz, and garnet. It is concluded that the examples from Nemea and Corinth are from the same production location, though it is difficult to suggest their geographic source. In addition, they appear to match a fabric published by Whitbread from the Berbati-Limnes Survey which he suggests matches a local clay source. The cooking pot fabric clearly represents products with a wide distribution from one source, though petrography alone cannot pinpoint its origin as yet.

The “southern Argolid” fabric is the primary fabric used in the manufacture of Late Roman Amphora 2 vessels in the northeastern Peloponnese. Several types of serving and storage vessels, such as basins, lekanai, and pitchers were also produced in this fabric. Again, in this case the products from Corinth and those from the NVAP were found to be of identical composition and to be products of one manufacturing center. This characteristic fabric was subsequently compared with those found in kilns from Kounoupi in the southern Argolid to examine whether it may have been produced there.

This paper discusses the implications of these analytical results, the changes in production over the four centuries in question, and the distribution of the Corinthian cooking and “southern Argolid” fabrics across the northeastern Peloponnese.

Ceramic Fabric Analysis and Urban Survey: The Case of Sikyon

Conor Trainor, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland, and *Evangelia Kiriati*, British School at Athens

Ancient Sikyon is located on a triangular plateau, 17 km northwest of Corinth on the south shore of the Corinthian Gulf, and is now buried beneath the modern village and farmers' fields of Vasiliko. The Sikyon Survey Project (University of Thessaly, 2004–present), one of the largest intensive urban surveys ever conducted in the Mediterranean, is a fully integrated multidisciplinary research program designed to study the human presence and activity on the plateau of ancient Sikyon.

Sikyon appears to have occupied a position of strategic and economic importance in the Peloponnese during Hellenistic and Early Roman times. It was also a site of significant pottery production. Most finds collected during the Sikyon Survey Project were ceramics, and to chart the long-term production, distribution, and consumption of ceramic types, as well as to aid in a reconstruction of the technological landscape of the city, an extensive program of ceramic fabric analysis has been implemented.

Most of the collected ceramics were initially examined and categorized macroscopically by fabric, and where possible these were then studied typologically to establish the date and potential use of each piece. A representative sample was then analyzed by thin-section petrography in the Fitch Laboratory of the British School at Athens. Parallel to the analysis of the ceramics, raw-materials prospection and sampling was conducted both within the walls of Ancient Sikyon and along the valleys of the Asopos and Hellison Rivers below the plateau. These samples were processed and test-fired at a range of temperatures and have been compared with the sampled ceramics.

This paper presents the emerging picture of ceramic production at Sikyon during the Hellenistic, Roman, and Early Byzantine periods based on the results of these studies. While typology plays an important role in this research, the major focus is on results of ceramic fabric analysis, which includes a distinction between local/regional and imported ceramic products and possible clay sources, the types of vessels being produced at Sikyon, shifts in the character of the industry over time, and the characterization of a variety of imported amphoras. This evidence provides insights into the evolution of the economic topography and technological landscapes of ancient and post-Antique Sikyon.

In and Out of the Stream: Investigating Cycles of Development and Recession at a Specialized Potting Center on Aegina

Evangelia Kiriati, Fitch Laboratory, British School at Athens, Greece, *Walter Gauss*, Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens, Greece, *Gudrun Klebinder-Gauss*, Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens, Greece, *Myrto Georgakopoulou*, Fitch Laboratory, British School at Athens, Greece, *Areti Pentedeka*, Fitch Laboratory, British School at Athens, Greece, *Bartek Lis*, University of Warsaw, *Michael Lindblom*, Uppsala University, Sweden, and *Jerolyn E. Morrison*, University of Leicester

Our research concerns the diachronic investigation of the environmental and cultural dynamics affecting the sociopolitical role of craft activities and craftspeople

and the reproduction of technological practice within a certain landscape. Within such a context, the current paper focuses on understanding the factors influencing transformations in potting traditions, and the growth and decline of a specialized potting center on the island of Aegina in the Saronic Gulf. On Aegina, large-scale pottery production aimed mainly at exportation has been attested so far in at least three distinct, although nonconsecutive, chronological periods: most of the Bronze Age, the Classical period, and early modern times. Such persistence in pottery production through time renders it obvious that a combination of factors, in addition to socioeconomic, historical, and geographic ones, must be taken into consideration in addressing the development of a specialized potting center on the island. These might include locally available raw materials as well as the attraction of Aeginetan ceramics at other sites.

The main focus of the current paper concerns developments in Aeginetan pottery production and supply and demand during the Bronze Age, especially notable fluctuations. In addition, comparative studies of analogous phenomena within the same landscape in later periods are considered to illuminate aspects of the development-recession phenomena. The discussion draws evidence from a large scale interdisciplinary project on pottery production and supply on Aegina during the Bronze Age and the Classical period, combining the systematic stylistic study and scientific analysis of ceramic material from the site of Kolonna with research on the island's resources, replication experiments and ethnoarchaeology. More recently, our project has expanded its scope to include the study of Aeginetan products found outside Aegina, aiming both at exploring consumers' preferences of Aeginetan ceramic vessels through time and investigating production issues from the consumers' point of view, especially in relation to periods for which the existing evidence at Kolonna is problematic or almost non-existent.

SESSION 6E: Colloquium

The Modern Reception of Vesuvian Cities

Sponsored by the American Friends of Herculaneum Society

ORGANIZERS: *Kenneth Lapatin*, J. Paul Getty Museum, and *Carol C. Mattusch*, George Mason University

Colloquium Overview Statement

The year 2013 marks the 275th anniversary of official excavations at Herculaneum. That city and the other ancient sites around the Bay of Naples that were destroyed and paradoxically preserved by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E. were intermittently explored long before 1738, but for the past three centuries they have revealed a unique view of multiple aspects of daily life in the ancient Roman world. Thus, they have been examined by scholars, visited by tourists, and featured in popular culture. Yet for 300 years, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the other Vesuvian sites have functioned not only as windows to the past but also as mirrors of an ever-shifting present. The publication of *Pompeii in the Public Imagination from Its Rediscovery to Today* (Hales and J. Paul, eds. [Oxford 2011]) and other scholarly works, as well as the international loan exhibition entitled *The Last Days of Pompeii*:

Decadence, Apocalypse, Resurrection, currently on view at the Getty Villa in Malibu and soon to travel to Cleveland, have recently highlighted that our experiences and views of the Vesuvian sites are far from direct and unmediated. Rather, they are shaped by a wide variety of factors, ranging from restorations of the ancient sites to literature and films about the eruption to the creation and promulgation of plaster casts of the dead. This colloquium features five papers from noted scholars addressing previously un- or underexplored aspects of the modern reception of the Vesuvian sites, from the initial publications of finds from Herculaneum to the cultural policy of Giuseppe Fiorelli which affected all the Vesuvian sites, to the creation of fictional figures that inhabited them to the sites' appearance in cinema and their formative role for modern artists in the second half of the 20th century.

DISCUSSANT: *Kenneth Lapatin*, J. Paul Getty Museum

"In Their Dreams...": The Early Finds from Herculaneum

Carol C. Mattusch, George Mason University

In 1738, Charles of Bourbon became king of Naples and Sicily and put men to work digging for antiquities on his property at Portici. The quantities of paintings and sculptures that were brought out of the ground exceeded his wildest dreams, and in the first year of digging, an inscription was found that identified the underground site as ancient Herculaneum. From the start, there were plans to publish these new finds, but the royal collection of antiquities would continue to grow for many years, yielding far more impressive finds, many of them in categories that the king could not have imagined. Thus, some of the inconsequential paintings published in an initial catalogue of 1746 were eliminated from later publications. In contrast, one of the earliest finds, an over-life-sized bronze chariot group, was not fully published, but its tiny appliqué decorations, which were far better condition than the crushed horses, the pieces of the chariot, or the chariot's occupants, were—and they were illustrated as if they were large-scale living beings, though in reality they were quite small. These and other three-dimensional objects were often illustrated with lively shadows distinguishing them from two-dimensional paintings and reliefs.

The publication of 1746 was not a success and is not well known today. It was replaced by a new project: from 1757 onward, an entirely different group of artists was engaged in illustrating the *Antichità di Ercolano*. Five volumes were devoted to paintings, two to bronzes, and one to lamps and candelabra. The artifacts that were included all appeared to be intact, as did the works themselves, which were displayed in the royal Herculaneum Museum. The objects did not cast shadows, and only one artist on the team gave lifelike eyes to the statues and busts that had lost their eyes. Howcer, Camillo Paderni, the museum director, regularly drew ancient figures as if they had come alive.

Copies of the antiquities from Herculaneum were produced for King Charles to take to Madrid when he returned there to rule in 1759. They were produced as they had been restored, of course, and the tradition of making "reproductions" with added restorations persisted. At the same time, forgeries of ancient paint-

ings and sculptures from the Vesuvian sites appeared on the market; their great antiquity was alluded to with fanciful damages and invented patinas, including one evocatively named "Herculaneum."

Pompeii as Cultural Property: Political Asset and Liability

Eugene Dwyer, Kenyon College

In the summer of 1888, in anticipation of the approaching state visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II, Giuseppe Fiorelli, then Italian Director General for Archaeology and the Fine Arts, ordered his colleagues at Pompeii to commission a set of copies of the famous Pompeian victims of Vesuvius to be shown and presented to the visiting sovereign. This royal gift was duly received and shipped to Berlin, where it was installed in a place of honor in the Neues Museum. Unlike the earlier statues from the Vesuvian sites that had found their way to Germany, these were the work of a distinguished Neapolitan artist, the authorized gift of the state of Italy: a glory and not an embarrassment to their land of origin. From the moment of its "discovery" until the present, Pompeii has been both asset and liability, culturally and materially, to its owners. First the successive Neapolitan regimes and later the Italian state have had to balance their claim to and custody of a cultural property to which the rest of the world, too, has laid claim. Both the Neapolitans and the Italians have had to endure withering criticism from affronted visitors (including sovereigns), the very people they were seeking to impress. Internal political affairs have also been played out on the Pompeian battlefield, as custody and conservation have continually been regarded as the responsibility of the state. This paper focuses on the early career (1843–1848), the later administration (1860–1875), and the legacy (1875–1900) of Fiorelli as he attempted to consolidate and secure the archaeological zone of Pompeii and raise its prestige in an age of fabulous archaeological discovery. To this day, the life and the motives of Fiorelli remain obscure because of his failure to document his own life. He has been called a "liberal" and a "hot head" but also a petty tyrant and a Germanophile to the detriment of his own countrymen. Nevertheless, Fiorelli's reputation as an Italian nationalist has not been and will not be questioned. More to the point is the course of Italian nationalism itself, as it evolved during the period 1875–1900, culminating in a climate favorable to the strict patrimony law of 1909.

Slaves, Sluts, and Saints: The Modern Fantasy Women of Pompeii

Victoria C.G. Coates, Cleveland Museum of Art

Interest in the human identity of Vesuvius' victims increased dramatically in the 19th century, and ever more elaborate fantasies emerged about who these people might have been. The fragmentary and contradictory nature of the archaeological record provided considerable leeway for speculation, and a series of powerful figures emerged who embody the character types projected retrospectively on Pompeii. While some of these are male, notably the so-called Sentinel of Pompeii, who represents the Victorian ideal of stoic male fortitude, the majority were female. A powerful trio of these women appeared in English, French, and German literature

from 1834 to 1903: Nydia, Arria Marcella, and Gradiva, who continue to influence how we understand the people of ancient Pompeii, despite that they were no more Roman than Queen Victoria herself. Examination of these women as a set reveals how they became widely accepted vehicles for examining contemporary issues of female identity.

Nydia, the creation of Edward Bulwer-Lytton for his epic drama *The Last Days of Pompeii*, represents the self-sacrificing slave who would be a popular rallying point for the abolitionist movement in Great Britain and later the United States. Arria Marcella, the lusty, pagan antiheroine who tempts the hero of Théophile Gautier's novel of the same name to abandon his Christian faith, represents the dark side of female sexuality, which was as immoral to the Victorians as it was irresistible. In Wilhelm Jensen's *Gradiva: A Pompeian Fantasy*, a dual heroine emerges who is both idealized ancient (Gradiva) and virtuous modern (Zoe Bertgang); when the two are fused, they become the perfect wife, who, unlike Arria Marcella, promises salvation as well as fulfillment through sanctified love.

Nydia, Arria Marcella, and Gradiva all became objects of popular fascination, and their legends were perpetuated as they were translated into the visual realm. Randolph Rodgers' 1854 marble Nydia, Theodore Chasseriau's closely contemporary painting of the tepidarium, and Andre Masson's 1934 *Gradiva* all rely on classical models to contextualize their heroines, but ultimately they present them as sexualized objects of modern desire, virtuous or otherwise. This paper examines how these three products of archaeological fantasy served in text and image to bring the ancient Pompeians into the present day and makes them relevant to contemporary debates over the nature of female identity.

The Last Days of Pompeii in Cinema

Adrian Staehli, Harvard University

This paper explores the cinematographic portrayal of the last days of Pompeii from the Italian movies at the beginning of the 20th century to the only American production (in 1935) and the "sword-and-sandal" versions of the 1950s to Roman Polanski's failed attempt to adapt Robert Harris's bestselling novel *Pompeii* for the screen a few years ago. In the early history of the movies, the destiny of the doomed city buried under the ashes of Vesuvius was among the most successful film subjects and even at the forefront of cinematic innovation. Like most other films set in antiquity, its popularity was rooted in (and competed with) forms of mass entertainment typical for the 19th century: circus spectacles, "toga plays," and pyrodrasmas. Cinema—and particularly epics set in antiquity—benefitted from the audience's familiarity with the well-established narrative and visual patterns provided by these stage spectacles, as well as by illustrated editions of popular novels and engravings in journals and newspapers. The paper focuses in particular on the impact of 19th-century popular culture on the visual and narrative conventions of the emerging film industry.

Pompeii and Trauma in European Postwar Sculpture

Jon L. Seydl, Cleveland Museum of Art

In a 1960 interview with the American poet Édouard Roditi, the Italian artist Marino Marini talked at considerable length about the impact of Pompeii on his work, stating: "The fossilized corpses that have been unearthed in Pompeii have fascinated me more than the Laocoön group in the Vatican. If the whole earth is destroyed in our atomic age, I feel that the human forms which may survive will have become sculptures similar to mine."

The association of Pompeii's destruction with contemporary cataclysm has had a long history, nearly as long as the excavations themselves, but in the wake of World War II, preoccupations with apocalyptic Pompeii returned with a vengeance. On the most concrete level, the spectacular and widely publicized eruption of Vesuvius in 1944 reinserted the ruined cities into the world's imagination. At the end of the war, Europe was reduced to rubble; the excavations of Pompeii were themselves considerably damaged by Allied bombing in 1943, which obliterated the Pompeian museum and numerous body casts. Faced with the horrors of the Holocaust, wartime atrocities, and the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—all fully unfolding at once in 1945—many saw European civilization itself as fundamentally in ruins. Moreover, the rapidly advancing Cold War, the concomitant fears of nuclear annihilation, and the dominance of an existentialist mind-set created an atmosphere open to renewed attention to Pompeii. The casts of victims in particular emerged as a stimulus for artists to address the embattled body and traumatized postwar psyche.

European and American artists were divided in their responses. The initial response by sculptors in Europe is the subject of this paper, an aspect of postwar modernism that has thus far received little attention. Visits to the Bay of Naples deeply affected Germaine Richier, César, and Marini. These artists used their experience of Pompeii as one element in their diverse reflections on breaking apart the body. The body casts helped them explore fragility and loss and provided an avenue away from the formal, mathematical terms then dominating much modernist discourse. Moreover, the anticlassicism of the casts—ancient bodies presented in the most human ways—helped lead away from the fascist ideal of the perfect, classicized body, while still finding a source in the antique. The traumatized bodies at Pompeii stirred the artists to dematerialize their own figures, without recourse to formalism, abstraction, or historicism.

SESSION 6F

Religion and Epigraphy

CHAIR: To be announced

Who Wants a Pregnant Pig? Deity Gender and Animal Sacrifice in the Iguvine Tables

Lauren Kaplow, Penn State University

The Iguvine Tables, seven bronze tablets inscribed sometime in the second and first centuries B.C.E., contain directions for the religious rituals of the Atiedian Brotherhood written in Umbrian. They include 37 sets of instruction about animal sacrifices describing 25 different sacrificial rituals. In this paper, I consider the implications of the sacrifice of three pregnant pigs to Trebe Iuvie. Modern opinion is divided or uncertain about the gender of this deity, which cannot be determined solely by linguistic evidence. Comparative religious evidence shows that the recipient of the sacrifice must be female and most likely fits into a class of female deities characterized by being chthonic and related to fertility.

The comparative evidence includes a study of victim choice, with regards to gender, in Greek and Roman religion. I show that while male victims were occasionally sacrificed to female deities, female victims were sacrificed to male deities only under the most exceptional circumstances. Pregnant victims were offered exclusively to goddesses, in particular to Demeter in Greek practice and to Ceres, Tellus, and Maia in Roman practice. The study of pregnant animal sacrifices can provide evidence for the logic of victim choice and for how Roman and Italic culture conceived of the purpose of animal sacrifice. The identification of Trebe Iuvie as female is also significant for understanding the names and epithets given to Italic deities in inscriptions as well as their relationship to "equivalent" Roman deities.

Masquerades and Raucous Tomfoolery: Dating the Institution of the Hilaria Festival

Deborah A. Sneed, University of Colorado

When Cybele was imported to Rome in 204 B.C.E., her young consort, Attis, immediately attracted his own cult following: in fact, excavations at Cybele's Palatine sanctuary have uncovered nearly 10 times as many figures of Attis than of Cybele, many dating back to the dedication of the temple in 191 B.C.E. One aspect of the cult practice of Attis, the Hilaria festival, celebrated in March of each year, was not instituted until the reign of Antoninus Pius. The inauguration of this festival, which included masquerades and raucous tomfoolery, has been dated to sometime between 138 and 161 C.E. based on vague references found in later festival calendars.

This paper proposes a more specific date for the institution of the Hilaria festival based on numismatic and historical evidence. Soon after Hadrian's death and before his consecration in 139 C.E., Antoninus Pius minted a series of coins in

Hadrian's honor, including a type that bore the image of Hilaritas on the reverse; this is one of the earliest depictions of the personification of Hilaritas on coins. The Hilaria festival celebrated the resurrection of Attis; this theme could be applied to the consecration of Hadrian, allowing Romans to relate Hadrian's consecration to Attis' resurrection.

The appearance and proliferation of the Hilaritas coin type at the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Pius' return from a proconsulship in Asia in 139 C.E., and the strong relationship between the Antonines and the Cybele cult argue for the institution of the Hilaria festival at the beginning of Antoninus' reign. By establishing a firmer date for the beginnings of this festival, it is possible not only to understand the development of the cult of Attis in Rome but also to identify the changes that the Antonines made to the cults of Cybele and Attis, which may lead to a greater understanding of the Antonines' contributions to Roman society.

A New Oscan Inscription from Molise: The First Epigraphic Evidence for the Worship of Mars in Larinum

Elizabeth C. Robinson, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

This paper presents a new inscription found in Larinum, the first stone inscription in Oscan from this site, found by the author while researching all of the known inscriptions there. It applies interdisciplinary methods to probe the inscription's epigraphic aspects, as well as its archaeological and sociohistorical contexts. As a result, new light is shed on the topographic, epigraphic, linguistic, historical, and religious dimensions of the community.

Larinum, located on the eastern edge of Samnium, was an important regional center from at least 400 B.C.E. onward and became a Roman municipium shortly after the Social War. The new inscription dates to the pre-Roman period (second or early first century B.C.E.) and refers to a shrine dedicated to Mars and to a mother goddess. It is written in Oscan using the Latin alphabet, a common enough practice in this part of the Italian peninsula from the third century until the early first century B.C.E., as seen in Crawford's *Imagines Italicae* (London 2011).

Epigraphic analysis of the text reveals the names of Mamers and a mother goddess, perhaps Cybele, along with the noun "hanu[lom]," which refers to a small shrine. The inscription thus provides proof of a pre-Roman cult of Mars that corresponds to the passage in Cicero's *Pro Cluentio* (43–5) that discusses the Martiales, priests of Mars who were unique to Larinum. The presence of a pre-Roman shrine in the area dedicated to Mamers shows continuity of cult at this site and indicates the importance of Mars worship there. Although archaeological artifacts associated with the cult of Mars have already been found at Larinum, this is the first inscriptional evidence of this cult at the site, as well as the first incontrovertible evidence of a pre-Roman date for it. While the cult's antiquity has always been suspected, it can now be proven.

This new inscription reveals a link between the historical record and the archaeological evidence for the worship of Mars; moreover, it highlights the importance and antiquity of his cult in Larinum. Equally, the evidence of a stone inscription in Oscan sheds fresh light on the pre-Roman nature of Larinum and on the linguistic

habits of its inhabitants before the Social War. The inscription significantly enriches both the epigraphic corpus of Larinum and the larger Oscan epigraphic corpus. It deserves to be recognized and discussed as making an exceptional contribution to the social, linguistic, and religious histories of pre-Roman central Italy.

Money for Mithras: Epigraphic and Archaeological Evidence for Greek Coin Rituals in Roman Religious Contexts

Isabelle Pafford, San Francisco State University

The understanding of how stone offering boxes (*thesauroi*) were used in Greek sanctuaries was advanced by the discovery and publication of an example from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania in Athens, inscribed with a short sacred law (SEG 41 182). Inscriptions from a number of different sanctuaries show that in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, offering boxes were strongly associated with preliminary rites performed by individuals consulting an oracle, seeking a cure, or preparing for marriage.

However, of the 61 offering boxes known from archaeological remains or attested by inscriptions, 16 examples, or 26%, come from Roman contexts and have with Latin inscriptions. Roman *thesauroi* are associated both with typically Greek divinities such as Asklepios and Hygeia and with distinctively martial cults, such as those of Mars/Lenus and Mithras. Temporally and geographically, the Roman examples are widespread. An offering box with a Latin inscription was found on Delos and might be explained as the offering of a foreign resident participating in a local cult. But examples are known from the vicinity of Rome itself; four offering boxes dating to the second century C.E. were found in the area of the Mosel Valley in Germany, while additional examples come from Romano-Gallic sites in Burgundy.

This paper addresses the archaeological and epigraphic evidence for understanding the adoption in a Latin-speaking or Roman context of the Greek custom of using *thesauroi*. Although the appearance of offering boxes in Roman sanctuaries does not indicate the wholesale adoption of Greek religious beliefs by Romans, the appropriation of the sanctuary embellishments associated with certain types of Greek coin rituals suggests the familiarity of some Romans in the west with the architectural and cultic landscapes of the eastern Mediterranean. Additionally, the use of Latin for the dedicatory inscriptions provides evidence for culturally and linguistically mixed religious contexts during the Roman Imperial period. Roman *thesauroi* may be seen as markers for the movements of people and ideas within a larger Mediterranean world.

Revisiting the Dating of the Monteverde Catacomb: Consequences for the Examination of the Jewish Communities in Ancient Rome

Esther Schneidenbach, Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

Historical research about first-century C.E. Jews in Rome has relied greatly on archaeological findings, most prominently the inscriptions found in the Monteverde catacomb. This is not surprising given that this catacomb is held to be the

oldest of the Jewish catacombs in Rome. The epitaphs of the Jews in ancient Rome were considered especially revealing because of the information they contained about the Jewish community structure in the first century C.E. In particular, the epitaphs from the Monteverde catacomb were assumed to disclose a complex hierarchical system of official titles during this period.

However, most of the academic views on this subject are based on the now outdated postulations of Juster (*Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain: Leur condition juridique, économique et sociale*. Vol. 1 [Paris 1914]), Frey (*CIJ* 1), and Leon (*The Jews of Ancient Rome* [Philadelphia 1960]). Working from unclear, inappropriate, or incorrect archaeological assumptions, these scholars dated the epigraphic material to an earlier period than does the most recent collection of Jewish inscriptions of Rome by Noy (*Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe*. Vol. 2 [Cambridge 1995]). Despite this, instead of reinvestigating the source material and reexamining the archaeological background of these Jewish epitaphs, the scholarly community still commonly uses the inscriptions as the basis for statements about the structure of the Jewish communities of Rome in the first century C.E.

In this paper, I explore the problematic archaeological find complex and excavation history to examine the possibility of using the archaeological background for the extraction of historical conclusions about the Jews in Rome in the first century C.E. The archaeological evidence and results based on scientific research, such as the radiocarbon dating conducted by Rutgers (*Radiocarbon Dating of Several Ancient Jewish Oil Lamps from Rome* 49 [3] [2007] 1215–19), lead to the conclusion that neither the Monteverde catacomb nor the inscriptions found in it can be dated to the first century C.E. Therefore, the archaeological findings from the Monteverde catacomb and especially the inscriptional evidence have no direct significance for the examination of the conditions and structure of the Jewish communities in the first century C.E. This casts a shadow of doubt on the currently widely accepted identification of at least five Jewish congregations in Early Imperial Rome and the high number of different Jewish titles for community officials in the first century C.E.

Revealing or Concealing Religion: Identifying “Christian” Vs. “Non-Christian” Material in Late Roman Honorific Epigraphy, Monuments, and Portrait Sculpture

Elizabeth A. Wueste, University of California, Berkeley

In addition to its pronounced religious effects, the advent of Christianity produced far-reaching and dramatic consequences for the Roman empire politically, socially, administratively, and culturally. This paper examines what effects Christianity may have produced in the archaeological and art historical record of the third through fifth centuries C.E. and whether “Christian” vs. “non-Christian” material can be positively identified. The evidence surveyed includes the elite display of honorific epigraphy, monuments, and portrait sculpture, primarily from Asia Minor. While the literary and written historical records are identified easily enough as Christian or non-Christian, the transition to Christianity in the physical and material record is far more gradual, subtle, and nebulous. Granted, some epigraphs and monumental works of art from this early period of Christianity openly

and unambiguously advertise their patrons' religious affiliations, but a number of them make use of far more enigmatic cues.

Previous work has tended to concentrate on the expressions of openly self-identified Christians, such as the imperial family or early congregations and their church structures or mortuary material. This paper's collection of data focuses instead on the local elite, whose ties to both the imperial administration and their local communities could have provided potentially conflicting incentives to openly advertise their religious beliefs. Indeed, the evidence finds that both the epigraphic and visual language used in the monuments provides, at best, a highly coded and covert statement of religion or, at worst, no indication at all. Despite the public conversion of the imperial family to Christianity, provincial elites were apparently hesitant to advertise both their paganism and their Christianity in public venues. The nuanced visual language conveyed by these monuments gives further proof that the religious environment of this time period was culturally contentious and that either affiliation was socially costly.

New Light on the "Religious" Meaning of Two Famous *Paganus* Inscriptions: A Later Date (CIL 6 30463) and a Red Herring (CIL 10 7112)

Douglas Boin, Georgetown University

Why did Latin writers label non-Christians with a word that evoked lack of culture (*paganus*), while their Greek brethren used a word that connoted the finest education around (Hellene)? Two inscriptions perennially feature in discussions of this question: *CIL* 6 30463 from Rome and *CIL* 10 7112 from Sicily.

Each inscription has been assigned a date in the early fourth century C.E. The first refers to a daughter who was "faithful among the faithful" (*filia mea inter fideles fidelis*) and of similar comportment among the "pagani" ([inter pagan]os *paqana* [sic]). The second records the death of a child, Julia Florentina, who was born a *pagana* but died among the faithful (*fidelis facta*). These texts have led some scholars to conclude that *paganus/a* had no pejorative meaning to it. That conclusion does not harmonize with the work of others who have detected negative connotations of the word in fourth- and fifth-century Christian literature.

A study of the findspot of each inscription—a point of study never before brought to bear on the interpretation of either text—provides new evidence with which to resolve the question. The first was reused in one of the Honorian towers of the Aurelian Wall. This wall evinces two later phases of restoration: one between the second quarter of the fifth century and the third quarter of the sixth century, and one in the eighth or ninth century. Given that we lack any more precise information about the location of the inscription at the time of its discovery, *CIL* 6 30463 may have been used in the last two phases of work. In that case, the use of the word *pagana* is not relevant to the study of the fourth century.

The second inscription was excavated in 1730 at the church of S. Agata in Catania. Julia Florentina died at Hybla (*CIL* 10 7112, line 8), modern Paternò, a town located in the territory of Catania. Only after her death was her body transferred from her parents' home (lines 12–13). Text and findspot together suggest that *pagana* need not have any religious connotation. The traditional understanding of the word, designating a member of a surrounding country district (*pagus*), fits the

context perfectly. With the relevance of each inscription now called into question, I conclude by offering suggestions for how we might see both Hellene and *paganus* as playing pejorative roles in Late Antique Christian literature.

Epigraphic Innovation in the Memorial of Metrodoros from Egypt

Patricia A. Butz, Savannah College of Art and Design

This paper presents a funerary monument that depends solely on its distinctive style of writing to commemorate the deceased: Metrodoros, son of Apollonides of Miletos. The provenance of the limestone plaque, now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (inv. no. 31183), is believed to be ancient Naukratis, where a population of transplanted Milesians, among others, resided under the Saïte pharaohs. Early graffiti recorded by W.M.F. Petrie in the precinct of Apollo Milesios dates from the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.E. The six-line funerary inscription written in Greek may be as late as the fourth century B.C.E. and is distinguished by a gridded stoichedon formation that reinforces the overall square of the plaque with its raised frame. Stoichedon inscriptions are characterized by the manipulation of the written elements composing the text with respect to an underlying grid. Letterforms on the plaque average 3 cm in height and are finely cut; but it is the fitted layout of the parts of the funerary text together with the meticulously placed punctuation that suggests a deeper meaning for the seemingly simple display. The paper examines how these parts create, in fact, a kind of magical word square. The presence of the magical word square is known on Egyptian soil, most famously in the much later Stele of Moschion (*SEG* 8 464). It is the argument of this paper that the Metrodoros inscription demonstrates not only the properties of a word square but also the true perfection of the rare stoichedon arrangement in Egypt. On one level, the Metrodoros inscription is all about letters, numbers, and proportions and does its job very well. But the Egyptian necessity for a memorial that functions effectively on more than one level of reality, one of which is magical, takes the letterforms in their stoichedon matrix and weaves in the eternal.

SESSION 6G

Rome and Its Environs

CHAIR: To be announced

The Lacus Curtius: Glory Retained in a Rainwater Basin

Beth Gardiner Lytle, Emory University

Standing at the lowest point of elevation in the center of the Forum Romanum, the polygonal precinct of the Lacus Curtius defied traditional Roman architectural principles of order and balance. All six sides of the perimeter were unequal in length, and the puteal once stood asymmetrically at the eastern end of the enclosure. Such architectural anomalies found in the Lacus Curtius reveal the antiquity of the site and sanctity of the topography. Although the Lacus Curtius is commonly

considered a natural spring gone dry, I propose a different interpretation of the 184 B.C.E. monumentalization of the lacus. I argue that the monument, built of tuff, *peperino*, and *cappellaccio*, preserved the memory of an archaic marsh that later transformed into a natural basin of groundwater seepage and rainwater runoff following the monumental forum basin fill in the seventh to sixth centuries B.C.E. Analysis of the renovations in 78–74 B.C.E. reveals Roman reverence for perceived histories and imminent forces of nature. *Aemulatio*, emulation through enhancement, played a crucial role in this renovation by ensuring continuity of both memory and ritual associated with the site. The precinct, updated in travertine, *cappellaccio*, and *peperino*, confirms minimal design alterations but improved functionality.

Furthermore, this paper argues that the Lacus Curtius served as a model for subsequent spring monuments and constructed fountains built in Rome throughout the Republican period. While overseeing the renovation of the Lacus Curtius prior to his death in 78 B.C.E., Sulla used literary etymologies glorifying military heroism to underscore his own achievements in battle (Varro, Ling. 5.148-150). Using the Lacus Iuturnae and the Appiades Fountain as additional case studies, I demonstrate that these complex monuments not only highlighted the sanctity of water but also glorified their patron's military valor, deftly shifting the emphasis from collective to individual glory.

Uncovering the Topography of Roman Gentes: Family Monuments and Statuary in Republican Rome

Anne Hrychuk Kontokosta, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University

During the republic, public honorific statuary became an increasingly important mode of social and political advertisement in Rome. Although the date by which honorific statuary was first erected in the civic spaces of the city is debated, it is certain that by the third century B.C.E. public statues depicting influential Romans had become a regular means of celebrating glorious military deeds and notable state service. In fact, according to Pliny (*HN* 34.40), such statues were so common by the second century B.C.E. that the censors of 158 actually removed honorific statues that were creating overcrowding in the Roman Forum.

While reconstructions of republican Rome routinely include honorific statues—both standing and equestrian formats—as well as small-scale monuments—such as columns or fornices (small republican arches)—there has been little detailed investigation into their spatial distribution. Using a combination of archaeological, epigraphic, and literary evidence, this paper identifies and reconstructs clusters of public honorific statues and monuments that were erected throughout Rome to celebrate members of the city's most eminent gentes (families). Although familial clusters frequently started with a single honorific statue, the evidence suggests they could quickly grow to include dozens of statues, in addition to paintings and larger-scale monuments, often strategically located within an architectural context also patronized by the gens. The recognition and mapping of these clusters is critical, since it has traditionally been suspected that large-scale family monuments were constructed on private suburban land or that they were associated with

funerary contexts. Despite that most honorific statues and monuments from the Republican period are no longer in situ (or even extant), literary and epigraphic evidence illuminates how the fame of these familial clusters played a critical urban role, creating zones of prominence and helping define and distinguish areas within the larger topography of the city. Particularly important examples are discussed in detail, including honorific statues and monuments erected to celebrate the gens Cornelia on the Capitoline, the gens Fabia at the east end of the Forum, and the gens Julia in Trastevere.

Finally, this paper analyzes the evidence for the survival of public honorific statues and monuments celebrating republican gentes during the Imperial period. The removal and reuse of statues is discussed, in addition to questions regarding the ongoing maintenance of family monuments and imperial mandates aimed at usurping the honorific legacies of Rome's most influential republican gentes.

An Atrium House in Rome's Subura

Margaret M. Andrews, University of Pennsylvania

I present newly found and documented remains of an atrium house within the neighborhood of the Subura in Rome. The crypt of the church of SS. Sergio e Bacco on Piazza Madonna dei Monti preserves a standing republican atrium house with piers of tuff *opus quadratum* and flat voussoir arches more than 5 m tall. Within the atrium itself, the original impluvium and cistern are reflected in a modern ossuary, while the surrounding rooms, including the *fauces* and tablinum, are reflected in the adjacent spaces of the modern basement. Already sizable and well-articulated in its original republican form, the structure shows multiple building phases, including one from the Late Republic and a more extensive one dating to the late second or early third century. During this later renovation, the atrium was closed off, and an apparent bath complex with a heated room and a large sculpture niche were added in the adjacent rooms. The entire complex preserves marble revetment, figural painted plaster of various styles, and floors of polychrome *opus sectile*.

The implications of the structure are many and broad, ranging from the numerous remarkable features of the structure itself to the insights it offers on residential zones within the city. Not only does the extant decoration add to a currently thin corpus of private residential decoration within the imperial city, but the house nuances our impression of the lower Subura as a neighborhood. Though the Subura is traditionally perceived as an ever-crowded, low-class commercial district with elite houses above it on the surrounding hills, the extant features of the structure and its reconstructable original extent provide rare material evidence that the valley itself was also occupied by wealthier residents throughout the history of the city. Indeed, the second-century renovations and the associated reorientation of the structure to the Argiletum indicate that access from this street actually became important for the proprietor during this period. At a broader urban level, the house represents one of the only examples of an atrium house in a city that otherwise famously lacks archaeological evidence for this common type of housing. Most remarkably, its original form and extent correspond strikingly to the few

other atrium houses depicted on the Severan marble plan of Rome, suggesting a standard house type and lot size for residential development in republican Rome.

**Exploring an Imperial Villa in the Ager Lanuvinus: The Villa of the Antonines
Project 2012**

Deborah Chatr Aryamontri, Montclair State University, and *Timothy Renner*,
Montclair State University

The 2012 season of investigation brought to light significant new evidence for what is referred to as the Villa of the Antonines in the ancient Ager Lanuvinus. The villa, the attribution of which was put forth after the discovery, in 1701, of marble busts portraying members of this imperial family in an area close to the partially surviving estate bath complex, is probably to be recognized as the property of T. Aurelius Fulvus, consul in 89 C.E. There, according to the *Historia Augusta*, the future emperors Antoninus Pius and Commodus were born. Since the beginning of the project in 2010, we have concentrated on excavating a curvilinear structure, close to the *thermae*, that had been partly exposed in 1996 but left unexplored. The 2012 season has allowed us not only to uncover interesting new architectonic features of this building—such as a vaulted room, the presence of which had been hypothesized since the first season and the spiral stairwell that leads to it—but also to finally clarify the general layout and nature of this curvilinear structure.

Geophysical surveys during previous years revealed anomalies suggesting the possible continuity of this structure into an ellipse. This season, to test the validity of these results, we opened a new area that led us to unearth, on the unexcavated side of the hypothesized ellipse, walls configured exactly like the already known part of the building. This discovery confirmed without a doubt that it is an oval-shaped structure, plausibly the amphitheater at Lanuvium, never previously located, that is mentioned in the ancient sources as the site where Commodus was in the habit of killing beasts, thereby earning the popular label Roman Hercules.

The impressive number of pieces of costly white and colored marbles, polychrome glass tesserae, and fragments of glass mosaic, though displaced and loose, confirm the high status of the owners of this estate. Epigraphic brickstamps fit the Antonine chronology well, while the discovery of an increasing number of anepigraphic brickstamps is adding new evidence to the discussion of the chronology of this category of artifact, which up to now has shown a gap for the Antonine period.

In the years to come, through both excavation and survey, we plan to extend our investigation to the remaining parts of the villa to reach as exhaustive an understanding as possible of this remarkable but neglected imperial residence as a whole.

The Excavations at the Villa of Maxentius, Rome, Italy: Final Report

Diane A. Conlin, University of Colorado, Boulder

This paper reports on the results from the final two seasons of archaeological fieldwork conducted in 2011 and 2012 by the joint University of Colorado/ Co-

mune di Roma project at the Villa of Maxentius, the least understood component of a vast tetrarchic complex located on the Via Appia, approximately 3 km outside the Aurelian Wall of Rome. The focus of investigations is a sequence of construction phases at an imperial residential/ceremonial unit that, together with a circus for chariot racing and a dynastic mausoleum, constituted the most ambitious, and most personal, suburban construction project of the self-declared emperor Maxentius, who controlled Rome from 306 to 312 C.E. The 2011 and 2012 seasons concentrated on the second-century structure originally discovered in 2007, tentatively identified as a quadriportico built on the grounds of the Triopion of Herodes Atticus. This paper reviews the results from these final two seasons of excavation, proving a comprehensive summary of the project's goals, methods, and findings.

2012 Excavation Season at the Vicus ad Martis Tudertium

John Muccigrosso, Drew University

The fifth season at the site of the Vicus ad Martis Tudertium along the Via Flaminia focused on exploring a suspected apsidal structure near the existing Church of Santa Maria in Pantano. This concentration on one area followed a successful season that both verified a number of the findings from geomagnetic survey and demonstrated the extent of the settlement, which we now believe occupied at least 7 ha.

The apsidal structure was evident in crop marks and geomagnetic survey done in previous years. Such architecture is normally found in only a few building types, often those of great importance (e.g., baths, basilicas, and churches), and given our growing understanding of the significance of the *vicus* during the Roman period, we were eager to concentrate our efforts here. A fairly dry year had also locally lowered the water table, and we hoped therefore to avoid the associated problems encountered in the previous three seasons.

Consistent with other structures on the site, the extant crests of the walls lie very close to the surface (40–50 cm below ground level), which has resulted in significant damage to them from centuries of agriculture and deliberate despoiling of the site in antiquity. (A second trench opened this season provided excellent evidence of the later phases of the site, including this spoliation of the architecture and later reuse of the fields.) The apsidal building itself measures some 10 m in width, with an apse diameter of approximately 6 m. Although we did not excavate its full length, the evidence from remote sensing suggests a length of more than 20 m, with the short side of the building giving directly onto the Via Flaminia.

Based on the evidence of previous seasons, we expected a building of this size to date to the earlier phases of the site (e.g., the Late Republic), but it became clear not only that the building was to be dated toward the end of the site's history but also that it was constructed almost directly on top of another building of similar width (but no apse). We are thus planning to further excavate the apsidal structure, and we have hopes that the large underlying building has been better preserved than others on the site. While excavation this year did not unambiguously reveal the function of the apsidal building, the building's placement on top of another significant structure suggests it indeed had an important function in the *vicus*.

SESSION 6H: Colloquium**Testing the Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art and Archaeology**

Sponsored by the Near Eastern Archaeology Interest Group

ORGANIZERS: *Ann Shafer*, Rutgers University, and *Amy Gansell*, Fashion Institute of Technology

Colloquium Overview Statement

With an eye to the past, present, and future, this session evaluates the formation and transformation of the ancient Near Eastern art historical and archaeological canon. Here we define the “canon” as an established list of sites, buildings, monuments, and objects, which are considered to be most representative of this culture.

We first inquire whether an ancient Near Eastern canon truly exists and whether this canon is monolithic or comprises separate, overlapping canons. We also probe the temporal and geographic boundaries of the classification “ancient Near Eastern” and investigate additional criteria—such as material, scale, aesthetics, and archaeological context—that determine inclusion/exclusion. Central to this discussion would be the historiographic development of a canon since the 19th century in relation to social and political change, archaeological excavations, collecting, exhibitions, and the neighboring canons of the Aegean, Greek, and Roman cultures.

As scholars, curators, and educators, we examine our responsibility to maintain, revise, expand, or relinquish the canon as a practice and a concept. We also consider the impact of current and future Near Eastern archaeological excavations. What new material might become canonical, and what, if anything, might become displaced?

This session offers five papers by scholars and museum specialists in the art and archaeology of the ancient Near East. The first paper examines the initial development of a canonical body of ancient Near Eastern artifacts during the 19th century. It considers the influence of Hegel’s aesthetic evaluation of Greek art and Winckelmann’s *History of Ancient Art among the Greeks* on French excavations in the Near East and on the Louvre’s collecting practices. The second paper considers the role of British and North American museums in shaping and reiterating canons, especially in light of the current trend to view the ancient Near East as part of regional interconnections. The third paper focuses on small-scale artifacts, which tend to be considered as “craft” and therefore largely remain overlooked and excluded from canons. The fourth paper considers the issues surrounding ancient Near Eastern objects found outside their cultures of production in Mediterranean contexts and presents a case study of ninth-century bronze objects excavated from Greek sanctuary sites. The fifth and final paper also challenges the temporal and cultural boundaries of the “Near Eastern” canon by questioning the scholarly omission of Roman sites on Near Eastern soil.

DISCUSSANT: *Jennifer Trimble*, Stanford University

Ancient Near Eastern Art and Archaeology and the West: The French Canon as a Case Study

Nicolas Gillmann, University of Paris Nanterre

This paper explores the emergence of a canonical body of ancient Near Eastern works in continental European thinking and, as a particular case study, in French scholarship. In so doing, it focuses on three main influences that determined the inclusion or exclusion of certain material during the 19th century: Winckelmann's and Hegel's studies of Greek and Roman art, postrevolution political ideological principles, and popular orientalist visual culture. It discusses how this nascent canon affected French connoisseurship and the collection practices of the Louvre, and, likewise, how it determined the scope and aims of the major archaeological excavations led by Victor Place and Paul-Émile Botta. In conclusion, this paper points to the legacy of this early canonical framework as it examines contemporary French trends in excavation and museum display.

Presenting Ancient Near Eastern Art to the Public

Paul Collins, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford

This paper explores how and why ancient Near Eastern art has been presented to the public over more than a century in three museums: the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum at the University of Oxford, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Based on certain conceptual hierarchies within scholarly analysis and discourse, all three institutions have continuously recognized and exhibited the ancient Near East as a distinct cultural and political unit. In recent decades, however, the emergence of world systems theory has encouraged the notion of a common visual language in the ancient Near East as part of extensive interconnections forged by trade, diplomacy, and conquest. An interest in such hybrid art sits comfortably within the setting of a modern globalized world with "universal" museums in which no culture is dominant. Nevertheless, some museum displays emphasizing the unity of the ancient Near East continue to reflect the ambivalent legacy of the region as received by the West, and thus they maintain its fundamental otherness.

The Impact of the Portable: "Minor" Works of Art Within the Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art and Archaeology

Allison Thomason, Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

The classic mid 20th-century works of scholarly literature that identify an ancient Near Eastern canon favor large-scale works of art carved in stone. While more recent canonical studies have widened their scope to include small-scale media, the so-called minor arts, although featured in research monographs, remain underrepresented in general catalogues and survey volumes. An exploration and potential repositioning of the role of minor arts within the "canon" is therefore long overdue. This study begins with an interrogation of the use of certain terminology, such as "minor," "decorative," "ornamental," and "craft," and critiques the

fundamental dichotomy of art vs. craft that drives western art historical thought. This discussion ultimately argues for the use of a new term “portable objects” and raises larger issues that may shape the reformulation of the ancient Near Eastern canon, including notions of cultural value and identity formation.

Greek and Near Eastern Networks and Canons: The Case of the Samos and Eretria Bronze Horse Harness Ornaments

Marian Feldman, University of California at Berkeley

This paper focuses on the material evidence of Iron Age Greek and Near Eastern networks and offers a case study of the canonical treatment of Near Eastern artifacts found in Greek contexts. The objects in question are a ninth-century B.C.E. inscribed bronze horse frontlet from the Sanctuary of Hera on Samos and a contemporaneous inscribed bronze horse blinker from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria on Euboea. I argue that these have been misinterpreted because they have been viewed within strictly bound cultural canons. They have too often been studied either within the canon of Near Eastern history (on account of the inscriptions they bear naming King Hazar’el of Damascus) or as “Near Eastern luxury imports” in an orientalizing “Greece.” Such restrictive classifications, however, obscure the richly networked histories of production and mobility in which objects crisscrossed the eastern Mediterranean from the Assyrian empire to Greece.

Washed Away: The Missing Baths of the Roman Near East

Erin Darby, University of Tennessee, and *Robert Darby*, University of Tennessee

Roman sites in the Middle East are often omitted from discussions of Near Eastern art and archaeology. The chronological boundaries of the accepted Near Eastern canon trump the geographic evidence, and their Roman architectural forms overshadow their uniquely Near Eastern stylistic nuances. This is especially true with regard to Late Roman bath houses, such as the imperial baths at Shahba in Syria and the military bath at ‘Ayn Gharandal in Jordan. Omissions such as these are not without their consequences for the study of either the ancient Near Eastern monuments or the Roman ones. On the one hand, by ignoring socio-historic and geographic contexts, scholars reinforce long-standing stereotypes of ancient Near Eastern peoples as passive recipients of an advanced Roman culture. On the other, the historical setting that saw the rise of Near Eastern exploration and the formation of art historical canons privileged ancient Rome as a cultural center over an orientalized Middle East over. To understand the canon and its manifold repercussions, this paper uses Late Roman bath houses to explore the criteria that dictate acceptance into the ancient Near Eastern canon, to understand the historical circumstances surrounding the modern construction of these criteria, and to demonstrate the effects the criteria have on modern understandings of the ancient Near East as well as their ramifications for modern inhabitants.

SESSION 6I**Central and Southern Italy**

CHAIR: *Tom Carpenter*, Ohio University

New Excavations at the Samnite Temple of S. Giovanni in Galdo, Colle Rimontato (Central-Southern Italy): Results of the 2011–2012 Campaigns

Tesse D. Stek, Leiden University, and *Antonella Lepone*, La Sapienza University

Recent work on cult places in ancient Italy continues to demonstrate their pivotal social and political role in the settlement organization of local communities. This applies in particular for the nonurban societies inhabiting the rough, mountainous areas of Apennine Italy, where rural sanctuaries constitute the main focus of public and elite investment during the last three centuries B.C.E. To better understand the role and significance of such cult places in their local societal structure, previous fieldwork has focused on the local embedding of the sanctuary of S. Giovanni in Galdo, Colle Rimontato (Molise, ancient Samnium). This sanctuary is considered a type-site of rural Italic cult places. As many sanctuaries built or monumentalized in the internal areas of Italy, its major monumental phase can be dated to the late second century B.C.E. Systematic and highly intensive field surveys (2004–2010) in the area around the small temple revealed that the cult site must have functioned within a dense network of small rural sites, a village, and a necropolis. The centripetal distribution of these sites, which all revolve around the temple, confirms the central role of rural cult sites for local Italic communities.

The archaeology of the temple site itself, however, is still poorly understood, in terms of both its architectural layout and chronology. Yet knowledge of the sanctuary's chronology is crucial for understanding the process of settlement nucleation around the temple and thereby its broader significance in the structuration process of Italic society—for example, is the location of cult sites secondary to settlement nucleation, or perhaps the other way around? How do local settlement dynamics compare with the broader emergence of a distinct monumental sacred architecture, or even “sacred landscape,” in Samnium? Indeed, the architecture of the site is highly interesting because of its apparent likeness to the major federal Samnite sanctuary complex at Pietrabbondante.

To address these broader questions, this paper presents the new Leiden University excavation project at the Temple of S. Giovanni in Galdo, Colle Rimontato, which has recently been undertaken with the support of the Soprintendenza Archeologica del Molise. The paper discusses the first results of the recent (August–September 2011 and August–September 2012) excavations and geophysics campaigns, which focused on the area in front of the temple, where the remains of a new large structure are suspected.

Rethinking Orientalization from the Italian Interior

Jessica Nowlin, Brown University

Two major issues have hampered sophisticated research into the role of imported material in the Orientalizing period of the eighth and seventh centuries

in Italy. First, work has almost entirely concentrated on the most well-explored regions of central Italy, particularly Etruria, northern Latium, and Campania. This bias results from a desire to investigate areas that had direct contact with Greek and/or Phoenician merchants and colonists, groups emphasized owing to their prominence in the documentary record. Second, modern orientalism has shaped the study of imported goods by isolating these materials within a separate class, often referred to as "exotica," and thus failing to understand how these imported goods were incorporated into the local Italian material assemblage.

This paper reorients attention away from these familiar biases, first by examining a site in the middle of the Apennines, the inland necropolis of Colfiorito di Foligno, and second by placing so-called exotica back into their original funerary contexts. It also prioritizes the investigation of local responses to imported material of the Orientalizing period. Rather than isolating elite burials, as has been done for the so-called Princely Tombs of Etruria and northern Latium, this paper presents a multilayered contextual analysis of 185 graves dating from between the ninth and early fourth centuries B.C.E. By looking at the typology, decoration, and function of all grave goods from a diachronic perspective, this approach articulates the ways in which the people of Colfiorito di Foligno incorporated foreign materials through acts of substitution, juxtaposition, transformation, or rejection.

Despite the site's key role in inland networks connecting both sides of the Apennines, imported material from outside the Italian peninsula does not appear until much later than the traditional dates of the Orientalizing period, in the early fifth century when Attic pottery arrived. This calls into question whether such a late appearance of imported material is due to the site's interior setting or is a matter of local choice. Both possibilities are examined, but an important point can already be made: with such vast differences in the timing and nature of the orientaling phenomenon across the Italian peninsula, the continued use of universalizing terms such as "princely" or indeed "orientalizing" for all burials with rich grave goods and imported material, no matter their location or makeup, is no longer useful or appropriate.

**Recovering Samnite Identity and Economic Structure in the Roman Republic:
A Pilot Study of the Black-Gloss Ceramics from the 1999 Excavations of Monte
Pallano, Abruzzo**

Hillary Conley, Florida State University

This paper illuminates the relationship between ceramic material culture, economic systems, and identity construction during the Roman Republican period at Monte Pallano, a fortified hilltop settlement associated with the Samnites, a term describing the heterogeneous people who lived in the central Apennines. Located within the middle Sangro River valley and between two Samnite tribal territories, Monte Pallano's commanding position controlled the movement of people and goods to the upper and lower river valleys and across tribal boundaries in Abruzzo. Although the site is dominant in the landscape and has been excavated since the 1990s, there have not been many publications about the site other than ones concentrating on the regional landscape, paleobotany, and mortuary practices. This paper brings together identity construction and economic theory through the

medium of the site's black-gloss ceramics, a class of ceramic fine ware that was widely distributed across Italy, in the third and second centuries B.C.E. Black-gloss ceramics are ideal for studying the maintenance of local identity and the economic structure during a time when Roman hegemony rapidly expanded across Italy because black-gloss ceramic forms were influenced by cultural trends and modified to appeal to a population's taste and level of wealth.

In addition to the conclusions about local identity and the economic structure at Monte Pallano, this paper provides a new methodological and interpretive approach for ceramic studies. It presents a pilot study of the regional black-gloss fabric and forms as well as distribution and consumption. The research utilizes random sampling of more than 1,300 sherds from the black-gloss ceramics excavated in 1999. These sherds were subjected to ceramological classification of the clay matrix and surface decoration. Archaeometric classification of the clay matrix was also conducted using handheld X-ray fluorescence, tabletop X-ray diffraction, and thin-section analysis. These three analytical methods not only provide accuracy checks to the ceramological classification but also represent the interdisciplinary progression of ceramic studies and pave the way for ceramic studies in areas that occupy a liminal position in the landscape.

The results obtained from this study show that the inhabitants of Monte Pallano engaged in consumerism by choosing black-gloss forms that are typically associated with the Etruscans of northern Italy and by eschewing those forms and decorative techniques typical of Roman and Greek pottery traditions. Additionally, the vast majority of Monte Pallano's black-gloss ceramics are regionally produced, showing that the Adriatic coast engaged in large-scale ceramic production and distribution, just as the better-known Tyrrhenian coast did.

The Role of Attic Imports in Apulian Grave Assemblages

Bice Peruzzi, University of Cincinnati

Traditionally, archaeological scholarship has approached the study of Attic pottery in South Italy from the Athenian perspective. The distribution of vases has been used as a proxy to reconstruct Athenian trade routes and export/import markets, which in turn have been tied to fifth-century political and economic Greek history. As a consequence, Attic imports have been discussed on their own—separated from their context—and usually grouped in macro-areas (e.g., Apulia, Sicily, the Ionic Gulf), which each comprise multiple cultural entities.

My paper, instead, discusses the role of Attic imports in their contexts, using as a case study the grave-good assemblages from Peucetia (central Apulia). Although rare in Peucetian settlements, hundreds of Attic pots—including masterpieces like the Pronomos vase—found their way into the tombs of this Italic population between the mid sixth century and the second half of the fourth century B.C.E.

The presence of these imports cannot be explained by "Hellenization" of the Italic population. While Greek vases and customs were certainly appealing to the Peucetians, they never replaced the indigenous forms, which continue to appear in the assemblages in association with Greek and Greek-looking vessels. Moreover, the core of the typical grave-good assemblage in Peucetia had already been codified at the beginning of the fifth century B.C.E. (a mixing vessel, at least one

-serving vessel, a number of nondecorated drinking vessels, a cooking pot, a small vase for libations, and a number of vessels for food consumption). The arrival of Greek vases did not change the basic core of an assemblage. Rather, the Peucetians chose specific shapes from the Greek repertoire that could be assimilated easily into these six existing categories. Furthermore, in some cases Attic vases were chosen because they complemented figured South Italian vases in the assemblage and not because the scenes represented a Greek ideal to which the Peucetians aspired.

The choices made for Peucetian tombs have nothing to do with emulation or slavish imitation of Greek culture. They are highly conscious expressions of an already existing local tradition. "Being Greek" was not the goal of the Peucetians; rather, they actively appropriated the idea of "Greekness" and repurposed it to express their Italic identity.

Civic Rituals and Male Initiations in South Italian Tomb Paintings

Tiziana D. Angelo, Harvard University

The mural decoration in the South Italian painted tombs of the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. represented an integral part of the death rituals. The figural scenes that are associated with the male sphere show young and adult men engaging in combat and related training activities or participating in ritual ceremonies. In this paper, I examine this group of paintings in the context of local, Greek, and Etruscan funerary monuments, and I focus on the original reelaboration by the South Italian artists of common iconographic motifs. While the stylistic and chronological aspects of these murals have been investigated thoroughly, the iconological reading and the reconstruction of their cultural and ideological meaning continue to represent an open issue. Based on compelling archaeological, historical, and anthropological evidence, I reconsider the traditional interpretation of these scenes as funerary games or heroized portraits of the deceased, and I argue that they can be more convincingly read as illustrations of different stages of the education of the South Italian men. Recently excavated votive deposits in Lucania and Campania, historical sources, and the comparative analysis of ancient and modern male age-group rituals confirm that an organized system of military education existed among the South Italian populations. I suggest that this system was partly reflected in the tomb paintings, where the initiates staged and dramatized their transitional status among other members of their community. While each of these ritual activities marked a different passage in the life of a man and represented a social and civic statement, together they allowed for the final regeneration of the individual deceased as well as the whole community.

Ceramics, Shepherds, and the Regional Economy in Late Antique Southern Italy

Darian M. Totten, Davidson College

In studying the workings of the Roman economic system, a focus on the regional scale can offer a spatially situated understanding of how connections were formed and sustained by production activities in rural contexts. In Late Antique southern Italy, the concentrated distribution of red-painted common ware within

a region stretching from Molise through northern and central Puglia and into Basilicata encourages interrogation of the spaces of this ware's production and their contribution to regional connections. In this study, I synthesize evidence from five southern Italian rural kilns from the late fourth to the sixth centuries C.E. that are known to have produced this ware. I map their locations and contextualize them among major routes, minor paths, and watercourses, as well as other forms of artisanal production in the countryside. Within their landscapes, these kilns demonstrate a close spatial proximity to paths associated with transhumant pastoralism, focused in areas of concentrated traffic—the transition points between the lowland and upland pastures and the hinterlands of urban sites known historically as centers for wool processing. Some of these sites housed wool-washing facilities in addition to ceramic production. From the intersection of this evidence, I argue that the locations of these kilns were focal points in the cycle of transhumance as well, serving as spaces for the shearing of transhumant flocks. Both industries required ample water and access to wooded areas (for firing fuel and for shade for the sheep). There was also the need for people: historical comparanda of transhumance indicate that the annual monthlong shearing drew short-term labor from nearby farming communities. These kiln sites were therefore important places of social and economic connection, bringing together ceramic artisans, settled agriculturalists, and pastoralists into shared spaces and similar seasonal cycles of production. That this regional ceramic ware was made at kilns dispersed throughout the region, closely associated with the movements of transhumant pastoralism, is a reflection of a landscape linked by this economic flow and its temporal rhythms. So while scholarship has emphasized the social isolation of pastoralists from the social and economic life of the countryside, their intersection with other producers and spaces of production indicates a certain level of social integration and influence in shaping economic connections. This research also demonstrates the importance of taking a regional-scale perspective in studying rural production to illuminate the varied connections such activities created in building economic systems in the Roman world.

SESSION 6J: Colloquium

New Research in Roman Republican Coinage

ORGANIZER: *Andrew Meadows*, American Numismatic Society

Colloquium Overview Statement

The later second and early first centuries B.C.E. saw radical shifts in the nature of coinage in republican Rome. Beginning in the 130s B.C.E. and becoming fully established by the end of the century, a revolution in coin design saw the abandonment of the regular designs of the denarius coinage. In their place emerged coin designs not linked with abstract concepts of Rome or Romanness but rather tied to the familial "histories" of the men ("moneyers") responsible for their production. Within a decade of this radical change of coin design, another new phenomenon began to appear on republican denarii. From ca. 124 B.C.E., the republican mint introduced, on a sporadic basis, a bewildering variety of numerals, letters (both

Latin and Greek), fractional signs, and symbols into the dies used to strike the silver coinage. Although the overall lines of change are clear, the precise chronology of and the reasons for these shifts remain surprisingly poorly understood. The monumental study by Crawford (*Roman Republican Coinage* [Cambridge 1974]) did much to establish the basic framework, but much detailed work still remains to be undertaken. Considerable clarity can potentially be brought to the nature and function of coinage of this period by the application of the die study to the issues of individual moneyers. Such study has been the recent focus of a number of students at the American Numismatic Society and its summer seminar. This colloquium unites five of these students to investigate how their work may improve our understanding of the functioning of the Roman mint and the role played by coin types within the broader arena of Roman political life, as well as how it may begin to produce some firm figures for the output of the Roman mint. In this latter endeavor, of obvious value to the reconstruction of the fiscal policy of the Roman republic, the work of the die study has much to contribute but has, as yet, been barely used.

DISCUSSANT: *Liv M. Yarrow*, Brooklyn College, City University of New York

Paradigm Shifts in Roman Republican Coinage

Andrew Meadows, American Numismatic Society, and *Richard Witschonke*, American Numismatic Society

The later second and early first centuries B.C.E. saw radical shifts in the nature of coinage in Republican Rome. Beginning in the 130s B.C.E., and becoming fully established by the end of the century, a revolution in coin design saw the abandonment of the regular designs of the denarius coinage. In their place emerged coin designs not linked with abstract concepts of Rome or Roman-ness, but rather tied to the familial 'histories' of the men ('moneyers') responsible for their production. The causes of this paradigm shift have been the subject of recent debate.

Within a decade of this radical change of coin design, another new phenomenon began to appear on Republican denarii. From around 124 B.C.E. the Republican mint introduced, on a sporadic basis, a bewildering variety of numerals, letters (both Latin and Greek), fractional signs, and symbols into the dies used to strike the silver coinage. An overview of this development has recently been provided by Witschonke.

What were the reasons for these near-contemporary changes in mint practice? Were they connected to each other? Is the explanation to be sought within the nature of Roman coinage itself; in the social, economic, or political history of the republic during this turbulent period; or in a combination of factors?

Recent research by students at the American Numismatic Society has focused on the deep study of a number of key issues that may help answer some of these questions.

This paper introduces and summarizes the terms of the debate outlined above. It also seeks to examine the broader canvas of coinage across the Mediterranean in the second half of the second century and asks whether the phenomena that char-

acterize Roman coinage during this period can be observed elsewhere. In short, it sets the intellectual stage for the detailed student presentations that follow in the colloquium and suggests how such detailed research may contribute to broader reconstructions of monetary policy.

The Numismatic Canvas of D. Silanus

Mahmoud Samori, Columbia University, and Halley Hair, Columbia University

Artistic license is a factor that needs to be taken into account when considering the numbers, letters, and symbols collectively known as “control marks,” which appear on certain issues of denarii and quinarii from ca. 124 to 57 B.C.E. Recent discussion of these marks has primarily examined their role in addressing issues of mint administration, particularly the need to account for the use of bullion and manpower—that is, to prevent fraud. Mint administration and issues of monetary policy alone, however, do not explain all the questions raised by these marks, particularly those raised by complex systems with multiple dies per mark.

Two artistic issues—namely, the artists’ use of numismatic models and their desire to sign their work—particularly complicate the question. The issues of 82 B.C.E. that take their reverse types from the second century, and examples of bronze types mimicking silver types in the same year provide proof that coins were used as models by die engravers, while the ear, wing, and grasshopper symbols marking some reverse dies on the issue of D. Iunius Silanus seem to be marks used by engravers to mark their own work.

The artist cutting a die, who may have had no knowledge of monetary policy or the mint administration, was invested in the appearance of the coin as much as the moneyer who commissioned the types, particularly if the engraver was a free artisan in competition with others. If we are to imagine, as does Crawford, a system “with die engravers given instruction only in general outline by the moneyers and therefore free to innovate,” it is reasonable to wonder whether that freedom extended as far as adding a control mark. Engravers using models of coins with a control mark may have imitated them without understanding the marks’ original purpose, or they may have used them as signatures.

This paper explores these possibilities by closely examining the issue of D. Silanus, focusing particularly on analyzing whether marks on this issue (Latin and Greek letters and the aforementioned symbols) represent a form of mint control or an artist’s signature or are part of an artist’s idealized image of how a coin should look. It also more broadly considers how the shift in the landscape of numismatic art opened greater avenues for engravers’ artistic expression.

The “Sullan Restored” Denarius Types: Roman Republican Coinage 263–65 and 369–71

Karen Acton, University of Missouri

The denarii with the reverse types of M. Metellus Q.f., C. Servilius, and Q. Maximus present a problem in Roman republican numismatics. *Roman Republican Coinage* (M.H. Crawford [Cambridge 1974]), nos. 263–65 and 369–71 share reverse

types, but the former group appears with obverse types of Roma while the latter appears with obverse types of Apollo. Early chronologies of Republican moneyers treated the two groups as distinct. But the reappearance of the reverse types is anomalous, and subsequent scholars have argued that the types were contemporaneous. Hoard evidence seems to settle the discussion: according to Crawford's chronology, nos. 263–65 were produced in 127 B.C.E., while the Apollo types were restored some time between 82 and 80, perhaps to honor members of the families of the original moneyers who were supporters of Sulla.

A. Alföldi's discovery in 1971 of reverse die links between coins with Roma and Apollo obverses once again raises questions about the relationship between these issues. Such links could be explained by the reuse of a small number of reverse dies that had been retained for several decades, as Crawford proposes. However, my own comprehensive die study of nos. 263–65 and 369–71 shows that the relationship between these two groups of issues is more complex. For example, my study of the Metellus types (*RRC* 263.1a/b, 369.1) has revealed a total of 66 reverse dies, of which 9 were used with both Roma and Apollo obverses, a larger number than seems reasonable to expect the mints to retain. Furthermore, patterns of die wear establish that some coins with Apollo obverses must have been produced before some coins with Roma obverses. The sequence of dies shows that Apollo and Roma types of the Metellus reverse were struck contemporaneously, despite stylistic and hoard evidence to the contrary.

In this paper, I present some of the preliminary findings of my analyses of these types and argue that we must understand nos. 263–65 and 369–71 as the same issue. As a result, these coins must now be understood in the context of experimentation in coin design in the late second century B.C.E. They are particularly notable as they represent an early appearance of Apollo on obverses of Roman denarii. I will also discuss the apparent incompatibility of the die evidence and hoard evidence in the case of these types and explore the implications of this study for our understanding of hoard analysis as a dating criterion.

C. Alli Bala: Die Study of a Control-Marked Issue from the Roman Republic

Nathaniel Ralston, City University of New York Graduate Center

Die studies are an empirical method by which to examine and organize individual issues of coinage based on the dies used to produce the coins themselves. This die study investigates the issue marked with the name "C. Alli Bala" (92 B.C.E.), which bears a complex set of control marks. The control marks on these 386 specimens appear in combination, one each on both obverse and reverse. The portrait bust is usually accompanied on the obverse by a control letter. Every letter in the Roman alphabet (A–X) is accounted for. These obverse control marks are always paired with a symbol on the reverse. Seventeen in all, the control mark symbols include a variety of animals (e.g., fly, griffin, ram's head) and emblematic objects (e.g., quiver, plow, dagger).

The coinage has previously been studied only by Crawford, who noted that the same symbol can be paired with a variety of letters and the same letter can be paired with a variety of symbols. There are several purposes for this die study. Perhaps the most immediate reason is to quantify how many dies we can ob-

serve among the samples collected and to extrapolate an estimate for the original number of dies using Carter's so-called Simplified Method. More sophisticated analysis relies on die links in an attempt to discern a process behind the seemingly random use of control marks.

Such a study can reveal inner workings of the republican Roman mint, such as how many dies were used at (or about) the same time as well as the pattern of use of the control marks themselves. Not only might we conclude which control marks were paired together, we might even be able to reconstruct the order in which they were struck.

The ultimate goal of the die study is to use information from the coins themselves as empirical evidence for the operation of the republican Roman mint. Considering the paucity of information about the years surrounding the Social War, particularly concerning the operation of the mint at Rome, new research of this sort holds the promise of contributing to our understanding of various facets of the republican Roman coinage at the turn of the first century B.C.E.

"Control Marks" on Roman Republican Coinage

Richard Witschonke, American Numismatic Society

During the 64-year period from ca. 126 to 63 B.C.E., the Republican mint struck denarii and quinarii that incorporated a bewildering variety of numerals, letters (both Latin and Greek), fractional signs, and symbols into the dies of the coinage.

On some issues, these marks occur only on the obverse; on others, only on the reverse; and on other on both obverse and reverse. Where they appear on both obverse and reverse, the marks are sometimes identical, sometimes related in a predictable fashion, and sometimes combined randomly. In many cases, each mark represents a unique die, but there are also a substantial number of instances where multiple dies per mark occur. The use of the various systems seems random, with no clear evolution from one to the next. In fact, a single issue will sometimes incorporate multiple marking systems, and occasionally one will include both marked and unmarked coins. The marked issues are interspersed with unmarked issues, with no discernible chronological pattern.

Given the amount of incremental work required to engrave these marks on the dies, their inclusion must have been intended to address some need or problem; but what that problem was, and how the system addressed it, has never been satisfactorily explained. This paper reviews the evidence and previous scholarship and proposes a possible explanation for the phenomenon: that the marks were designed to allow the tracing of debased or plated coins found in circulation back to the responsible mint employees.

SESSION 7A: Workshop

Integrating Conservation and Archaeology: Exploration of Best Practices

Sponsored by the Conservation and Site Preservation Committee

MODERATORS: *Claudia Chemello*, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, *Stephen Koob*, Corning Museum of Glass, and *Thomas Roby*, Getty Conservation Institute

Workshop Overview Statement

The goal of archaeological conservation is to ensure that excavated artifacts and sites are preserved for the future. Conservators provide on-site conservation of excavated artifacts, structures, and sites, provide training to archaeological team members in the field, and contribute to collaborative research that enables a better understanding of the excavated materials. Developing good partnerships between conservation and archaeology in the field is essential to ensure that responsible preservation and stewardship of archaeological resources is achieved. Successful collaboration occurs when conservation requirements are central to decision-making from the planning stages of archaeological projects, and conservators are directly involved in the planning.

This workshop and panel discussion bring together conservators and archaeologists for a dialogue about the role of conservation in field archaeology. The aim of the workshop is to help clarify what constitutes responsible conservation, preservation, and stewardship of archaeological resources. The workshop will feature field projects with well-integrated conservation support and successful collaborations between archaeologists and conservators. It will discuss moveable and immovable cultural heritage and include terrestrial as well as maritime archaeological sites.

The workshop is divided into two parts. In the first part, conservators and archaeologists will each present a project that features the successful integration of conservation and archaeology and briefly summarize the value that conservation has brought to the project. In the second part, a moderated discussion and forum with the panelists and the audience will expand on the issues raised during the presentations. We hope to come to an understanding of how the featured projects have successfully integrated conservation programs into planning and practice and how conservation principles could be incorporated into any size project to encourage best practices within the larger archaeological community.

Some of the issues that will be discussed at the workshop include funding and funding sources, how to plan for conservation on your project no matter how big or small the project, where to find professionally qualified conservators, the role of the conservator on-site, and ethics and policy in archaeology and conservation. Audience participation will be encouraged.

PANELISTS: Archaeology: *C. Brian Rose*, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, *Giorgio Buccellati*, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of Los Angeles, *Matthew Adams*, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and *Robert Neyland*, Underwater Archaeology Branch, U.S. Navy. Conservation: *Alice Boccia Paterakis*, Kaman-Kalehöyük, Kırşehir, Turkey, *Paul Mardikian*, H.L. Hunley Project, Clemson University, and *Thomas Roby*, Getty Conservation Institute

SESSION 7B**Museums and the Politics of Presentation**

CHAIR: *Christina Luke*, Boston University

Purchased at One Site, Published with Another: Rediscovery and Analysis of the Babylon Provenance for Figurines Attributed to Hellenistic Nippur

Stephanie M. Langin-Hooper, Bowling Green State University

Reclining female figurines were common in the Hellenistic levels of the major Babylonian cities, such as Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Babylon, and Uruk, where they (unlike most other figurines) were often deposited in graves. Three reclining female figurines in the University of Pennsylvania collection constitute some of the only evidence indicating the existence of such figurines at Nippur, another important Babylonian city. However, a close analysis of the excavation data and museum records indicates that these three reclining female figurines were not actually from the site of Nippur. Instead, the figurines were purchased at or near the site of Babylon by the University of Pennsylvania Nippur Expedition in the late 19th century. After their acquisition, the figurines were catalogued with the Nippur artifacts in the University of Pennsylvania Museum collections and were published in 1930 as part of the Nippur figurine corpus (L. Legrain, *Terra-cottas from Nippur* [Philadelphia 1930]). This paper presents evidence indicating that this series of acts by several scholars over a period of approximately 50 years was motivated, at least in part, by a desire to compensate for the lack of reclining female figurines discovered in the Nippur excavations. The result of these actions, however, was to obfuscate the archaeological record of Hellenistic Nippur. Few scholars have noticed the misattribution of these figurines, and the problem has not been formally documented for scholarship. This paper addresses that interpretive gap through an analysis of the acquisition and cataloguing of these figurines by the Nippur team, as well as an archaeological discussion of Nippur funerary deposits. The results of this study reveal implications that are more substantial than might be expected. Once the misattributed figurines are disassociated from the Nippur corpus, it becomes clear that the people of Hellenistic Nippur completely eschewed the use of reclining female figurines in their funerary practices. Indeed, almost no figurines of any kind were found in the graves of Hellenistic Nippur. This situation is significantly at odds with the archaeological records of the other Hellenistic Babylonian cities. By disentangling these Babylon figurines from the Nippur corpus, this paper reveals previously unrecognized regional differences in funerary practices between Babylon and Nippur during the Hellenistic period.

The Halkis Treasure: New Evidence for an Old Discovery

Diana G. Wright, Independent Scholar

The British Museum and Ashmolean Museum hold between them some 415 items, mostly medieval jewelry of gold and silver, which their catalogues state were found in Halkis in 1840. These holdings, collectively called the "Halkis

Treasure" were essentially unknown to archaeologists and historians of medieval Greece until they were presented at a lecture at the Gennadius Library in Athens in 2009, where the default position was taken that the treasure was a hoard left at the time of the Ottoman conquest in 1470.

An examination of individual items in the treasure, documents relating to the events of 1470, and the original correspondence between the Athenian dealer who sold it in small lots to the director of the British Museum and others—with a request for privacy since what he was doing was against the law—make these assumptions of find date, hoard, and even origin questionable, at best. This paper reevaluates the evidence and presents other suggestions for the dating of some of the finds and identification of objects.

The Bactrian Hoard: Gold Jewelry from Tillya Tepe, Afghanistan

Jane Hickman, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

In 1978, a Russian/Afghan team led by Viktor Sarianidi excavated six tombs at Tillya Tepe, Afghanistan, in the Bactrian region of central Asia. Jewelry and other ornaments made from gold and semiprecious stones were recovered from one male and five female burials that are conclusively dated to the middle of the first century C.E. Because of political instability in the region, the jewelry was secretly moved several times from its original location in the National Museum in Kabul. Only a few people knew of the moves, and many suspected that an irreplaceable part of Afghanistan's heritage had been lost. However, in 2004, it was disclosed that the Bactrian gold had been locked in a vault, and the key had been deliberately broken in the vault door. Sarianidi was able to confirm the identity of the jewelry by a repair he made on a hairpin in 1978. This is a significant collection of jewelry with a great story, clear provenance, and unambiguous evidence indicating how and by whom it was worn.

The author had the opportunity to study and photograph multiple objects from the Bactrian hoard when this jewelry was exhibited at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. This talk discusses the results of that study. Stylistic influences are varied, as goldsmiths drew inspiration from both the east and the west while also relying on local traditions. A rare example of the lost wax-lost textile process, a woven textile pattern on the back of a pair of gold boot buckles, is associated with the male burial. An analysis of the jewelry provides evidence on jewelry workshop traditions and the various skill levels attained by craftsmen. The use of raw materials, manufacturing techniques, and methods of joining and assembly indicate that some jewelry from each of the tombs was manufactured in the same workshop.

Ancient Art and Interactivity at the Art Institute of Chicago

Katharine Raff, Art Institute of Chicago

In this paper, I address the development and production of LaunchPad, an engaging multimedia program of interpretive materials in a digital format, for the

new Mary and Michael Jaharis Galleries of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Art at the Art Institute of Chicago. The project involves 16 kiosks outfitted with iPads, which are equipped with an interactive program and installed throughout the galleries. The program provides visitors with an opportunity to learn about a number of artworks displayed in the galleries through texts, comparative images, videos, and animation. The information presented in the program ranges from introductory facts about the objects to in-depth information about such topics as the artworks' function, form, subject matter, historical and archaeological context, technique of manufacture, and relationship to particular people, places, and objects.

I discuss numerous issues associated with the development of program content, including considerations of audience, the selection of featured objects, the production and acquisition of media (particularly live-action videos and animation), and the organization and presentation of information. I also address the design of the user interface, which is intended to encourage self-navigation and to allow visitors to delve as far as they choose into the different levels of information presented in the program. Moreover, the program is designed to be readily updatable by non-technical staff, which will make it easier to add new content in the future.

I provide a demonstration of the main features of the program, which include the "Guided Tour," through which specific features of an object are highlighted and discussed in a manner comparable to that of a gallery tour; the "360," a high-resolution, 360° photograph of an object that encourages visitors' experience of it from all angles; and the "Related Stories," which present the greatest depth and breadth of social, cultural, historical, and material information about the object. I further discuss the challenges and benefits of using digital technology in the museum setting as well as future applications of program content as an interpretive resource on the web. This will be of considerable benefit to the general public, students, and specialists alike because it will promote greater access to and availability of information about the objects in the Art Institute's collection of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine art.

Reconstructing Sangallo's "Reclining Pan": The Ancient Roots of a Renaissance Sculpture

Lisa Ayla Çakmak, Saint Louis Art Museum, and *Adrian J. Ossi*, Washington University in St. Louis

This paper explores the ancient origins of a Renaissance sculpture currently in the collection of the Saint Louis Art Museum. Acquired directly from the Barberini family in 1947 (through the efforts of Benito Mussolini and special legislation), the "Reclining Pan" immediately made waves among scholars of Renaissance art because of its links to the workshop of Michelangelo. While serving as a quintessential example of Renaissance art through its classical features, the "Reclining Pan" also preserves traces of ancient carving on the reverse side—a feature that seems to have gone undocumented in contemporary sources. The vestiges of ancient carving—some drapery, a fringe, and possibly a piece of armor—clearly indicate the reuse of an ancient block. To date, there has been no systematic study of these ancient carvings, an oversight that we begin to remedy with this paper. Using basic visual analysis to interpret the carving has been challenging because of the

oblique orientation of the carved drapery vis-à-vis the Renaissance sculpture. To facilitate analysis, we have created a three-dimensional digital model that allows us to manipulate the sculpture and recreate the possible original dimensions of the ancient block. Comparison of the reoriented block with extant sculptures and reliefs suggests two possible interpretations: a trophy scene that preserves a fringe from a captive's clothing next to a display of armor, or a large-scale standing figure wearing a tunic and greaves. In addition to presenting our preliminary thoughts, we would like to use this opportunity to solicit feedback and suggestions from our colleagues concerning other possible interpretations of the imagery.

This study is part of a larger project undertaken by the Saint Louis Art Museum to perform a thorough investigation of the "Reclining Pan" from its origins as an ancient Roman relief block to its 17th-century reception, which we hope will culminate in a special exhibition. Future aspects of the project include recruiting a local artist to do a line drawing of the reliefs, mapping the remains of paint as visible under ultraviolet light, and sourcing the marble.

The Presidents' Antiquities: Objects and Politics in Greek-U.S. Political Relations During the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Administrations

Nassos Papalexandrou, University of Texas at Austin

The ceremonial presentation of Greek antiquities to President Truman in 1949 set the precedent for similar gestures throughout the 1950s and 1960s. In this paper, I concentrate on numerous antiquities that were presented by Greek political or diplomatic missions, formal or informal, to Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. Despite their archaeological, art historical, and symbolic value, these objects are forgotten, as they usually reside in the vaults of presidential libraries and museums—that is, in contexts completely unusual for Greek antiquities. I discuss in detail these unpublished objects, their qualities as ancient artifacts, the symbolic connotations they carried at the moment of their presentation to American presidents, and their reception by the political actors who experienced them as diplomatic gifts. In almost all cases, I argue that these antiquities, always carefully chosen, epitomized the value of Greece, both as a historical entity and as a major player in the world arena of political and social developments throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

The Sacred on Display: Exploring the Practices and Ethics of Archaeological Human Remains in Public Museums

Caroline Pentabona, University of Sheffield

The public's perception of archaeology is often skewed, as many believe digging up skeletons and mummies is at the core of the discipline. Although this characterization fails to truly illustrate the diversity of the work completed by archaeologists, it does reflect a common association made between the profession and human remains. This connection, along with the greater truth that many archaeologists do excavate human remains, should not be ignored. Human remains are indeed important in establishing a relationship between the past and pres-

ent, and perhaps inform the human experience more profoundly than any other archaeological find. Museums often assist in the development and promotion of archaeological scholarship, as many house excavation finds. They are locations for completing research and serve as venues for displaying information to a wide audience. Human remains in museums, however, present greater challenges than other, more traditional artifacts. Currently, there is much debate over the appropriateness of these materials in public museums. Because of their partnership, museums and archaeologists are mutual stakeholders in this debate. This study uses a multidisciplinary approach to explore changing social perceptions of human remains and current museum practices. It seeks to step beyond the materials that fall under the jurisdiction of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act to consider the other thousands of human remains that are absent of true legislation. An examination of how museums display human remains is achieved through qualitative research and quantitative analysis. A survey of 11 English museums is implemented, focusing on institutional characteristics, representations of different types of human remains, display features, and spatial and thematic trends. Each of these categories incorporates a numeric value scheme that allows the results to be based on statistical analysis. English, as opposed to American, museums were selected for this study because of the greater frequency in which human remains are represented. The conclusions offer a comparable model for other Western museums to follow. Results suggest that despite vocalized hesitations by many members of the public, human remains can be displayed in an educational manner that is both respectful to the content and its visiting audience.

SESSION 7C: Colloquium

Crete and Its Wider Eastern Mediterranean Relations in the Fourth Millennium B.C.E.

ORGANIZERS: *Tristan Carter*, McMaster University, and *Robert B. Koehl*, Hunter College

Colloquium Overview Statement

Scholarship on Neolithic Crete has focused largely on its beginning, debating the origin of the island's Neolithic farming colonists ca. 7,000 B.C.E. This colloquium redresses this research bias by focusing on Crete and the wider eastern Mediterranean during the fourth millennium B.C.E.—that is, the Final Neolithic, or Chalcolithic. The panel's main aim is to detail and discuss supraregional connections (direct or otherwise) between the peoples of Crete, Anatolia, Cyprus, the Levant, and Egypt during the fourth millennium, in part to reengage with a consideration of the pace and nature of change that heralded the beginning of the Bronze Age and the emergence of the "Minoan culture." A third of these papers are presented by those working on Crete, while the remainder speak from the surrounding regions, debating the nature, directionality, intensity, and significance of eastern Mediterranean relations during this formative era, seen by some as witness to the "secondary products revolution." Having defined and detailed aspects of Final Neolithic/Chalcolithic internationalism, the panel considers the

socioeconomic bases for these long-distance interactions, such as the desire for exotic materials (e.g., precious metals and stones) or how the adoption of innovative/foreign practices represented powerful means for the creation and expression of social distinction (e.g., be that via new technologies of violence, forms of adornment, types of cuisine and commensality, and treatment of the dead, among other things). The role of migration—along with exchange and ideational flow—is also discussed. Recent Y-chromosome data seemingly provides a powerful evidential basis to support earlier claims of population movements from northwest Anatolia and the Levant in the Final Neolithic. From a Cretan perspective, we in part return to those long-established debates concerning the influence of the Ghassulian and Predynastic cultures on developments, in pottery production and funerary habits in the Cretan Final Neolithic. For those in the surrounding regions, the colloquium offers an important opportunity for interdisciplinary engagement to define and interrogate common traditions among eastern Mediterranean communities of the fourth millennium B.C.E. and to consider the position of Crete in this increasingly interlinked world. Was it a peripheral world benefitting from occasional access to the more advanced polities to the east, or was it a dynamic player on this maritime stage, perhaps acting as an intermediary in the exportation and distribution of Aegean silver?

Migrations to Crete in the Fourth Millennium: The Case for the Ghassulians

Robert B. Koehl, Hunter College

The archaeological record from fourth-millennium B.C.E. Crete clearly indicates that dramatic changes occurred on the island during the Final Neolithic and Early Minoan (EM) I periods. Some scholars believe that the changes in settlement patterns, burial customs, ceramics, metallurgy, and figurine production were due to internal developments deriving from the indigenous Neolithic population. Others interpret them as evidence for migrations to Crete during Final Neolithic IV and EM IA. The Hagia Photia cemetery, for example, surely represents an intrusive population of Cycladic émigrés to the north coast. Migrations from the Dodecanese and south and west Anatolia have also been suggested based largely on ceramic parallels. This paper identifies a group that arrived from the southern Levant and settled in the Mesara Valley of south-central Crete. Known as the Ghassulian culture, from the type-site of Teleilat el-Ghassul in Jordan, it flourished during the first half of the fourth millennium. However, this culture appears to have vanished abruptly at the end of the Chalcolithic, as witnessed by the abandonment of most of its habitations and cemeteries and the meager evidence for cultural continuity into Early Bronze I. Anton Jirku in 1948, followed by Saul Weinberg in 1950 and 1965, compared a type of vase found in EM I contexts, sometimes called a tankard or collar-necked jar, with one of the most characteristic vessels of the Ghassulian culture, the churn. Based on subsequent discoveries in the Levant and Crete, a more forceful argument can now be made to substantiate Jirku's and Weinberg's hesitant claims for a Ghassulian migration to Crete and to provide an explanation for EM I cultural innovations. These would include the introduction of Hagios Onouphrios Ware, figural vases and pithoi, burials in tholos tombs and clay larnakes, and ivory figurines.

Eastern Mediterranean Metallurgy in the Final Neolithic/Late Chalcolithic: Crete Enters the International World

James D. Muhly, University of Pennsylvania

For many years, we have argued that the sudden development of metallurgical technology, the famous *metallurgischer Schock*, came in the Early Bronze II period, ca. 2600–2300 B.C.E. This was the thesis argued by Renfrew in his influential book *The Emergence of Civilisation* (London 1972). We now realize that many of these developments had already taken place 1,000 years earlier, in the middle and late fourth millennium B.C.E. This new understanding has been made possible by new discoveries, the restudy of old material, and especially the impact of calibrated radiocarbon dates. What is most remarkable is the rapid spread of this new technology, from Montenegro on the Adriatic coast (site of Mala Gruda) to central Iran (Tepe Sialk III and Arisman) and extending north into eastern Europe and central Asia, where it is documented in the famous Maikop culture formerly regarded as contemporary with Troy II. The search for sources of metal, especially copper, tin and silver, was crucial to this expansion. The first use of metal in Crete has long been seen as a phenomenon of the Early Minoan (EM) II period. Now we can document the existence of a sophisticated polymetallic technology in the latter part of the fourth millennium B.C.E., the Final Neolithic period, especially in eastern Crete. The remarkable collection of metal artifacts from the EM I cemetery of Haghia Photia, in copper alloy, silver, and lead, represents our best evidence for the extensive use of this new technology. Crete can now be seen as an integral part of the new international world of the late fourth millennium B.C.E, even including the use of the new copper-silver alloy best documented at the contemporary site of Arslantepe in southeastern Turkey.

Crete in the Second Half of the Fourth Millennium B.C.E.: The End or the Beginning?

Krzysztof Nowicki, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences

Until the late fourth millennium B.C.E., Crete may have been a backwater of the eastern Mediterranean civilizations. From the turn of that millennium, however, the island entered a new path that led to the emergence of societies similar to those in the Near East. In this paper, I try to answer the following questions: what did happen in Crete in the later part of the fourth millennium B.C.E., and why did it happen? The core of my argument is based on new evidence (new sites and surface material, as well as a number of landscape elements), which has been identified and studied during the last 15 years of my fieldwork in Crete and other south Aegean islands. A gazetteer of more than 150 Final Neolithic open-air settlements in Crete provides a good starting point for the new and thorough discussion of the cultural changes in the southeast Aegean toward the end of the Neolithic. This evidence is used to develop a broad historical interpretation of the remarkably rapid, dramatic development of social and political organization at the turn of the fourth millennium, which was accompanied by much more intensive interaction between different parts of the Aegean (and between the Aegean and the eastern

Mediterranean) than there had been before. Joining two elements (material culture and settlement) together, the discussion focuses on historical processes that shaped the social, economic, and perhaps ethnic background of Early Bronze Age Crete. The analysis of the settlement patterns, topography of individual settlements, building techniques, pottery production, stone industry, and other elements of material culture strongly indicates large-scale population movements in this part of the Mediterranean in the fourth millennium B.C.E. The process or rather series of processes were of a complex character, and Crete shows this complexity better than any other part of the Aegean. This helps us answer the questions, how much did the Bronze Age civilization of Crete owe to the island's indigenous Neolithic population, and how much to the Late Chalcolithic immigrants from the East?

Evidence for South Levantine Long-Distance Interactions During the Fourth Millennium B.C.E.

Yorke Rowan, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

This paper examines evidence for external interactions of southern Levantine societies with those beyond Palestine (modern-day areas of Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority) during the Late Chalcolithic to initial Early Bronze Age. Prestige objects excavated in the southern Levant dating to this period attest to significant changes in social organization, mortuary practices, craft specialization, and exchange. The nature of the earliest relations between southern Levantine societies and others living in the eastern Mediterranean is poorly understood, yet tantalizing evidence of exogenous materials hints at limited exchanges and contact across larger areas. A reevaluation of the evidence for supraregional contact is necessary to illuminate the level of interaction and communication across the southeastern area of the Mediterranean basin.

Of Hunters, Drinkers, Knappers, and Jewelers: Common Traditions in the Fourth Millennium B.C.E.

Tristan Carter, McMaster University

This paper considers Crete's location within the larger eastern Mediterranean in the fourth millennium B.C.E., arguing that the last centuries witnessed a nascent internationalism that had major repercussions for the island's socioeconomic development. These connections led variously to the introduction of new technologies, raw materials, customs, and even people, which ultimately served to reconfigure Crete's cultural landscape, leading to what Evans came to define as the Minoan culture a century ago.

It is argued that direct contact with overseas populations was limited to relatively short-distance interaction, albeit with peoples who in turn were connected to more distant regions with all of their material, ideational, and symbolic benefits. For instance, exchange relations with Cycladic islanders would have both enabled the procurement of island copper and silver and introduced Crete to what were essentially Balkan symbols and value systems, as evidenced by the Amnisos ring idol and the flat ax from Knossos. One can thus conceptualize the emergence of

supraregional customs in terms of short, pulse-like (or Kula-esque) connections (articulated by small tramping seacraft) that indirectly linked Crete with Egypt and most areas between.

It is this view that allows one to argue for a relationship between the distinctive—but ultimately local in style—red/dark-on-white pottery traditions of Predynastic Egypt, the Ghassulian culture of Palestine and Israel, Jordan, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Crete with its Hagios Onouphrios Ware. In most of these cases, we are dealing with fine-quality vessels, many for feasting, with linear decoration. One can thus talk of cultural reverberations over large areas; the highly localized iterations of these products/customs were the result of the numerous short-distance connections involved (Early Bronze I chalices from the Greek mainland to the Levant are another case).

The paper presents a number of case studies, such as the adoption of pressure-flaked blade technology (probably via Cycladic/Dodecanesian connections), a lithic tradition performed throughout the eastern Mediterranean. There is also the introduction of new weaponry, the transverse projectile, arguably the result of local elites adopting new and foreign forms of expressing their social distinction via the hunt (these points are associated with lion hunting in Predynastic Egypt) and/or warriorship; such projectiles are known throughout the lower Nile, Levant, and Anatolia.

Finally, it is suggested tentatively that Aegean silver was the valued item employed by Cretan voyagers as gifts to establish these new overseas relations, fulfilling the desires of Levantine, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian elites.

SESSION 7D

Iconography

CHAIR: *Ellen Perry*, College of the Holy Cross

The Esquiline Landscape Calendar: Time, Nature, and Authority in Imperial Rome

Rachel Foulk, Ferris State University

The 1966 discovery of a Roman peristyle courtyard below the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline Hill in Rome brought to light an important painted calendar of the late second or early third century C.E. This calendar, which I refer to as the Esquiline Landscape Calendar, depicts the 12 months of the year on the walls of the portico with the days of each month listed in Latin on evenly spaced vertical panels. Between each panel, corresponding seasonal activities are represented in panoramic landscapes; the best preserved are the month of September's rural harvest and sacrifice scenes. Furthermore, painted signs of the zodiac located in the skylines of each landscape painting place the calendar in the astronomical and astrological realms.

While aspects of the Esquiline Landscape Calendar's text have been studied in isolation, this paper offers a more synthetic study of the building, its pictures, and its text to illuminate the richness of the calendar in its original context. I show that the painted portico engages viewers as they move through the space, reenacting

the passage of a successful year. All other surviving Roman landscape paintings, mostly from private residences, evoke fertility and prosperity with verdant and eternal spring. However, this calendar presents the opportunity for visitors to walk through time, both linear and cyclical, while observing continuous monthly and seasonal changes in a landscape. Preliminary digital reconstructions of this building demonstrate how architecture and wall painting create an environment of renewable prosperity in which viewers can participate.

I argue that this difference in landscape iconography can be linked to the calendar's role as an official document of the Roman state. The juxtaposition of such prosperous agricultural scenes with panels of text listing religious and state festivals, including celebrations of victory over the Sarmatians, conveys the importance of imperium in maintaining the cultivated lands of the empire. On this calendar, the Roman domestication of its growing territory has a temporal dimension, as cultivating nature becomes equated with controlling time. Farmers work land on a monthly schedule, while pious Roman citizens honor their gods with holy days throughout the year. Concurrently, seasonal and zodiacal changes indicate the emperor's ability to control time and correlate the terrestrial and celestial realms as Pontifex Maximus, the administrator of the calendar. Designed as a perennial measure of the passage of time, the Esquiline Landscape Calendar ultimately communicated the eternity of Roman authority.

Sieges and Civil Strife: Constructing the Enemy on the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome

Elizabeth Wolfram Thill, Independent Scholar

Amid the internecine conflicts of the later Roman empire, it was difficult to illustrate a military victory without recalling violence committed by Romans against Romans. This was particularly problematic for Septimius Severus, whose victories in the Parthian Wars (194–199 C.E.) were geographically and temporally close to battles fought against Roman cities (in Anatolia and Syria in 193–196 C.E.) to secure his power. One solution to this problem, employed on the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome (203 C.E.), was to emphasize the foreignness of the enemies by depicting them under siege. Despite the prevalence of siege warfare in both Roman literature and actual military practice, sieges were rarely depicted visually. The Severan arch is a notable exception: three out of its four monumental panels show sieges against foreign cities. The ideological significance of these sieges, however, has not yet been explored fully. Brilliant sees the depicted sieges as derivatives of their predecessors on the Column of Trajan, while Lusnia has argued that the reliefs are copies of triumphal paintings. Discussion otherwise has been restricted to debates over which cities are depicted. I argue that the most important role for the sieges was as a vehicle for the inclusion of a new, distinctive feature: the display of enemy cities filled with elaborate but exotic architecture. While the besieged Dacian settlements on the Trajanic column are shown as empty fortifications, the cities on the Severan arch are full of sophisticated, unusual architecture, including pillar towers, conical roofs, and onion domes. This accomplished several thematic goals. The inclusion of numerous distinct cities portrayed the wars as a series of challenging obstacles, despite the historical fact that several cities had

surrendered without a fight. Sophisticated architecture made the captured cities seem desirable, even though many of the cities, such as Babylon, were actually past their prime. Most importantly, this architecture characterized the enemy as definitely foreign and thus discouraged recollections of the Roman cities involved in Severus' recent civil wars. Moreover, the cities on the Severan arch are threatened but captured intact, avoiding memories of Severus' sacking of a rebellious Byzantium (196 C.E.). Imagery of besieged foreign cities was thus an unusual but clever choice in the presentation and celebration of the Parthian Wars.

Images, Ancestors, and Freedmen at the End of the Roman Republic

Devon Stewart, Emory University

From the middle of the first century B.C.E. onward, portraiture was a crucial component of Roman funerary commemoration. The poor survival rate and incomplete archaeological documentation of elite Roman tombs means that most securely identified funerary portraiture commemorates manumitted slaves and their freed or freeborn associates. To date, most studies of these objects are typological in nature, focusing on the varieties of monuments favored by nonelite Romans, including group reliefs, altars with portraits, and images of "private apotheosis." Generally, the interpretation of these monuments has focused on the patrons' nonelite status and on the dependence of portraits of freedmen on elite models. The close formal relationship between freedman portraiture and portraiture produced by and for the freeborn elite is undeniable. However, this relationship is not adequately explained by the notion of "trickle-down aesthetics," which, until recently, has dominated the scholarly narrative. Moving away from the values suggested by simple typological and stylistic models, in this paper I consider the role of sculpted portraits as one of the loci at which Romans from all strata of society negotiated and articulated their relationship to a past embodied by images of ancestors. The senatorial elite expressed their relationship to the past through traditional means, including images and other kinds of honorific portraiture. Those without "ancestors," however, were freer to adopt, adapt, and expand these conventional commemorative images to exercise concomitant claims to legitimacy in Roman society. Moreover, this phenomenon was not limited to non-elite families. Even elite Romans sometimes deployed images of ancestors to legitimize, contest, or lay claim to status in society. This strategy is most visible in the grand Forum of Augustus, where the emperor appropriated images of great men of Rome's past to forge a new family lineage based on virtue rather than bloodlines. I propose that freedman patrons at the end of the republic similarly responded to the collapse of the traditional aristocratic value system by representing themselves as worthy and legitimate heirs of Rome's past. Although freedmen in Roman society could not legally claim any ancestors, they could appropriate the virtues of Rome's great men through the visual images that decorated their tombs. Far from straightforward copying, this strategy represents a conscious and conscientious engagement with contemporary developments in Roman society.

A New Interpretation of the Triumph of Dionysus Sarcophagus at the Walters Art Museum

Annemarie Catania, Philipps University, Marburg, Germany

By the late second century, the right to celebrate a triumph had long been beyond the reach of any Roman other than the emperor or members of his immediate circle. Why, then, would an elite Roman use a marble sarcophagus to show a procession similar to images of imperial triumphs, but with Dionysus as the triumphing general? This paper summarizes the iconographic and historical associations evoked by the imagery on one such sarcophagus at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore and presents a new explanation of the imagery in its historical context. This interpretation offers new insight into representations of military victory in Dionysian scenes on Roman sarcophagi from the second and third centuries C.E.

The choice of scenes on this sarcophagus reflects strategies for visually conveying social status. The chest depicts Dionysus standing in a chariot in a procession the structure of which parallels that of the triumphal parades on the Arch of Titus and the Tiberius cup from Boscoreale. The lid displays scenes of Dionysus' double birth and upbringing. Amedick has shown that Dionysian sarcophagi use scenes such as these, which are also known from the sarcophagi of high-level magistrates, to subtly attribute qualities connected with a higher social status to deceased Romans who may not have been entitled to specific insignia.

Explaining the significance of Dionysus, however, requires more than iconographic analogies. The presence of elephants and curly-haired captives in the procession suggests that it depicts the return of Dionysus from India, a myth that is inseparable from stories of Alexander the Great's military campaign. Romans throughout the Late Republic and empire used attributes of Dionysus to associate themselves with Alexander.

Understanding the use of the myth on the triumph sarcophagus at the Walters Art Museum requires placing both the sarcophagus and the myth in historical context. Results of a chronological analysis of the approximately 60 Dionysian sarcophagus reliefs that incorporate the theme of victory show that this particular sarcophagus introduces a significant typological shift in the group. The paper concludes by demonstrating how historical events correspond so closely to the stylistic and iconographic development initiated by the Baltimore sarcophagus that this correspondence may reveal the meaning of the triumph of Dionysus on this sarcophagus and on others like it.

From Rags to Riches: The Iconographic Evolution of Roman Imperial Cameos of the Early Empire

Julia Fischer, Georgia Southern University

Since the 17th century, research on Roman imperial cameos has centered on one of three issues: the identification of figures and the corresponding message of the gemstone; the date of the individual cameo; and an overall chronology of these imperial works. The iconography used in the imperial cameos of the Early Empire is typically neglected or at the very least placed on the sidelines. Even when

iconography is mentioned, it has yet to be the sole concentration of any scholar of Roman imperial cameos—until now.

My paper briefly examines the iconographic development found on the large imperial cameos of the Early Empire. I first briefly outline the iconography used in these gemstones, beginning with the Tazza Farnese, a cameo from the Early Augustan period, and proceeding to the Gemma Augustea and Grand Camée de France. In my paper, I elucidate the iconographic evolution within these cameos, which became more complex and multivalent as the empire progressed.

For example, all three cameos represent in some way the victory of an emperor, and the iconography used symbolizes this. During the Early Augustan period, imperial iconography had not yet been fully established, so victory was represented by the obscure persea tree in the Tazza Farnese. By the time of the mature Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods, though, the iconography for victory was in place and had evolved into the laurel wreath, which is ubiquitous in the Gemma Augustea and Grand Camée. I also examine iconography such as military accoutrements, the types of figures present in each cameo, the cornucopia, symbols of agriculture, and the signs of the zodiac. Lastly, I briefly suggest that the iconographic development found in these imperial cameos is directly related to the symbols found in public relief sculpture, which likewise was maturing and becoming more established throughout the Early Empire.

In the end, my paper introduces ideas that contribute significantly to the scholarship of Roman imperial cameos in two distinct ways. First, I reveal that there was a clear evolution of iconography that became more complex and multivalent as the empire progressed from the Early Augustan period to the mature Augustan age and finally to the Julio-Claudian period. Second, this increasingly mature imperial iconography was very much indebted to Roman relief sculpture.

The Monza and Bobbio Ampullae: Ampullae Classification, New Chronology, Identity, and Nationalism

Paul A. Brazinski, University of Cambridge

The Monza and Bobbio ampullae are among the most famous Early Byzantine *eulogiai*. According to previous scholarship, the Lombardic Queen Theodelinda commissioned the two collections ca. 600 C.E. This paper suggests a new chronology for the Monza and Bobbio ampullae. First, a preliminary ampullae classification of approximately 200 vessels is provided based on chronology, place of origin, and typology. The classification provides a means of cross-analysis of ampullae practices and consumer choice, which argues that the Monza and Bobbio ampullae were the first vessels made in their classification.

Second, sixth-century C.E. primary sources are cited as evidence for the new chronology. Sixth-century C.E. Italy saw a period of political unrest. In the 570s, the Lombards invaded northern Italy, and Theodelinda was crowned queen of the Lombards in 588. In 590, Pope Gregory the Great arose to power. Gregory's beliefs in the miracle powers of saints and martyrs, as displayed in his *Dialogues*, support the new chronology. Gregory the Great's correspondences with Augustine in Britain, as recorded by Bede, also showcase the pope's stance on saintly miracles. Moreover, accounts of sixth-century pilgrims, such as *The Breviary* and *The Holy*

Places Visited, shed light on ampullae practices in late antiquity and support the new Monza and Bobbio chronologies.

Third, the Monza and Bobbio ampullae are investigated in terms of nationalism and identity. The paper argues that given the political unrest in Italy and the tensions between the Byzantine East and Latin West, Queen Theodelinda and Gregory the Great manipulated the material culture of religion, as displayed in the Monza and Bobbio ampullae, as a means of uniting and reestablishing their religious identities. In this way, the new ampullae typology and ornamentation reflects the theological mind-set in the Latin West from the Byzantine East. This comparison has greater implications; it is argued that Gregory the Great was the first key promoter of saint cults in the West. Also, it is argued that the differences in ampullae practices and ornamentation between the East and West demonstrate an early precursor to the later iconoclasm and Great Schism. A brief epilogue displays the continuation of ampullae practices into the Late Medieval world.

SESSION 7E

The Roman East

CHAIR: *Susan E. Alcock*, Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, Brown University

Globalizing Aphrodite: Imperial Culture and Local Identities in the Sculpture of Roman Cyprus

Jody M. Gordon, Boston University

Over the last century, dozens of statues of Roman imperial date have been unearthed from a variety of archaeological contexts on the island of Cyprus. The sculptural corpus contains an array of styles and types; however, scholars have typically focused on identifying the date and subject matter of imported marble statues executed in an “imperial,” ideal style discovered at urban sites. Based on this approach, the sculpture of Roman Cyprus has been regarded as a mere provincial expression of Romanitas and has reinforced the view that the local Cypriot culture was rapidly subsumed by an imperial one.

This paper engages with current discourse on the globalization of Roman culture and the negotiation of provincial identities to provide a fresh reinterpretation of statuary’s function and meaning in Roman Cyprus. Modern globalization theory focuses on understanding processes whereby globalizing groups transcend geographic boundaries that delimit social and cultural life in distinct regions and on asking how new modes of local existence develop vis-à-vis the globalizing group. Moreover, it draws on postcolonial perspectives that stress the involvement of local actors in negotiating social and cultural changes unique to a region’s geopolitical situation. Roman archaeologists have recently used the globalization approach to examine material remains—such as statues—for changes in cultural identity, or an individual’s sense of belonging to a group based on socially acknowledged cultural differences. Although the archaeological study of identity has proven valuable for disclosing how cultural identities were negotiated between local and

imperial groups to suit postconquest practices, it has rarely been used to analyze Roman Cypriot statuary.

Through a theoretically informed reading of a range of statuary types, styles, and materials derived from urban and rural contexts, this paper shows that Cypriots continued the local tradition of expressing their cultural identities via statuary during Roman times. It also illustrates that Cypriots' statuary choices, such as the display of statues of Aphrodite/Venus—a deity who, as Kyprogeneia and Genetrix, connected Cypriots to Rome—were conditioned by their unique social and cultural positions within both the empire and the province itself. As a result, this paper's findings permit the development of Cyprus' sculptural environment to be effectively compared with that of other Roman provinces. Finally, through a chronological analysis of Roman Cypriot statuary, this paper suggests that the "globalization" of Cypriot culture under Roman rule may have been a relatively gradual process.

Julio-Claudian Empress Worship in Caesarea Maritima, Israel

Amy Yandek, Temple University

The focus of this paper is a marble torso from the Roman city of Caesarea Maritima in Israel. The figure is female, headless, and holding a double cornucopia. This attribute, very rare in monumental sculpture, ties the figure to Tyche-Fortuna, a goddess of abundance and good fortune. The double cornucopia was a long-standing symbol of female ruler portraiture, beginning with the Ptolemaic queen Arsinoë II. It was later commonly appropriated by Julio-Claudian empresses.

I argue two main points. The first is the date of the statue. It is generally ascribed to the second century C.E. This is because marble usage in Palestine was uncommon prior to the reign of Hadrian. However, the style, the garment she wears, and the iconography reveal that the figure is a Julio-Claudian woman of the imperial house. This date and subject would imply that the sculpture was commissioned in connection with the imperial cult at Caesarea—and even specifically for the Temple of Roma and Augustus, which was built under Herod the Great in the reign of Augustus.

I also address the message of the statue and consider how a Roman viewer in Caesarea would have perceived it. This can be garnered from the religious environment of the Roman East and in particular that of Caesarea itself. I suggest this imperial woman in the guise of Tyche-Fortuna would also have been linked to Demeter and Isis through syncretistic elements of their iconography. The popularity of Demeter throughout the east and Isis at Caesarea would have dictated how various individuals would interpret a divinizing figure. Personal affinity with a particular goddess would still align with the statue's overt goal of promoting themes of fecundity brought on by membership in the Roman empire.

This study is significant in two respects. First, the date of the statue permits the assumption of its place in the Temple of Roma and Augustus. No other statues to date can boast this. Second, it is possible to explore syncretization in a first-century Roman city by considering the popular interpretation of this statue among the inhabitants of Caesarea.

A Late Roman Castellum in the Deserts of Jordan: Results from the 2011 Season of the 'Ayn Gharandal Archaeological Project

Robert Darby, University of Tennessee, and Erin Darby, University of Tennessee

The year 2011 marked the second season of excavation at the site of 'Ayn Gharandal, Jordan, by the 'Ayn Gharandal Archaeological Project (AGAP) on a permit granted by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan. Our long-term project goals are to investigate the occupational history of the site from the Nabataean through Early Islamic periods through systematic archaeological survey and excavation; map and record its architectural remains and topography using state-of-the-art technology; and preserve the site for future generations. This paper presents the preliminary findings from the 2011 season of the AGAP.

Three squares were excavated during the 2011 season in the Late Roman *castellum*. From these, we were able to ascertain the depth of the deposits inside three of the fort's curtain walls. We recorded the dimensions of the fort's walls, which were preserved to approximately 3.0 m in height and 2.0 m in width. Many unexpected features and finds were also uncovered, including a line of stone arches in the rooms adjacent to the north curtain wall and the remains of an extensive Greek *dipinto*, from the west curtain wall. Finally, two sondages produced conclusive evidence for an arched gateway in the center of the east curtain wall.

Analysis of the ceramic materials collected in 2011 indicates that the fort at 'Ayn Gharandal was an active trading station along the Arabah Valley, as evidenced by the presence of pottery from Aila, Petra, Gaza, and the Kerak Plateau. Conversely, the extremely small percentage of imported fine wares suggests that 'Ayn Gharandal interacted most closely with the local and regional network of Late Roman forts/caravan way stations and the nearby towns of Arabia/Palaestina rather than markets outside the province. In sum, the data collected by the AGAP thus far implies that the fort and accompanying bath house were heavily used by those involved in regional trade.

Finally, excavation within the fort has produced a preliminary phasing consistent across all three squares. Based on preliminary ceramic readings, we hypothesize that the earliest preserved occupational strata date from the end of the third century to the beginning of the fourth century and that all areas were continuously occupied through the fourth and fifth centuries with no major abandonment or destruction phases. The fort appears to have been abandoned after the fifth century. Successive layers of gradual collapse followed.

The Local Perspective on Graeco-Roman Classicism in Gandharan Sculpture

Kristen Seaman, Kennesaw State University

The sculpture of ancient Gandhara (in what is now Afghanistan and Pakistan) is noted for its combination of Graeco-Roman and Eastern style and subject matter. Such hybridity originated in the late fourth century B.C.E., when Alexander the Great conquered Bactria and Gandhara. It continued through Indo-Greek kingdoms and trade routes during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. To classical archaeologists, then, the most noteworthy aspect of Gandharan sculpture is its recollection of scenes from Greek and Roman literature and mythology. Yet we

should ask how—or even if—Gandharan viewers understood such works to be “Graeco-Roman.” Therefore, in this paper, I reconsider Gandharan sculpture that seemingly depicts Graeco-Roman mythology. I pay special attention to the relief in the British Museum that appears to represent the story of the Trojan Horse; the relief on a wrestler’s weight that appears to depict Herakles and the Nemean lion; and stone dishes that appear to show other mythological scenes and figures. I investigate the extent to which the Graeco-Roman word and Gandharan image are related in such works; I question whether they do in fact illustrate Graeco-Roman mythological texts; and I suggest that they perhaps merely use some Graeco-Roman forms when conveying Eastern subject matter and serving Eastern purposes. Moreover, I explore how Graeco-Roman texts and imagery were transmitted—and accepted—in Gandharan culture. Finally, I argue that Graeco-Roman classicism was a conscious choice in Gandhara, used, for example, along with Parthian and North Indian styles and subjects: as part of Gandharan cultural heritage, it was not viewed as “foreign.”

SESSION 7F

The Vesuvian Region

CHAIR: *Steven Ellis*, University of Cincinnati

The First Two Excavation Seasons at the Villa San Marco, Stabiae

Taco Terpstra, University of Heidelberg, *Marco Maiuro*, Columbia University, and *Francesco de Angelis*, Columbia University

In 2011, the Advanced Program of Ancient History and Art (APAHA), Columbia University, excavated its first of five seasons at the Villa San Marco in ancient Stabiae, one of the largest and most opulent villas in Campania. We present a preliminary picture of this elite Roman structure as it has emerged from our first two seasons and discuss directions and questions for future research.

The Villa San Marco, along with Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the rest of Stabiae, was buried by Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E. In the 18th century, when archaeological interest in the lost Campanian cities began, it was among the earliest structures to be uncovered. Excavated by the Bourbons to extract artifacts and wall paintings, it was then immediately reburied. A program to bring the villa back to light started in the 1950s and continues to the present day, but only with the aim to uncover what the Bourbons had already seen. APAHA is the first archaeological program ever to perform stratigraphic excavations in the Stabiae villas, investigating the pre-79 C.E. history of the site.

The 2011 APAHA season was a great success, and the results contribute substantially to our understanding of the Villa San Marco as a Roman elite dwelling and to the history of ancient Stabiae more generally. In 2012, we expanded on the research done in the previous season, clarifying and adding detail to the 2011 results. The team uncovered valuable information on the construction history of the building, as well as on its water supply and drainage system. In addition, the team gathered data on the time periods before the villa existed, adding a previously unknown chapter to the history of ancient Stabiae.

Preliminary Report on Three Campaigns of Excavation, Conservation, and Study Conducted by the Hermitage State Museums/RAS Foundation at the Site of the Villa Arianna at Stabiae

Paolo Gardelli, Restoring Ancient Stabiae Foundation

In the months of June and July, 2010–2012, the archaeological arm of the Hermitage State Museums of St. Petersburg, Russia, conducted three seasons of excavation, recording, and conservation at the Villa Arianna of Stabiae, in collaboration with the Restoring Ancient Stabiae (RAS) Foundation of Castellammare and under the direction of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei. The three campaigns were conducted by a team of archaeologists and conservators from the Hermitage under the direction of Alexander Butyagin (Hermitage) and Paolo Gardelli (RAS Foundation).

The work of these three seasons was concerned with the thermal quarter of the villa and the northwest corner of the square peristyle (91) that precedes the main atrium of the residential area. Even though the area was almost completely excavated and recorded in the Bourbon excavations of the 18th century and partly reexcavated after 1950, the recent excavations have been fundamental for developing a correct understanding of the procedures of the 18th-century excavations, the functional arrangement of the rooms, the richness of the decoration, and the construction phases.

The updated plan of the villa clarifies that the rooms belonged to a small colonnaded courtyard (86) that served as an access area preceding the thermal suite of apodyterium/frigidarium, laconicum, tepidarium, and caldarium. The excavation has also shown how two corridors give access to Portico 86: the first, Corridor 87, connects to the main peristyle and the series of rooms on its southwest side, which can be interpreted as *hospitalia*; the second is a service corridor (26/88) that connects to the kitchen, a room with two praefurnia for the baths, and the northwest corner of Peristyle 91 and a room now interpreted as a winter triclinium (27).

The area demonstrates a variety of structural modifications in the masonry of the tepidarium, caldarium, and laconicum. Of particular interest for the understanding of the earlier phases of the villa was the discovery of a gutter or drain under Room 85, which indicates that in the Late Republican period the area under the thermal zone was likely arranged as an open area, such as a garden.

Recent Work at the Roman Villas of Stabiae: An Overview

Thomas Noble Howe, Restoring Ancient Stabiae Foundation/Southwestern University

This paper considers the general implications of several recent excavations at the villas of Stabiae coordinated by the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei and the Restoring Ancient Stabiae (RAS) Foundation: the entrance courtyard of the Villa San Marco (2007–2008); the street and domus next to the Villa San Marco (2009); the garden of the Villa Arianna (2007–2010); the thermal quarter of the Villa Arianna in (2010–2012); and the pre-79 C.E. stratigraphy in the courtyard and street of the Villa San Marco by Columbia University

(2011–2012). (The latter two projects are offering separate papers for 2013; the Villa Arianna garden excavation was presented to the AIA in San Antonio in 2011.)

The reexcavation of the entrance courtyard of the Villa San Marco has reopened the controversy as to the function of the courtyard and the location of the formal entrance to the villa. The partial excavation of the street and domus next to the Villa San Marco has demonstrated that the situation at Stabiae in the first century C.E. was similar to that at Pompeii and Herculaneum—namely, the city wall facing the sea was built over by a luxurious “villa-like” domus with panoramic open courtyards and oeci. It is also proposed here that this domus and the Villa San Marco may have been part of a single property connected by a bridge, with identical engaged columns flanking the street entrances.

Reexcavation of the thermal zone of the Villa Arianna has corrected the 18th-century plan of this combined service and elite habitation area and has clarified the means of access. It has also given suggestive indication of the form of the earliest phase of the villa. The excavation of the large garden of the Villa Arianna gives the first archaeological evidence of a garden of the type illustrated in the *Prima Porta* garden fresco.

The form of the Villa Arianna garden, taken together with the typologies of all the villas at Stabiae, indicates that only the earliest phases of the known villas at Stabiae conform to a Vitruvian peristyle-and-atrium villa and that there was a strong upsurge of panoramic design in architecture, gardening, and painting in the early Augustan period. The last architectural development in evidence at Stabiae is the appearance of curvilinear design ca. 60 C.E., one of the few known examples in the Vesuvian area.

Oplontis Villa A: Decorative Lithic Programs at the Cutting Edge of Luxury

J. Clayton Fant, University of Akron, and *Simon Barker*, Hertford College, University of Oxford

Villa A at Oplontis, the so-called Villa of Poppaea, is well known for its painting, but its equally exceptional lithic decoration has not received due attention. As part of the University of Texas Oplontis Project, we have carried out the first comprehensive study and have been able to reconstruct all the decorative schemes and document the demolition and stripping in the villa’s last phase. Several new findings enrich the understanding of the villa, especially at the beginning and end of its life.

We conclude that every room of the villa’s original core (ca. 50 B.C.E.), apart from service areas, had alabaster/onyx thresholds. A few have been conspicuous (such as Room 23), but now a total of 11 are verified, including a 3 m triple threshold of Atrium 5. Analysis of junctions between thresholds and floors shows that nonalabaster blocks are either later than the original flooring or contemporaneous with the Augustan white mosaic floors, part of the villa’s first updating. No comparable villa had such luxurious thresholds; a generation later, Propertius (1.14.19) could still use “alabaster threshold” as a metonym for a wealthy household.

The rooms of the mid Julio-Claudian East Wing were given a lithic treatment surpassed at the time only by imperial villas such as the Horti Lamiani. The central exedra and the flanking Rooms 65 and 74 were tied together with a baseboard of

breccia corallina (its earliest Italian use), Lunense cornice moldings, and tall (55 cm) panels of *breccia corallina* in african (Lucullan) frames. The exedra had an elegant *opus sectile* floor with 21 squares on a side of inset diamonds and triangles in Numidian giallo antico and black slate (a pattern later echoed in Portico 86). Portico 60 had 20 shafts of gray Lesbos marble with white marble capitals and bases. The intercolumniations were paved in white Lunense. The gray hues were echoed by a dado of bardiglio running the length of the portico.

The floor of the exedra did not wear well. Mismatched inserts in nearly every square suggest not a single shock, such as an earthquake, but an incremental process of repair. In the northwest corner, wholesale replacement, using slate and alabaster and other ill-matched lithotypes, was begun but quickly abandoned. Finally, after the earthquake, thoughts of repair or renovation yielded to careful stripping until interrupted by Mount Vesuvius. Something similar happened in Room 78; this work will be reported elsewhere.

Beyond 79 C.E.: Tombs as Evidence for the Reoccupation and Recovery of the Vesuvian Region

Allison Emmerson, University of Cincinnati

The catastrophic eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E. undoubtedly reshaped life in southern Campania. Theories on the lasting effects of the eruption, however, have varied greatly. The return to economic vitality has been placed anywhere from the years immediately following the calamity to several centuries later. The relative scarcity of archaeological material and the almost complete silence of the literary sources have led to a general uncertainty regarding the state of the region during this important period.

This paper examines the most widely available evidence for life in southern Campania after the eruption, the funerary material, to trace posteruption experiences in Stabiae, Nuceria, Surrentum, and Salernum, as well as in the territories of the destroyed cities Pompeii and Herculaneum. By bringing together the evidence of monumental tombs, individual burials, and independent grave markers from each city, I demonstrate the socioeconomic complexity of the region in the years after 79 C.E., highlighting the divergent experiences of various communities and of the people who lived within them. In each city, funerary culture reveals a marked economic downturn resulting from the eruption, but recovery rates varied from place to place, with certain towns revitalizing rapidly and others lagging behind. Additionally, experiences varied within communities, as certain individuals and families suffered from the new economic environment while others found ways to thrive. The multifaceted picture presented by this new analysis of the funerary evidence indicates the inherent difficulty of attempting to fit all of southern Campania into a single mold and helps explain why the course of recovery has been subject to such variant interpretations. In treating the communities of the region as separate pieces of a larger whole, we are able to arrive at a more subtle, and ultimately a more satisfactory, understanding of the effects of one of the Roman period's most devastating natural disasters.

The Temple of the Dioscuri and the Origins of Neapolis

Rabun Taylor, University of Texas at Austin

As a haven of Hellenism in an increasingly Romanized land, Neapolis in Early Imperial times remained acutely aware of its Greek origins. Vestiges of a local Greek foundation myth are preserved in the work of the Hellenistic poet Lycophron and again in poems of Statius. The construction of a marble temple of the Dioscuri, upon which was later built the Church of San Paolo Maggiore, reflects this backward-looking sensibility. Built in the time of the emperor Tiberius, a patron of the cult and rebuilder of the Temple of the Dioscuri on the Forum in Rome, the Neapolitan temple was certainly meant as a favor to the emperor and a token of Neapolis' long-standing friendship with Rome. More fundamentally, it looked inward and backward to the city's mythic foundations. The temple's pedimental sculpture, now utterly lost, was still standing in 1540, when it was recorded in a detailed drawing by Francisco de Hollanda. The central figures are missing, but enough is preserved of those remaining to have prompted numerous interpretations. My own reading recognizes two kinds of figural presences on the pediment, anchored either in time or in space. The cluster of five central figures, of which two are lost, probably marks a moment in mythic time, perhaps the birth of the city, for a female allegory of Neapolis itself almost certainly occupied the central and highest part of the pediment. The two pairs of corner figures anchor the action geographically, again through allegories: the rocky promontory of Parthenope, the Sebethos River, and two Tritons of the sea. These topographic features had much greater significance in the city's pre-Roman era, both practically and symbolically. Their inclusion marks an effort at cultural memory rendered in a manner familiar to Romans at large but with a specificity of meaning best understood by local Neapolitans.

SESSION 7G: Colloquium

Managing Archaeological Data in the Digital Age: Best Practices and Realities

Sponsored by the Medieval and Post-Medieval Archaeology in Greece group (AIA) and the Forum for Classics, Libraries, and Scholarly Communication (APA)

ORGANIZER: *Deborah E. Brown, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library*

Colloquium Overview Statement

In recent decades, archaeological projects have been inundated with digital data—spreadsheets, databases, GIS data, CAD files, digital images, and more. Not only is it hard for project staff to stay informed about the latest technologies, it is also a challenge to design strategies for the collecting, analyzing, disseminating, and archiving of copious and complex data sets.

This colloquium brings together archaeologists and information professionals to share experiences, discuss best practices, and offer workable solutions for the benefit of current and future projects. Offered as case studies are specific projects that operate with different levels of institutional, technical, and financial support.

The presentations explore decision-making based on a project's resources and scale, the need for common data standards, and the curation of born-digital and digitized materials.

DISCUSSANT: *Lucie Wall Stylianopoulos*, University of Virginia

Archaeological Data and Small Projects: A Case Study from the Pyla-Koustopetria Archaeological Project on Cyprus

William R. Caraher, University of North Dakota, *R. Scott Moore*, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, *David K. Pettegrew*, Messiah College, and *Sam Fee*, Washington and Jefferson University

Since 2003, the Pyla-Kousopetria Archaeological Project has studied a 2 km² micro region on the Cypriot coast. During this time, we produced a relatively small and focused body of archaeological data that was independent of earlier work at the site. As a small, independent project, we lacked institutional infrastructure for data collection, analysis, and archiving. Our work to produce a useful data set identified three challenges that are likely significant across small archaeological projects committed to digital data collection.

First, whereas larger projects can create elaborate, bespoke applications to collect, organize, and disseminate data, small projects tend to use more off-the-shelf components for these same tasks. As a result, there is a greater possibility that a small project's data will rely on commercial, proprietary software formats that require significant post-processing to produce archival collections. In our project, we found ourselves privileging immediate utility over commitments to platform-agnostic best practices.

Second, large projects have led the way in creating highly visible, long-term digital archives for their data. Our project lacks the resources to invest in long-term, in-house data archiving, leading us to a bewildering array of archival options. The key concerns for our project are ease in data transfer, long-term data integrity, and the visibility of our data to our specialized archaeological community. Best practices in these areas remain open issues without simple answers.

Finally, over the past 25 years there have been persistent conversations regarding the value of data standards in archaeology. Larger, long-standing projects have significant investments in their own data formats, legacy terminologies, and ontologies. Our project, in contrast, produced data that answered a particular, limited set of research questions and lacked any obvious and practical obligation to pre-existing data conventions. We employed a vocabulary to describe our finds that was consistent with other projects on the island and in Greece, and we described our excavation practices in a manner consistent with a major American project in Greece. Our point is not to recommend that all projects conform to one particular standard but rather to point out that our project conformed to these two standards in an effort to make our data more accessible for comparison and more immediately comprehensible to scholars not familiar with our particular procedures and methods.

The future will judge the value of the data produced by small projects according to their persistent utility.

Digital Archaeology and the 100-Year Archive: Experiments in Field Recording, Dissemination, and Long-Term Data Preservation at Chersonesos (Crimea, Ukraine)

Adam Rabinowitz, University of Texas at Austin, *Jessica Trelogan*, University of Texas at Austin, and *Maria Esteva*, University of Texas at Austin

Most Mediterranean archaeologists working today will use 100-year-old archaeological documentation at some point in the course of their research. On the one hand, such documentation can be maddeningly vague, and the contextual information it contains is often only a fraction of that produced by the digital recording tools in use today. On the other hand, the physical media on which that information is preserved have survived a century or more, and their content can still be consulted and reused without special tools. It is far from certain that the same will be true of the complex born-digital data sets now produced by many archaeological projects. Without attention to archival strategies and consistent standards for the description of data, it is difficult to share and reuse data sets in the short term and almost impossible to protect them from technological change or equipment failure in the long term.

This paper presents the attempts of a joint American-Ukrainian archaeological project at Chersonesos in Crimea to address these issues. In the course of several seasons of excavation in a Byzantine residential block, the team experimented with various digital recording methods, with the goal of balancing a rich contextual record with locally sustainable practices. As the project advanced toward publication, participants began to struggle with approaches to the dissemination and long-term preservation of the extensive, heterogeneous, and still-evolving data set it had produced. The result was a multidisciplinary institutional partnership that has brought together archaeologists, archivists, and technologists to develop a comprehensive system to keep archaeological documentation usable beyond the life span of the software that manages it at any given moment. Here, we share the results of our experimentation in the field, where we found the integration of paper and digital documentation to be crucial, and in the post-excavation phase, during which we have developed archiving and metadata-creation strategies that facilitate ongoing research and long-term accessibility. These strategies insist on the preservation not only of files but also of the contextual relationships between them and of a record of the changes they have undergone during data processing. While tools for technical operations such as the automatic extraction of metadata are an important component of the strategies we have developed, at the core of the system is the deliberate integration of field documentation with data-management workflows within a flexible and secure preservation environment. We argue that with sufficient planning and interdisciplinary collaboration, field projects can implement 100-year archival strategies from the moment data collection begins.

Ur Digitization Project: Creating a Digital Research Tool for a Divided Collection

William B. Hafford, University of Pennsylvania Museum

The British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania Museum jointly excavated the site of Ur in modern Iraq from 1922 to 1934. Under laws of the time, ar-

tifacts from the 12 seasons were divided, with half remaining in Iraq and the other half split between the excavating institutions. Excavation field notes are primarily stored in London, though official reports and letters can be found in all three museum archives. Even though Ur was well published for its time, there is much research yet to be done. However, gaining access to the divided material is difficult and time-consuming. Our project is reuniting the data in a digital space, making available all field notes, field catalogues, photographs, information on artifacts, and more so that researchers and the public alike can delve more fully and much more quickly into the raw data that are so necessary to formulating new theories and understandings.

This report summarizes our first year, discussing our data-collection efforts and forays into site creation. We have managed to connect a great deal of information from the original excavations back to artifacts that had lost their field identifiers over the past 80+ years, making a much more complete picture of the site ready to be investigated for the next 80+ years. Of course, the overall research tool we are creating will take many years to complete, but we believe that going online early with a test site is better than putting out a finished product much later that does not meet the needs of its users. Thus, we continually seek researchers to test our initial attempts and provide feedback wherever possible.

Ur did not operate in isolation, nor should modern researchers into the ancient city. Fostering collaboration among researchers on the site and others like it is one of our goals. We have found it necessary to generate discussion of standards and cross-connection of similar digital collections for even greater data sets that relate not just to Ur but to the ancient Near East as a whole. Without such standards and interconnections, researchers are isolated even while surrounded by a sea of data.

The Archaeological Resource Cataloging System (ARCS): A New Practical Approach for Archives, Scholarly Access, and Learning

Timothy E. Gregory, Ohio State University, and Jon M. Frey, Michigan State University

In the past few decades, archaeologists have generally recognized the benefits of maintaining archival records in digital form. We now acknowledge that digital archaeological data can and should be accessible and searchable from anywhere in the world. This development has increased the productivity of scholars and eased the strain on projects that also serve as study centers. At the same time, the creation of digital archives has drastically affected the ways in which we interact with the documents and artifacts that form the basis of archaeological research. Many financially constrained projects lag behind their better-funded peers in the process of digitization, and they risk becoming invisible to digital archaeologists. The same can be said of certain types of evidence, especially handwritten documents that cannot always be searched and connected easily with other kinds of digital data. Most importantly, digital archives today often encourage the study of objects and documents in isolation from one another as well as apart from the institutional memory that helps give them meaning.

In this paper, we present the Archaeological Resource Cataloging System (ARCS), an open-source digital asset management program created for the Ohio

State University Excavations at Isthmia to address these types of issues. Developed at Michigan State University through a National Endowment for the Humanities Digital Humanities Startup Grant, ARCS uses an Internet-based interface that allows digital archival projects to get off the ground without the necessity of having an entire archive already in digital form. In ARCS, approved users upload and “tag” digital resources according to metadata standards that can be further refined by individual projects. Tagged resources can then be searched, sorted, and interrelated through the creation of virtual links that do not affect the original data’s integrity. Associated discussion forums allow users to ask questions, identify mistakes, and resolve issues as a group. Moreover, because it is open-source software, ARCS offers an inexpensive option for projects lacking a dedicated archivist or technical support. Instead, digitization can progress slowly, as funds and time allow, toward a sophisticated archival and retrieval system tested and improved constantly by authorized users, who may range from archaeological professionals to students and, where appropriate, even the broader public. Most importantly, as we demonstrate specifically with respect to the postclassical material at Isthmia, ARCS encourages interactions with digital data in ways that retain the many benefits of being physically present at an archaeological site or archive.

Providing for Access to and Preservation of Archaeological Information Using Digital Technology

Francis P. McManamon, Arizona State University, Adam Brin, Arizona State University, and Mary Whelan, Arizona State University

Archaeology is awash with data. Individual archaeologists, institutions responsible for the preservation of this historical and scientific information, and others who would be interested in various aspects of these data cannot easily find them and lack straightforward ways to make use of the data when they can be located. Most contemporary archaeological data are created in digital formats, and paper records are being scanned and digitized.

Unfortunately, rather than systematically archiving computerized information so that it can remain accessible and usable, individual archaeologists, museums, offices responsible for maintaining site-inventory systems, and other repositories typically treat the media on which the data are recorded as artifacts—storing them in various ways that do not make the data easily accessible or ensure their long-term preservation.

Information in digital formats has the advantage of being easily copied and shared. Digital data can be queried in automated ways that make certain kinds of research much easier. Some new kinds of research—for example, querying, integrating, and analyzing large data sets—are not possible with paper records.

For digital data to be accessed and distributed widely, it must be in digital repositories that allow users to discover and use the information the files contain. Depending on the content of the files, administrative hurdles may need to be overcome for such easy sharing and distribution to be realized. Some data or information may have to remain confidential with limited access. Proprietary or copyrighted information may have restrictions on its potential uses that must be worked out with the owner or copyright holder. There are also challenges in funding for the maintenance and preservation of files in any public digital repository

This presentation describes a new digital archaeological repository, the Digital Archaeological Record. This repository contains and is open to a wide range of archaeological information from investigations and sites throughout the world. It is developed and maintained by the Center for Digital Antiquity at Arizona State University. This international digital archaeological repository is organized and run according to a set of guidelines and procedures based on the “life cycle” of digital archaeological data. These procedures include planning for the development of digital records that can be archived easily and effectively; the deposit and access of digital records in the repository; and the long-term preservation and use of the records.

SESSION 7H

Athens and Attica

CHAIR: *Kathleen Lynch*, University of Cincinnati

The Restoration of the Parthenon’s East Porch: A Question of Aesthetic Concerns or Theoretical Principles?

Lena Lambrinou, Acropolis Restoration Service, Greek Ministry of Culture

The Parthenon’s east porch, the pronaos, has been the subject of extensive intervention proposals during recent decades. With its six Doric columns, the pronaos was the main entrance to the classical fifth-century B.C.E. temple’s large, central compartment (naos) in which stood the enormous gold-and-ivory cult statue of the Greek goddess Athena. During a destructive fire suffered by the temple in the third or fourth century C.E., the pronaos’ columns lost significant parts of the surfaces that faced the temple’s interior, including major portions of their western flutes. Especially disastrous for the Parthenon’s east porch was the massive explosion caused by a Venetian artillery shell that struck the building in 1687. Five columns of the east porch collapsed and—owing to the fragmentary, previously fire-damaged condition of the inner sides of the drums especially—disintegrated into dozens of loose fragments. The latest partial anastylosis of 1998–2004—by the Greek Ministry of Culture’s Acropolis Monuments Restoration Service—set many new fragments in place and gave the eastern area of the monument a distinctly different aesthetic form. Because of the particular circumstances and requirements of the ancient material, the restoration of the pronaos provoked a great debate about various aspects of the intervention, both practical and theoretical. This debate illuminated theoretical differences on basic issues of the anastylosis process, its aim and extent, and the final appearance of the newly restored sections of the pronaos. Attempted appeasement of differing viewpoints ultimately led to the underestimation of the value of an aesthetic approach—an important concern of anastylosis—and to the implementation in the pronaos of a restoration based on principles oppositional either to each other or to theoretical principles previously established on the Acropolis. Consequently, the pronaos intervention has prolonged the controversy with an aesthetically and theoretically unsatisfactory result that now deserves to be reconsidered and finally resolved.

Fashioning Autochthony: Recontextualizing the Erechtheion in the Late Fifth Century B.C.E.

Jacquelyn H. Clements, Johns Hopkins University

In the latter years of the fifth century B.C.E., Athens was truly a city of images. Having emerged victorious from the Persian Wars, the Athenians rebuilt their temples and other structures over the course of several decades, imparting on their surfaces a rich collection of mythological, historical, and decorative imagery. Elaborating on the theories explored in Palagia's work on the Athenian response to the effects of the Peloponnesian War, I seek to recontextualize the viewer's experience of the late fifth-century Acropolis, particularly in regard to the Erechtheion. As the last monumental temple to be built there during the Classical period, the Erechtheion has often been seen as an unusual structure, in terms of both its form and its decoration. Here, I reconsider the Erechtheion from multiple angles, analyzing its architectural style, iconography, and placement within the topography of Athens. In addition, the frieze of the Erechtheion has until now been largely glossed over, probably as a result of its poor state of preservation. My study focuses in particular on the frieze as a paramount example of Athenian concerns with identity and mythological ancestry in the Late Classical period.

Though it has been preserved in a very fragmentary state, the frieze of the Erechtheion can readily be compared both thematically and stylistically with much of the imagery found in Late Classical vase painting. Although the Erechtheion frieze is generally regarded as depicting scenes from the myths of early kings of Athens, such as Erechtheus/Erichthonios, it has also been suggested that the frieze depicts a procession related to a festival. I argue that the architectural adornment of the Erechtheion highlights a fresh perspective regarding Athenian interests in their origins and autochthonous roots. The presence of such iconography on the Acropolis in the culminating years of the Peloponnesian War would have reminded Athenian viewers of their earthborn identity. Drawing together the various lines of inquiry concerning this unusual temple, I contend that although the Erechtheion is essentially a product of a precarious age, it celebrates the mythological ancestry of the Athenians in a time when the stability of their genealogy was of utmost importance. In situating the Erechtheion within the sociohistorical context of its creation and within the Athenian landscape, we can ascribe to it the manifestation of Athenian ideas and ideals regarding their own identity in the face of the uncertainty of the Peloponnesian War.

The Temple of Athena at Sounion and Ionic Architecture in Attica

Barbara A. Barletta, University of Florida

The Temple of Athena at Sounion represents one of the earliest uses of the Ionic order in Attic architecture. Its date is generally accepted as ca. 460–450 B.C.E., although Dinsmoor (*Sounion*, 2nd ed. [Athens 1974] 42) assigns it to the second half of the fifth century, making it contemporary with or even later than the Parthenon. The building has several unusual characteristics. Not least of these is its plan, which proved worthy of note by Vitruvius (*De arch.* 4.8.4). Its simple elevation also differs significantly from those of other, better-known constructions

of classical Athens. These anomalies pose problems for dating the building and thus for determining its position in the development of Ionic architecture in Attica.

This paper presents the results of a recently completed study of the temple. It discusses the major characteristics of both plan and elevation and offers comparisons to establish an approximate date and architectural context for the building. The forms of the columns, especially their capitals, and the paucity of carving seem unusual for Attica but fit into an earlier tradition there of votive columns. While that tradition continued through the fifth century, it was more common in the first half. The column spacing, if correctly restored, belongs no later than the mid fifth century. Additionally, the decoration of the ceiling slabs finds local parallels from the second quarter of the fifth century. Such comparisons support a date of ca. 460–450 B.C.E. Other characteristics of the building, including the low platform, Ionic order, likely frieze, and marble ceilings, were influenced by Cycladic customs. These were established already in Archaic times, before the move away from the Ionic order after ca. 480 B.C.E. The evidence thus points to a likely date for construction of the temple in the Early, rather than High, Classical period. Although some of the temple's features, especially in regard to its columns, had already been adopted in Attica, overall the building attests to strong influence from the Cyclades.

As the first Ionic temple in Attica, the Temple of Athena at Sounion plays an important role in the history of Greek architecture. It demonstrates the increasing interest in Cycladic forms and their incorporation into local traditions. These forms would become more elaborate in the High Classical period. Nevertheless, the Temple of Athena represents the initial step in the development of the new Attic style.

A Medical Vessel from the Athenian Agora

Susan I. Rotroff, Washington University in St. Louis

The contents of a Late Hellenistic cistern excavated at the Athenian Agora in 1957 included a cooking pot of unusual design. The vessel is small (ht. 7.7, diam. 18.6 cm), its body low and angular, like a lens, with a very small mouth and a single handle. Although it is made of cooking fabric, it is poorly designed for the preparation of a meal: its size is too small for a reasonable portion of food; its contents could not be poured out without making a mess; and the small mouth and shallow depth would have made it difficult to dip the contents out with a ladle. Clearly, though, the pot had seen considerable use, for both its inner and outer surfaces have been darkened by contact with fire or coals.

This paper explores the possibility that the vessel can be identified as the *phakos ostrakinos* (clay lentil) mentioned in the Hippocratic corpus as a vessel used for fumigation. Fumigation was a common treatment for gynecological ailments but was also applied to headache, fever, and afflictions of the throat, lungs, and eyes. In this procedure, various liquids or dry substances were heated in a pot, and the affected part of the body was bathed in the resultant vapor or smoke. The Hippocratic corpus (*Nat. mul.* 2.34) gives extensive directions for carrying out the procedure, including the instruction, "fumigate also with lentil-shaped pots [tois phakois tois ostrakinois] pouring in the hot water." Like the Hippocratic vessel,

the Agora pot is shaped like a lentil, and it was used with heat. The identification is further strengthened by some of the other contents of the cistern in which it was found: two grinding stones and five liquid measures, tools necessary for the preparation of medicines.

Although the *phakos* appears only once in the Hippocratic corpus, other texts apply the word to a variety of vessels: a canteen, a hot-water bottle, and an oil vessel (*P. Oxyrhynchus* 8, no. 1088; I Samuel 10.1; 26.11, 12]). The paper ends with conjectures concerning the vessels so designated, thus offering a fuller definition of the *phakos* as a ceramic shape.

“Twin Inscriptions” from the Attic Deme Of Myrrhinous

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Extensive excavations recently conducted at Merenda, the site of the ancient Attic deme of Myrrhinous, have led to the discovery of an inscribed dedication to Zeus Phratrios by a certain Xenophon, son of Philoxenos, an *iereus*, as he qualifies himself. Since the stone bearing this inscription was found in the proximity of a religious building complex, the excavators recognized it as a shrine of Zeus Phratrios. The priest Xenophon is to be identified with the homonymous individual who made a dedication to Apollo Pythios and had it inscribed on a rectangular marble pedestal, which was found in 1948 by the Church of Panagia at Merenda. The excavators argue that the Pythion mentioned in the epigram was in the southern sector of the recently investigated area, where a large temenos was found.

It is worth noting that these two dedications share many similarities, both in the shape of their marble support and in the arrangement and content of their text. The letterings are comparable and suggest a date in the early fourth century B.C.E. Both texts are metric; they are disposed in two lines and show similar contents, with the reiteration of the term “*mneimeion*.” In each case the dedications are inscribed on a quite flat, rectangular marble pedestal that tapers above and ends in a squared capital, which only the newly found document preserves. After a closer examination of these correspondences, as well as a discussion of their archaeological contexts, this paper argues that the two dedications were in fact erected within the same sanctuary and closely connected with each other; they probably formed part of one votive monument offered by Xenophon and placed inside the shrine of Apollo Pythios—the location of which remains uncertain—as it is expressly stated in the second line of the dedication to this deity.

Putting the *Oikos* Back into *Oikonomia*: Assessing the Purchases of the Classical Athenian Household

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The Athenian family used and consumed many goods, some created in the home and others bought in the marketplace. Using artifactual, epigraphic, and literary evidence, this paper assesses household products and purchases, with a goal toward understanding the interaction between the Athenian *oikos* and markets during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. Commodities produced in the

house are presented, but discussion focuses on acquired goods; the paper does not consider services paid for by members of the *oikos*.

The largest category of purchases by the household was food and drink, the sources of which were both Attic and imported. While many Athenian *oikoi* were connected to the land, numerous comestibles were bought at the agora. Some were staples, but others were luxury items acquired from Greece or abroad. The vessels used for storage, preparation, and service also constituted a major household expenditure. Domestic well deposits reveal both the variety of shapes and the sheer number of vessels used in private settings. Absent from this material record are the metal containers once part of the domestic service.

While there was probably no real estate market in Athens before the fourth century B.C.E., elements of the architecture of the house, such as doors and roof tiles, had to be bought. Movable property was often acquired at the agora, where imported furnishings competed with Attic products. Included among other furniture were the altars and ephemera used for domestic ritual. Slaves were numbered in accounts of household property, and most were purchased. While many worked at domestic tasks, others fetched higher prices because they contributed considerable skills to the light industry often conducted in household settings.

Textiles constituted an important segment of personal property, not only because many were created domestically, but also because woven goods were numerous and had many functions. Spinning thread and weaving clothes, bedding, and curtains were women's work, but testimonia show that both garments and other woven products, as well as the raw materials used to manufacture them, were sometimes purchased. Many other items of personal adornment, including shoes, jewelry, makeup, and perfumes, were also bought from their manufacturers. This paper concludes that the *oikos* engaged broadly and often with the market in classical Athens. Primitivist models of the Athenian economy in general and of the household economy in particular should be abandoned in favor of a more nuanced understanding of the place of the *oikos* in the polis economy.

AUTHOR INDEX

- Abell, Natalie 159
 Acton, Karen 240
 Adams, Matthew 243
 Adornato, Gianfranco 50
 Alcock, Susan E.70, 112, 117, 257
 Ambrosini, Laura 208
 Amit, David 173
 Anderson, James C. 122, 181
 Andrews, Margaret M. 228
 Angelo, Tiziana D. 237
 Antonaccio, Carla 177
 Aravantinos, Vassilis 149
 Arcenas, Scott L. 9
 Artzy, Michal 196
 Aylward, William 107
 Baglione, Maria Paola 128
 Baker, Catherine 157
 Ballan, Eleonora 159
 Ballsun-Stanton, Brian 10
 Bank, Charly 193
 Barker, Simon 262
 Barletta, Barbara A. 270
 Barrett, Caitlín E. 27
 Bartman, Elizabeth 203
 Battiloro, Ilaria 15
 Bazemore, Georgia Bonny 113
 Bearden, Lauren 72
 Becker, Nadine 68
 Begg, Ian 47
 Bejko, Lorenc 57, 58, 108
 Belis, Alexis 127
 Bellelli, Vincenzo 207
 Berman, Sarah 112
 Berna, Francesco 160, 162
 Bishop, Anna 121
 Bizzarri, Claudio 164, 165
 Blackwell, Nicholas G. 159
 Blakelock, Eleanor 83
 Blevins, Susan L. 135
 Bloy, Dylan 168
 Boccia Paterakis, Alice 243
 Bockman, Paige 74
 Bojn, Douglas 225
 Bond, Sarah E. 144, 147
 Bonfante, Larissa 207
 Borromeo, Gina 112
 Brazinski, Paul A. 256
 Brenningmeyer, Todd 47
 Brin, Adam 268
 Brink, James 160
 Brogan, Thomas M. 20
 Broodbank, Cyprian 19, 159
 Brown, Deborah E. 264
 Buccellati, Giorgio 4, 243
 Buckler, Brandi 59
 Budin, Stephanie Lynn 48
 Bultrighini, Ilaria 272
 Burke, Brendan 150
 Burke Davies, Clare 211
 Burns, Bryan 150
 Burns, Kara K. 124
 Butera, C. Jacob 77
 Butler, Sarah 121
 Butz, Patricia A. 226
 Buxton, Bridget 196
 Çakmak, Lisa Ayla 246
 Camp II, John McK. 110
 Caraher, William R. 113, 265
 Carbone, Lucia Francesca 173
 Carlisle, David P. C. 147
 Carpenter, Tom 234
 Carpino, Alexandra A. 96, 98
 Carter, Tristan 248, 251
 Castor, Alexis 97
 Catania, Annemarie 255
 Chalikias, Konstantinos 192
 Chapin, Anne P. 104
 Charami, Alexandra 149, 150
 Charlton, Michael F. 83, 85
 Chatr Aryamontri, Deborah 229
 Chazan, Michael 160
 Chemello, Claudia 243
 Cheung, Caroline 155
 Childs, Laura 132
 Christensen, Alexis M. 165
 Cicak, Tessa 86
 Clements, Jacquelyn H. 270
 Cline, Lea K. 126, 130
 Clinton, Kevin 137
 Clinton, Miriam G. 66
 Cloke, Christian 119, 214
 Coates, Victoria C. G. 218
 Cobb, Peter 118
 Cofer, Clay M. 115

Cohon, Robert.....	112	Fachard, Sylvian.....	141
Colburn, Henry P.....	191	Falcão Argôlo, Paula.....	38
Cole, Kevin.....	102	Fallu, Daniel J.....	82, 162
Coleman Carter, Joseph.....	110	Fant, J. Clayton.....	262
Collins, Paul.....	232	Fantalkin, Alexander.....	197
Collins-Elliott, Stephen.....	12	Farney, Gary.....	168
Conley, Hillary.....	235	Favro, Diane.....	202
Conlin, Diane A.....	229	Fee, Sam.....	265
Connor, Andrew.....	44	Feldman, Cecelia.....	119
Cook, Philip.....	76	Feldman, Marian.....	233
Cooper, Catherine L.....	199	Ferguson, Jonathan.....	117
Coqueugnot, Gaëlle.....	5	Feuer, Bryan.....	159
Counts, Derek B.....	114, 115	Fields, Alison L.....	2
Cousins, Eleri H.....	122	Fischer, Julia.....	255
Cova, Elisabetta.....	99	Fisher, Kevin.....	7
Crook, Penny.....	10	Fitzsimons, Rodney D.....	105, 159
Crothers, George M.....	167	Foley, Brendan.....	28
Cummings, Colleen.....	39	Foubert, Anneleen.....	170
Cutler, Joanne.....	159	Fouke, Bruce W.....	170
Cuyler, Mary Jane.....	62	Foulk, Rachel.....	252
Daly, Kevin.....	149	Franck, Sara J.....	35
Daniels, Megan.....	178	Franks, Hallie.....	78
Darby, Erin.....	233, 259	Frey, Jon M.....	89, 267
Darby, Robert.....	233, 259	Fried, Glenn.....	170
Davaras, Costis.....	193	Gaber, Pamela.....	116
Davis, Jack L.....	17, 18	Gagne, Laura.....	114
Day, Peter M.....	209, 210, 211, 212, 214	Galaty, Michael L.....	41, 58, 159
de Angelis, Francesco.....	97, 260	Galicki, Stanley.....	58
de Grummond, Nancy T.....	206	Gallagher, Martin.....	44
de Jong, Lidewijde.....	121	Galligan, Erin.....	103
De Puma, Richard.....	207	Gambash, Gil.....	196
Deskaj, Sylvia.....	41, 58	Gansell, Amy.....	231
Dillon, Sheila.....	70	Garcia, Marcelo H.....	170
Dimitrova, Nora.....	137	Gardelli, Paolo.....	261
Diogo de Souza, Camila.....	38, 106	Gardiner Lytle, Beth.....	226
Douni, Kerasia.....	210	Gardner, Chelsea.....	84
Driessen, Jan.....	205	Gates-Foster, Jennifer.....	24
Dumser, Elisha.....	90	Gatzke, Andrea F.....	144, 146
Durusu-Tanrıöver, Müge.....	120	Gauss, Walter.....	162, 215
Dwyer, Eugene.....	218	Gazda, Elaine.....	6
Earle, Jason W.....	159	Gee, Regina.....	6
Edlund-Berry, Ingrid.....	207	Gensheimer, Maryl B.....	70, 171
Egan, Emily Catherine.....	6	Georgakopoulou, Myrto.....	215
Elliott, Tom.....	202	George, David B.....	164, 165
Ellis, Steven.....	260	Georgiou, Lana M.....	85
Emmerson, Allison.....	263	Gerard-Little, Peregrine.....	7
Esteva, Maria.....	266	Gerkis, Caroline.....	80
Estrin, Seth.....	6	Gillmann, Nicolas.....	232

Gilman Romano, David	36	Ivleva, Tatiana.....	125
Gilstrap, William D.	212	Jebbia, Mary Ellen	121
Girella, Luca	159	Johnson, Peri	120
Glaubius, Jen	153	Kahn, Lisa	133
Glennie, Ann	51	Kaiser, Ivonne	159
Goldberg, Paul	160	Kakavoyianni, Olga	210
Goldman-Petri, Megan	131	Kakoulli, Ioanna	6
Gondek, Renee	199	Kalamara, Pari	149
Gordon, Jody M.	115, 257	Kalkers, Rogier	186
Gorogianni, Evi.....	158	Kamenov, George	40
Grable, Kali	79	Kane, Susan E.	165
Graf, Fritz	127	Kaplow, Lauren	221
Graybehl, Heather	214	Kardamaki, Elina.....	212
Green, Adam	121	Kardulias, P. Nick.....	115
Green, Lillian	121	Karkanas, Panagiotis	41, 151, 162
Greene, Elizabeth S.	29	Kaza, Konstantina	212
Gregory, Timothy E.	267	Kearns, Catherine	7
Grey, Matthew	173	Keenan-Jones, Duncan	170
Gulizioj, Joann	153	Keesling, Catherine M.	88
Hafford, William B.	266	Keitel, Victoria	156
Haggis, Donald C.	192, 194	Kellogg, Danielle	139, 140, 142
Hair, Halley	240	Kelly, Amanda	47
Hammond, Mark D.	214	Kelly-Buccellati, Marilyn	3
Harmanşah, Ömür	120	Kenawi, Mohamed.....	65
Harris, Jason.....	91, 93	Kiernan, Philip.....	79
Harvey, Craig.....	81	Kila, Joris	133
Heath, Sebastian	44	Kilikoglou, Vassilis.....	210, 212
Hein, Anno	210	Kim, Seung Jung.....	49
Hernandez, David R.	109	Kincade, Kaitlin.....	81
Herring-Harrington, Lydia	154	Kiriatzis, Evangelia.....	215
Hickman, Jane.....	245	Kisilevitz, Shua	173
Highcock, Nancy	121	Klebinder-Gauss, Gudrun.....	215
Hilditch, Jill	159	Knappett, Carl	159, 193
Hodgins, Gregg	36	Knodell, Alex R.	117
Hoff, Michael	28	Koehl, Robert B.	248, 249
Hollinshead, Mary	71	Koh, Andrew	85
Holzman, Samuel	1	Kondratieff, Eric J.	180, 181
Horwitz, Liora Kolska	160	Koob, Stephen.....	243
Howe, Thomas Noble.....	261	Kopestonsky, Theodora.....	33
Hoyer, Daniel	123	Korhonen, Kalle.....	102
Hruby, Julie	153	Kossyva, Angeliki	211
Hrychuk Kontokosta, Anne	227	Kouka, Ourania	21
Hughes, Ryan C.	4	Kourkoumelis, Dimitris	28
Huntley, Katherine V.....	101	Kousser, Rachel.....	87, 88
Hurst, Heather.....	6	Kramer-Hajos, Margaretha	103
Husser, Zehavi V.....	100	Kreindler, Katharine	53
Hyatt, Adam	11, 16	Krieger, William.....	196
Höflmayer, Felix	37	Krigbaum, John	38

Kringas, Dimitra.....	67	Maggidis, Christofilis.....	7
Krotscheck, Ulrike.....	202	Magness, Jodi.....	173
Kus, James.....	204	Maiuro, Marco.....	260
Kvapil, Lynne A.....	152	Manning, Stuart.....	7
La Follette, Laetitia.....	107	Marabea, Christina.....	212
Lafrenz Samuel, Kathryn.....	40	Marconi, Clemente.....	137
Laird, Margaret.....	112	Mardikian, Paul.....	243
Lambrinou, Lena.....	269	Martino, Shannon.....	1
Lamp, Daniel.....	32	Martinón-Torres, Marcos.....	83
Lancaster, Lynne.....	60	Mataloto, Rui.....	54
Landvatter, Thomas P.....	22, 25	Matmon, Ari.....	160
Laneri, Nicola.....	3	Mattusch, Carol C.....	216, 217
Lang, Janet.....	83	Mazurek, Lindsey A.....	46
Langdon, Susan.....	48	McAlpine, Lynley.....	6
Langford, Julie.....	180, 184	McCallum, Myles.....	16
Langin-Hooper, Stephanie M.....	244	McCormack, Dawn.....	64
Lanjouw, Tijmen.....	186	McCoy, Marsha B.....	126
Lapatin, Kenneth.....	112, 216, 217	McFadden, Susanna.....	6
Larson, Stephanie.....	149	McKenzie, Judith.....	65
Laughy, Jr, Michael H.....	198	McManamon, Francis P.....	268
Lawall, Mark L.....	34	Meadows, Andrew.....	238, 239
Lazrus, Paula Kay.....	169	Meyer, Alexander.....	144, 146
Leccese, Christina.....	40	Meyers, Gretchen.....	98
Lee, Mireille.....	198	Miliaresis, Ismini A.....	61
Leidwanger, Justin.....	29	Miller-Antonio, Sari.....	161
Leon, Jeffrey F.....	7, 69	Miller Bonney, Emily.....	66
Lepinski, Sarah.....	6	Modrall, Emily.....	186
Lepone, Antonella.....	234	Mogetta, Marcello.....	14
Lewis, McKenzie.....	11, 13	Momigliano, Nicoletta.....	193
Lieberman, Leigh Anne.....	94	Mook, Margaret S.....	194
Lim, Michelle.....	121	Moore, Andrew.....	195
Lindblom, Michael.....	215	Moore, R. Scott.....	265
Lis, Bartek.....	215	Morgan, Ann.....	176
Liszka, Kate.....	24	Morris, Ellen.....	23
Littman, Robert J.....	64	Morrison, Jerolyn E.....	159, 215
Livarda, Alexandra.....	193	Morton, Thomas J.....	187
Lolos, Yannis.....	212	Moser, Claudia.....	130
London, Gloria.....	37	Motta, Davide.....	170
Longfellow, Brenda.....	87	Muccigrosso, John.....	230
Luke, Christina.....	30, 118, 244	Muhly, James D.....	250
Luke, Trevor.....	182	Murphy, Joanne.....	66
Lulof, Patricia.....	208	Murphy, Ryan.....	202
Lusnia, Susann.....	185	Murray, Carrie.....	58
Lynch, Kathleen.....	269	Murray, Sarah C.....	106
M. Greene, Elizabeth.....	70, 124	Muslin, Jennifer L.....	26
Macaulay-Lewis, Elizabeth.....	65	Müller, Noemi S.....	212
MacDonald-Korth, Emily.....	6	Nagy, Helen.....	96
MacKinnon, Michael R.....	47, 52	Nagy, Ili.....	209

Nakassis, Dimitri.....	189	Popkin, Maggie L.	138
Nankov, Emil	78	Powers, Jessica.....	112
Naso, Alessandro	207	Price, Gypsy	38
Nelson, Michael C.	47	Pulak, Cemal.....	40
Newhard, James	117, 202	Pullen, Daniel J.	19, 41, 211
Newman, Richard	85	Rabinowitz, Adam	266
Neyland, Robert	243	Raff, Katharine.....	245
Ng, Diana Y.	176	Rainer, Leslie.....	6
Nichols, Marden.....	112	Ralston, Nathaniel.....	241
Niespolo, Elizabeth.....	155	Ramsay, Jennifer H.....	83
Nissinen, Laura	102	Rask, Katherine.....	126, 129
Notarian, Matt	168	Raymond, Amy	159
Nowicki, Krzysztof	250	Reeves, M. Barbara.....	81
Nowlin, Jessica	234	Relaki, Maria	210
Oechsner, Amy M.....	80	Renner, Timothy	229
O'Grady, Caitlin	6	Reyes, Andres	65
Orengo, Hector	193	Riccardi, Lee Ann	45
Orlin, Eric	183	Riebe, Danielle	42
Osland, Daniel	55	Rife, Joseph L.	173
Ossi, Adrian J.	246	Roberts, Benjamin	133
Oxx, Lindsay	73	Robinson, Elizabeth C.	222
Özdemir, Hicran.....	121	Roby, Thomas.....	243
Pafford, Isabelle.....	223	Rocchio, Michael	174
Paga, Jessica	139, 140	Rodriguez, Andrea.....	51
Page, Michael C.	136	Rojas, Felipe	90
Papadatos, Yiannis.....	192	Roller, Duane W.....	179
Papadimitriou, Alcestis	211	Roosevelt, Christopher H.....	1, 30, 118
Papadimitriou, Apostolos	212	Rose, C. Brian.....	243
Papalexandrou, Nassos	247	Ross, Shawn A.	10
Papathanasiou, Anastasia	41	Rossiter, Jeremy	187
Papathanassopoulos, Giorgos	41	Rotroff, Susan I.	271
Pappas, Alexandra	190	Rowan, Erica	101
Parker, Kathryn	40	Rowan, Yorke.....	251
Parkinson, William A.....	41	Royal, Jeffrey G.....	7, 8
Pauketat, Timothy	205	Rutter, Jeremy B.....	18
Pavúk, Peter	158	Sahlén, Daniel.....	85
Paynter, Sarah	83	Samori, Mahmoud	240
Pentabona, Caroline.....	247	Sapirstein, Philip	177
Pentedeka, Areti	215	Schepartz, Lynne A.	159, 161
Perillo, Mauricio	170	Schneidenbach, Esther.....	223
Perry, Ellen	252	Schofield, Zoe	6
Peruzzi, Bice.....	236	Schwartz, Sandra	169
Pettegrew, David K.	265	Scorziello, Aimee Francesca.....	78
Peña, J. Theodore.....	155	Seaman, Kristen.....	259
Pfuntner, Laura	188	Sebastiani, Alessandro.....	166
Pieraccini, Lisa	99, 206	Seifried, Rebecca.....	43
Pinheiro Afonso, Lucia	54	Sekedat, Bradley M.	30, 118
Pope, Spencer.....	91, 94	Seydl, Jon L.	220

Shafer, Ann	231	Theodorou-Mavrommatidi, Anthi	211
Shahack-Gross, Ruth.....	160	Theodoulou, Theotokis	28
Sharvit, Jacob	196	Thomas, Michael L.....	156
Shaya, Josephine.....	148	Thomason, Allison	232
Shears, Ryan P.....	82	Tomas, Helena	189
Shelton, Kim.....	28, 38	Totten, Darian M.	237
Shifferd, Sania D.....	195	Toumazou, Michael K.....	115
Silverstein, Jay	64	Trainor, Conor.....	215
Sivaguru, Mayandi	170	Travina, Anastasiya.....	190
Smith, Amy	33	Trecarichi, Arianna.....	159
Sneed, Deborah A.....	221	Trelogan, Jessica.....	266
Sobotkova, Adela	10	Trimble, Jennifer	70, 231
Sokolicek, Alexander	175	Trusler, A. Kate	82
Soles, Jeffrey S.....	193	Trusty, Debra A.....	213
Souza, Randall	92	Tsakirgis, Barbara.....	272
Sowder Koch, Amy	134	Tsartsidou, Georgia.....	162
Spigel, Chad.....	173	Tsokas, Gregory	7
Spinelli, Ambra.....	78	Tuck, Anthony	51, 52
Spurza, Joanne M.	60	Tuck, Steven	145
Staehli, Adrian	219	Tucker, Gregory	63
Stallsmith, Allaire B.	31	Tuna, Numan	29
Stamos, Antonia	7	Tykot, Robert H.	36, 40
Stark, Miriam	203	Tynan, Nicola.....	86
Starkovich, Britt.....	36	Udell, Jennifer.....	200
Stefanile, Michele	75	Underwood, Douglas	56
Stek, Tesse D.....	234	Ur, Jason.....	121
Stephan, Robert	186	Urban, Thomas	7
Stephens, Janet.....	77	Urquhart, Lela.....	186
Stewart, Devon	254	Vagalinski, Lyudmil.....	78
Stone, David.....	12	Van de Moortel, Aleydis.....	151
Storli, Renate.....	151	Vander Poppen, Robert	70
Stratton, Gregory.....	9	Van Dusen, Rachel	13
Stricker, Gretchen	72	Vanni, Edoardo	57
Sturgeon, Mary C.	49	Vassar, Anne.....	71
Stylianopoulos, Lucie Wall	265	Verstraete, Johannes.....	31
Swan, Patrick	133	Viitanen, Eeva-Maria	102
Swartz Dodd, Lynn.....	121	Visonà, Paolo.....	167
Tabolli, Jacopo.....	163	Vitale, Salvatore.....	159
Tafilica, Zamir	58	Voyatzis, Mary E.	36
Tal, Oren	197	Wachsmann, Shelley	201
Tankosic, Zarko	149, 151	Walcek Averett, Erin.....	114, 115
Taphos, Nanterre.....	38	Waldsmith, Julia	170
Tartaron, Thomas	213	Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew	111
Taylor, Claire	143	Walthall, D. Alex.....	95
Taylor, Rabun	154, 264	Wang, Hong	170
Temiz, Mine.....	121	Warford, Erin	79
Terpstra, Taco.....	260	Wegener, Cori.....	133
Terrenato, Nicola	12, 203		

Weiner, Stephen	160	Witschonke, Richard	239, 242
Wescoat, Bonna D.	133, 134	Wolfram Thill, Elizabeth	70, 253
Whelan, Mary	268	Wright, Diana G.	244
Whitcher Kansa, Sarah	52	Wright, James C.	210
Whitehead, Jane K.	171	Wueste, Elizabeth A.	224
Whitmore, Alissa M.	172	Ximeri, Samantha	214
Wiener, Malcolm H.	21	Yandek, Amy	258
Williams, Hector	30	Yarrow, Liv M.	239
Williams, Joey L.	54	Yegul, Fikret	170
Williamson, Jacquelyn	63	Yener, Aslihan	121
Wilson, Megan S.	74	Young, Tim	83
Wilson, Roger J.A.	186, 188	Ziskowski, Angela	32
Winger, Justin	197	Zurbach, Julien	159
Wiseman, James	211		

