

The 27th Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference

Durham University, Durham UK
Tuesday 28th – Friday 31st March 2017

Programme and Abstracts



WELCOME

Welcome to the 27th Theoretical Roman Archaeological Conference at the University of Durham! I vividly remember the first TRAC, held at the University of Newcastle in 1991, for which we need to be very grateful to Eleanor Scott for her initiative in developing this stimulating annual event. TRAC has helped new generations of Roman scholars to communicate challenging perspectives and I believe that it has opened up the academic community over the years. Having attended most of the subsequent conferences, I can attest to the academic significance and value of the inspiring and friendly environment created by generations of TRAC organisers.

It is important to stress that TRAC has had a major impact within Roman studies and that it has deeply influenced the developing agenda. This is indicated, for example, by the number of familiar names among the contributors to the Oxford Handbook of Roman Britain (2016). TRAC has become increasingly international over time and has stimulated other initiatives, including the Roman Archaeology Conferences first held in 1995, the Critical Roman Archaeology Conference in Stanford (California) in 2008 and the three biannual Edges of the Roman World conferences in Serbia. The expanding internationalism of TRAC is also demonstrated by the papers submitted for TRAC 2017 and by the first volume of the new series TRAC Themes in Roman Archaeology to be launched at our conference.

TRAC has previously visited Durham in 1994, 1999 and 2004 and, after a long wait, we are delighted to welcome you once again. The postgraduate community in Durham have been working hard with the TRAC Standing Committee for the past year to organise TRAC 2017. They have created an exciting series of site visits, academic and social events for you to enjoy. We wish you a very enjoyable experience at the Durham TRAC.

Professor Richard Hingley Department of Archaeology, Durham University

Organisers:

Department of Archaeology

Department of Classics and Ancient History

Andrew Tibbs (Chair)
Emily Hanscam
Martha Stewart
Dr Robert Witcher
Dr Brian Buchanan
Rachel Chappell
Madeline Line
Ionathan Quiery

Dr Amy Russell (Vice-Chair) Fabio Luci

Dr Monica Hellström

Advisors

Professor Richard Hingley

Dr Edmund Thomas

ANNOUNCEMENTS FROM THE TRAC STANDING COMMITTEE

Dear Delegates,

The TRAC Standing Committee would like to join the Local Organising Committee in welcoming you to Durham University for TRAC 2017! We would also like to take this opportunity to thank you for your support of TRAC and update you on some organizational developments since last year's annual conference in Rome.

Following TRAC 2016 the make-up of the Standing Committee changed significantly as three new members were elected to the Committee, which now consists of: Matthew Mandich (Chair); Lisa Lodwick (Vice-Chair); Thomas Derrick (Secretary); and Sergio Gonzalez-Sanchez (Treasurer). Subsequently, two members were also added to the TRAC Advisory Panel, as both Dr Astrid van Oyen (Cornell University) and Dr Miguel Versluys (Leiden University) accepted invitations to join an already esteemed group. The addition of these new members will continue to strengthen and diversify the Panel, and their input will help TRAC continue to improve the quality of our events and publications, as well as aid the promotion of the role of theory in Roman archaeology.

The TRAC Standing Committee is also very pleased to announce the initiation of a new thematic series: TRAC Themes in Roman Archaeology published by Oxbow Books. The first volume in this series titled Romans' and Barbarians' Beyond the Frontiers: Archaeology, Ideology & Ideology & Identities in the North (edited by Sergio Gonzalez Sanchez and Alexandra Guglielmi) supplies a coherent and enduring work of reference on this flourishing field of study within Roman archaeology by reflecting on the many theoretical approaches and methodological complexities present in different regions of north-western Europe. If you are interested in contributing to this new series please visit our webpage: http://trac.org.uk.

Additionally, the publication of TRAC 2016: Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference by Edizioni Quasar (edited by Roberta Cascino, Francesco de Stefano, Antonella Lepone, Chiara Maria Marchetti) marks the final instalment of the TRAC Proceedings volumes, as this series has been discontinued in favour of the creation of an Open Access journal designed to provide a publication venue for papers presented at TRAC's annual conference, Workshops, and other events.

Finally, the Standing Committee would like to thank The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies and Barbican Research Associates for their continued financial support of bursaries that allow for a diverse and inclusive annual conference. Great thanks are also owed to the TRAC Local Organising Committee at Durham for their hard work and dedication in planning what will surely be a stimulating week of papers and events.

Sincerely,

The TRAC Standing Committee

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PROGRAMME SCHEDULE

TUESDAY 28TH MARCH 2017

10.00	REGISTRATION & INFORMATION DESK OPENS
10:00	Ground Floor, Calman Learning Centre
11:00	Botanic Gardens Opens*
11:00	Oriental museum Opens*
12:00	Museum of Archaeology (@ Palace Green Library) Opens*
	PRE-CONFERENCE EXCURSIONS
12:00	Vindolanda Roman Fort
13:00	Binchester Roman Fort & Escomb Saxon Church
17:00	CONFERENCE OPENING
17:00	Arnold Wolfendale Lecture Theatre (Ground Floor), Calman Learning Centre
	INTRODUCTION
	Andrew Tibbs (Durham TRAC 2017 Organising Committee)
	WELCOME
	Professor Stuart Corbridge, Vice-Chancellor of Durham University
	INTRODUCING DURHAM TRAC 2017
	Professor Richard Hingley, Durham University
	TRACCTANDING COMMITTEE
	TRAC STANDING COMMITTEE Matthew Mandich, Chair
	Tractice Francis, Oran
	OPENING KEYNOTE LECTURE
	Dr Hella Eckardt, University of Reading
40.45	CONFERENCE RECEPTION
18:45	Ground Floor, Calman Learning Centre
19:45	END OF DAY

^{*} TRAC Delegates can gain free entry to the following attractions for the period of the Conference by showing their delegate pass: Botanic Gardens, Oriental Museum and the Museum of Archaeology. Delegates can also visit (free of charge), Durham Cathedral, and Durham World Heritage Site Visitors Centre.

WEDNESDAY 29 MARCH 2017

8:15	REGISTRATION & INFORMATION DESK OPENS Ground Floor, Calman Learning Centre								
9:00	CONFERENCE POSTERS & STALLS Level 3, Calman Learning Centre								
	CALMAN LEARNING CENTRE DAWSON BUILDING								
	Arnold Wolfendale	LWAN LEARNING CENTI	Ken Wade	Room D110	Room D104				
9:00	Lecture Theatre (Ground Floor)	Rosemary Cramp Lecture Theatre (Level 2)	Lecture Theatre (Level 2)	Lecture Theatre (Ground Floor)	Seminar Room (Ground Floor)				
	Session 1A	Session 2A	Session 4A	Session 6A	(Ground Froor)				
	The production and distribution of food during the Roman Empire: Political, economic, and social dynamics Organisers: José Remesal Rodríguez, Antoni Martín I Oliveras, Daniel J. Martín-Arroyo Sánchez	From multiple narratives to multiple voices: challenging multivocality in Roman archaeology Organisers: Elisa Cella, Alessandro Pintucci, Martina Revello Lami	Glass Reflections: Understanding the Complexity of Glass in the Roman Empire and Beyond Organisers: Tatiana Ivleva & Elizabeth Foulds	Dialectics of Religion in the Roman Empire Organisers: Francesca Mazzilli & Dies van der Linde					
10:20			rel 3, Calman Learning Centre						
	Session 1B	Session 2B		Session 6B	Session 8				
10:50	(Session 1 continued)	(Session 2 continued)	Session 5A	(Session 6 continued)	(Workshop)				
	The production and distribution of food during Roman Empire: Political, economic, and social dynamics	From multiple narratives to multiple voices: challenging multivocality in Roman archaeology	Social Boundaries in the Roman World Organiser: Andrew Gardner	Dialectics of Religion in the Roman Empire	#archaeology: media, theory, and the archaeologist in the digital age Organisers: Amy Russell & Clare Rowan				
12:30	LUNCH								

WEDNESDAY 29 MARCH 2017

14:00	Session 1C (Session 1 continued)	Session 3A	Session 5B (Session 5 continued)	Session 6C (Session 6 continued)			
	The production and distribution of food during the Roman Empire: Political, economic and social dynamics	Towards an Archaeology of Values in the Roman World: Interdisciplinary Exploration in Theory and Method Organisers: Karim Mata & Sergio González Sanchez	Social Boundaries in the Roman World	Dialectics of Religion in the Roman Empire			
15:20	COFFEE BREAK & STALLS Level 3, Calman Learning Centre						
15:50	Session 1D (Session 1 continued)	Session 3B (Session 3 continued)	Session 5C (Session 5 continued)	Session 7			
	The production and distribution of food during the Roman Empire: Political, economic and social dynamics	Towards an Archaeology of Values in the Roman World: Interdisciplinary Exploration in Theory and Method	Social Boundaries in the Roman World	Luxury items: Production, Consumption and the Roman Military Organiser: Birgitta Hoffmann			
17:30	END OF SESSIONS						
19:00	CONFERENCE DINNER Dining Hall, Hatfield College						

THURSDAY 30 MARCH 2017

8:15-9:15	REGISTRATION & INFORMATION DESK OPEN Ground Floor, Calman Learning Centre								
9:00	ON-SITE SESSION A	ON-SITE SESSION B	ON-SITE SESSION C	ON-SITE SESSION D					
	CORBRIDGE ROMAN TOWN	CHESTERS ROMAN FORT & STEEL RIGG, HADRIAN'S WALL	SEGEDUNUM, HADRIAN'S WALL & ARBEIA	HOUSESTEADS, CARRAWBURGH, HADRIAN'S WALL					
16:00-17:30			& INFORMATION DESK OPEN						
10.00-17.50		Ground Flo	oor, Calman Learning Centre						
16:30	ARRIVAL BACK IN DURHAM								
	UNESCO LECTURE								
	Arnold Wolfendale Lecture Theatre, Ground Floor, Calman Learning Centre								
17:30-18:30									
		Dr Ted K	aizer, Durham University						
	CHAIR								
Dr Mark Manuel, UNESCO Chair Research Fellow, Durham University									
20:00	TRAC PARTY								
20:00	Dining Hall, Grey College								

^{*} All On-Site sessions depart from outside the Palatine Centre (see map of the Main Conference Area).

FRIDAY 31 MARCH 2017

08:15	INFORMATION DESK OPENS Ground Floor, Calman Learning Centre							
09:00	CONFERENCE POSTERS & STALLS Level 3, Calman Learning Centre							
		LMAN LEARNING CENT		DAWSON BUILDING				
9:00	Arnold Wolfendale Lecture Theatre (Ground Floor)	Rosemary Cramp Lecture Theatre (Level 2)	Ken Wade Lecture Theatre (Level 2)	Room D110 Lecture Theatre (Ground Floor)	Room D104 Seminar Room (Ground Floor)			
	Session 9A	Session 10A	Session 12A	Session 14A	Session 16A (Workshop)			
	A Globalised Visual Culture? Towards a Geography of Late Antique Art Organisers: Fabio Guidetti & Katharina Meinecke The Seamless Web and the Empire without Limits: Society and technology in the Roman Empire and beyond Organisers: Owen Humphreys & Adam Sutton		Theorising Roman wells and their contents: beyond structured deposition Organiser: James Gerrard	their contents: beyond General Session A: Structured deposition Chair: David Petts				
10:20			PFFEE BREAK & STALLS rel 3, Calman Learning Centre					
10:50	Session 9B (Session 9 continued)	Session 10B (Session 10 continued)	Session 12B (Session 12 continued)	Session 14B (Session 14 continued)	Session 16B (Workshop 16 continued)			
	A Globalised Visual Culture? Towards a Geography of Late Antique Art	The Seamless Web and the Empire without Limits: Society and technology in the Roman Empire and beyond	Theorising Roman wells and their contents: beyond structured deposition	General Session A: Chair: David Petts	Ancient Identities today: Iron Age and Roman Heritages			
12:30	LUNCH							

FRIDAY 31 MARCH 2017

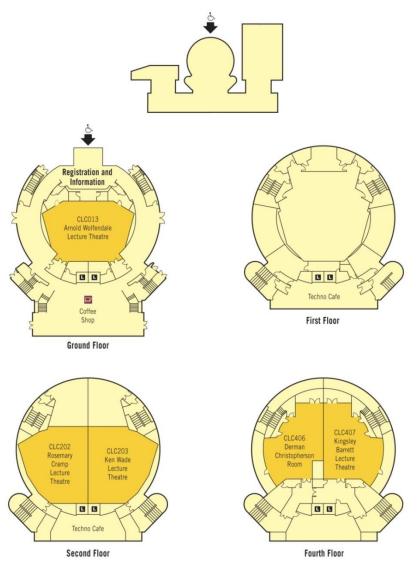
12:30	TRAC Annual General Meeting (AGM) Arnold Wolfendale Lecture Theatre							
14:00	Session 9C (Session 9 continued) Session 11A Session 13A Session 15A							
	A Globalised Visual Culture? Towards a Geography of Late Antique Art	balised Visual Culture? ds a Geography of Late "Take two of these for what ails you": Material approaches to Medicine		General Session B: Chair: Darrell Rohl				
15:20	COFFEE BREAK & STALLS Level 3, Calman Learning Centre							
15:50	Session 9D (Sessions 9 continued)	Session 11B (Session 11 continued)	Session 13B (Session 13 continued)	Session 15B				
	A Globalised Visual Culture? Towards a Geography of Late Antique Art "Take two of these for what ails you": Material approaches to Medicine and Magic		Space, Identity, and Heritage on the Lower Danube	General Session B: Chair: Darrell Rohl				
17:30	CONFERENCE CLOSES							

CONFERENCE MAPS

TRAC 2017 will be located at the Lower Mountjoy Complex (also referred to as the Science Site) at Durham University, with the sessions and events occurring primarily in the Calman Learning Centre and the Dawson Building (highlighted on map below).

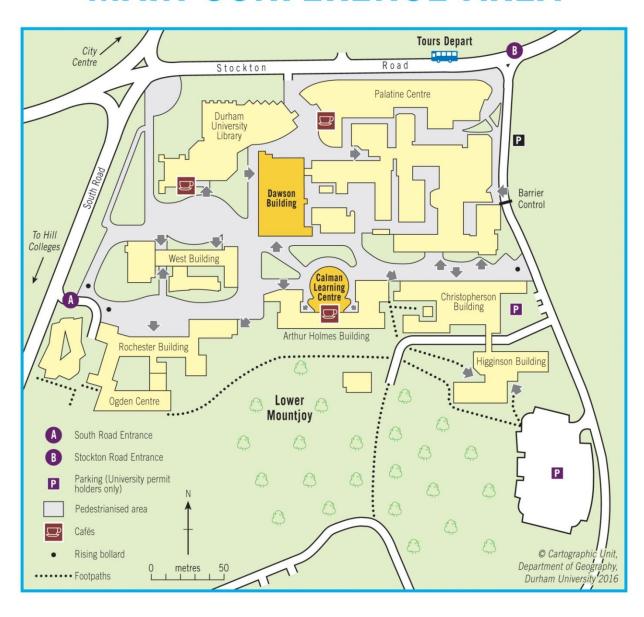


CALMAN LEARNING CENTRE

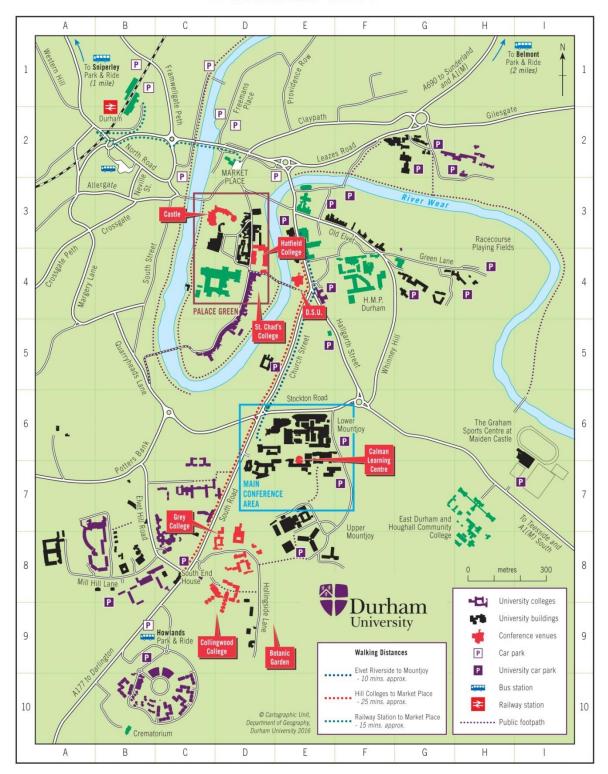


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MAIN CONFERENCE AREA



DURHAM CITY



KEY INFORMATION

Registration and Information

Registration will be located on the Ground Floor of the Calman Centre and will be open from **10:00** to **17:00** on Tuesday 28th March and from **8:15** to **17:00** on Wednesday 29th and Friday 31st. The information desk will be open on Thursday 30th from **8:15** to **9:15** and again from **16:00** to **17:30**. Please note that when the desk is closed/not staffed, you can email your query to our email address (trac.2017@durham.ac.uk) and we will respond as quickly as possible.

Breastfeeding Facilities

There is a dedicated private breastfeeding room in the Dawson Building with a refrigerator for storage purposes. Contact the Registration & Information Desk for directions.

Coffee/Tea Breaks

On Wednesday and Friday, the coffee and tea breaks will take place in the Calman Learning Centre on Level 3 at 10:20 and 15:20. Outside of these times, refreshments can be purchased from any of the catering outlets featured on the campus map.

Emergencies

In an emergency, dial 999 then contact the local security team (via the Porter's Lodge in College or the Registration & Information Desk). The nearest police station is located on New Elvet, Durham, and in a non-emergency can be contacted by phoning 101.

Faith Support

The University website has detailed information which can help you discover what Durham and the surrounding area has to offer in the form of faith support and different faith communities. For more information see https://www.dur.ac.uk/faithsupport.

First Aid

First Aid trained volunteers will be on duty, and can be contacted through the Registration & Information Desk on the ground floor of the Calman Building. Each on-site lecture bus will have a first aider on-board.

Internet

Wifi (including the Eduroam network) is available in all University buildings and Colleges. If your home institution is not a member of Eduroam, an access code can be requested from the Registration & Information desk.

Name Badges & Lanyards

You will be given a name badge and lanyard when you register on arrival at TRAC. Please wear these throughout the conference as they will grant you access to all the sessions, and events. You can also use these to gain access to the University Botanical Gardens and Oriental Museum.

Pharmacy

The nearest pharmacy is Boots, which is located on the Market Square, Durham.

Pre-Conference Excursions & On-Site Lectures

Please note the following information, which is important to ensure the safe and smooth running of the pre-conference excursions and the on-site lectures. If you have not booked on an excursion or did not select an on-site lecture when you signed up, you can contact the Registration & Information Desk to see if there are places still available. The coaches will leave from outside the Palatine Centre on the Main Conference Area map.

- Wear appropriate clothing and footwear while out on the site. It may be wet and windy on site, so you are advised to bring warm and waterproof clothing.
- There are limited facilities at these sites, so it is suggested that you bring a bottle of water. On the Thursday, a packed lunch will be provided for the on-site lectures. There will be no refreshments available for the pre-conference excursions.
- Follow instructions given by the leader(s) of the excursion and/or on-site lectures.
- Respect all others using the sites.
- Take appropriate measures when moving around the sites as some may have restrictions on access and may be less safe in certain weathers.

Please arrive promptly for the excursions and lectures as the buses will leave at the advertised time.

Social Media Policy

We encourage tweeting form the conference, please use hashtag #TRACDURHAM. All sessions are open for tweeting unless otherwise specified by the session organisers. TRAC also has a Twitter account (@TRAC_Conference) which has details of events and sessions going on during TRAC.

Stallholders at TRAC 2017

During the conference, several publishers and book sellers will have stalls in the Calman Learning Centre on Level 3. The following stallholders will be attending:

- Archaeology Plus (Wednesday 29th only)
- Archaeopress
- BAR Publishing (Wednesday 29th only)
- Cambridge University Press
- Frobisher Archaeological Instruments
- Hellenic Bookservice (Friday 29th only)
- Oxbow Books (Wednesday 29th only)
- The Roman Society

Supermarkets

The nearest supermarket is Tesco on the Market Square, Durham which closes at 22:00. A 24 hour Tesco is located on the edge of the city at Dragonville (DH1 2XH).

TRAC Party

The TRAC Party will take place at Grey College from 20:00. There will be a bottle bar and a limited (but free) supply of soft drinks for those not drinking. Local group 'Rooster's Cat' will provide live music beginning around 20:30. Bring your dancing shoes!

Transportation

If arriving by train, there is a dedicated bus service (40B) between the railway and Lower Mountjoy (although it has limited times in morning and afternoon only). A taxi can take you from the train station to any college and/or Lower Mountjoy in about 5 minutes and you can walk to the city centre from the train station in about 10 minutes. If you prefer to book in advance or need to call a taxi while in Durham the following numbers may be useful:

Paddy's Taxis Ltd 0191 386 6662 Polly's Taxis 07910 179 397 Mac's Taxis 0191 372 2786

KEY EVENTS

Tuesday 28th March

Pre-Conference Excursions

- A. Binchester Roman Fort & Escomb Saxon Church (13:00)
- B. Vindolanda Roman Fort (12:00)

TRAC Durham Opening (from 17:00)

TRAC will be opened by Vice-Chancellor, Professor Stuart Corbridge. This will be followed by the Keynote Lecture given by Dr Hella Eckardt (Reading University), and then the TRAC Opening Reception

Wednesday 29th March

TRAC Conference Dinner, Hatfield College (19:00) (Please note this is a ticketed event).

Thursday 30th March

On-Site Lectures (09:00)

- A. Corbridge Roman Town
- B. Chesters Roman Fort & Steel Rigg
- C. Arbeia and Segedunum Roman Forts
- D. Housesteads and Carrawburgh Roman Forts

UNESCO Lecture (17:30)

TRAC Party, Grey College (from 20:00)

Time to party at TRAC with beer, soft drinks and live music from Rooster's Cat.

Friday 31st March

TRAC AGM (12:30)

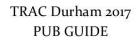
The Annual General Meeting of TRAC will take place in the Arnold Wolfendale Lecture Theatre.

PUB GUIDE

At Durham TRAC 1994, the organisers provided a guide for Durham's fine pubs that was helpfully graded for conference participants. We decided to renew that tradition for TRAC 2017.

TRAC Durham 1994 PUB GUIDE





Food







Avoid on Fri/Sat nights



Cheap



Real ale



Reasonable Expensive

1. Fighting Cocks	*	0,0	<u>(i)</u>	No change.
2. The Dun Cow	*		<u>(i)</u>	Cozy, challenge sadly discontinued due to health and safety
3. The Half Moon	*		\odot	Sports pub, can be loud on weekends
4. The City				Closed for refurbishment as hasn't been trendy since 90's.
5. Coach and Eight The Bishop Langley				Closed, for sale. Nice super cheap riverside property in Durham, any takers?
6. The Swan	=	9		Serves typical pub fare, very popular with students (you've been warned).
7. The Shakespeare		\odot		Still small, and very very brill. Also haunted.
8. The Market Tavern	三		\odot	Now a chain pub, typical pub fare, louder on weekends.
9. The Court Inn	三	*	<u>:</u>	Pricy but interesting menu- a must if you fancy trying squirrel.
10. New Inn		*	(i)	Badly needed refurbishment recently completed. Good option near campus.
11. The Woodman		\odot		Recently refurbished, still cheap and cheerful.
12. Brewer and Firkin				Long gone.
13. Traveller's Rest	=			Country pub outside of Durham.
14. The Big Jug		<u>(i)</u>		More loud than dangerous- live music on weekends.
15. Queen's Head				Avoid.
16. The Rose Tree	三	*	<u>(i)</u>	Good pub food, 20 minute walk from campus.
			_	

17. The Colpitts		0		Rough and ready, good beer. No students.		
18. The Angel	\odot			Still a rocker's pub!		
19. The Elm Tree	=	5	0	Good food, nice atmosphere, still full of subdued lecturer types.		
20. The Victoria	5	\odot		Good ale, cozy atmosphere.Full of archaeologists on Friday nights.		
21. The Head of Steam	芝	*	(1)	Belgian and American beers, music, pizza, chill atmosphere.		
22. The Boat Club			(1)	Views of the river, gets loud on weekends.		
23. The Water House	=	*	0	Wetherspoon's, loud on weekends.		
24. The William Hedley	二	0		Chain pub, cheap. Wild on weekends!		
25. The Library		\odot	Po	pular student bar, former Arch. Dept!		
26. The John Duck		<u>(i)</u>		Chill during the week, lively at weekends.		

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND SPONSORS

The success of TRAC 2017 is down to the goodwill and support of a range of individuals, groups and organisations, without whom the conference would not have been possible. In particular, we are indebted to staff and colleagues in the Department of Archaeology and the Department of Classics and Ancient History, all of our volunteers, and the team at Event Durham who have helped co-ordinate the facilities and services.

The TRAC Organising Committee would highlight the following sponsors:

Durham University Department of Archaeology

Durham University Department of Classics and Ancient History

Durham University Faculty of Social Sciences and Health

Durham University Faculty of Arts and Humanities

Centre for Academic, Researcher and Organisation Development (CAROD)

The North-East England Research Group, Durham University, Department of Archaeology

The Ancient Identities Project (Durham University)



TRAC 2017 BURSARIES





The Roman Society

Barbican Research Associates

The Durham TRAC Organising Committee would also like to acknowledge the generous support of the following:

Ancient Identities Project | Prof Barbara Graziosi | Barbican Research Associates | Centre for Academic, Researcher and Organisation Development (CAROD) | Christina Unwin | Prof David Breeze | Prof David Cowling (Faculty of Arts and Humanities) | David Dodd (Three Brothers Brewing) | Dr David Mason | Dr David Petts | Debra Fidler | Department of Archaeology | Department of Classics and Ancient History | Durham County Council | Durham University | Elaine Halliday | English Heritage | Escomb Saxon Church | Dr Frances McIntosh | Grey College | Hatfield College | Dr Hella Eckardt | Jess Featherstone | Judith Aird | Marta Alberti | Dr Nick Hodgson | North-East England Research Group (Durham University) | Prof Richard Hingley | Dr Rob Collins | Prof Robin Skeates | The Roman Society | Rooster's Cat | Prof Rosemary Cramp DBE | Prof Timothy Clark (Faculty of Social Sciences and Health) | TRAC Standing Committee | Tyne & Wear Archives and Museums | Vice-Chancellor, Prof Stuart Corbridge | The Vindolanda Trust

The Organising Committee are grateful to Monica Hellström for producing the Durham TRAC 'head' logo. Artwork for Durham TRAC was produced by freelance graphic designer and illustrator Christina Unwin (christina.unwin@icloud.com), for which the Organising Committee are grateful.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Roman Objects, Migrants and Identities in the Age of Brexit and Trump Dr Hella Eckardt (University of Reading)

The direct and simplistic relationship argued by culture historians to have existed between objects and the expression of ethnic identities or peoples has long been critiqued, and much recent work has stressed the fluid and socially constructed nature of identities. Until quite recently, few Roman artefact specialists have attempted to identify migrants into or from Britain, but the rich and well-dated material does in fact offer some interesting opportunities. In addition, scientific techniques such as isotope and DNA analysis offer new insights into geographical origin and descent. This paper considers the theoretical implications of these scientific advances and shifting paradigms in artefact research and explores the extent to which new understandings of the complex nature of identity construction in the past can influence contemporary political and social views.



Hella Eckardt teaches provincial Roman archaeology and material culture studies at the University of Reading. Her research focuses on theoretical approaches to the material culture of the north-western provinces and she is particularly interested in the relationship between the consumption of Roman objects and the expression of social and cultural identity. She has published on lighting equipment (Illuminating Roman Britain), objects associated with grooming and personal adornment (Styling the body) and writing equipment (Writing power: the material culture of literacies). A project at the University of Reading with Carolyn Chenery, Mary Lewis, Gundula Müldner and Stephany Leach examined the evidence for incomers in Romano-British towns through a combination of material culture, skeletal and isotope research, leading to an ongoing interest in how such research is received by the media and its use in educational resources.

ON-SITE SESSIONS

TRAC 2017 will feature a series of on-site sessions focused on the Roman archaeology of north-eastern England and led by experts on the heritage of this region.

On-Site Session A: Roman Corbridge and its story

Organisers: Frances McIntosh (English Heritage), Graeme Stobbs (English Heritage), and Paul Bidwell (Independent Archaeologist and Heritage Consultant)

Locations: Corbridge Roman Town, village of Corbridge, Northumberland

Description: Frances McIntosh, Graeme Stobbs and Paul Bidwell will lead tours on three aspects of Corbridge. Frances will show people some of the collection highlights, both in the museums and in the store. Graeme will give a site tour, explaining what we know and what we don't about the many phases of Corbridge from a fort to a town. Paul will take groups on a walking tour around the modern village of Corbridge, showing re-use of the stone, as well as visiting the bridge which was vital to Corbridge, and to Roman movement on the east of Britain.

Dr Frances McIntosh, Curator of Roman Collections, English Heritage: Frances has recently completed her PhD at Newcastle University on the Clayton Collection. She has worked for English Heritage for almost four years, caring for the Corbridge, Clayton and Housesteads collections.

Dr Graeme Stobbs: Graeme Stobbs has worked on the archaeology of Hadrian's Wall for over twenty years. He has worked for Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums and is currently Assistant Curator of Roman Collections of English Heritage's Hadrian's Wall Museums.

Dr Paul Bidwell: Paul Bidwell worked for many years at Tyne & Wear Archives and Museums, with a particular focus on the archaeology of South Shields (Arbeia) and Wallsend (Segedunum). He has published widely on the military archaeology of Roman Britain including excavations at Exeter.

On-Site Session B: The Dynamic Frontier: Design, Function, Time, & Landscape (Peel Gap and Chesters)

Organisers: David Breeze (Professor Emeritus, University of Edinburgh, University of Stirling, Durham University, and Newcastle University) and Rob Collins (Newcastle University)

Locations: Hadrian's Wall at Steel Rigg/Peel Gap, Chesters Roman Fort and Museum

Description: Visitors will experience the Wall at Steel Rigg/Peel Gap and Chesters Fort. These sites provide ideal starting points for a consideration of the Wall in its landscape, incorporating the curtain wall and a tower dramatically situated on the crags of the Whin Sill and a fort located in a pleasant river valley. At Peel Gap, the guides will lead an inspection of the structural sequence of construction of the Wall, with particular attention to changes made to work in progress and completed. The changes prompt questions about the imposition of a design and its intended function in a working landscape. At Chesters fort, the visitor is placed in a rather different landscape, but one with important implications for understanding how the empire was sustained along the Wall as well as how it has been rediscovered and preserved for the future. In addition to impressive structural remains, Chesters also boasts a modest museum with a fine collection of inscriptions and sculpture.

Professor David Breeze: David Breeze is the author of several books on Hadrian's Wall and remains fascinated by all aspects of Britain's premier Roman monument.

Dr Rob Collins: Rob Collins has also authored books on Hadrian's Wall (though not as many as David), and enthusiastically enjoys exposing as many people as possible to the joys of Hadrian's monumental erection.

On-Site Session C: Arbeia and Segedunum Roman Forts

Organisers: Nick Hodgson (Tyne & Wear Archives & Museums), Alex Croom (Tyne & Wear Archives & Museums)

Locations: Arbeia Roman Fort & Museum, South Shields and Segedunum Roman Fort, Baths and Museum, Wallsend

Description: Nick Hodgson and Alex Croom will guide delegates around a number of key points at Arbeia and Segedunum. At Arbeia the focus will be on an introduction to the site, its maritime setting, and the history of its excavation. Whilst touring the site, delegates will discuss the remains of the granaries as for military supply in the 3rd century; the evidence for form, philosophy, an ethnics of reconstruction of the south-west gate; the evidence for form, rooms and activities, Roman use of domestic space, Mediterranean parallels for plans, and status of the late-Roman commanders based on the reconstructed Roman commanding officer's house and barrack; and a discussion of the famous tombstones of Victor and Regina in the site's museum. At Segedunum, the session will discuss the site, its setting, and

excavation history as well as the newly excavated portion of Hadrian's Wall west of the fort, the newly discovered and displayed baths, and a tour of the site museum.

Dr Nick Hodgson: Nick Hodgson has worked for Tyne & Wear Archives and Museums for two decades. He has directed large-scale excavations at both South Shields (Arbeia) and Wallsend (Segedunum) and, most recently, has managed the WallQuest community archaeology project. He has published widely on the Roman frontier as well as a recent monograph on the Iron Age of north-east England.

Alex Croom: Alex Croom is Keeper of Archaeology at Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums, looking after collections at four museums including South Shields (Arbeia) and Wallsend (Segedunum). She has published widely on Roman small finds and ceramics and has a particular interest in costume.

On-Site Session D: Housesteads and Carrawburgh (Temple of Mithras)

Organisers: Richard Hingley (Durham University), Darrell Rohl (Canterbury Christ Church University)

Locations: Housesteads Roman Fort – Hadrian's Wall, Temple of Mithras, Carrawburgh – Hadrian's Wall

Description: We will visit the remains of Housesteads Roman fort and vicus on Whin Sill in the Central section of Hadrian's Wall and the site of the Roman fort at Carrawburgh just east of Housesteads. These are two of the forts that accompanied the linear works that defined Hadrian's Wall. Housesteads is widely regarded as one of the best-preserved and most impressive Roman forts in Britain. We will explore the remains of the fort, vicus (civil settlement) and on-site museum. We will also discuss the post-Roman history of this site, including the role of Housesteads in the medieval border conflicts. Weather permitting, we will also walk up a well-preserved section of the curtain Wall to the west to look at the remains of one of the best preserved milecastles. At Carrawburgh, we will visit the remains of the temple of Mithras and also look at the location of the shrine to the 'native' goddess Coventina.

Some particular issues to discuss include:

- Different ways of understanding the Wall as a religious landscape and an inherited landscape.
- The pressures that the Wall is subject to today and the context of researching the Roman frontier.

Professor Richard Hingley: Richard is a specialist on the Roman frontiers and Chair of the Archaeological Research Delivery Group for the Hadrian's Wall Management Plan Partnership Group.

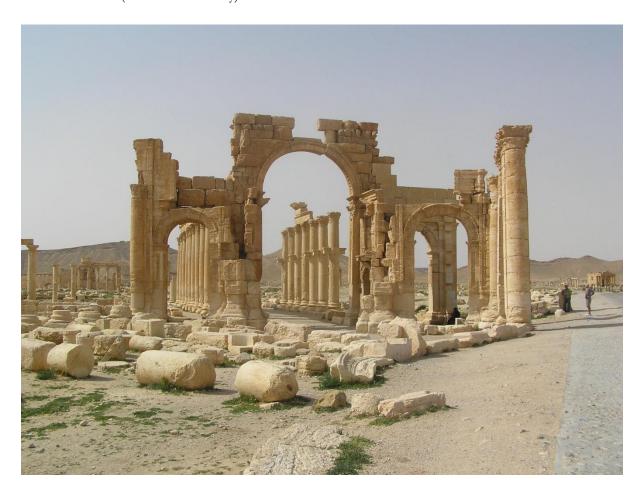
Dr Darrel Rohl: Darrell's research has focused on the Antonine Wall and issues of archaeological place-making.

UNESCO LECTURE

The Roman Near East, what next? Dr Ted Kaizer (Durham University)

Chaired by:

Dr Mark Manuel (Durham University)



Thursday, March 30, 17:30-18:30 Arnold Wolfendale Lecture Theatre, Ground Floor, Calman Learning Centre

SESSION AND PAPER ABSTRACTS

Session 1 - The Production and Distribution of Food during the Roman Empire: Political, Economic & Social Dynamics

Organisers: José Remesal Rodríguez (CEIPAC-UB), Víctor Revilla Calvo (CEIPAC-UB), Antoni Martín i Oliveras (CEIPAC-UB), Daniel J. Martín-Arroyo Sánchez (CEIPAC-UB)

Chair/lead discussant: Robert E. Witcher (Durham University)

Session Abstract:

How was the ancient Roman economy organized and how can our understanding be enhanced by new theoretical and methodological approaches? Recent work on model building, complex network analysis and computer simulation technologies has integrated and analysed diverse data sets - literary sources, settlement evidence, ceramics, amphorae, epigraphy, ethnographical data – in order to reassess production, marketing and consumption across the Roman world. Examples include the Monte Testaccio Project (Baetican oil), the Cella Vinaria Project (Laetanian wine) and the Riparia Project (Baetican wine), as well as many other collaborative research initiatives around the Mediterranean and wider Roman world. The principal objective of this session is to explore how quantitative methods and semantic-based data management techniques can improve our ability to define, validate or refute economic theories about the organisation of large-scale production and long-distance exchange of foodstuffs. We wish, in particular, to facilitate interdisciplinary discussion about how we can evaluate the role of the state versus the free market in food supply and to assess how the multiple production strategies of a mixed agricultural economy (fruits, vegetables, wheat, olive oil, wine, salted fish, garum, etc.) were integrated within specific territories and largely peasant-based economies. We are also interested in the interactions between economy and environmental variables, the theoretical limits imposed on production and productivity by arable and pastoral regimes, labour and production costs, etc. and on the relationship between production and consumption in the context of growing population.

The session will use the presentation of case studies to demonstrate various multidisciplinary methods and techniques for the analysis of complex economic systems, integrating conventional archaeological methods and landscape archaeology with econometrics and computational modelling.

We would like to invite papers that develop case studies addressing some of following:

- Datasets: the representation of archaeological data; database management; ontology and semantic markers.
- Quantitative methods: GIS and spatial analysis of settlement patterns, production strategies, microeconomic studies, demand and supply, trade routes, markets, and consumption trends
- Model building and computer simulation: the use of Agent Based Models, Complex Networks Analysis, Predictive Modelling, Spatial Econometrics and Regression Analysis

Wednesday, Calman Learning Centre, Arnold Wolfendale Lecture Theatre

- 09:00 José Remesal Rodríguez (Universitat de Barcelona) Monte Testaccio: From Rubbish Dump to a Data Warehouse
- 09:20 Tyler V. Franconi (University of Oxford) The Roman Amphorae Assemblage Database and the Study of Amphorae-Borne Commodities to the German Frontier, a preliminary report
- 09:40 Stephen Matthews (Royal Holloway University of London) Moving Food Supplies to the Roman Garrison of the Dobrogea Region (Romania)
- 10:00 Antoni Martín i Oliveras (Universitat de Barcelona) and Víctor Revilla Calvo (Universitat de

Barcelona) - The Economy of the Roman Wine. Productive landscapes, archaeological data, quantification & modellization. Case Study Research: "Regio Laeetana-Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis" (1st century BC-3rd century AD)

- 10:20 COFFEE BREAK
- 10:50 Daniel J. Martín-Arroyo Sánchez (Universitat de Barcelona) and M. M. Castro García (Universidad de Cádiz) GIS-based modelling for the Riparia/Uinea ratio in the territorium of Nabrissa Veneria (Lebrija, Spain)
- 11:10 Pedro Trapero Fernández (University of Cádiz) and Lázaro Lagóstena Barrios (University of Cádiz) The Location of Marco Columela's Vineyards: Between Agronomic Literature and GIS Analysis in the Guadalquivir-Guadalete Interfluve
- 11:30 L. Lagóstena Barrios (Universidad de Cádiz), José Antonio Ruiz Gil (Universidad de Cádiz), Jenny Pérez Marrero (Universidad de Cádiz), Domingo Martín Mochales (Universidad de Cádiz), Pedro Trapero Fernández (Universidad de Cádiz), and Javier Catalán González (Universidad de Cádiz) Villae and Figlinae on Lacus Ligustinus Banks. GIS Analysis and Geophysics Survey in the Riverside of Hasta Regia Territorium
- 11:50 Paul Gorton (University of Leeds) Food and Power in the Post-Roman North: The Role of Food Supply in the Shaping of Power in Post-Roman Britannia
- 12:10 Discussion
- 12:30 LUNCH
- 14:00 Helen Goodchild (University of York) De Agri Cultura Experientia: From Modern Agronomy to Roman Economic Analysis
- 14:20 Jamie Joyce (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) and Philip Verhagen (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) Finding the Limits of the Limes: Simulating the Limits and Possibilities of the Agricultural Economy in the Roman Dutch Limes Zone via Agent-Based Modelling
- 14:40 Sebastian Vogel (University of Potsdam), Domenico Esposito (Freie Universitaet Berlin), Michael Märker (Pavia University), and Florian Seiler (German Archaeological Institute Berlin) -The Ancient Rural Settlement Structure around Pompeii – Inferred from Spatial Statistics and Predictive Modelling On Villae Rusticae
- 15:00 Dimitri Van Limbergen (Ghent University) and Frank Vermeulen (Ghent University) Old wine in new bottles. Towards a more layered history of Italy's wine business in Late Republican and Early/High Imperial times, with a case study in central Adriatic Italy
- 15:20 COFFEE BREAK
- 15:50 Tom Brughmans (Department of Archaeology, University of Oxford) and Jeroen Poblome (Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project, University of Leuven) Introducing MERCURY: an agent-based network model of ceramic distribution for studying Roman economic integration
- 16:10 Maria Coto-Sarmiento (Barcelona Supercomputing Center), Simon Carrignon (Barcelona Supercomputing Center), Xavier Rubio-Campillo (University of Edinburgh), and José Remesal (Universitat de Barcelona) Understanding amphorae production with Agent Based Modelling: The case study of Baetica Province
- 16:30 Xavier Rubio-Campillo (University of Edinburgh) Identifying patterns of distribution in the trade of olive oil

16:50 Discussion

Posters:

Andrea Guaglianone (Università di Venezia "Ca' Foscari") - The Porticus bear all the grain: an update of the area of the Porticus Minuciae (Rome) between archaeology and social history

Caitlin Greenwood (University of Bristol) - Meat market: Organic Residue Analysis of Food Consumption at Corinium

Silvia Cipriano (Museo della Centuriazione Romana–Borgoricco-Padova) and Stefania Mazzocchin (Università di Padova) - Oil and Wine Production and Distribution in North Italy and the Adriatic Western Coast (1st Century BC – 2nd Century AD)

Paper Abstracts:

Monte Testaccio: From Rubbish Dump To a Data Warehouse

José Remesal Rodríguez (Universitat de Barcelona)

Monte Testaccio, located in the historic area of Ancient Rome, is a hill almost a kilometre in diameter and almost 50 meters high, composed exclusively of the remains of millions of amphorae which, containing olive oil, reached Rome between the time of Augustus and the middle of the 3rd century AD. Of these, almost 85% come from the Roman province of Baetica (Andalusia, Spain). The rest arrived for the most part from Bizacena and Libya, and only a small percentage from the eastern regions of the Empire.

In the Testaccio, there have been preserved not only the seals which carried these amphorae, but also their painted inscriptions (tituli picti), which contain a complex information, which in the case of the Baetican amphorae I consists of: tare of the amphora, net weight of the oil contained, the name of the person or persons who were in charge of its commercialization or transport and a fiscal control in which it is indicated the fiscal district from which they come, the confirmation of the net weight, the names of the persons who intervened in the control and the consular dating.

The Testaccio allows us to have serial data with precise dates. It is therefore a unicum in the studies of economics of the Roman Empire, where the fundamental problem is, precisely, the lack of data. While seals in Baetican olive oil amphorae appear abundantly throughout the western part of the Roman Empire, the inscriptions painted on the amphorae have disappeared, so that the information we obtain in Testaccio is valid to date many strata in excavations throughout Europe and, at the same time, this mass of data allows to raise multiple questions related to the commerce and the political evolution of the administration of Rome.

The Roman Amphorae Assemblage Database and the Study of Amphorae-Borne Commodities to the German Frontier, a preliminary report

Tyler V. Franconi (University of Oxford)

The Roman Amphorae Assemblage Database (RAAD) project is a new initiative of the Oxford Roman Economy Project, aiming to quantify the production, distribution, and consumption of food in the Roman world through the construction of a geo-database recording the details of quantified amphorae assemblages across the Empire. This paper will be the first presentation of the database infrastructure of the project, along with the initial data population from Roman Germany. The paper will highlight the main research questions of the project at both a theoretical and practical level.

The German frontier provides the opportunity to investigate the consumption patterns of both military and civilian population centres, and thus informs key questions of economy and foodways in provincial and frontier society. From a practical standpoint, this project also offers the opportunity for international standardisation of typology and recording practices of amphorae assemblages. This standardisation allows

for a higher degree of scholarly integration across the Empire and also increased ease of comparison between different sites and regions.

Moving Food Supplies to the Roman Garrison of the Dobrogea Region (Romania) Stephen Matthews (Royal Holloway University of London)

The Roman Dobrogea presents a compact study region to model food distribution, with quantifiable needs in the persons of the Roman garrison. Comparing the location of sites reported on the Romanian national database of sites – cIMeC – against the well-researched road network allows for a consideration of the travelling distance of agricultural produce within the region. This has been carried out using the Service Area function of ArcGIS to rapidly show the proximity of producers to consumers and offer the most effective means of supplying particular forts. The program will show several days' theoretical travel about any particular site at different speeds as irregular polygons. Then the impact of providing animal feed to the traction animals can be assessed.

This requires some extensive repetitive calculations that have been carried out within Excel to form simple algorithms. In so doing one can assess the efficiency of certain vehicular combinations and the relative merits of using fewer mule-drawn vehicles that would have required a greater quantity of feed, over slower oxen-drawn vehicles, that would have required less arable to be turned to feed.

Having failed to identify sufficient arable to feed the full garrison, it is also possible to consider the impact of moving an overseas component within the Dobrogea and again the relative merits of providing the animal feed locally, against providing it from overseas. The power of the algorithms allows one to adjust suggested yields, size of garrison, productivity of workers, and the number of workers to a site, one can also work in calculations for the likely number of dependents that each worker may have also supported. The end result is a series of models where key variables are adjusted to offer suggestions as to the most likely scenarios in terms of yields, productivity and agricultural population.

The Economy of the Roman Wine. Productive landscapes, archaeological data, quantification & modellization. Case Study Research: "Regio Laeetana-Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis" (1st century BC-3rd century AD)

Antoni Martín i Oliveras (Universitat de Barcelona) and Víctor Revilla Calvo (Universitat de Barcelona)

The study of the Roman viticulture economy has multiple fields of knowledge and expertise with enormous possibilities for research. Most studies have in common to use the archaeological information and the written sources as a complementary support to confirm the absolute chronology of a settlement, a socio-economic phenomenon or an exact location of a wine production centre or a pottery activity in a specific territory.

Regional variability is a key point for understanding the changing patterns of rural settlement and its evolution as the specific interaction between intra-regional and extra-regional economic networks. These studies can be conducted by geospatial and geoeconomic analyses in different territorial scopes: macrospatial (regio) meso-spatial (territorium) and microspatial (torcularium atque figlina).

The level of dependence of the rural population in the regional market, respect for local urban centres and their subsequent screening in foreign markets (in our case study research: Western Europe, Italian Peninsula and Rome itself), responding to a series of socioeconomic patterns and behaviours that may be modelled and studied by different economic and econometrical ways.

The extensive use of mathematical models, statistical and linear programming to analyse, interpret and make predictions/regressions and reconstructions on the evolution of those complex systems, regarding, inter alia, different variables as the potential production of a region or territory, the regional consumption, the surplus production that could be traded in foreign markets, and other variables such as the sale prices, the market reactions, the production and transport costs, and the trends of consumption, is an increasingly widespread reality.

This paper present a PhD Research Project that try to analyse in four scenarios, the answers to this questions and the evolution of this complex economic system, related with the production processes, the

long-distance trade and the consumption of Laeetanian wine in the Roman period, between the 1st century BC and the 3th century AD.

GIS-based modelling for the Riparia/Uinea ratio in the territorium of Nabrissa Veneria (Lebrija, Spain)

Daniel J. Martín-Arroyo Sánchez (Universitat de Barcelona) & M. M. Castro García (Universidad de Cádiz)

Economic and cultural differences between Punic sine pedamentis and Italic cum pedamentis viticulture are attested by Latin agronomists. In this paper, the exploration of such a duality is conducted in GIS by modelling the riparia/uinea ratio in the territorium of Nabrissa. This ratio is based on Columella's standard (IV, 30, 2) of the proportion between vineyards and riparian spaces required to provide raw material for a vine training system. A model has been developed to test the self-sufficiency of plots within the ideal application of this ratio, in order to provide surplus for land owners.

Silius Italicus (Pun., III, 393) related the name of Nabrissa - on the coastline of the lacus Ligustinus, today the Doñana Marshlands - with the cult of Bacchus, god of wine. The iconography of coinage and the amphorae production point with distinct clarity to viticulture as an important factor in the development of the region. In fact, Baetican wine exportation is attested by the literary sources. Nonetheless, a further understanding of the role of viticulture in a specific study area requires the employment of GIS methodology. In this way, settlement patterns can be tested to ponder the value of some natural resources (superficial water, certain kind of soils...) and the viability of some agricultural strategies. In this case, outcomes from the analysis of the territory of Nabrissa will be confronted to those from the confinia between the nearby cities of Gades and Hasta Regia, as a result of previous attempts.

Modelling and historical parallels complete a series of sceneries where the researcher can define certain limits to his theoretical proposals. Agrarian strategies and social constructions, such as the latifundium or discontinued land property, could have been historically reshaped. Their consequences can be evidenced by the archaeological record as patterns of settlement. In this paper, the principal role of viticulture in the Roman economy is explored, drawing on a GIS-based model.

The Location of Marco Columela's Vineyards: Between Agronomic Literature and GIS Analysis in the Guadalquivir-Guadalete Interfluve

Pedro Trapero Fernández (University of Cádiz) and Lázaro Lagóstena Barrios (University of Cádiz)

Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella praises in his book the Res Rustica, the work done by his paternal uncle Marcus Columella, who is vir illustribus disciplinis eruditus ac diligentissimus agricola Baeticae provinciae, especially interested in vineyard production. As both uncle and nephew were citizens of Gades, we could locate these fields in the interfluve between Guadalquivir and Guadalete River, a land dominated by three important cities, Gades, Hasta Regia and Asido Caesarina. Columella wrote about special land conditions because of the good management effected by his uncle in his agricultural holding and other general considerations about Baetica province.

Comparing this data clues included in Columella's book with actual land characteristic, information of others ancient agriculture treatise and archaeological knowledge allow us the possibility to reconstruct rural areas and exploitation units, in order to discriminate part of the rural land ordination and propose where the Marco Columella's vineyards could be located. Using GIS spatial analysis, we could also model the productive potential of vineyards in this region.

Villae and Figlinae on Lacus Ligustinus Banks. GIS Analysis and Geophysics Survey in the Riverside of Hasta Regia Territorium

L. Lagóstena Barrios (Universidad de Cádiz), José Antonio Ruiz Gil (Universidad de Cádiz), Jenny Pérez Marrero (Universidad de Cádiz), Domingo Martín Mochales (Universidad de Cádiz), Pedro Trapero Fernández (Universidad de Cádiz), and Javier Catalán González (Universidad de Cádiz)

The territorium of the Hasta Regia Roman colony is located between the watershed of the Guadalquivir basin and the bank of the old Lacus Ligustinus in Baetica province. This territory is characterised by a fertile countryside and at the same time "riparian" conditions due to the marsh of Guadalquivir estuary, as described Strabo. The land had economic activities like intense farming and especially the production and exportation of wine derivatives into Haltern 70 amphorae.

The application of GIS analysis techniques combined with the geophysical survey with GPR 3D, allows us to know new keys for land management, only investigated until now by using traditional surface surveys. The distribution of villae system is analysed in a possibly of a centuriati space, also we will identify and analyse the pottery workshops of amphorae, which productions will allow us to know the distribution of Hastensis products. The exploration of various settlements with GPR Stream X, allow us to think on the methodological application of new techniques to a non-invasive study of the productive territory of the Roman city.

Food and Power in the Post-Roman North: The Role of Food Supply in the Shaping of Power in Post-Roman Britannia

Paul Gorton (University of Leeds)

The transfer of power in the period after the end of direct Roman control has long been a difficulty in the consideration of how late Roman became sub-Roman. For the villa zone of the southern provinces of the former British diocese, James Gerrard has suggested that the fifth century saw a period of the consolidation of resources marked by the movement of the manufacturing process, namely grain driers, closer to the centre of estates. This consolidation enabled Romano-British elites to consolidate their economic power in the agricultural sector and enhanced the importance of these sites enabling these to become centres of power from which these elites could exercise their authority.

This paper tests the application of such a model to the northern frontier system of the British provinces. Considering the evidence for changes to food provisioning at various sites across the frontier, including Binchester, Birdoswald, Vindolanda and the villa at Ingleby Barwick, the point is how far we can see the kind of consolidation at these sites that would have allowed them to continue to represent centres of power in the fifth century. Further, it will also consider the differences in supply situations on the East and West of the frontier system and the potential for differences in the supply situation representing a continuing military command structure in the western half of the frontier.

De Agri Cultura Experientia: From Modern Agronomy to Roman Economic Analysis Helen Goodchild (University of York)

The modelling of modern agriculture is a complex discipline, and it is therefore not surprising that the multitude of techniques currently applied to current, very detailed datasets, have not been explored in more depth in terms of their applicability to the past. Methods such as Ecological Niche Modelling, Agro-Ecological Zoning, Habitat Suitability Modelling, and more, reflect the diversity of approach taken by geographers to either measure or predict human productive output. This paper will present some recent experiments in applying modern agronomic and climate modelling techniques, and discuss the potentials and limitations of using these methods to investigate economic strategies in relation to agricultural and pastoral practices in the past.

Finding the Limits of the Limes: Simulating the Limits and Possibilities of the Agricultural Economy in the Roman Dutch Limes Zone via Agent-Based Modelling Jamie Joyce (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) and Philip Verhagen (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

In this paper, we present the results of using computer simulation to investigate the agricultural economy of rural settlements in the Dutch limes zone between 15BC and AD 240. The Roman occupation of the Lower Rhine delta resulted in the development of multiple military installations whose garrisons required food and fuel. Given that at least some part of the demands of the occupying forces were likely to have been met from the native farmers in the region, it is also likely that changes from the subsistence-based agricultural economy of the pre-Roman Iron Age would have occurred.

To investigate the limits and possibilities of the agricultural economy in the Roman Dutch limes zone, we have developed an agent-based model to analyse the principle determinants and limitations on subsistence and surplus agricultural production. The model simulates the major elements of the agricultural economy: arable farming, animal husbandry and fuel-wood acquisition. Departing from the assumption that the availability of land and labour placed limitations on agricultural production, we simulated different agricultural strategies to evaluate the interaction of environmental and socioeconomic factors in the rural economy of the study region and the relative limits on production. From this we have developed hypotheses regarding the organisation of local provisioning of the Roman army.

In this paper, we give therefore a condensed description of the model developed including key characteristics and assumptions. In addition, we present the results and key findings of using an ABM approach to model the ancient economy of the Dutch limes zone and how these results impact the current state of knowledge. Finally, an evaluation of our approach to the investigation of a complex economic system will be offered.

The Ancient Rural Settlement Structure around Pompeii – Inferred from Spatial Statistics and Predictive Modelling On Villae Rusticae

Sebastian Vogel (University of Potsdam), Domenico Esposito (Freie Universitaet Berlin), Michael Märker (Pavia University), and Florian Seiler (German Archaeological Institute Berlin)

The build-up of a comprehensive GIS database of archaeological evidence of the pre-Roman and Roman period in the hinterland of *Pompeii* has, so far, yielded a dataset of more than 600 entities. About 150 of them were assigned to Roman farms (*villae rusticae*) which are believed to have played an important role in ancient rural life and economy of the Sarno River plain. This involves agricultural production not only of food to supply the urban centres *Pompeii*, *Stabiae* and *Nuceria* but also of goods (e.g. wine) to be exported to Rome as well as to the western and eastern Mediterranean.

To gain a more detailed understanding of the ancient rural settlement structure of the Sarno River plain, this fragmentary dataset on *villae rusticae* was used to carry out a series of quantitative GIS-based spatial analyses. At first spatial statistics aimed at recognizing spatial patterns, trends and relationships of the distribution of *villae rusticae* to validate the first simply visual impression of a clustered organization around the urban centres *Pompeii* and *Stabiae*. Subsequently, a predictive modelling approach aimed at determining the potential area that may have been occupied by *villae rusticae* and agricultural production.

This model incorporates paleo-environmental parameters and also tries to quantify some socio-economic parameters that may have controlled the spatial distribution of *villae rusticae*. For that, a recently generated, pre-AD 79 paleo-landscape model of the Sarno River plain was utilized characterizing the ancient topographical conditions before the eruption of *Vesuvius* in AD 79.

The aim of this paper is to illustrate theoretical considerations, the methodological realization and the archaeological discussion of the analysis of the ancient rural settlements and agriculture around *Pompeii*.

Old wine in new bottles. Towards a more layered history of Italy's wine business in Late Republican and Early/High Imperial times, with a case study in central Adriatic Italy Dimitri Van Limbergen (Ghent University) and Frank Vermeulen (Ghent University)

The history of Italy's wine industry between the end of the Second Punic War (218-201 BC) and the High Imperial period (late 1st-2nd century AD) has long been outlined in terms of a boom-and-bust cycle, driven by provincial stimuli and constraints. The marker artefacts par excellence for tracing these

developments in the archaeological record were amphorae; that is, large ceramic jars with two opposite handles that were used for transporting Italian wine to several parts of the Western and Eastern Mediterranean. Based on their distribution patterns, it is possible to construe a trend of consecutive expansion and reduction of Italy's wine exports throughout the aforementioned timeframe; with the latter phenomenon roughly coinciding with a rise of amphora production in the provinces. As such, it seemed as Rome's strategy to rely on foreign markets for stimulating export-led growth in Italy's wine business was ultimately impeded by competition and import substitution in its conquered districts. But over the years, the tendency to interpret the diachronic behaviour of Italian amphora circulation as an isolated phenomenon dictated by exterior forces – rather than one deeply embedded in a much wider domestic agrarian system – has met growing scepticism. Important criticisms include the confined nature of amphora evidence and the unwarranted application of a too rigid and ultimately oversimplified 'success and failure' scenario.

In agreeance with these claims, this paper argues that the parallel evolution of Italian urban markets and correlated population trends – together with the relation between such regional developments and the natural environment – are arguable more important, yet largely understudied contributing factors. The issue is explored by comparing amphora and wine press patterns with demographic developments against the background of land availability in the Potenza valley in central Adriatic Italy (Marche region). The case study is based on many years of active fieldwork by Ghent University in this area, where settlement dynamics, environmental variables and economic production have been intensely screened.

Introducing MERCURY: an agent-based network model of ceramic distribution for studying Roman economic integration

Tom Brughmans (Department of Archaeology, University of Oxford) and Jeroen Poblome (Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project, University of Leuven)

There is a need in the study of the Roman economy for more formal computational modelling for representing and comparing the many existing conceptual models, and for testing their ability to explain patterns observed in archaeological data where possible. This paper aims to share our experiences in exploring this approach through MERCURY (Market Economy and Roman Ceramics Redistribution, after the Roman patron god of commerce), an agent-based model (ABM) of ceramic tableware trade in the Roman East.

MERCURY presents a representation of two conflicting conceptual models of the degree of market integration in the Roman Empire, both of which serve as potential explanations for the empirically observed strong differences in the distribution patterns of tablewares. This paper illustrates how concepts derived from network science can be used to abstract both conceptual models, to implement these in an ABM and to formally compare them. The results of experiments with MERCURY suggest that limited degrees of market integration are unlikely to result in wide tableware distributions and strong differences between the tableware distributions.

Understanding amphorae production with Agent Based Modelling: The case study of Baetica Province

Maria Coto-Sarmiento (Barcelona Supercomputing Center), Simon Carrignon (Barcelona Supercomputing Center), Xavier Rubio-Campillo (University of Edinburgh), and José Remesal (Universitat de Barcelona)

The goal of this study is to analyse the cultural dynamics among amphora workshops in the Roman Empire. Specifically, we focus on the evolution of the production of olive oil amphorae found in *Baetica* province (currently Andalusia) from 1st to 3rd century AD. In particular, we analyse a set of measures among different kinds of amphorae shapes from different workshops to quantify the dynamic of changes. To achieve this goal, multivariate methods was used to classify each amphorae workshop. These methods allow us to know if there were differences on the pattern productions among workshops. Specifically we want to identify the origin of these changes and if these changes were produced by cultural reasons depending on the spatial distance and other cultural constraints. As hypothesis, we propose that spatial distribution of pottery workshops is the main influence of the making techniques processes.

Therefore we propose to create a simple Agent Based Model using concepts borrowed from Cultural Evolution Studies. This method allow to compare different processes of transmission (vertical Vs horizontal) and cultural accumulation in different context and content. We implement a mechanism to quantify which one of those processes explain better the distribution and pattern revealed in the data analysis. This study aims to better understand the cultural processes acting among the workshop of *Baetica* during the Roman Empire and explain the nature of the patterns and differences observed in the archaeological evidence.

Identifying patterns of distribution in the trade of olive oil

Xavier Rubio-Campillo (University of Edinburgh)

Large-scale trade relies on the existence of infrastructures able to organize and ship massive volumes of goods over thousands of kilometres. One of the most illustrative examples is the shipment of large quantities of olive oil amphorae from producing regions towards the places where these containers were found. The archaeological record is able to tell us consumption and production places but evidence on the particular process is scarce and several questions remain open to debate: is there any link between did different producers ship to different places? Do nearby consumption places share the same trade networks? Were different routes such as riverine or sea transport managed in different ways?

This work will explore these challenges by applying a quantitative approach. Amphoric stamps are identified as the proxy of different producers and their spatial patterns are analysed. Methods borrowed from biology are applied to identify what regions and settlement share the same stamps while spatial analysis is used to test the different hypotheses. The interpretation of these results suggests that certain patterns are significant despite the challenges posed by the fragmented archaeological evidence.

Poster Abstracts

The Porticus bear all the grain: an update of the area of the Porticus Minuciae (Rome) between archaeology and social history

Andrea Guaglianone (Università di Venezia "Ca' Foscari")

This poster will try to examine how the monthly distributions of free grain to the urban citizens of Rome worked. Starting from the already well-known problem of the monthly distributions of free grain from the Republican to the Imperial era, it will try to reconstruct the original aspect of the buildings where they took place, generally known as *porticus Minuciae* (the *vetus* one and the *frumentaria* one), by means of a new comparative approach involving the archival data (from 1884 to 1941) and the nowadays archaeological evidences.

The examination of the excavation journals of its discoverers Guglielmo Gatti and Antonio Maria Colini (done on 1937-1941) allows for both the reconstruction of the appearance of the building at its discovery and for the dating of its phases. A careful analysis of this archival material with the help of the successive documents of the adjacent excavations of Giuseppe Marchetti Longhi (non-edited notes, drawings, tracings and photos of the years 1928-1937) has permitted the reconstruction of the history of the excavation of the building and the identification of the Marchetti Longhi's excavation pits and of the relative finds.

Moreover, a study of the present state of the monument (the temple of *via delle Botteghe Oscure* and the ruins under *via S. Nicola dei Cesarini*) and a new survey of the structures revealed a bulk of unpublished information, not yet accessible through the journals. On these grounds, it is now possible to offer a scientific reconstruction of the building that impedes the general interpretation as one of the two *porticus Minuciae* known, and sheds new light on the topic, providing new directions for further research.

Meat market: Organic Residue Analysis of Food Consumption at Corinium

Caitlin Greenwood (University of Bristol)

This research presented in this poster combines heritage collections with cutting-edge methodology (Correa-Ascensio and Evershed, 2014) to produce a large dataset of food residues from Roman Cirencester (*Corinium*), UK. Organic residue analysis (ORA) is the interdisciplinary study of preserved fats, oils and waxes in ceramics and other contexts in the archaeological record, allowing both qualitative and quantitative analyses. Besides the work of Cramp (2008, *et al* 2012) this has not been widely undertaken in Britain.

Corinium was the largest *civitas* in western Britain, later capital of *Britannia Prima*, and has been extensively excavated and researched, making it an ideal case study and pilot for my PhD project: a regional study of diet in Roman Gloucestershire. The pilot investigated jars and *mortaria* spanning 1st-4th centuries, seeking evidence for consumption patterns and possible long-distance trade links. Preliminary results show very high concentrations of lipid in jars, relative both to *mortaria* and to jars from comparable sites (e.g. Cramp *et al* 2012). The lipids were predominantly animal fats: isotope analysis (due for completion January 2017) will provide evidence for the origins of the animal fats (ruminant adipose (muscle); ruminant dairy; porcine; marine). Discussion will combine these results with zooarchaeological and human bone isotope data to discuss consumption trends at *Corinium*.

- Correa-Ascencio, M. and Evershed, R.J. 2014 'High Throughput Screening of Organic Residues in Archaeological Potsherds Using Direct Acidified Methanol Extraction' *Analytical Methods*, 6: 1330-1340
- Cramp, L.J. 2008 Foodways and Identity: Organic Residue Analysis of Mortaria and Other Pottery (University of Bristol PhD Thesis)
- Cramp, L.J.E.; Evershed, R.P. and Eckhardt, H. 2012 'Are You What You Grind? A Comparison of Organic Residues from Ceramics at Two Romano-British Sites' in I. Schrüfer-Kolb More Than Just Numbers? The Role of Science in Roman Archaeology: JRA Supplementary Series 91 (Portsmouth): 93 110.

Oil and Wine Production and Distribution in North Italy and the Adriatic Western Coast (1st Century BC – 2nd Century AD)

Silvia Cipriano (Museo della Centuriazione Romana–Borgoricco-Padova) and Stefania Mazzocchin (Università di Padova)

We are carrying out the research on the production and distribution areas of ancient containers starting from the Typology, Epigraphy and Archaeometry study of more than a thousand of complete amphorae re-used in *Venetia* reclamation's contexts. The analysis focused on economic dynamics of oil and wine local North Italic and Adriatic amphorae production, in relation with the incoming of these foodstuffs from the Hystrian and Tyrrenic areas and from the Roman *Provinciae*. Thanks to the study of reclamation closed contexts, it's possible to examine the evolution of the consumption, production and distribution between different areas in the chronological period from 1st century BC to 2nd century AD.

Session 2 - From Multiple Narratives to Multiple Voices: Challenging Multivocality in Roman Archaeology

Organisers: Martina Revello Lami (University of Amsterdam), Elisa Cella (Museo Civico Etrusco Romano di Trevignano Romano), and Alessandro Pintucci (Sapienza Università di Roma)

Session abstract:

Drawing on postmodernist criticism of the objective nature of knowledge, the concept of multivocality in archaeology breaks down grand or unifying narrative and facilitates multiple interpretations of the past (Trigger 1984; Hodder 2004; Fawcett *et al.* 2008). It is a core responsibility of archaeologists to critically assess such alternative explanations as well as to determine the extent to which they can be integrated in order to produce a more comprehensive understanding of the past.

In a seminal article, Trigger (1984) argued that archaeological interpretations are inextricably intertwined with the socio-political contexts in which they are produced. Consequently, there are many different interpretations expressing not only different theoretical approaches (e.g. culture-historical, processual, post-processual, behavioural), but also different political and spatial scales (e.g. local, national, global) and the needs of different audiences (e.g. scholars, heritage professionals, general public, tourist operators). Moreover, multivocality is often seen as a way of empowering subaltern groups to contribute to the reconstruction of the past recognising and emphasising their own identity and heritage.

In practice, however, simply acknowledging the existence of multiple narratives does not bridge the gap between the global archaeological profession and local marginalized voices that struggle to be heard against the dominant discourse. To effectively empower underrepresented groups, archaeological theory and practice should reframe the traditional approach to heritage that emphasises binary oppositions (local vs. global, indigenous vs. exogenous) and fully investigate the complex interdependencies triggered by a multivocal engagement with the past.

The application of a multivocal approach to Roman archaeology represents a particular challenge. Dominated by grand narratives and polarizing interpretative arguments, Roman archaeology provides a perfect testing ground to evaluate the concept of multivocality. In this session, we will bring together specific cases such as Alatri, Italy, where the Roman Republican sanctuary has been locally reinterpreted as a Neolithic astronomical observatory, as well as more general phenomena like the recurrent use of the *Limes* as a promoter of the Roman past in North-Europe, or the systematic destruction of any Roman legacy particularly evident in conflict areas. By doing so, we seek to explore the validity and implications of multivocality within Roman archaeology in terms of:

- The dynamic relationship between archaeological practice, political agendas and the construction of people's identities
- The reception of Roman culture in historical and contemporary societies through mechanisms of inclusion, hybridity and rejection, with reference to mythmaking or appropriation processes
- The links between archaeological tourism, authenticity, contextualization, media coverage of archaeological discoveries and globalization.

We particularly encourage contributions that illustrate various theoretical and methodological approaches to multivocality through a wide range of case studies from around the Roman world and which deal with the material evidence of Roman cultural heritage. Our principal objective is to gather and debate concrete examples of the potential and problems of engaging with multiple interpretations of the past.

Wednesday morning, Calman Learning Centre, Rosemary Cramp Lecture Theatre

Introduction:

09:00 Martina Revello Lami (University of Amsterdam), Elisa Cella (Museo Civico Etrusco Romano di Trevignano Romano), and Alessandro Pintucci (Sapienza Università di Roma) - From multiple narratives to multiple voices: challenging multivocality in Roman archaeology

Rome and its Surroundings:

- 09:20 Rachele Dubbini, and Mariateresa Curcio (Sapienza University of Rome, Italy) The many voices of Aegeria. Healing the rift between cultural memory and archaeological landscape along the via Appia
- 09:40 Elisa Cella (Museo Civico Etrusco Romano di Trevignano Romano), and Alessandro Pintucci (Sapienza Università di Roma) Are we all the Capitoline she-wolf's sons? Identity building in Italy from urban to public archaeology
- 10:00 Alessandro Pintucci (Sapienza University of Rome, Italy), Maja Gori (University of Heidelberg, Germany) Resistance to Romanization in contemporary Italy: the case of Alatri
- 10:20 COFFEE BREAK

Northern Provinces:

- 10:50 Claire Hodson (Durham University) Hush Little Baby, Don't Say a Word: Voicing Revised Perspectives of Infant Death and Burial
- 11:10 Elliot Chaplin (Newcastle University) The Theory of Late Roman British Elites or "How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love Paideia"

Western and Near Eastern Provinces:

- 11:30 José M. Costa-García (University of Santiago de Compostela, VU University Amsterdam), Manuel Gago-Mariño (University of Santiago de Compostela), David González Álvarez (Institute of Heritage Sciences (Incipit), Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), Durham University), Valentín Álvarez Martínez (Independent Researcher), Rebeca Blanco-Rotea (University of Santiago de Compostela, University of Minho), João Fonte (Institute of Heritage Sciences (Incipit) Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), University of Exeter), and Andrés Menéndez Blanco (University of Oviedo) Open Science and Conflict Archaeology: Engaging different audiences with the research on the Roman conquest of NW Iberia
- 11:50 Veronica Iacomi (Independent researcher) The legacy of Roman archaeology in the Near East: propaganda and political implications through the multiple voices of an endangered heritage
- 12:10 DISCUSSION

Abstracts:

The Many Voices of Aegeria. Healing the Rift between Cultural Memory and Archaeological Landscape along the Via Appia

Rachele Dubbini and Mariatersa Curcio (Sapienza University of Rome, Italy)

The initial, suburban stretch of the Via Appia preserves vivid memories of ancient Rome since the foundation of the city. However, today this segment of the road appears to have lost its cultural connotation, resulting therefore totally disconnected from many of the most significant myths surrounding the history of Rome and traditionally set in this corner of the city. For example, this part of

the Via Appia is known to be the mythical place of the romantic liaisons between Numa and the nymph Aegeria, from which have stemmed many of the most important reforms ruling over the Roman world.

The myth of Aegeria captured people's imagination over time, inevitably shaping the identity of this stretch of the Via Appia. Legendary places such as the 'Aegeria Valley' or the 'Aegeria Cave' have been often identified by antiquarians with sites completely different from those thought to be inhabited by the nymph in antiquity, replacing them also in the public imagination. The same applies also to actual ruins such as the nymphaeum dated to the Imperial period and located in the property owned by the Caffarelli family, which has been attributed to the nymph Aegeria during the Renaissance. Today 'Egeria' is the brand of a very well-known Italian mineral water, whose spring is situated not surprisingly in the so-called 'Aegeria Valley'.

Despite the name of Aegeria keeps resonating through the centuries, nowadays the people of Rome bond with this place because of its spring water rather than its millenary history that makes this stretch of road one of the most emblematic archaeological landscape in terms of European culture. In this paper, we seek to investigate the relationship between landscape and culture on multiple levels: archaeological sites in fact overlap with mythical places as well as with those currently inhabited by local people, who perceive and interpret them within contemporary frameworks. In this perspective, the multivocal nature of the via Appia coupled with the myth of Aegeria provides us with a unique testing ground to explore the potential of applying an interpretative approach to Roman Archaeology and to engage with all parties involved in the management, study, preservation and enjoyment of the site.

Are we all the Capitoline She-Wolf's Sons? Identity Building in Italy from Urban to Public Archaeology

Elisa Cella (Museo Archeologico di Trevignano Romano, Rome, Italy) and Alessandro Pintucci (Sapienza University of Rome, Italy)

The Central Archaeological area in Rome provides an exemplary case showing how the same ruins can be manipulated to fulfil different political, economic and social needs. Late 19th century excavations in the Roman Forum were geared to find the vestiges of the primordial City, embodying the capital of the newborn unified Italian state, while a few decades later the same place was used as *lieu de mémoire* by Fascist regime propaganda. It is precisely in these years that the urban landscape has been drastically redesigned by the infamous demolitions to build the Via dell'Impero. After World War II, archaeological research in Rome lost its connection to national identity building and underwent profound changes: no excavations were carried out and the focus shifted on historical, topographic and material culture studies. In the early 1980s, new excavations started and became the first and most representative experience of urban archaeology in Italy, followed by archaeological investigations planned alongside the Underground works in the 2000s. For the first time Italian archaeology faced the pressing need of transforming itself from a purely academic enterprise into a modern public archaeology.

This paper explores present day public archaeology in Italy and disentangles the multiple elements that contributed to its creation and development. Through the analysis of 19th and 20th centuries' ideologies the role of archaeology in Italy will be examined mainly focusing on Rome. How has the role of archaeology in Rome changed through time and why? Which ideologies have influenced present day approaches the most?

Resistance to Romanization in Contemporary Italy: the Case of Alatri

Alessandro Pintucci (Sapienza University of Rome, Italy) and Maja Gori (University of Heidelberg, Germany)

In the last decades, the traditional interpretation and chronology of *opus poligonale* monuments in Central Italy have been challenged on the ground of stratigraphic excavations and a more analytical approach. The traditional chronology for these structures, which placed them in the Archaic or even Protohistoric epoch has been more correctly replaced by a dating to the mid-Republican era, thus more appropriate to the historical contexts in which they have been planned and built.

The debate regarding the new chronological and cultural frameworks of polygonal walls has however triggered a heated debate that has involved not only archaeologists, but also the inhabitants of the towns where these monuments have been found.

Through the example of Alatri, a city of Latium, not far from Rome, this paper will address the tensions that arose between locals and archaeologists regarding the dating and the interpretation of the monuments. On the basis of the studies of a local priest, Giuseppe Capone, a small group of local amateurs are indeed defending the 19th century theories that indicated a Pelasgic and Middle East origin for the people who built Alatri's acropolis and city walls, often identifying them with the Hittites. The reason behind the defence of these updated narratives lies in the traditional hostility to the Romans, which are perceived as invaders, and the concept of Romanization, which was forged in the context of the Italian Imperial enterprise in Africa and the Mediterranean and received much criticism in its application to the strong influence of Rome over its neighbours. The citizens of Alatri perceive official archaeology as the "voice of the winners", diminishing the local traditions and believes.

In this paper cultural, social, and psychological aspects connected to the denial of the Roman paternity of Alatri monuments will be addressed. It will be also explained why, besides communicating the scientific results to the society, it is important for archaeologists to engage with non-professionals amateurs even if the debate occurs in the archaeofantasy arena.

Hush Little Baby, Don't Say a Word: Voicing Revised Perspectives of Infant Death and Burial

Claire Hodson (Durham University)

The discovery of infant skeletal remains within a domestic Roman context is not unfamiliar. Many such individuals have been excavated from settlement sites, particularly those of rural villas. However, when lacking specialist osteological assessment, many archaeological reports characteristically focus on the funerary context of such burials. The narrative attached to such discoveries, has in the recent past, been associated with sensationalised interpretations of infanticide; concepts of deliberate disposal and carless burial have circulated in both popular and archaeological media. The multi-disciplinary study of infanthood and childhood has progressed far from its origins in the margins of discussion and research, becoming central to our understanding of past populations. Yet archaeological discoveries of infants still cannot evade the lingering association of gendered infanticide.

This paper aims to explore the bipartite socio-cultural and biological approach needed to understand infant burials using a case study from Piddington, a rural villa site in Northamptonshire. Dental, skeletal and pathological assessment has been undertaken, revealing chronically under-nourished and ill individuals aged between 40 gestational weeks and 5 post-natal months. This paper intends to highlight the importance of thorough osteological analysis, comparing both dental and skeletal age estimates, as well as considering the aetiologies and implications of pathological lesions. Consideration of the importance of demographics and funerary context, alongside these indicators of well-being and age-at-death, has been emphasised. Assessment of the individuals from Piddington generates an interpretation inconsistent with infanticide, demonstrating the necessity to consider all aspects of the individual, their death and their burial before interpretations can be sought. That is not to say that infanticide did not happen somewhere, at some point, in Roman Britain. However, such interpretations should be purported with care, and it must be ensured that our methodology and analysis for understanding infant burial in Roman Britain is rigorous.

The Theory of Late Roman British Elites or "How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love Paideia"

Elliot Chaplin (Newcastle University)

The Late Roman world was a deeply stratified, heterogeneous society. Any attempts to study the elite of the late Roman Empire will reveal that even within this small percentage of society, there was huge variation, and to cast the blanket term "elite" over this incredibly diverse group of people may be

somewhat reductionist. So what, then is the value of the term "elite"? Does it have a value in discussions of the archaeology of Rome and Roman Britain?

By examining cultures such as ancient Mesoamerica, early modern China and early modern Japan it is possible to see some common threads through research surrounding elite culture. One primary issue in discussions of elite culture is finding its boundary. Although huge portions of the archaeology of the Roman Empire are focused on the activities of the elite in society, many writings fail to come to terms with what an elite is in the Roman Empire, merely assuming a definition as being self-evident. Although in many cases it is clear upon examination what is and what is not elite this approach becomes deeply problematic at the fringe of what can be considered elite.

In light of recent political developments in the Western world, the divide between the elite and the rest of society has been thrown into the limelight. This paper intends to deconstruct the term elite, using anthropological and historical analogy from a variety of different cultures and time periods in order to perhaps better understand Late Roman elite culture and thereby better understand our current sociopolitical situation. It ultimately comes to focus on the term Paideia, critically discussing its relevance and value to the archaeology of late Roman Britain and whether it can be considered a fair metric of elite society in this context.

Open Science and Conflict Archaeology: Engaging different audiences with the research on the Roman conquest of NW Iberia

José M. Costa-García (University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain - VU University Amsterdam, The Netherlands), Manuel Gago-Mariño (University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain), David González Álvarez (Institute of Heritage Sciences (Incipit)- Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), Spain- Durham University, UK), Valentín Álvarez Martínez (Independent Researcher, Spain), Rebeca Blanco-Rotea (University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain - University of Minho, Portugal), João Fonte (Institute of Heritage Sciences (Incipit) - Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), Spain- University of Exeter, UK), and Andrés Menéndez Blanco (University of Oviedo, Spain)

The Roman conquest of NW Iberia and the subjugation of the pre-Roman indigenous communities (so called Callaeci, Astures or Cantabri by the classical authors) are an outstanding referent in the construction of modern regional identities in contemporary Galicia, Asturias or Cantabria regions. These historical episodes outstand in the cultural memory and the popular culture, overcoming the limits and the formalities of the academic narratives. In this context, the research on the Roman conquest of these territories needs to deal with multivocality, if we aim to practice open science.

From the beginning, we set up a research project opened to the public, trying to share our results with society and making them understandable. We launched a website [http://romanarmy.eu/en/] and related profiles on Facebook and Twitter. In addition, conferences and seminars were given, we organized guided visits to the sites we investigate, and we developed our brand in mass and corporate media to make an impact in society in general. Our experience led us to the reflection on several aspects regarding the engagement of different audiences (from experts to local communities) with a Roman Archaeology project.

To explore the possibilities of the communicative disintermediation generated from the birth of the Web 2.0 onwards could be a decisive challenge for the future of our discipline. Our goal is to build audiences who follow the projects from the beginning and therefore to gradually experiment with the inclusion of different stakeholders in our internal and concluded discussions, and even to get them involved in some research tasks through new technologies. Engagement and virility can be used for the socialization of certain stages of the scientific process.

Since our digital media are specialized in audiences and functions, they provide valuable feedback on audience data. In this way, we can track the reception of our activity, its geographical scope, and the use of different languages, gender preferences or the segmentation of these content consumptions depending on the user's interaction with them. These data allow us to study the reception of Roman culture in contemporary society, and to understand the new scenario in which cultural consumers ('prosumers') demand more active roles in their engagement with the archaeological knowledge.

The legacy of Roman archaeology in the Near East: propaganda and political implications through the multiple voices of an endangered heritage

Veronica Iacomi (Independent Researcher)

The undeniable legacy of the Roman Empire in the eastern countries of the Mediterranean and, beyond in western Asia has sadly become subject for big news headlines in the past few months. The prolonged state of war in the region and, more notably, the sensationalized attacks on monuments and sites in the frame of the dramatic situation of Syria, offers the chance to reflect once more on the values and meanings that this legacy implies in the contemporary world. Moreover, the present geopolitical complexity in the region seems to lead to a specious and ambiguous approach to the cultural heritage, even in countries not openly involved in military conflicts.

In this contribution, it is my intention to refer in particular on such aspects as:

- Roman heritage in the processes of construction or cancellation of local identities, as attitudes from either side opposing one another but, still, having the same focal point (i.e. the role of monument and remains from the past);
- Inclusion and rejection of historical testimonies as a political tool in the frame of the regional and international policies in countries from Turkey, to the west, to Iran, to the east;
- Archaeology as a key tool in promoting economic activities such as mass tourism in otherwise
 depressed or emerging countries, leading to sometimes unscrupulous interventions dictated more
 by the political agendas than by scientific and dissemination needs.

Peripheral as they might have been in the wider frame of the ancient Roman world, still these regions were vital in the construction of the ideal of Roman oikoumene: in a modern perspective, my hope is to give voice to this deep-rooted legacy still so vibrant in the contemporary world.

Session 3 - Towards an Archaeology of Values in the Roman World: Interdisciplinary Exploration in Theory and Method

Organisers: Karim Mata (University of Chicago) and Sergio González Sanchez (University of Leicester)

Session Abstract:

All human action and interaction is shaped by motivational values. Social scientists across disciplines have adequately shown how a substantial range of universal values is shared cross-culturally, in both the past and the present. Values have a cognitive, emotional, and behavioural dimension, such that people think, feel, and actualize values. People prioritize and instantiate their values in reflexive and habitual ways. As individually and collectively maintained orientations, values are considered and instantiate in ways both structured and improvisational. Values also inform ideal ('good life') constructs that people aspire to realize, including ideas on how best to achieve this. Values regulate individual behaviour and social relations, such that social life would not be possible without reference to them. In short, values are everywhere.

It is somewhat surprising, then, that no Archaeology of Values has ever been formulated. To be sure, archaeologists do deal with values, but mostly indirectly and often implicitly. Whenever archaeologists note sociocultural variability, whenever they talk about socio-cultural change in terms of complexification, differentiation, or individualization, they are in fact talking about shifts in value emphases, or they are describing how people choose to realize similar values in different ways. Yet, such efforts rarely involve close engagement with values themselves, their motivational content (e.g. bravery or generosity) structural relation (compatible or conflictual), or socio-historical significance (in terms of adaptive efficacy and developmental impact).

The study of basic human values in theoretically sophisticated and methodologically systematic ways has occupied scholars in other disciplines. Early contributions to values-oriented research by psychologists (Scheler, Spranger), sociologists (Tönnies, Durkheim), and anthropologists (Kluckhohn, Maslow, Dumont) have inspired later social scientists to varying degrees, but this has not encouraged strong or sustained interest in the topic. Only in recent years have some anthropologists (Graeber 2001), historians(MacMullen 2015), and archaeologists (Morris 2015) started looking at human values more attentively, though unavoidably from different perspectives and favouring different approaches; the practice-oriented, culture-historical, and evolutionary approaches of Graeber, MacMullen, and Morris respectively show this divergence succinctly. Notably, none of these recent attempts has shown any interest for formulating a universal values framework such as has been done by social psychologists (Schwartz 2012).

How can Roman archaeologists approach values theoretically and methodologically in our analyses of material culture? With human motivational values having a cross-cultural occurrence and their instantiation being entirely situational, how are we to reconcile the universal with the particular? How should archaeologists deal with the influence of values over the formation of our theories and interpretations, or the reproduction of our professional communities? In what ways can Roman archaeologists contribute to an Archaeology of Values, or to social scientific research on values more generally?

Participants of this session are asked to engage social scientific concepts and insights and apply such knowledge to their analyses of the material record of the Roman world. Among suggested topics of interest are explicit expressions of values found in literary and epigraphic sources; expressions of social norms and cultural ideals in mortuary contexts; the material manifestation of socio-historical transformations that cause shifts in value systems (in terms of individualism-collectivism, egalitarianism-differentiation, conservatism-progressivism, etc.); the use and utility of analytic variables like standardization, diversification, and complexification for examining the values that motivate human behaviour in idiosyncratic and patterned ways; the values that motivate Roman archaeologists and their academic and national heritage programs.

Wednesday afternoon, Calman Learning Centre, Rosemary Cramp Lecture Theatre

- 14:00 Karim Mata (University of Chicago) Approaching Values in Theory and Method
- 14:20 Felix Kotzur (Goethe University) Theoretical understanding of value within German-speaking Romano-barbaric research
- 14:40 Jason Lundock, (Gulf Archaeology Research Institute) Interdisciplinary Evaluation of the Value of Materiality: A Case Study from Copper Alloy Vessels
- 15:00 Kaja Stemberger (King's College London) Good death, bad death
- 15:20 COFFEE BREAK
- 15:50 Madeline Line (Durham University) Blood and Justice: a regional adaptation of a global concept?
- 16:10 Silke Hahn (Goethe University Frankfurt) Hiding Values: Comparing Contexts and Composition of Coin Hoards in Roman Germany across the Limes
- 16:30 Aaron Irvin (Murray State University) Competition, Meaning, and Monumentalization in Gallia Comata
- 16:50 Karim Mata (University of Chicago) Materializing Values in N Gaul and the Rhineland
- 17:10: Discussion

Abstracts:

Approaching Values in Theory and Method

Karim Mata (University of Chicago)

This introductory presentation will start by defining concepts and reviewing early scholarship on values in psychology, sociology, anthropology, and beyond. This will move to a brief consideration of several recent studies and identify some epistemological challenges that social scientists have yet to overcome in order to fruitfully study human motivation cross-culturally, in the past as well as the present. For archaeologists specifically, it can be shown how an interdisciplinary and self-reflexive archaeology is best positioned to problematize disciplinary perspectives and enhance our understanding of human motivation as manifested in material culture.

Theoretical understanding of value within German-speaking Romano-barbaric research Felix Kotzur (Goethe University)

The tradition of Romano-barbaric research in the German-speaking parts of Europe is tightly bound to the general upcoming of archaeology and the evolving preoccupation with the so-called "Germans" and their relation to the Roman Empire. Publications dealing with this subject reach back at least to the first half of the 20th century. Rafael v. Uslar, for instance, undertook actions of mapping Roman finds east of the Rhine in the 1930s. After the Second World War in 1951, the sheer amount of meanwhile discovered finds motivated Hans-Jürgen Eggers to his frequently referenced account on Roman metal vessels and the import of Roman commodities. This topic received further scientific treatment as part of the so-called "Prunkgräber"-phenomenon. Georg Kossack represents one of those archaeologists, who defined this term and connected it with valued foreign objects (1974). Since the beginning of the nineties the "CRFB"-Project (Corpus der römischen Funde im europäischen Barbaricum) developed a comprehensive database, which offers in the interpretive parts of its issues insights into the once and still prevailing ideas on Roman objects and their value for barbaric users.

The aim of the paper is to draw a trajectory of the aspect "value" within those publications in the light of their theoretical background. The main question will be, whether they have been restricted to ideas of archaeology or whether they equally fed their theses with theories from other research disciplines. What has been their opinion on the regimes of value on the Roman and barbaric side involved in the exchange of goods? In regard of my PhD-thesis I mainly focus on publications which central debate revolves on metal vessels. Depending on the state of research, I might also present my approach of tackling these issues and furthermore suggest how to identify movements in systems of value.

Interdisciplinary Evaluation of the Value of Materiality: A Case Study from Copper Alloy Vessels

Jason Lundock (Gulf Archaeology Research Institute)

Materials both determine value associations by their inherent characteristics as well as are defined within the value system of the society which is utilizing them within their technological complexes. This paper seeks to utilize theories from anthropology, archaeology, historical literary studies, material culture studies, psychology and neuro-science in order to develop approaches for patterning material associations within archaeological contexts. As a case study, the culture value associations held by the western Roman provinces for copper alloy vessels will be analysed and theoretical approaches for contextualising how they were adapted within provincial value systems will be explored. It will be shown that material reflected value and that, by extension, value displayed identity. This paper will conclude with suggestions of how the application of such interdisciplinary approaches to the study of value within the analysis of the materiality of small finds may be carried forward into other avenues of archaeological examination.

Good death, bad death

Kaja Stemberger (King's College London)

Roman values were not limited to the time of life but were extended to the afterlife as well. Just as life could be considered good or bad, so too could death. In the funerary patterns of *Mors immatura* or *Mors acerba* graves, deviations from the standard ritual can be observed, reconstructed on the basis of grave goods and treatment of the body. Such burials are usually interpreted as a measure to prevent the deceased's soul from returning into the world of the living in the malicious form of lemurs and larvae. There were multiple approaches to achieving this. Body manipulation, prone burials, and body restrictions were used to restrain the deceased directly while symbolically concluding rites of passage the deceased had not undergone aimed at calming his spirit. Both types of burials were discovered at the cemeteries of Colonia Iulia Emona (modern Ljubljana, Slovenia), a relatively well documented set of sites whose excavations yielded more than 3000 graves in total. In this paper I will address the methods for recognizing such burials, how to interpret them in terms of the ancient Roman system of values, and why the deceased were treated in one of two seemingly opposite ways.

Blood and Justice: a regional adaptation of a global concept?

Madeline Line (Durham University)

Through a study of judicial prayers in Britain in the Roman period, this paper will consider the concepts of justice and revenge. Though they may loosely fall into the group of 'curse tablets,' judicial prayers differ from the broader category of defixiones. While a defixio is inscribed in order for the user to gain the advantage in the amatory, legal, commercial, or athletic spheres, a judicial prayer is inscribed with the intention of gaining justice, revenge, or redress for a perceived crime or wrongdoing done to the user. Although the term 'judicial prayer' is a modern categorization and may not have existed in ancient thought, it is significant that two of the largest finds of legible curse tablets, those found at Bath and Uley, consist entirely of judicial prayers, suggesting that those who inscribed and used the tablets saw a distinction between these and what we would term defixiones. Also significant is that the majority of known 'curse tablets' in Britain are, indeed, judicial prayers and, though both 'curse tablets' and judicial prayers appear throughout the Mediterranean world, this distribution pattern is unparalleled. Also unparalleled is an apparent preoccupation with blood payment that can be seen amongst the examples from Britain.

The aim of this paper is to use examples of judicial prayers from Britain and throughout the Roman world as a means of exploring the concepts of justice and revenge and the varying ways in which these concepts might be expressed. More specifically, it aims to analyse how the apparently global/universal concepts of justice and revenge might interact with regional institutions by studying the language preserved in the texts, focusing on similarities and differences in vocabulary, formulae, and structure.

Hiding Values: Comparing Contexts and Composition of Coin Hoards in Roman Germany across the Limes

Silke Hahn (Goethe University Frankfurt)

Money allows people to forego the social relations that are at the heart of early societies. But how far have the societies of Roman Germany gone on the road to breaking those traditional links? Structured depositions of Roman coins demonstrate a wide-spread practice of coin-hoarding which has left its traces across the north-western edges of the Roman Empire, and beyond. However, the fundamental bias of the archaeological record causes a methodological and theoretical dilemma for any attempted interpretation: hoards recovered today are fragments of a wider spread practice which left no material traces after contemporary retrieval. Despite this the evidence can still help us to understand the practices creating hoards.

In order to approach this problem, my paper will present an analysis of the context and composition of coin hoards found within the boundaries of the Roman state and outside the Empire, in a contact zone with Germanic neighbours. Selected case studies illustrate the importance of taking into account evidence from both sides of the frontier and compare patterns prevailing in different regions to reveal a more

diverse picture. These comparisons highlight both similarities and differences in the hoarding patterns over time, which raises further questions:

- Which patterns are visible and how do they shift?
- Do coin hoards reflect contrasting contemporary conceptions of value?
- Can coin hoards tell us more about social relations and socio-historical change?

My paper aims to develop a theoretical framework to approach the complex nature of coins as currency, commodity and objects of prestige and value which percolate political borders. The underlying question is an anthropological one: Why did people bury coins? Are coin hoards expressions of specific value systems that go beyond the use of coins as currency? Did this practice have the same meaning on both sides of the Limes?

Competition, Meaning, and Monumentalization in Gallia Comata

Aaron Irvin (Murray State University)

Perhaps the most striking, and archaeologically speaking the most evident, change that occurred in Gallia Comata from the 1st century BC to the end of the 2nd century AD was the incorporation of massive, monumental, Roman-style architecture. Many of these monuments still stand to this day, providing an obvious, visual argument for the impact that Roman culture had on Celtic Gaul. Overall, the incorporation of Roman architecture and monuments, paid for and dedicated by members of the local elite, seems to indicate a clear cultural shift in Celtic society and the adoption of Roman conceptions of urbanism and the role of the urban aristocracy in providing *munera* for the populace. At the same time, the Gallic elite were tapped by the Romans to rule a Gallic population, one for whom expressions of Roman culture or traditional Roman public works would have been meaningless.

This paper will examine the remains of monumental structures in the native civitas-capitals, examining the spread of amphitheatres throughout the Three Gauls. While early structures advertised the connection between the community as a whole with the Imperial power structure, the construction of amphitheatres in particular emerged rapidly throughout the Three Gauls and, as this paper will argue, was tied to the glorification and memorialization of the dedicator and his family. The edification of urban space thus became a new ground for the Gallic aristocracy to play out its internal rivalries, rather than a public expression of acceptance or obedience under Rome, and through the use of amphitheatres, urban edification allowed the Gallic aristocracy to retain their ties to the concept of masculinity and martial prowess within their own society and standards of leadership.

Materializing Values in N Gaul and the Rhineland

Karim Mata (University of Chicago)

This presentation will introduce a methodological framework that is informed by human values theory (social psychology), ecological approaches to cognitive development (developmental psychology), and ethnographies of socio-historical transformation (anthropology). I will argue that such a framework can be used to understand human motivation cross-culturally, and how the prioritization and realization of personal values, social norms, and cultural ideals is shaped by socio-historical factors. These theoretical and methodological insights will be used to examine various categories of archaeological evidence in the Lower Rhineland and N Gaul. I will demonstrate how Roman archaeologists might overcome interpretive limitations posed by highly relativist and identity-centric approaches (that 'explain' human behaviour in terms of socio-cultural identity, and often remain too descriptive) and can better understand human action and interaction in terms of universal motivations that shift adaptively in response to changes in human ecologies.

Session 4 - Glass Reflections: Understanding the Complexity of Glass in the Roman Empire and Beyond

Organisers: Tatiana Ivleva (Newcastle University) and Elizabeth Foulds (Northern Archaeological Associates)

Session Abstract:

Few would argue the importance of glass and glass objects to understand past social processes. Given the high level of circulation, exchange, and consumption of glass objects in the Roman world, glass plays an important part in our understanding of past trade links, cultural contacts, and craft specialisation. The focus of contemporary glass studies lies, thus, primarily on the origin of the material, specific workshops, questions of importation, or the impact/occurrence of recycled material. However, the overemphasis on these aspects, obscures the importance and meaning these artefacts played in negotiating complex political, social, and economic networks, as well as various types of identities in the Roman Empire and the far reaches of their influence. The session, therefore, foregrounds more explicit engagement with glass and glass artefacts beyond their representational value as trappings and objects made of recycled material. Any type of glass object, whether they are vessels, window glass, bangles, counters, or beads, will be studied in this panel. In so doing, we aim to emphasise the complexity of the roles these various objects played in Roman period societies, in a similar way of Dominic Ingemark's study of glass use to (re)negotiate power in Iron Age Scotland or Birgitta Hoffmann's research on glass vessels and objects as an embodiment of divergent frontier identities at a frontier post Newstead.

This goal will be achieved by embracing current theoretical frameworks positing the transformative and adaptable nature of material culture, by which an object's meaning at its creation fades or mutates once the object changes ownership or moves from its native region (Hahn and Weiss 2013). This projects onto how glass and glass objects were used for different purposes, thus not only in a practical sense as drinking cups or dress adornment, but also as active participants in establishing or destabilising, cementing or enhancing networks, power relations, and cultural traditions. Relational agency stands thus at the heart of the session (Hodder 2012; Latour 2005; van Oyen 2015).

We are concerned too with life histories of objects by embracing theory of 'cultural biographies' to chart re-contextualisation of glass artefacts within and outside the Roman world (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986). While not diminishing the significance of the context in which objects were found during excavation, the session is interested in exploring the genealogy of specific glass objects or types of glass objects. This will lead to a more refined understanding of how similar glass objects were perceived and redefined through the lens of multifarious communities that made up Roman provinces and beyond.

- Appadurai, A. 1986. 'Introduction: commodities and the politics of value', in A. Appadurai (ed.) The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1-63.
- Hahn, H.P. and Weiss, H. (ed.) 2013. Mobility, Meaning and Transformation of Things: Shifting Contexts of Material Culture Through Time and Space. Oxford, Oxbow.
 Hodder, I. 2012. Entangled. An Archaeology of the Relationship between Humans and Things. Malden, MA, Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hoffmann, B. 2009. 'Defining identity: analysing the glass objects from the Roman fort of Newstead, Scotland,' in A. Morillo, N. Hanel and E. Martín (eds.) LIMES XX: Estudios sobre la frontera Romana/Roman Frontier Studies. Madrid, Polifermo, 1183-1190.
- Ingemark, D. 2014. Glass, Alcohol and Power in Roman Iron Age Scotland. Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland.
- Kopytoff, I. 1986. 'Cultural biography of things: commoditization as process', in A. Appadurai (ed.). The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 64-91.
- Latour, B. 2005. Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

van Oyen, A. 2015. 'Actor-Network Theory's take on archaeological types: becoming, material agency, and historical explanation,' Cambridge Archaeological Journal 25(1), 63-78.

Wednesday morning, Calman Learning Centre, Ken Wade Lecture Theatre

- 09:00 Chloë N. Duckworth (Newcastle University) "Don't tell me the moon is shining; show me the glint of light on broken glass". Roman glass as a reflection of identity and culture contact in the central Sahara
- 09:20 Tatiana Ivleva (Newcastle University) "Glass adornments event horizon": In search for the origins of Roman-period glass bangles in Britain"
- 09:40 James Bruhn (Historic Environment Scotland) The role of glass bangles in Roman Iron Age society in central Britain
- 10:00 Elizabeth M. Foulds (Northern Archaeological Associates) Sparkling Jewels in the Roman Frontiers: Interpreting Glass Beads from Northern Britain

Abstracts:

"Don't tell me the moon is shining; show me the glint of light on broken glass". Roman glass as a reflection of identity and culture contact in the central Sahara.

Chloë N. Duckworth (Newcastle University)

Roman glasses made their way well beyond the boundaries of the Empire. In some cases, it is the odd find, standing out awkwardly among foreign artefacts. In others, the evidence is more indicative of long-term, direct contact between the Roman world and the recipients of Roman goods. Such is the case of the central Saharan Garamantes, who lived in what is now Fazzan, Libya. Roman glass objects were transported across the desert for centuries, arriving in Fazzan and being used, along with other Roman goods, by a relatively restricted portion of society. They turn up frequently in burials, and – somewhat less so – in settlement contexts.

There is also evidence that the Garamantes were experimenting with glass production. A spill of glass, and splashes of glass on fragments of local pottery attest to some form of glass-working activity. In the context of the Trans-SAHARA Project, PI David Mattingly, I was able to conduct chemical analysis on a number of samples of Roman glass from Libya, identifying compositional groups, possible evidence for recycling, and the relationship between glasses imported into Fazzan and glasses found elsewhere in Saharan and Sub-Saharan Africa. In this paper, I shall present some of the results of this compositional analysis, and consider the role of compositional evidence in understanding the movement of things and ideas, through both time and space.

"Glass adornments event horizon": In search for the origins of Roman-period glass bangles in Britain

Tatiana Ivleva (Newcastle University)

The paper revisits the emergence of glass bangles in Roman Britain and suggests that their genesis should be seen as a part of changing attitudes towards the body in the Late Iron Age Britain rather than, as usually assumed, an one-off event starting after the Claudian invasion in AD 43. By placing the bangles' genesis into a wider context of material culture development, societal and political changes in Late Iron Age to Roman period transition, the paper shows that bracelets' emergence is an expected result of the convoluted processes and amalgamation of various cultures in this transitional period.

¹ Advice attributed to Anton Chekhov in a letter to his brother, now lost, written in 1886.

The start of the production of the seamless glass annulars in Britain corresponds with the decrease in the circulation of these glass adornments on the Continent. In the late first century BC, the Continental glass bracelets gradually stopped being produced, yet the craft re-appears in Britain, which had no history of glass bracelets' production prior to the mid-first century AD. The presentation attempts to answer the question as to where the inspiration and skills for the British glass bracelets came from by discussing the biography of a glass bracelet craft. Earlier research into their distribution and typology suggested that British examples stand out in their decorative and production technique compared to bracelets made on the Continent. However, close inspection of the British glass bracelet fragments revealed that some types of British bangles were developed directly from the Continental La Tène ones. The paper will also challenge the long-held perception that the design of some British bracelet types is likely to be closely related to, or may well have been developed from, the British insular Iron-Age beads.

The role of glass bangles in Roman Iron Age society in central Britain.

James Bruhn (Historic Environment Scotland)

One of the most ubiquitous objects found on Late Iron Age sites in southern Scotland and northeast England are glass bangles. These objects have largely been studied in isolation in Scotland, devoid from comparison with their continental equivalents. This paper will describe the history of Scottish glass bangle studies. It will then review glass bangles in a British context and how they relate to their continental equivalents. To address their role in Late Iron Age society in Scotland, the paper will focus on the large collection of bangles from Traprain Law, an Iron Age Oppidum, and how this collection of objects compares to the wider distribution pattern of bangles in southern Scotland. It will argue that these glass bangles offer an important insight into understanding the complex negotiation of identity occurring on the Northern Frontier of Roman Britain in the Late Iron Age. Glass bangles became a way for the indigenous communities to promote their local importance by displaying their connections with larger social networks. By transforming imported foreign material, in the form of both raw and reused glass from Roman sources, into items which catered for local tastes, bangles became a powerful symbol. The glass bangles highlighted a connection to Rome but also acted as a statement of the indigenous populations desire to shape and mould that relationship in a way that was locally beneficial.

Sparkling Jewels in the Roman Frontiers: Interpreting Glass Beads from Northern Britain

Elizabeth M. Foulds (Northern Archaeological Associates)

Beads, as an object, are interesting in that they can be simultaneously a part and a whole. Groups of beads can be intentionally brought together from multiple sources and equally they can be dispersed into new objects. The act of construction and deconstruction of these composite objects creates a different biography for each individual bead. Although this is sometimes an approach to prehistoric beads (e.g. Jones 2002), isolated Roman beads can be approached in a similar manner.

Beads at Roman period sites in Britain are not an unusual occurrence. In fact, it is probably expected as part of the changes in material culture from the 1st century BC/AD onwards, that small beads (<10mm in diameter) are likely to be found at Roman period and Roman style settlements. However, although multiple beads are often recovered over the course of excavations, it is normally the case that single beads are found in individual features. It is very rare that we find many beads in a single context where we can be sure of relationships between beads and reconstruct how they were used (cf. grave good evidence).

This creates difficulty in understanding how beads were used in the past. The assumption is that they were once part of necklaces, but we cannot assume that all beads were used in the same way (i.e. necklaces). In contrast to those cases where associated bead assemblages exist, we need to begin to consider that most beads probably entered the archaeological record through accidental loss and the extent at which they can inform us about Roman Britain. To this end, I will examine beads from key sites

in the north with a focus on those with well stratified deposits, including the recent excavations at the Roman town *Cataractonium* as part of the motorway upgrade along the A1.

Jones, A. (2002) 'A biography of colour: colour, material histories and personhood in the early Bronze Age of Britain and Ireland', in A. Jones and G. MacGregor (eds.), *Colouring the Past*, Oxford: Berg, 159-74.

Session 5 - Social Boundaries in the Roman World

Organiser: Andrew Gardner (University College London)

Session Abstract:

Recent political events have dramatically highlighted the continual importance of boundaries and borders in the social world, from the EU referendum to the US presidential election campaign. Indeed, these are particular instances of a widespread process of 're-bordering' in the contemporary world that has been taking place for some years now, and which has generated an exciting interdisciplinary academic field of 'border studies'. While to some extent this is focused on highly specific modern concerns, it also potentially offers fresh perspectives to the well-established study of boundaries in the Roman world, particularly if we take that to mean much more than simply the archaeology of the frontiers. Indeed, we can broaden 'border thinking' to encompass the full range of social and conceptual boundaries which structure human life, and how these intersect and are crossed in relation to different situations and social constructions, down to the level of personhood. Papers are invited to this session which explore such perspectives, and which draw inspiration from work in 'border studies' as such (e.g. Gloria Anzaldúa, David Newman), or other traditions of boundary research and their archaeological applications (e.g. Fredrik Barth, Miriam Stark). Certainly the 'external' boundaries of Roman power, however those are conceived, are legitimate subjects for the session, but other social boundaries – such as those of status, gender, or occupation - as well as 'internal' frontiers and community borders, or boundary practices at the level of the embodied person, might all be considered. Key themes upon which to focus might include strategies of boundary-making and boundary-crossing at different scales; the relationships between frontier boundaries and other forms of boundary-practice; the identities of the marginalized; transformation in social divisions over time; deep histories of boundaries in conquered territories; and the consequences of more contemporary social boundaries for the epistemology of Roman studies.

Wednesday, Calman Learning Centre, Ken Wade Lecture Theatre:

- 10:50 Andrew Gardner (University College London) Introduction: boundary-making and boundary-crossing
- 11:10 Rebecca Gowland (Durham University) Bodily boundaries and the infant/mother nexus in Roman Britain
- 11:30 Kaja Stemberger (King's College London) Citizens of Rome, citizens of the world
- 11:50 Natasha Harlow (University of Nottingham) Resistance is useless! Culture, status and power in the Civitas Icenorum
- 12:10 Discussion
- 12:30 LUNCH
- 14:00 Daan van Helden (University of Leicester) Defining boundaries with mathematical precision: using Fuzzy Set Theory to conceptualise social groups and social boundaries

- 14:20 Philip Mason (Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, Centre for Preventive Archaeology) and Bernarda Županek (Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana) Being Roman rethinking ethnic and social boundaries in the Roman SE Alpine region
- 14:40 Garry Pratt (University of Bristol) A dirty business: social mobility through enterprise in early Roman Somerset
- 15:00 Discussion
- 15:20 COFFEE BREAK
- 15:50 Darrell J. Rohl (Canterbury Christ Church University) The Arabes Esbonitae: cultural production in a Roman period "No Man's Land"
- 16:10 Emily Hanscam (Durham University) Division on the Danube: the deep history of boundaries in Romania
- 16:30 Richard Hingley (Durham University) Frontiers and mobilities: The Frontiers of the Roman Empire and Europe
- 16:50 Discussion

Abstracts:

Introduction: boundary-making and boundary-crossing

Andrew Gardner (University College London)

In the mid 20-teens, borders are back. The contemporary political situation across the globe powerfully highlights what is arguably a persistent trend in human sociality, namely the tension between boundary-making and boundary-crossing. This is operative at every scale from the boundaries of the embodied person to social groups of varied sorts, to the definition of humanity itself, but clearly it takes shape in culturally-particular ways. The contributions to this session address many facets of this theme across the Roman world, and this brief introductory paper will aim to set the scene in terms of the continued importance of taking a historical perspective on very current concerns.

Bodily boundaries and the infant/mother nexus in Roman Britain

Rebecca Gowland (Durham University)

The construct of the individualised, bounded body is powerfully resonant within the industrialised world. It is performed/reinforced through cultural practices which observe the maintenance of bodily space—a liminal border zone between one's own body and other people's. Challenges to the concept of the body's boundedness, such as through the leakage of bodily fluids, are generally regarded with repugnance. In actuality, of course, our corporeal boundaries are not fixed or discrete; our nails and hair extend beyond our skin and we shed all of these, along with our DNA and epithelial cells wherever we go, whilst inhaling and consuming similar corporeal fragments of others (Gowland and Thompson 2013). The mother/foetus dyad is the ultimate challenge to individual boundedness: the 'body within a body' (Finlay 2013). Strathern's (1988: 185) seminal analysis of Melanesian embodiment introduced the concept of 'partible' bodies: 'in being multiple [the Melanesian person] is also partible, an entity that can dispose of body parts'. This chapter explores this concept, together with recent developments in epigenetic research, in relation to the infant/mother nexus in Roman Britain. It will argue that the life course and human bodies are partible at a fundamental, physiological, level and that this is most clearly evidenced in the infant/mother nexus. Cultural interpretations of this unique biological dyad have implications concerning funerary practice and may be significant for our interpretation of Romano-British infant burials.

Finlay, N. 2013. Archaeologies of the Beginnings of Life. World Archaeology, 45: 207–14. Gowland, R. and Thompson, T. 2013. Human Identity and Identification. Cambridge: C.U.P.

Strathern, M. 1988. The Gender of the Gift. Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia. Berkeley: University of California Press

Citizens of Rome, citizens of the world

Kaja Stemberger (King's College London)

In Roman funerary archaeology the existence or nonexistence of borders between cultures can be observed in grave goods. In the cemeteries of *Colonia Iulia Emona* (modern Ljubljana, Slovenia), two types of graves representing both the options were discovered. The first group exhibits strong relations with the pre-Roman culture, especially in ceramic typologies. Interestingly enough they do not predominantly date to immediately after the occupation (which was around the transition from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD), but much more to the second half of the 1st century AD, coinciding with a decline in imported ceramics and a revival of late Iron Age forms. I will address the questions of why the trend manifested itself relatively late after the occupation and why only selected material culture was associated with constructing certain identities. The second group is represented with a set of graves in which women adorned with gold were buried. The women all belonged to the same age group and the practice was potentially associated with rites of passage; parallels to such burials are found throughout the entire Empire. The question arises to what degree it is possible to consider such burials Roman if they defy the existence of ethnic borders and are mostly class- and wealth-related. As burial is the final negotiation point of identity, I will look into why certain approaches in establishing an either 'local' or pan-Roman identity of the deceased were chosen at the time of burial.

Resistance is useless! Culture, status and power in the Civitas Icenorum

Natasha Harlow (University of Nottingham)

The interpretation of social status and hierarchy in the past often relies heavily on modern concepts of social stratification. Despite recent debate over the structure of societies in the late Iron Age and Roman periods (Hill 2011), there remains a tendency to refer uncritically to "native élites" and their role in the transition from self-governing polities to Roman *civitates* (Revell 2016).

The Iceni people of what is now northern East Anglia, known historically for their revolts against Roman occupation, may well have been a collection of subgroups which coalesced in the face of a common enemy. They have also been regarded as "doing different", expressing alternative modes of wealth and status through hoarding of precious metalwork or the absence of elaborate "warrior" burials (Hill 2007).

The transition from independent territory to client kingdom to occupied *civitas* could be characterised as a gradual shift from fragmentation to integration. My research looks for evidence of these social changes through the study of portable artefacts. The material culture of the region seems to show a markedly slow uptake of "Roman-style" goods and imports in the first century CE, in comparison to other parts of southern Britannia. This has been understood as a sign of cultural retardation and backwardness (Millett 1990), or more recently as deliberate resistance to Roman influence in favour of prolonged usage of traditional artefacts and styles (Hingley 1997).

This paper will question the validity of these assumptions. It will explore the evidence for spatial, conceptual and material boundaries between the Iceni and their neighbours, and between colonised and colonisers, through the numerous small finds and personal belongings discovered in the region, including data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme. Finally, questions of social differentiation, hierarchy and power will be reconsidered as means of moving on the debate.

- Hill, J.D. 2007. The dynamics of social change in Later Iron Age eastern and south-eastern England c. 300 BC-AD 43. In C. Haselgrove and T. Moore (eds.) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, 16 40. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Hill, J.D. 2011. How did British Middle and Late Pre-Roman Iron Age societies work (if they did?). In T. Moore and X-L. Armada (eds.) *Atlantic Europe in the First Millennium BC: Crossing the Divide*, 242-63. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hingley, R. 1997. Resistance and domination: social change in Roman Britain. In D. Mattingly (ed.)
 Dialogues in Roman Imperialism, 81-100. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supp. Series 23.

 Millett, M. 1990. The Romanization of Britain. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 Revell, L. 2016. Ways of Being Roman: discourses of identity in the Roman West. Oxford: Oxbow.

Defining boundaries with mathematical precision: using Fuzzy Set Theory to conceptualise social groups and social boundaries

Daan van Helden (University of Leicester)

Fredrik Barth's *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* stands in an anthropological tradition that stems from the difficulty of defining anthropological groups on the ground. During the middle of the twentieth century it became apparent that the, previously widespread, concept of neat bounded groups could not be sustained and had to be rejected in favour of a more fluid conception of groups. No longer was there an essentialist core that defined groups by their members' similarity, but group identities became instrumental, tools to further collective aims, but essentially without substance to them. This view has dominated anthropological and wider social scientific writing. There has been some opposition from scholars, such as A.P. Cohen (2002), and – notably – from many groups who feel that there is substance to their group. Lay concepts of group identity are notably more essentialist then most current academics' conceptions allow. There exists a tension between the anthropological outsider's view of groups and the emic perspective of groups' members.

I will argue in this paper that part of this can be explained and the tension somewhat alleviated by using Fuzzy Set Theory (FST), a theory borrowed from mathematics, when conceptualising groups. While old essentialist notions of groups are too crisp to be usable, so too are their critics'. By demanding a crisp dividing line, they set essentialists an impossible task. The concept of FST reflects reality in that it does not yield neat dividing lines between groups, while allowing for a 'real', essentialist, core to define a group, or at least a way of defining the group in other ways than merely the collective of its members. FST sits well with Barth's notion of a permeable boundary and it allows for more subtle thinking on social groups and social concepts in anthropology, archaeology, but wider social discussion as well.

Barth, F. 1969. Introduction. In F. Barth (ed.) *Ethnic groups and boundaries*, 9-38. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press.

Cohen, A.P. 2002. Epilogue. In V. Amit (ed.) Realizing community: concept, social relationships and sentiments, 165-170. London: Routledge. Corner

Being Roman - rethinking ethnic and social boundaries in the Roman SE Alpine region Philip Mason (Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, Centre for Preventive Archaeology) and Bernarda Županek (Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana)

The paper considers specific types of artefact sets and mortuary practice in the South-eastern (SE) Alpine region, which have generally been interpreted as material expressions of ethnic identities and spatial boundaries. It is posited that these are at least partially related to different, social boundaries and indicate a range of identities such as those of gender and status, in addition to those mentioned above.

These artefact sets and mortuary practices include those that form the Norican - Pannonian costume set, the so-called "House" urns of the Latobici, and finally the 'Norican -Pannonian' barrow phenomenon. All of the above appear after the Roman occupation of the region and clearly overlap in space and time, but also have an extra-provincial distribution. They have traditionally been interpreted as indicators of regional identities, which are connected with pre-Roman socio-political groups. In short current interpretations operate on the somewhat simplistic terms of Roman material culture reflecting the "big picture" of the Roman conquest, the organization and administration of the provinces, in which debates on Romanisation often concentrate on dichotomies between pre-Roman ethnic/socio-political groups and "Romans", between civilian and military, elite and non-elite. The discussion in this paper seeks reexamine these simplistic diachronic explanations and to draw attention to alternative explanations or rather facets of personal/group identity — especially those e.g. of status and or/gender, which may be

reflected in or negotiated through the medium of the above phenomena on the borders of the Regio X, Italia, Pannonia Superior and Noricum in the 1st-2nd centuries AD.

A dirty business: social mobility through enterprise in early Roman Somerset Garry Pratt (University of Bristol)

German sociologist Max Weber believed that the drive for social status dominated economic motives. Dicks (2011) suggests that affordability and prosperity were the only barriers to adoption of a Roman way for life for Iron Age Britons and that there was no systematic or deliberate imposition of these values, but that the local population made a conscious choice to become 'Romanised'. Creighton (2005) views the post-invasion population of Britain as far from being the innocent subjugated peoples of an empire, arguing instead that many found outlet through engaging with the emerging power structures of this new Empire. Acknowledging debate around the term 'Romanisation', and whether the material record represents processes of acculturation, creolisation or something much more benign, it is likely that enterprise and entrepreneurship, although somewhat contemptible to Roman nobility (Cicero, De Officiis 1, 150-151), played a central role in these processes and the social mobility of many rural communities, allowing people to break through established social boundaries.

The study of the Blacklands site, excavated over a decade, in the Bath hinterland, is giving us an opportunity and case study to see these social processes in action. The changes to the material culture and architecture very soon after 43 AD suggest that the people of Blacklands chose to change their lives, to become entrepreneurial and cross cultural and social boundaries.

Creighton, J. 2005. *Britannia: the creation of a Roman province*. London: Routledge. Dicks, J., 2011. The economic and social status of Romano-British rural villas in southern England. Doctoral dissertation, University of Southampton.

The Arabes Esbonitae: cultural production in a Roman period "No Man's Land" Darrell J. Rohl (Canterbury Christ Church University)

Tall Hisban is a multi-millennial archaeological "tell" site in central Jordan, with occupational evidence from the Iron I (ca. 1200 BCE) through late Ottoman (ending 1917 CE) periods, and a particular peak in settlement size and agricultural intensity during the Roman and Byzantine era (ca. 63 BCE - 629 CE). During the Early Roman period (63 BCE - 130 CE), the site was largely in a geo-political "no man's land," situated between (but, perhaps, sometimes within?) the surrounding territories of the independent Hellenistic Decapolis cities, and Rome's client kingdoms of Nabataea and Judea (and later Perea), before finally coming under direct Roman administration with the 106/7 CE establishment of the Provincia Arabia. This paper critically examines the available archaeological and historical evidence for the site and its inhabitants in this period, focusing on this geopolitically ambiguous and potentially disputed status. What does the material evidence tell us about local identities and affiliations, and how did these change both before and after the establishment of direct Roman administration? The paper explores these questions with reference to Robert Redfield's anthropological "great and little traditions" framework, and Øystein LaBianca's application of this framework for Hisban's multi-millennial history, but also drawing upon contemporary borderlands discourse as exemplified in the works of Gloria Anzaldúa, Homi Bhabha, and Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly. Local cultural production will be shown to reflect hybridity with long-standing local "little traditions" retaining their primacy in the face of competing elite "great traditions" imported or imposed from outside the community.

Division on the Danube: the deep history of boundaries in Romania *Emily Hanscam (Durham University)*

Romania sits on the boundary between the continents of Europe and Asia, and the borders of the modern political state contain a region through which an impressive array of peoples migrated and settled from the earliest days of prehistory to the Iron Age and beyond. This is also a region that hosted a number of cultural encounters over the natural boundary of the Danube River, fortified by the Romans in

the 1st century CE, and presently employed as part of the nation-state's border. In other words, while the Carpathian Gap and the lower Danube act as migratory gates into Europe, they are simultaneously ideological, political, and at times military boundaries. It is through the deep history of this unique territory that we can formulate a new understanding of how such border regions entangle themselves with the past. The pursuit of the past in Romania has long been an ideologically charged endeavour, frequently directed towards the encounter between the Romans and the 'native' Dacians. Despite, or perhaps in spite of this, the region is seen as something of a frontier for Roman archaeology.

The links between nationalism and Romanian archaeology are well-documented, but what is less clear is how this longstanding duality of inclusive borders (geographically) and exclusive borders (e.g. the Roman frontier) have impacted narratives about the past. This paper uses migration and cultural encounters in Romania to explore bordering, as pertaining to Roman archaeology and geopolitical studies.

Frontiers and mobilities: The Frontiers of the Roman Empire and Europe Richard Hingley (Durham University)

Exploring the relationship between the Frontiers of the Roman Empire initiative and the European Union's stated aims of integration and the dissolution of borders, this paper argues the value of crossing the intellectual borders between the study of the present and past in order to promote the value of the Roman Frontiers as a means of reflecting upon contemporary problems facing Europe. This paper addresses the potential roles of Roman Frontier Studies in this debate by emphasising frontiers as places of encounter and transformation.

Session 6 - Dialectics of Religion in the Roman Empire

Organisers: Francesca Mazzilli (University of Cambridge), Dies van der Linde (Koc University)

Session abstract:

Recent accounts on religious history of the Roman Empire have emphasized the vital role of competition and rivalries among cults, gods and their followers. With the concept of 'the religious market model' in mind, scholars, like John North, Andreas Bendlin and Angelos Chaniotis, have argued that the plurality of deities gave people – often identified as members of elite- a choice to pick the god or goddess best fitting for their own values and circumstances and, moreover, compete with the choices of others. Additionally, religious competition is apparent by elite figures rivalling for prestigious priesthoods and other cultic offices or by associations devoted to the worship of a particular deity. Yet, the interactive relation between these rivalries in the religious sphere and conflicts between, for example, different cultures, communities, political figures, social groups and artists has received hardly any attention.

This session aims to foreground the relations between the oppositions in the political and social life in the Roman Empire and their impact on religious change by using a 'dialectical' approach. As Randall McGuire defines, dialectic 'views society as a whole, as a complex interconnected web with which any given entity is defined by its relationship to other entities unable to exist in isolation'. Considering this concept, contributions to the session are invited to problematise these relations of opposites, contradictions and rivalries and to shed light on their impact on religious transformations and developments. How did competition in one sphere (religious, political, social) impact the dynamics in another? Can we, for instance, relate the construction and monumentalisation of sanctuaries, the transformation of architecture, religious iconography or the names of gods and festivals as well as the varied statuary of elite members in religious contexts, to social and political oppositions and rivalries? Does competition truly play such an important role in triggering religious change? By bringing together different case studies across the Roman Empire, this session aims to stimulate discussions about oppositions in the religious sphere, in relation to socio-political tension and rivalries, and the reasons behind similar or different patterns of change across the Empire

Wednesday, Dawson Building, D110, Lecture Theatre

- 09:00 Josipa Lulić (University of Zagreb) The Dialectics of Structure and Agency in the Study of Religion a Case for the Cognitive Theory of Religious Change
- 09:20 Matthew Fittock (University of Reading) Size Matters. Portable Figurines as Religious Expressions in Roman Britain
- 09:40 Zehavi Husser (Biola University, California) Religious Change at the Great St. Bernard
- 10:00 Discussion
- 10:20 COFFEE BREAK
- 10:50 Daniel P. Diffendale (University of Michigan) At the Altar of Mater Matuta: Slaves, Matrons, Greeks and Generals in the Republican Empire
- 11:10 Asuman Lätzer-Lasar (University of Cologne) Mater Magna: Redeemer of Rome? "Cult Import" as Political Strategy
- 11:30 Tarek Ahmad (University of Heidelberg) The Katochoi of Zeus at the Sanctuary of Zeus in Baitokaike (Hoson Sulaiman Syria)
- 11:50 Giorgos Mitropoulos (University of Athens) The Charismatic Princeps: The Cult and the Honors of the Imperial Achievements and Qualities in the Provinces of Achaia and Macedonia (31 B.C. A.D. 192)
- 12:10 Discussion
- 12:30 LUNCH
- 14:00 Nirvana Silnović (Central European University) Fields of Power: Competition, Opposition, and Religious Change on the Example of Mithras Cult
- 14:20 Lucinda Dirven (University of Amsterdam) At the Crossroads. Religious Interaction in Syria A.D. 200-400. The Case of the Mithraeum of Huarte
- 14:40 David Walsh (University of Kent) 'If You Think it not Derogatory to the Roman Name to Adopt Persian Cults and Persian Laws...' Placing the Fourth Century Desacralisation of Mithraea in Context
- 15:00 Discussion

Abstracts:

The dialectics of structure and agency in the study of religion – a case for the cognitive theory of religious change.

Josipa Lulić (University of Zagreb)

The relationship (or opposition) between agency and structure is often considered to be one of the main themes of sociological theory. "Structuralists" understand society as a set of rules, as a structure that operates outside the influence of individuals, where every possible action is merely a product of that structure. If we look at the other side of the divide, to the agency supporters, we will find its extreme in Margaret Thatcher's notorious denial of society. If there is no such thing as the society, we are only left with individual actions and choices. Considering either side as the only possible description of society is famously flawed: if we adhere to the pure agency theory we, as Thatcher, lose the society all together; if we stay purely in the structure field we cannot account for change in society. Numerous works have thus been dedicated to constructing a certain middle ground (most famously by Giddens and Bourdieu) —

trying to account for a dialectical relationship between the two. My interest in this debate pertains to the field of religion. How can we interpret and describe processes that facilitated religious change in the provinces of the Roman Empire? If that interpretation fits well with the evidence that we have, can it help us dealing with geographical areas in which we lack clear evidence? I propose cognitive theory of society as an approach which can help us establish a possible dialectical middle ground, escaping both the trap of pure structure (since its bottom-up approach is concerned with the development of the structure through individual agency), and that of pure action (since it provides the explanation for the mechanisms that shape possible action), and provide us with a solid framework for the interpretation of religious change in the provinces.

Size Matters. Portable Figurines as Religious Expressions in Roman Britain Matthew Fittock (University of Reading)

Monumental statuary has long been a means of studying religious beliefs in the Roman world, materialising, in human as well as godly form, the religious, political and social beliefs of the elites - from the emperor and state to private benefactors. However, very little attention has been given to smaller, portable forms of statuary, namely figurines, which had an equally important role to play for the culturally mixed and vibrant populations who lived and worked in the Roman provinces.

This paper examines pipeclay figurines from Roman Britain and asks how they reflect the dialectics of daily religious life in the province. Considering the distribution and contexts of pipeclay figurines from this province and comparing these patterns to Continental collections will highlight the dynamics of trade, selection and cultural transmission. For example, it is now possible to contrast differing 'consumption' patterns between common and rarer deities, reflecting the different beliefs and daily religious lives of different social classes and groups. A chronological evaluation of this and 'ritual material' from temples and burials will further explore the varied transformations and competing beliefs and practices over time. There are also interesting differences in the types of deities represented by metal and ceramic figurines, and in their respective distribution. The paper will show that people made active choices about deities and about the material practices through which they worshipped them. It will show that these subtle differences had an impact on religious developments and reflect wider political and social dynamics.

Religious Change at the Great St. Bernard

Zehavi Husser (Biola University, California)

According to Livy (21.38.9), the native Sedunoveragri attest that the mountains they populate are named after the local deity Poeninus, whose *sacratum* is found at the summit. The ancient author probably refers to a site on the Great St. Bernard Pass (GSB), the most frequented access route between Italy and the Rhineland. Focusing on this site, this project considers the motivation for change in religious practice and the construction of religious space. Here a transfer of power from the Gauls to the Romans in the late 1st century BC ushered in a transformation in ritual activity. One intriguing aspect of the GSB is that a major driver for the cultural changes at the site came from a seemingly unexpected source.

Throughout its history, the sacred area on the GSB has been affected by the presence of the road next to it. Here, practical concerns drive the vehicle of cultural change. In modifying the ritual area on the GSB, the Romans were not governed solely by ritual practice – whether prior Gallic traditions or their own. Instead they modified both praxis and the ritual landscape itself to fit pragmatic requirements demanded by the site and by practical priorities, the highest of which being the Roman road traversing the GSB. Hence, a host of factors could influence change at a religious location, and those concerns were not only or primarily cultural. Rather, the path from native to Roman for many cult places may have been first of all, solution-oriented—emphasizing whether a site worked reasonably over other competing considerations. This paper distils information gathered from recent archaeological excavations and considers various types of evidence, such as the rich numismatic and inscriptional material, including the largest collection of tabulae ansatae yet discovered.

At the Altar of Mater Matuta: Slaves, Matrons, Greeks, and Generals in the Republican Empire

Daniel P. Diffendale (University of Michigan)

The temple of Mater Matuta (along with its twin Fortuna) at Sant' Omobono in Rome's Forum Boarium was a stage for confrontation along several axes of social differentiation. During the festival of the Matralia on June 11, which was otherwise restricted to *matronae*, a slave woman was led into the temple precinct only to be driven out again by the matrons. This ritual has sometimes been ascribed to Rome's hoary mythological past; regardless of the true antiquity of the rite, however, it may have gained special significance in the Mid Republic when social structures in central Italy came under stress during Rome's imperial expansion. This ritual is also adduced as a point of identity between Mater Matuta and the Greek goddess Ino/Leukothea, and participants could potentially have activated this Hellenic aspect of the cult as Romans sought to distinguish themselves from other central Italians. Also by the 3rd c. BCE, the precinct began to be a locus of dedications by victorious Roman generals competing for political status; these monuments would have stood as silent overseers during the women's-only rites of the Matralia. That these monuments also attested to the enslavement of defeated enemies would probably not have been lost on participants in the ritual. This paper will investigate the performance of the rites of Mater Matuta beginning from these oppositions of female/male, servile/free, married/unmarried, and Greek/Roman, paying special attention to the relationship between archaeology and text.

Mater Magna: Redeemer of Rome? "Cult Import" as Political Strategy

Asuman Lätzer-Lasar (University of Cologne)

The aim of this paper is to elucidate the role of political actors when appropriating a Phrygian cult in late Republican Rome, the Mater Magna-cult. The investigation provides a case study that shows the process of implementing a foreign goddess into the pantheon, and the strategies political actors used to make the exotic god competitive within the "religious market". The study sets focus on the archaeological material and investigates the visual culture in comparison to the literary evidences.

Recent researches in ancient history reveal the circumstances of how the goddess appeared in Rome as fiction of Roman analysts, and furthermore as invention of political parties to carry out internal political disputes. In the year 204 BC due to struggles between the *gens Claudia* and *gens Cornelia* the cult of the Great Mother from the mountain Ida (Cybele) had been brought to Rome. The implementation of the foreign cult required much effort by the leading rulers, so that the broad population could appropriate it adequately. The systematical integration included a denomination of Cybele into *Mater Magna Idaea Deum* to closely connect her to the Trojan ancestor of Romulus, Aeneas. Additionally, the urban embedding of the cult at a prominent spot on the Palatine as well as the launching of a festival in honour of the goddess underlines the comprehensive strategy of the political elite. The religious, social and urban changes resulted in new iconographic types and social practices within the cult, which will be presented in this paper.

Again, the oppositions used the cult for political ends in 133 BC during the rule of the Gracchi, when the power struggle of the leading political parties had come to its peak. At that time the myth of the arrival of the Mater Magna in Rome and its reception by the *vir optimus* had been created in which members of the *gens Claudia* played an active role. Parts of this specific myth are reflected in the visual culture as new iconographic types. The evaluation of the archaeological material, such as architecture, coinage, sculpture etc. is crucial for the determination of how the political oppositions significantly shaped the religious life in the city of Rome during the Roman Republic and Imperial Period.

The *Katochoi* of Zeus at the Sanctuary of Zeus in Baitokaike (Hoson Sulaiman – Syria) Tarek Ahmad (University of Heidelberg)

The term *katocho | katochoi* refers to individuals / groups of people "possessed" by a deity. It has been a topic of scholarly debates especially the reasons of their detention (Delekat 1964). Scholars' interpretations range from detention of *katoche* with a legal origin as they benefited from the right of asylum of the sanctuary (Debord 1982) or they were lay officials (Rey-Coquais 1974; Baroni 1984) to a

primarily religious detention as privileged devotees of god (Seyrig 1951; Millar 1992). This paper intends to elaborate the role of *katochoi* at Baitokaike (Hoson Sulaiman –Syria) in order to locate their institution and their involvement on the long life of the place of worship within the economic, social and religious context of the village and its sanctuary. The analysis of the architectural development of the site where the *katochoi* were involved, and the comparative study of its Greek-Latin inscriptions with others from Egypt Ptolemaic and Roman Syria will lead to an alternative interpretation of their function that had originated in the site most likely since the Hellenistic period

The charismatic princeps: The cult and the honours of the imperial achievements and qualities in the provinces of Achaea and Macedonia (31 B.C. – A.D. 192)

Giorgos Mitropoulos (University of Athens)

The imperial cult in the Roman provinces is still a major subject in the modern bibliography (see recently; 'Kaiserkult in den Provinzen des römischen Reiches: Organisation, Kommunikation und Repräsentation', ed. M. Vitale et al., Berlin 2016). However, the fact that the emperor's achievements (victories in the wars; 'Victoria Augusta', 'Victoria Germanica' etc.) as well as his qualities (e.g. 'Iustitia Augusta', 'Pietas Augusti', 'Nemesis Augusta') were individually worshipped and honoured still has a secondary position and sometimes is being interpreted in a misleading way. In this paper the worship and the promotion of the imperial achievements and qualities in the provinces of Achaea and Macedonia during the first three dynasties are being analysed. The concentrated data proves that both Roman colonies and the rest of the cities participated actively in this practice. Many cities established new cults or erected altars and statues to the imperial qualities, often responding to events in Rome, in the borders of the Empire or even within the cities themselves. Most of the inscriptions were found in the civic centres, indicating the fundamental political character of this practice. Thus, a hidden clue of Roman Greece is unearthed; Cities and individuals, mainly members of the civic elite, chose to approximate the imperial qualities and successes in order to be displayed as well as to share a portion from the majesty of the Roman Imperium and his princeps. The old subject of 'Romanisation', which appears often among researchers, seeks here answers; what was the impact of the worship and promotion of the imperial qualities in the process of 'Romanisation' of these provinces?

Fields of Power: Competition, Opposition, and Religious Change on the Example of Mithras Cult

Nirvana Silnović (Central European University, Budapest)

The Roman cult of Mithras has mostly been described as the "politically quietest and conformist" (Woolf, 2009; 2014) among the cults flourishing on the 'religious market' of the Roman Empire. Moreover, it has been argued that "the symbolic or 'cultural' and social structures of Mithraism replicate the basic symbolic and social structures" of the Roman society (Gordon 1972; Volken 2003). As adherents of the cult were mainly members of the organizational system of public service and imperial/private familiae, it has been claimed that "the submission to authority and acceptance of a particular role" in one sphere, and "the replica of their 'ordinary' social experiences" in the other, implied the submissive acceptance of those experiences (Gordon, 1972). Following McGuire's dialectic view of the society, in which "each social entity is defined by and requires the existence of its opposite," this paper will argue how, by mirroring Roman social structure, adherents of the cult used their social experiences in order to advance their own interests within the society. Instead of viewing the members of the cult as a group of social conformists, it will be suggested that the cult's 'mirror structure' was used as a tool of opposition and rivalry. In order to better understand how this might have worked, Bourdieu's concept of fields will be applied, wherein fields are defined as "spaces of oppositions" related to each other "through the homology of their structures" (Bourdieu 1971; Hilgers & Mangez, 2015). The focus of the paper will be on the evidence from the provinces of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Noricum.

At the Crossroads. Religious Interaction in Syria AD 200–400. The case of the Mithraeum of Huarte

Lucinda Dirven (University of Amsterdam)

During the first centuries of the Common Era, Roman Syria was characterised by an extraordinarily varied religious landscape. In the cities and villages of this vast region, we encounter a plethora of deities of various origins that were worshipped in various ways by a wide diversity of believers. In addition to Greek traditions introduced by the Seleucid settlers, we can distinguish Babylonian, Iranian, Aramaic, Arab, Jewish and Roman gods and cults. To this religious mix we must add several monotheistic creeds (Judaism, Christianity and -slightly later- Manichaeism) that steadily gained ground from the beginning of the Common Era onwards. Current scholarship tends to stress the mostly peaceful co-habitation of these groups during the third century whereas the fourth century is characterised as a period of growing religious conflict, during which groups of extremist monks destroyed synagogues and pagan temples. This view is based primarily on literary sources that do not necessarily describe religion as it was lived. In order to retrieve everyday religion and enhance our understanding of the interaction between various religious groups during the third and fourth centuries, this paper sets out to supplement the study of literary texts with the study of archaeological remains such as paintings, sculptures, architecture and inscriptions. The recently discovered mithraeum in Huarte will serve as a case study.

'If you think it not derogatory to the Roman name to adopt Persian cults and Persian laws...' Placing the Fourth Century Desacralisation of Mithraea in Context David Walsh (University of Kent)

For many years, it was generally assumed that the mutilated 'pagan' statues and ruined temples that have emerged from fourth century contexts were the result of attacks by Christian iconoclasts. As the traditional narrative would have it, from the reign of Constantine onward Christians took it upon themselves to cast down false idols and destroy sites of non-Christian worship. However, rarely did scholars consider the socio-political context in which these temples met their fate and how this may affect our interpretation of the evidence.

One cult that has often been described as suffering considerably at the hands of Christian iconoclasts is that of Mithras. Yet while some Mithraic temples were undoubtedly the victims of violence carried out by Christians, given the widespread nature of the cult it seems unlikely that this was the only motor for their fate. Furthermore, one may also question to what extent verified incidents of desacralisation carried out by Christians on mithraea were driven not only by religious differences, but by those of a political and social dimension as well.

In this paper, I will explore the fate of mithraea along the Danube and the frontier with Persia in the fourth century. I will illustrate that by this time significant variation had developed between Mithraic groups in these areas and that this would have affected how the cult was perceived by outsiders. Subsequently, by placing these Mithraic communities and their particular traits into the wider context in which they operated, I will argue that the desacralisation of their temples was unlikely to have been the result of solely religious rivalries, but was a consequence of socio-political conflicts that affected these regions as well.

Session 7- Luxury items: Production, Consumption and the Roman Military

Organiser: Birgitta Hoffmann (Roman Gask Project)

Session abstract:

It is well known that the Roman army was able to obtain craftsmen, who either as serving soldiers or as civilians working for the army were able to fulfil many of the Army's needs. However, since theexcavation at Castleford we know that fabricae were not only producing militarily essential material, but also 'indulged' in producing higher value items such as enamelled vessels and metal spoons (Cool et al. 1998). At the same time, we have evidence that in the vicinity of Roman forts and especially surrounding the Roman legions the production of luxury items seems to have found a market, be it in the form of expensive figure gravestones and monuments such as at Chester or through the production of Ivory Carvings in Xanten and Mainz, or box combs and pyxides in Vindonissa (Fellman 2009).

Beyond the listing of the evidence in finds reports, it is worthwhile to query our beliefs about the provision of the Roman army, especially in view of studies into more modern armies (Brömmelhörster, Pass 2003). There was clearly a ready market for unusual object surrounding the Roman army. Are we to use the ideas of Free Market trading to explain the presence of these objects, or does the continued and guaranteed presence of members of the Roman elite create a setting much closer to the models surrounding the production of high value items in the Iron Age and Early Medieval settings, where a small elite is able to command the production of these items. Are there multiple models at play and are there changes in the course of 450 years of Roman presence in the Western Empire?

Brömmelhörrster, J., Pass, W. (2003), The Military as an Economic Actor. Berlin: Springer. Cool, H E M, Philo, C, Butterworth, P; Bailey, D M (1998) Roman Castleford: excavations 1974-85. Vol. 1, The small finds. Wakefield: WYAS.

Fellmann, R (2009), Römische Kleinfunde aus Holz aus dem Legionslager Vindonissa. Brugg. Ges. Pro Vindonissa.

Skirbunt, P D; Robinson, K L (2008), An illustrated History of American Military Commissaries. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Wednesday afternoon, Dawson Building, D110, Lecture Theatre

- 15:50 Stefanie Hoss (University of Cologne / Small Finds Archaeology) Serious Bling the production of luxurious metal objects in the frontier provinces of the north-western part of the Roman Empire
- 16:10 Philippa Walton (University of Reading) Luxury travel: thinking about the provenance of precious metal objects in the Piercebridge assemblage.
- 16:30 Frances McIntosh (Curator of Roman Collections, English Heritage) Bling out your dead? High status grave goods vs mended pots.
- 16:50 Duncan Sayer and James Morris (University of Central Lancashire) A Fabrica from Later Roman Ribchester
- 15:10 Oskar Kubrak (Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw) and Mkrtich Zardaryan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Academy of Science of the Republic of Armenia in Yerevan) Epigraphical "Treasure" from the Eastern Edge of the Roman Empire

Abstracts:

Serious Bling – the production of luxurious metal objects in the frontier provinces of the north-western part of the Roman Empire

Stefanie Hoss (University of Cologne / Small Finds Archaeology)

The mass production and consumption of metal objects - and especially of metal objects that were decorative but not essential, such as statuettes, furniture fittings, tableware and jewellery – is one of the major differences between the Roman Empire and the periods preceding and following it in northwestern Europe. And while the wide distribution of these items both in terms of distance as well as in terms most often described as social class or wealth is a hallmark of this period, some differences in distribution can be seen.

Together with the larger urban centres, the frontier zone of the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire can be described as having a particular high occurrence of (mainly) decorative metal finds. As Marshman (2015) could show, signet rings are typical for urban centres and military settlements and Heeren/van der Feijst (2016) could demonstrate for the Low Countries that this is also true for the more lavish types of brooches.

While it is thus obvious that there must have been buyers in the army wealthy enough to afford these luxurious objects, the models of production we can suppose behind these simple facts remain unclear – were they produced by workshops entirely unconnected to the Roman army? Or were some of the decorative elements of the military equipment perhaps produced in the same workshops, forming a guaranteed basic income for the owner? My paper will set out the status questions on the occurrence of decorative metal finds in the frontier province and formulate a number of possible models for their production and the influences of the customer base on the development of the market.

Marshman, I. J. (2015), Making your mark in Britain. An investigation into the use of signet rings and intaglios in Roman Britain. Unpublished dissertation thesis Leicester University 2015.

Heeren, S. / van der Feijst, L. (December 2016), Fibulae uit de Lage Landen – Prehistorische, Romeinse en middeleeuwse fibulae uit de Lage Landen. Beschrijving en analyse van het gebruik en de betekenis van een archeologische vondstcategorie (Brooches from the Low countries Prehistoric, Roman and medieval brooches from the Low Countries: a description and analysis of the use and meaning of an archaeological find category), Zwolle.

Luxury travel: thinking about the provenance of precious metal objects in the Piercebridge assemblage.

Philippa Walton (University of Reading)

Over the past twenty years, an assemblage of approximately 4,000 Roman objects have been recovered from the bed of the River Tees at Piercebridge, County Durham. This assemblage includes a diverse range of material from jewellery to military artefacts and is presumed to be, at least in part, votive in nature. When viewed against a background of watery votive deposition in Roman Britain, what is perhaps notable about the assemblage is the high proportion of previous metal artefacts it contains, with more than 100 gold and silver objects recorded thus far. Many exhibit signs of modification or have been deliberately broken up prior to deposition. This paper will explore how they came to be deposited at Piercebridge – were they prized possessions brought there by members of the military elite or were they specifically commissioned pieces intended for deposition? If the latter, what might this tell us about the role of the military (or indeed those who maintained temple and shrine sites) in the production of luxury goods?

Bling out your dead? High status grave goods vs mended pots.

Frances McIntosh (Curator of Roman Collections, English Heritage)

Along the Hadrian's Wall zone very few cemeteries have been excavated but those burials that have, provide glimpse into the money which could be spent on commemorating the dead. Burial practices

changed from cremation to inhumation (and back again?) throughout the Roman period in Britain, however within those general trends differentiation between wealth can be seen. The delicate inlay from Brougham contrasts starkly with the mended pot vessel found at Birdoswald for example.

Some burials have been identified at Corbridge, alongside other high status inscriptions and expensive grave goods. Whilst the inscriptions and sculpture are well known, the grave goods have not been studied, and some indeed not recognised as such until recently. Can we say whether these pieces were made locally, or imported? Recent work at Chesters has revealed evidence for metal working, but also the working of bone/antler inlay for high status furniture, of the type discovered at Brougham. This evidence for the manufacture of goods other than simply everyday items hints at the presence of skilled craftsmen at Chesters. Surely the large town of Corbridge would have been home to these sorts of craftsmen too?

A Fabrica from Later Roman Ribchester

Duncan Sayer and James Morris (University of Central Lancashire)

Fabrica have been identified within a repurposed barracks block at Lunt and opposite the north gate house at Banna. The Castleford excavation identified a Fabrica with luxury material culture. But it is interesting that the Lunt and Banna workshop were in repurposed buildings. The same appears to be the case at Ribchester. Excavations in 2016 reveal a flue, layers of burnet material, over a thousand fragments of slag and pieces of crucible. This fabrica was situated just past the North gate, opposite the granaries and was probably repurposed from a previously prominent barrack block. Additional evidence incudes the opening up of space within this part of the fort and with the discovery of coins and brooches, we suggest that this space offers evidence for a complex social interplay which existed between the fort and the external world. Coin and pottery data evidences occupation of Ribchester into later Roman and immediately post-Roman phases, and it is in this context that making, mending and trading was used to construct identities and create or recreate social connections. A preliminary investigation of the workshops clay floors suggests trace amounts of high value metals, akin with Castleford, these fabricators made more than military paraphernalia.

Epigraphical "Treasure" from the Eastern Edge of the Roman Empire

Oskar Kubrak (Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw) and Mkrtich Zardaryan (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Academy of Science of the Republic of Armenia in Yerevan)

The luxury in the Roman army was not only demonstrated in armament used during parades. The highest quality products could be found for example amongst inscriptions. An example of such exceptional production may be the seven and half meters wide inscription, which was discovered by Armenian archaeologists in 1967 near the town Pokr Vedi, located close to the ancient capital of Armenia, Artaxata. It was created in 116 AD by legion IV Scythian and was dedicated to the emperor Traian. The special (luxury) character is expressed in the way of its execution, the size of inscription and individual letters and also diligence with which the Romans made it. An inscription was created in scriptura monumentalis quadrata style with hederae distinguentes. The above-mentioned inscription was found with fragments of columns, remains of a floor and a tombstone of a legion I Italica soldier. It was discovered during the construction of a modern water supply near the capital of ancient Armenia. The research started in 2015 by the Polish-Armenian archaeological expedition was a direct result of the discovery of the abovementioned inscription. The project focused on the identification of the legionary fortress, which was probably located in the neighbourhood of Artaxata. During the two excavation seasons in spring and autumn 2016 we conducted a field survey, aerial photography and interviews with the villagers of Pork Vedi. The results of the field work indicate the remains of the settlement outside the walls of ancient Artaxata, dated on the first centuries of our era. The collected information allows to plan further research, and bring us closer to the discovery of the remains of the legionary camp.

Session 8 (Workshop 1) - #archaeology: media, theory, and the archaeologist in the digital age

Organisers: Amy Russell (Durham University) and Clare Rowan (University of Warwick)

This workshop explores how new forms of media and new directions in media theory interact with archaeology, in theory and in practice. Our scope encompasses all forms of digital media (from new modes of dissemination to social media to gamification). Media theory has responded to new technologies by investigating, for example, how knowledge is created and transmitted in a post-mass-media world, or how images and ideas move between media.

Media theorists refer to their work as a kind of archaeology: a reference to Foucault's use of the term, and an acknowledgement of media's inescapable materiality. Archaeologists work consistently on the boundary between materiality and meaning. But what is the relationship between the objects, ideas, and people in a mediascape, in the Roman world or today? Do developments in social media and technology offer new frameworks for understanding Roman antiquity? How is experience and cultural memory premediated and remediated (Erll)? Can we still say that the medium is the message (McLuhan)? Can we use the idea of mediation to better understand how objects and human actors interacted within past societies, either using actor network theory or Appadurai's recent work on human and non-human mediants? How can a media-based approach change how we study images, objects, materials, and how we present them?

The workshop has two parts: the beginning will focus on new ideas in media theory and how these can be applied to archaeological material, resulting in a group discussion on how these theories might be used most productively. Then the session shifts to cover social and digital media in action, in particular the use of social and digital media in theoretically-informed ways in research, outreach, and dissemination. Participants are asked to bring their laptops, tablets, or other devices to 'play along'!

References:

Appadurai, A. (2015). Mediants, materiality, normativity. Public Culture 27.2: 221-237.

Erll, A. (2007). Prämediation – Remediation. Repräsentation des indischen Aufstands in imperialen und post-kolonialen Medienkulturen (von 1857 bis zur Gegenwart). Trier.

McLuhan, M. (1964). Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man. New York.

Wednesday morning, Dawson Building, D104, Seminar Room

- 10:50: Welcome. Clare Rowan and Amy Russell
- 11:00: The uses of media theory in archaeology. Presentation and discussion led by Clare Rowan (Warwick): "Introducing media theory: images escaping control and new perspectives on the imperial portrait."
- 11:30: Social media theory and archaeology. Presentation and discussion led by Amy Russell (Durham) "Introducing social media theory: looking for distributed content creation in a pre-mass-media world."
- 12:00: Social media for research, teaching, dissemination, and outreach. Presentation, demonstration, and discussion led by Abigail Graham (Warwick): "Facetime: New ways of assessing inscriptions with websites and facial recognition technology."

Session 9 - 'A Globalised Visual Culture? Towards a Geography of Late Antique Art'

Organisers: Fabio Guidetti (Humboldt-University Berlin, Exzellenzcluster Topoi) and Katharina Meinecke (University of Vienna)

Session Abstract:

Late Antique artefacts, and the images they carry, attest to a highly connected visual culture from ca. 300 to 800 C.E. On the one hand, the same decorative motifs and iconographies are found across various genres of visual and material culture, irrespective of social and economic differences among their users – for instance in mosaics, architectural decoration, and luxury arts (silver plate, textiles, ivories), as well as in objects of everyday use such as tableware, lamps, and pilgrim vessels. On the other hand, they are also spread in geographically distant regions. Decorative motifs of Roman (and later Byzantine) origin appear, mingled with local elements, far beyond the traditional borders of the classical world – in the Germanic West, Himyarite South Arabia, Sasanian Iran, and the Umayyad Empire. At the same time, foreign motifs, especially of Germanic and Sasanian origin, are attested in Roman territories. This combination of iconographies pertaining to different traditions in various cultural contexts created a veritable koiné of images, which was characteristic of the Late Roman and post-Roman world.

This panel wishes to investigate the reasons behind this appropriation of images in different cultural contexts across the Late Antique world. In a period characterised by increasing political fragmentation, acculturation to a dominating Roman/Byzantine Empire and enhanced connectivity cannot be the only explanations for this visual koiné. Why were these images attractive to patrons of so different geographical and cultural origins, and how were they transferred from one area into another? The aim of the panel is to seek new approaches to these questions and to develop a theoretical framework for further analysis. The contributors are encouraged to critically reflect on the adequacy of the proposed models, such as connectivity or transfer studies, in addressing the phenomenon of Late Antique visual koiné. Suggested topics include – but are not limited to – new theoretical approaches to the problem of a globalised Late Antique visual and material culture; possible modes of transfer – both within the Roman/Byzantine Empire and in cross-cultural perspective – that facilitated the geographical dissemination of iconographic motifs; case studies of certain groups of artefacts or iconographies attested in different regions and their archaeological contexts; case studies of certain geographical areas in regard to the overall topic of the highly connected visual culture of Late Antiquity.

Friday, Calman Learning Centre, Arnold Wolfendale Lecture Theatre

- 09:00 Fabio Guidetti (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Exzellenzcluster Topoi) Wandering objects, wandering images: the network of Late Roman visual culture
- 09:20 Gabriela Ingle (The University of Edinburgh) Foreigners in Rome early 4th century pictorial evidence for Constantine I's military troops from the Rhine region in north-western section of the catacomb of SS Pietro e Marcellino in Rome.
- 09:40 Zoltán Pallag (Eötvös Loránd University Budapest) The Wandering Picnic: Outdoor Banquet Imagery in the 4th Century AD
- 10:00 Amy Wale (University of Leicester) Fashioning Visual Culture: Mosaic Iconography in North Africa and Sicily
- 10:20 COFFEE BREAK
- 10:50 Myriam Pilutti Namer (Ca' Foscari University, Venice) North-Adriatic Romanitas: Venetia et Histria, the eastern Mediterranean, and Venice

- 11:10 Jelena Andjelkovic Grasar, Dragana Rogić and Emilija Nikolić (Institute of Archaeology Belgrade) Act locally, think globally: Funerary painting from the territory of the Central Balkans
- 11:30 Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom (Independent scholar, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Israel Antiquities Authority) *Images of the rider on horseback in the southern Levant during the first to sixth centuries CE*
- 11:50 Lindsay Morehouse (University of Amsterdam) 'From Britain to Bahrain: Was the "Boy with Grapes" a "Global" phenomenon?'
- 12:10 Discussion
- 12:30 LUNCH
- 14:00 Katharina Meinecke (University of Vienna) Circulating images: Late Antiquity's cross-cultural visual koine
- 14:20 Carlo Ferrari (University of Florence) Central Asiatic Influences and the Making of Post-Roman Gaul
- 14:40 Rachel Wood (British Museum & University of Oxford) Sasanian sacred iconography in a late antique visual koine
- 15:00 Guo Yunyan (Hebei University, Baoding, China) The Classification of Byzantine Coins or Bracteates Found in China
- 15:20 COFFEE BREAK
- 15:50 Sarah Japp (German Archaeological Institute, Orient Department Sanaa Branch) South Arabia in Late Antiquity a melting pot of artistic ideas
- 16:10 Esra Akin-Kivanc (University of South Florida) Muthanna / Mirror Writing in Islamic Art: Pre-Islamic Connections
- 16:30 Michelina Di Cesare (Sapienza University of Rome) The Mosaic Pavement beneath the Floor of al-Aqṣā Mosque: A Case Study of Late Antique Artistic koiné
- 16:50 Discussion
- 17:10 General conclusions and round-table

Abstracts:

Wandering objects, wandering images: the network of Late Roman visual culture Fabio Guidetti (TOPOI Excellence Cluster – Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

In his two-volume survey of Roman art, published in 1970, Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli divided its history into two parts: the first period, up to the so-called *Antoninische Stilwandel*, could be understood in terms of centre-periphery dynamics; the subsequent one witnessed the emergence of a number of provincial visual cultures, worth of study in themselves and their reciprocal interactions, not just in their relation to one or more centres. Bianchi Bandinelli's opinion was based on the premise that the crisis of central institutions in the 3rd century brought about a growing self-consciousness of lower provincial social classes; even if this Marxist stance has meanwhile proven false, the evidence suggests that late antique visual culture can provide yet unexploited opportunities for a geography-based study. Nonetheless, recent studies continue to address late Roman art through traditional centre-periphery dynamics, trying to show the dependence or resistance of a given area in relation to a normally (if often implicitly) political centre. Recognizing the insufficiency of this theoretical model, my paper will propose

an interpretation of late antique visual culture as a network, in which many different centres were connected through reciprocal interactions: these were made possible through the high level of mobility granted by Roman rule, which allowed phenomena of transfer of artists, patrons, objects, and models. I will show some examples of wandering objects taken from the luxury arts (ivories, silver plate, metalwork) which travelled around the Empire following their possessors, being thus viewed in contexts very different from those in which they had been produced; at the same time, some scenes from the myth of Achilles will be presented as a case study of wandering iconographies, found in a variety of objects across different genres and places, which can be used as witnesses for the geographical and social diffusion of objects and models.

Foreigners in Rome – early 4th century pictorial evidence for Constantine I's military troops from the Rhine region in the north-western section of the catacomb of SS. Pietro e Marcellino in Rome

Gabriela Ingle (University of Edinburgh)

In Rome, the north-western section of the catacomb of SS Pietro e Marcellino contains several early 4th century *cubicula* decorated with unique convivial scenes which are supplemented by inscriptions referring to *Agape* and *Irene*. These dining scenes have been widely researched to date, but only with regards to their association with the Christian faith. The social aspect of the convivia, however, has been overlooked.

Interestingly, the unique inscriptions share parallels with drinking toasts found on pottery vessels which were only produced locally in the Rheine region. The connection between the letterings is unmistakable and provides a further clue towards the identity of this social group of *cubicula* users. What is more, rather than sharing similarities with images from Roman tombs, the unusual style of these convivial scenes is similar to the decorative motifs found on funerary *stelae* from the Rheine region.

The proposed paper will investigate the connection between these images and inscriptions, and consider the catacomb decoration in the political context of the early 4th century AD. It will argue that at least some of the *cubicula* from the catacomb of SS Pietro e Marcellino (which was built on the desecrated cemetery of the *equites singulares*) most likely belonged to the newly established community of military officers, who came to Rome with Constantine I after his great victory at the Milvian Bridge in 312 AD. The paper will present pictorial evidence for the late antique migration of visual culture and customs.

The Wandering Picnic: Outdoor Banquet Imagery in the 4th Century AD

Zoltán Pallag (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

The practice of late Roman *convivium* represented in mosaics, paintings and on silver plates served as a vehicle for aristocrats to display their wealth, power, and status. In my paper I examine this way of élite self-representation taking a close look at a distinct form of communal dining, the open-air banquet imagery, which is often referred to as 'hunting party scenes' or 'picnic scenes'.

In the Late Antiquity the role of communal feasts increased in parallel with the growing importance of Roman provincial aristocrats due to the decline of central government. The greater political power of the upper class needed to be displayed in the decor of the reception rooms, the audience chambers, and the dining halls. Villa architecture became a part of identity representation with these specialised rooms and installations for open-air dining, such as the semicircular couch known as *stibadium*.

Open-air dining scenes in the fourth century appearing on silver plates in Italy (Cesena Plate), Pannonia (Sevso Hunting Plate) and mosaics in Sicily and Italy (Piazza Armerina, Caddeddi, Ostia), in Africa (Hippo Regius), follow an easily recognizable iconography with a *stibadium*, a hanging canopy, as well as trees, servants, and beasts. Feeding and entertaining guests and clients offers an opportunity for the *dominus* to express his luxurious lifestyle not only with lavish and exotic food and drink, but with the richly decorated mosaic pediments or the quality of the vessels, too. This expression of luxury is rooted in the autocratic nature of late antique society. Through archaeological and art historical analysis, the paper explores the social and geographical context of the outdoor dining imagery in the fourth century AD.

Fashioning Visual Culture: Mosaic Iconography in North Africa and Sicily Amy Wale (University of Leicester)

The links between mosaics in North Africa and mosaics in Sicily are well established. The frequency with which some decorative motifs were utilised, especially those showing hunting scenes or adorning the body, indicates that viewers of Late Antique Art were familiar with the same body of imagery. The repetition of these popular iconographic motifs suggests the presence of a shared Mediterranean elite cultural world. Textiles and clothing greatly contributed to the creation of this highly colourful, visceral world, but these textile remains do not survive in the archaeological record.

The concept of 'dress rhetoric' can help to establish acceptable practices of clothing and depicting the body, which, in turn, offers insight into how Late Antique society used and viewed images. The fact that both North African and Sicilian elites chose to promote and express their identities using these popular decorative motifs is very significant. More so is the fact that mosaic imagery indicates that the artistic rendering of these images, especially in terms of details of dress, are geographically specific for each area. They are not copies, but localised interpretations of shared mosaic compositions and iconographies.

This paper examines the iconography of shared motifs used in mosaic compositions, such as hunting episodes and scenes of female dress. It establishes the presence of localised clothing fashions, incorporated within shared and popular motifs, which indicate the presence of a visual language suitable for both North African and Sicilian elites. Variations in dressing practices apparent in these mosaics show the care and consideration of their design and their reciprocated significance for the Late Antique viewer in North Africa or Sicily. Thus, these common motifs demonstrate the existence of a shared, more globalised visual world where iconographic motifs transcended geographical boundaries.

North-Adriatic Romanitas: the Venetia et Histria, the Eastern Mediterranean and Venice Myriam Pilutti Namer (Ca' Foscari University, Venice)

It is well known that in the last centuries of the Roman Empire, the Venetia et Histria increased in its importance. As from the 4th century AD, military troops and even some emperors were stationed in Aquileia, and as a result many areas of the city were monumentalized again. The decorative sculpture which pertained to those buildings was usually imported from the Eastern Mediterranean. In fact, we are reliant on documentary sources alone with regard to the buildings, as they are no longer extant, but detailed information is available on the diffusion of capitals made of Proconnesian marble which were used for ornamental purposes.

My talk will focus on the presence of these capitals firstly in Aquileia, then in the small town of Grado, which was founded in the 5th century (when Aquileia was occupied first by the Umns and later by the Longobards), and finally in Venice as well.. Indeed, the city of Venice can be considered the heir of the North Adriatic *Romanitas*: it was founded in the 7th century and the capitals used for the new architectures were carved using Roman marbles and stones. The echo of this practice persisted in Venice until the Middle Ages, that is to say for more than ten centuries, making of Venice the most Roman city of the Mediterranean (the Byzantines called themselves "hoi Romaioi", The Romans).

Act Locally, Think Globally: Funerary Painting from the Territory of the Central Balkans Jelena Andelković Grašar, Dragana Rogić, and Emilija Nikolić (Institute for Archaeology Belgrade, Serbia)

In the heterogeneous Roman world, among other forms of globalisation and through cross-cultural communication, visual culture played an important role. Variations within the iconographical repertoire mirrored various heritages and influences that prevailed in certain regions. Thus, the Central Balkans, namely the territory of present day Serbia, as an ancient crossroads, can be considered one of these regions and a testimony to the importance of geography in Late Antique art. Being under the influence of Western and Eastern religious and artistic traditions, this territory offers a large and diverse selection of visual material regarding funerary art. An intimate (local) comprehension of the deceased, regarding the world where they used to live and the one they will live in after death, fit into the universal (global) belief of the afterlife. At this very moment - when life ends, the rich iconographical story of the afterlife begins.

Painted tombs and graves discovered within this region testify to the existence of a wide variety of pagan and Christian motifs, known in Roman art between the 3rd and 5th centuries. Analysis of these motifs allows the interpretation of the background of religious notions that dominated this region, as well as of the wishes or personal aspirations of the commissioner, and the fashion or manner of the time. Thus, certain images fit into the overall taste that dominated the Empire, while some were characteristic only of the Balkans. Regarding the particular painting style and manner, it can be said that they were affected by the skill of the master as well as by the taste of the commissioner. Research of wall painted graves and tombs excavated within the necropolises of Viminacium, the capital of Moesia Superior, indicate the existence of a local artistic workshop. Although its work was local, it was always executed in accordance with the global standards that were common in late Roman visual culture.

Images of the rider on horseback in the southern Levant during the first to sixth centuries CE

Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom (Independent scholar, working for the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Israel Antiquities Authority)

In the southern Levant the image of the rider on horseback figured prominently on artefacts of everyday use during the Roman and early Byzantine periods. The main categories comprise lead plaques, clay figurines, pilgrim souvenirs like flasks and tokens, jewellery and coins, retrieved in domestic, cultic and funerary contexts. The find-spots are located in urban sites with a predominantly pagan population, in rural settlements with a mixed Jewish and pagan population, in the Nabatean realm with its defined identity and later in Christian communities. The imagery of the rider in armour, on horseback, and wielding a spear overarm is related to the concept of triumphant ruler, victorious conqueror, and successful hunter, beginning with representations of Alexander the Great. In various cultures and regions the motif can be traced over a period of several centuries. The geographical unit of the southern Levant is the home of different ethnic and religious groups. In the case study three questions will be addressed: first, whether the image represents a Greco-Roman generic topic or is the continuation of pre-Hellenistic local traditions; second, whether a transfer took place from Greco-Roman to Christian imagery; third, the possible connection to the better known categories of the Syrian cavalier god on the one hand and the horseman on Egyptian commemorative medallions and textiles on the other. Even though the image of the rider represents the Late Antique visual koine it is necessary to interpret the archaeological contexts for the assessment of regional, cultural, religious and ethnic analogous and disparate traits.

From Britain to Bahrain: Was the "Boy with Grapes" a "Global" phenomenon? Lindsay Morehouse (University of Amsterdam)

In September 2016, the "Romani Bambino" statue was returned to its city of origin, Gaziantep, after nearly a century of residing at the Adana Museum in Adana, Southern Turkey. The limestone statue shows a small figure—identified as a child—standing within a niche framed by Corinthian columns. In one hand he holds a bird (missing its head), in the other, he holds what has been identified as pistachio nuts. Despite strong links to the area of origin—it is set to be a symbol of the city upon its return—this piece also belongs to a group of monuments that occur throughout the Mediterranean and beyond in early Late Antiquity. In fact, these objects can be found as far as Britain and Bahrain. Though there is variation in specific details on each monument, on the whole they show the same image: a figure holding grapes and a bird. But why is this image found in so many different locations, what does it mean, how was it used, and what can this tell us about "connectivity" between 200 and 400 CE? This paper will examine this group of objects in detail, using them as an opportunity to discuss how a discrete group of similar pieces can be further understood using theoretical frameworks.

Circulating images: Late Antiquity's cross-cultural visual koiné

Katharina Meinecke (Universität Wien, Institut für Klassische Archäologie)

Late Antique visual and material culture across empires frequently incorporated elements of 'the other', of cultural traditions other than the patron's own, and often these same elements are found in different empires. This is especially true for luxury objects and the decoration of monuments commissioned by

royal or elite patrons. This paper will focus on the transfer of images between Late Antique empires and the motivation of the patrons that resulted in this highly connected visual koiné. Based on recent theories of cross-cultural interaction (e.g. Brands, Canepa, Cormack) and globalisation (e.g. Versluys), I wish to discuss the appropriation of images in Late Antiquity as a cross-cultural circular system, crucial in royal and elite identity formation. I will argue that the phenomenon can be seen as a successive appropriation of first objects (such as luxury goods) and in a second step of the material and visual properties which had been associated with them and had obtained a positive cultural connotation. Both the objects themselves and their iconographic motifs and material characteristics served as a mode of communication between the elites of different empires and as an elite marker within their own cultural sphere. Objects were passed on, even across borders, for example through diplomatic gift exchange or as war booty, and gained prestige in this interaction. As the thus ideologically charged 'foreign' iconographic motifs and forms were not only appropriated, but imitated, and the newly produced objects potentially entered the cycle of crosscultural interaction, it becomes increasingly difficult to determine the origin of their visual and material properties – a concern probably more vital to us than to the Late Antique contemporaries. Exemplified by case studies, I wish to reconstruct the different steps of appropriation that may have led to the globalised visual koiné of Late Antiquity.

Central Asiatic Influences and the Making of Post-Roman Gaul

Carlo Ferrari (University Of Florence)

Studies dedicated to the age of the Völkerwanderungen and the end of the Roman empire in the West have always tended to privilege the Germanic contribution to the rise of the new Romano-Barbarian States as well as to interpret the so-called barbarian invasions as an essentially Germanic phenomenon, without sufficiently stressing the fact that elements of different ethnic origin were at stake in the transformation of local identities during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Gaul, in particular, provides an interesting case study for detecting the importance of central Asiatic elements in the making of the post-Roman world. The rise of the Hunnic empire during the mid-fifth century AD, in fact, provided a link between cultures and traditions exceedingly distant from each other, creating - through the modes of the nomadic life-style - an 'open space' which favoured the spread, on a huge area, of similar artistic and cultural expressions. Among the most striking examples is the Alan component of the so-called 'Aquitanian style' ornamentation, on which Nils Åberg first drew attention in the 1940s. The Alans, a central Asiatic nomadic population, ended up in South-Western Gaul in the early fifth century as a consequence of the Hunnic pressure and settled there with the imperial permission. As comparative studies have shown, the representations of animals and schematized human figures discovered in areas of Alan settlement show strong ties with artefacts found in Hungary, southern Russia and central Asia; at the same time, narrative modes recalling shamanic practices and rituals appear in legends and saints' lives from Merovingian Gaul. My paper will address these testimonies from a broader perspective of crosscultural interaction, which aims at understanding the role played by central Asiatic influences in shaping not only the material culture, but also general cultural practices of Late Antique and early Medieval Europe.

Sasanian sacred iconography in a late antique visual koiné

Rachel Wood (British Museum & University of Oxford)

The Sasanian Persian Empire is renowned for its production of luxury items, such as patterned silks and decorated silverware that were treasured by royalty and members of the elite within and without the borders of Erānshahr, both contemporary to their rule and in the succeeding centuries. Making use of the advantage of the geographical position between Central Asia and Europe, artists, patrons, and merchants active in the Sasanian Empire played a pivotal role in the transmission and perpetuation of motifs with Zoroastrian significance. This paper considers the motivations for the adoption and adaptation of Sasanian sacred motifs into Islamic and Christian royal and sacred contexts. In particular, this concerns the modes of cross-cultural transfer both of artistic traditions and sacred concepts, and also the new messages and resonances imparted by the employment and reconfiguration of the Sasanian motifs. These issues are discussed in light of the potential role that recent studies in globalization theory can play in our understanding of these objects and their place in the processes of changing social and cultural contexts.

The Classification of Byzantine Coins or Bracteates Found in China

Guo Yunyan (Hebei University, Baoding, China)

There are about 140 pieces of Byzantine coins which have appeared in China and have been reported in different publications from the end of the 19th century till now. 93 of these coins were most certainly unearthed inside the Chinese territory. Based on the characteristics of these coins, they can be classified into three categories: genuine Byzantine coins (mainly solidi), imitations of solidi, and bracteates which copy one side of a certain type of solidus. The types of the gold coins, imitations, or bracteates are those of solidi from Theodosius II to Heraclius I, that is from 420 to 620. Besides, there are 5 silver coins of Justin II and one imitation of a solidus of Constantine IV found in Xi'an (the ancient Chinese Capital, Chang-an). This indicates that the circulation of Byzantine solidi along the land route of the Silk Road came to its peak in this period. The chronological distribution of these types also reveals a peak of solidi around the period of Anastasius I. Especially, there are four solidi struck in the co-governance of Justin I and Justinian I which were found in two tombs of two high-class nobles.

Among the 88 gold coins, there are 37 bracteates, 21 of which were found in the 7th century tomb of a Turkish noble in Mongolia. These coins are just single-sided, struck either from the obverse or the reverse type of a Byzantine solidus, and they are too thin and too light to have been used as currency for exchange. As for the 50 Byzantine solidi and their good or bad imitations, there are only 19 pieces whose last holders (12 persons) could be identified. Among the holders there are eight nobles (one of which was the last emperor of Bei Wei (North-Wei) Dynasty) who possessed 13 genuine solidi and one good-quality imitation probably made by certain people in Central Asia. The other six coins were found in tombs of Sogdian descendants: only one of them is a genuine solidus or cannot be securely identified as an imitation, while the other five are imitations. It seems that the existence and appearance of imitations in China must be directly linked to the Sogdians. Those genuine solidi of high quality held by nobles were probably given as presents on purpose, in contrast to the imitations, since in documents of the 4th-9th centuries found in Bactria, "good-quality gold coins" were also favoured by the local people.

With more and more Byzantine coins found in China being published and more information available, it becomes possible to know more details on the contact between the Byzantine Empire and Ancient China. To learn more about the contact, it is necessary to factor archaeological information about the Byzantine coins in Central Asia and India into the overall considerations.

South Arabia in Late Antiquity - a melting pot of artistic ideas

Sarah Japp (German Archaeological Institute, Orient Department Sanaa Branch)

While the Old South Arabian kingdoms rarely reveal foreign influences during the 1st millennium BCE, the situation changes at the beginning of the 1st millennium CE when the Himyarites gained power. In the following centuries Hellenistic-Roman models as well as elements of Early Byzantine, Abyssinian and Sassanian origin can be detected in many aspects of South Arabian material culture. It is reflected in imports and local copies of foreign goods, especially the adoption and transformation of new artistic features into the local canon which led to an independent and unique South Arabian art.

Muthanna / Mirror Writing in Islamic Art: Pre-Islamic Connections

Esra Akin-Kivanc (University of South Florida, School of Art and Art History)

Muthanna is a form of Islamic calligraphy composed of a source text and its mirrored image placed symmetrically on a horizontal or vertical axis. It is found in media ranging from architecture, textiles, and tiles to paper, metalwork, and woodwork. Because of its foundational concept of the reflective function of the mirror, muthanna has been more commonly known as "mirror writing." Previous scholarship erroneously traced the origins of muthanna to fifteenth-century Iran, and appropriated it readily as the quintessential product of Muslim creativity. Describing this sophisticated art form as a secret code for a number of theological discourses, past inquiries have generated a chain of misguided assumptions and theories without merit that still surround mirror writing. Today, muthanna is perhaps the most grossly misinterpreted aesthetic expression in Islamic art.

Through an investigation of a hitherto scattered corpus of objects, including oil lamps, textile fragments, and seals from Beit-Shean, Jerusalem, and Damascus, this paper reconstructs the history of mirror writing, and dates it to pre-Islamic contexts, specifically to the late seventh or early eight centuries C.E. For a discussion of muthanna's paths of diffusion and modes of mutation, the paper focuses on utilitarian items on which Qur'anic inscriptions in mirror writing are juxtaposed with Hellenistic-Roman iconographies, seamlessly and with surprising confidence. Refusing scholarly interpretations of muthanna as the product of the Muslim genius, this discussion helps redefine this art form as a testament to the several-millennia-long history of experiments with the technical, practical, and aesthetic possibilities of writing, culminating in Late Antiquity. In conclusion, the paper interprets mirror writing as a conspicuous indicator of a terrain that cultivated organically the movement, adoption, and translation of a number of seemingly incompatible pagan, Judaic, Christian, and early Islamic aesthetic expressions.

The Mosaic Pavement beneath the Floor of al-Aqṣā Mosque: A Case Study of Late Antique Artistic Koiné

Michelina Di Cesare (Sapienza University of Rome)

In his fundamental report of the excavations carried out during the 1938-1942 restoration of al-Aqṣā mosque, for some reason R. W. Hamilton omitted to mention the remains of a mosaic floor he discovered under the level of the floor. This omission has recently been revealed by the publication of photographs and documents regarding the restoration on the website of the Israel Antiquities Authority. The rediscovery of the mosaic pavement and its prima facie Byzantine appearance, along with Hamilton's odd behaviour, has raised the old question of whether al-Aqṣā mosque was built over a Christian church.

My paper will attempt to reconstruct the archaeological context in which the remains of the mosaic floor were found. By identifying their location and the relationship with the three pre-Crusader phases of the building, I will propose dating them to the early eighth century.

A comparison of the decorative motifs and their arrangement in earlier, coeval, and slightly later floor mosaics found in other Mediterranean regions will permit a reflection on the Umayyad articulation of the Late Antique visual koiné and the message it conveyed. This specific case will allow us to interpret the transfer of techniques and motifs as continuity between Roman/Byzantine and early Islamic artistic traditions.

Session 10 - The Seamless Web and the Empire without Limits: Society and Technology in the Roman Empire and beyond.

Organisers: Owen Humphreys (University of Reading), Adam Sutton (University of Reading)

Session Abstract:

Technological development is one of the most important concepts within archaeology. Advancing complexity, 'progress', and the introduction of new objects and materials are the bread and butter of archaeological narratives. In many regions – and particularly in the western provinces – conquest by Rome is seen as a moment of particular technological significance, when a 'practical' culture brought 'advanced' Mediterranean technologies to 'underdeveloped' provincial societies. Obviously, archaeologists and historians have long since moved beyond this simple narrative; but in the drive for social interpretations of the ancient past, studies of technology have been left behind.

In recent years the theoretical focus of Roman archaeology has shifted towards the practical, emphasising how the physical actions and routines of life create, perpetuate and transform society. Technology studies have a clear contribution to make to this debate. Since the mid-1980s sociological studies of technological development have been re-characterised by the 'Social Construction of Technology' (SCOT) movement. SCOT advances a view of technological systems as part of a 'seamless web', consisting not only of technologies and technicians but also of socially embedded interactions between agents, materials, and

world-views. New ontologies have broken down the barriers between 'working' and 'non-working' artefacts, and questioned the idea of materials as having innate properties. This has opened up the possibility of seeing ancient technology not as a linear path inevitably progressing in a demi-scientific manner towards the present day, but as a forking avenue of possible options in which knowledgeable actors were able to make socially informed choices.

In recent years ideas derived from SCOT have begun to be applied to the study of archaeological material. Prominent among these are works by Andrew Welton on the metallurgical analysis of Anglo-Saxon weaponry (2016) and – in Roman studies – Elizabeth Murphy and Jeroen Poblome's work on pottery production at Sagalassos (2011; 2012).

This session will explore these themes further through a series of case studies which will ask; how SCOT's vocabulary and methods can be used to expand archaeological thought; how the consideration of social factors can influence our understanding of technology; and how the nuanced study of technologies can be a fruitful avenue to understanding wider Roman society.

References and suggested reading:

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- Dobres. M.A., 2000, Technology and Social Agency: Outlining a Practice Framework for Archaeology, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford & Malden, MA.
- Murphy, E.A. & Poblome, J., 2011, 'Producing pottery vs. producing models: Interpreting workshop organization at the potters' quarter of Sagalassos', in M. Lawall & J. Lund (eds.), Pottery in the Archaeological Record: Greece and Beyond, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- Murphy, E.A. & Poblome, J., 2012, 'Technical and social considerations of tools from Roman period ceramic workshops at Sagalassos (Southwest Turkey). Not just tools of the trade?' Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology 25(2): pp.197-217.
- Welton, A., 2016, 'Encounters with Iron: An archaeometallurgical reassessment of early Anglo-Saxon spearheads and knives', Archaeological Journal 173: pp.206-244.

Friday morning, Calman Learning Centre, Rosemary Cramp Lecture Theatre

- 09:00 Owen Humphreys (University of Reading) Of Augers, Anvils, and Axes: Roman tools as sociotechnical artefacts
- 09:20 Thomas Derrick (University of Leicester) Tools of self: sociotechnical approaches to glass manufacture and personal adornment in Roman Britain
- 09:40 Adam Sutton (University of Reading) Revolutionary ideas? The sociotechnical dimensions of changing pottery production techniques in Later Iron Age and Early Roman southern Britain
- 10:00 Louis Olivier Lortie and Roger Doonan (University of Sheffield) Transforming technologies: The potential of technology inquiry in Roman studies
- 10:20 COFFEE BREAK
- 10:50 Elizabeth A. Murphy (Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University) A Burning Question? Socialising Technological Choice in Kiln Design in the Roman Eastern Mediterranean
- 11:10 Carlotta Gardner (Institute of Archaeology, University College London), Noémi S. Müller (The Fitch Laboratory, British School at Athens, NCSR Demokritos), Andrew Gardner (Institute of Archaeology, University College London), and Ian Freestone (Institute of Archaeology,

University College London) -From the table to the furnace: the adaptation of domestic pottery into metalworking tools in Roman period Britain

- 11:30 Pirjo Hamari (University of Helsinki) Sticking with the familiar: Laconian roof tiles in Roman Greece
- 11:50 Discussion- A. Sutton and O. Humphreys

Abstracts:

Of Augers, Anvils and Axes: Roman tools as socio-technical artefacts

Owen Humphreys (University of Reading)

The Museum of London contains one of the largest and best preserved collections of Roman metal tools in Europe. Together with those from other museums, and commercial units operating in the city, almost 900 have been catalogued. These tools were used industries as diverse as coopering, fine metalworking, leatherwork and gardening, offering a unique opportunity to study the working society of an ancient city.

However, tools are challenging artefacts to use in this way; they were rarely discarded, are often poorly preserved, and mostly without good archaeological context. These objects can nevertheless still be categorised by form and function, but this is as far as most archaeological work on tools has gone. In Roman archaeology, rare social interpretations have often been framed in the terminology of 'Romanisation', or focussed on tools as technical demonstrations of the skills of smiths.

This paper will examine whether discussing tools as socio-technical artefacts, using the key concepts of the Social Construction of Technology (SCOT) movement, can help us to examine other aspects of the society of Roman London. This paradigm sees technology and society not in isolation, but as part of a single 'seamless web', encompassing social interactions, politics and worldview, as well as technical knowledge. As in practise theory, SCOT sees the elements of this web as mutually constructed through the practices of actors. The concepts of 'Technological Frame' and 'Relevant Social Groups' provide new ways of discussing structure and collective agency, whilst the concept of 'Interpretative Flexibility' can help us to challenge traditional linear interpretations of technological development. By examining these technical objects in detail, this paper will seek to disentangle the different groups among London's craftspeople, trace their development and change, and cast them as knowledgeable individuals working in a unique social setting.

Tools of Self: Sociotechnical approaches to glass manufacture and personal adornment in Roman Britain

Thomas J. Derrick (University of Leicester)

This paper discusses two interrelated technologies which took root in Britain shortly after the tumult of the Claudian conquest: glassblowing and the synthesis and consumption of unguenta/medicamenta. The external imposition of taxes, garrisons, material culture, governance, and technology has long been the preserve of simple 'top-down' models of social change – in this context the now-debunked Romanisation (Gardner 2013). Most studies and conceptions of Roman technology and the provinces, whether explicitly or implicitly, almost unfailingly see technological development as part of a march towards progress (and our future) filled with Roman benevolence. However, by using the nuanced and contextually-grounded approaches to technology proposed by the SCOT movement this paper can examine this interrelationship in detail and undermine past ontologies with methodological relativism (Bijker 2010).

Despite widespread scholarly disinterest/avoidance it is possible, in theory, to examine this intertechnological relationship through a multidisciplinary ancient historical/archaeological analysis of a wide range of complimentary and multifarious data. The author has found, however, that it requires exceptionally evidenced groups of production and consumption contexts to do, such as those present in Italy (Derrick 2013). The situation in Britain is rather different. There is a large amount of data for the

consumption of *unguenta* and *medicamenta* through the deposition of their safely hypothesised containers (often termed unguentaria), but the circumstance of their synthesis is rather more opaque.

The earliest known glassblowing workshop in Roman London was producing unguentaria and stirring rods (as well as cups) (Wardle et al. 2015). The practical properties of glass make it perfect for this application, and it may be argued that the demand for unguentaria/associated paraphernalia also affected the developing provincial sociotechnical and economic environment. This paper aims to examine this relationship and consider it within "The Seamless Web" for a better understanding of society in this dynamic and complicated period.

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Revolutionary ideas? The sociotechnical dimensions of changing pottery production techniques in Later Iron Age and early Roman southern Britain

Adam Sutton (University of Reading)

A key tenet of the SCOT framework is the idea of the 'Seamless Web' of society and technology. This concept embodies the idea of technologies as being systems of making that are socially constructed; i.e. the result of economic, political, functional, and materialistic choices that are all mediated in the subjective sphere of 'the social'. Systems of object-making therefore cannot be realistically separated from the social context in which they are situated. Most importantly for us as archaeologists, the artefacts that result are therefore material manifestations of long and complex chains of actions and interactions that contain a wealth of information on past cultures.

This talk will explore this idea of technology as part of a 'seamless web' through the example of changing pottery production techniques from the Middle Iron Age to the Early Roman period in southern Britain (c.400 BC – AD 100). This period sees the transformation of the landscape from one dominated by scatters of small farmsteads and hillforts to one with the first hints at urbanisation, and sees material culture go from a series of inward-looking styles with principally localised variations, to perceptibly broader stylistic traditions with great emphasis on continental connections, therein linking communities with the ever-approaching Roman world. A fundamental example of such material culture change is the ceramics, which – in general – exhibit increasing technological complexity throughout the period (for example, in the introduction of the potter's wheel, and development of semi-permanent kilns). It will be argued that these vessels and the practices behind their manufacture represent shifting technological frames that encapsulate craftspeoples' interactions with the variously-moving threads of the seamless web within which they were situated. These interactions therefore demonstrate the interconnectedness of technical practice and society, acknowledging the role of economics and functionality while situating technological change within a completely socially-mediated context.

Transforming technologies: The potential of technology inquiry in Roman studies Louis Olivier Lortie and Roger Doonan (University of Sheffield)

Hughes' Note on the 'seamless web' outlines the history of technology studies as they transformed from internalist, to contextual, to a network systems approach. In highlighting a tension between historians of technology and those engaged in technological practice, Hughes identifies epistemological differences that are responsible for reproducing the difficult position that technology assumes in historical and anthropological studies. In seeking to narrate, and sometimes explain, historical processes, historians (archaeologists) have tended to equate specific material categories with categories of behaviour that are in turn assumed fit for addressing certain types of question. In contrast, Hughes noted that those engaged in

technological practices work in a seamless manner where their work weaves together aspects across wide ranging categories with the result that categorical boundaries disappear or are rendered meaningless-the seamless web.

It is this commitment to material, behavioural, and knowledge categories by the historical disciplines that has maintained the problematic status of technology in historical writing. The absence of explicit technological histories within culture historical studies, to the liminal position afforded to technology in Clarke's systemic conceptualisation of society, and more recently, the dematerialisation of things, all attest to the enduring nature of this issue.

In this light, this paper focuses on the production of iron in northern England during the first and second centuries AD and explores how the transformation of metal production might be better understood. The paper reports a reassessment of Roman period sites in south Yorkshire associated with iron metallurgy and considers their interdependency from a network perspective in terms of material flows, resources, and technical practice. The evidence is assessed against a series of hypothetical proposals for the organisation of metal production and material categories and uses the fit of evidence to support a tenable model for the social organisation of Roman metal production.

A Burning Question? Socializing Technological Choice in Kiln Design in the Roman Eastern Mediterranean

Elizabeth A. Murphy (Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University)

The physical appearance of red scorched earth, blackened slag, and heaps of charcoal can be especially conspicuous in the archaeological record. Not surprisingly, furnaces, kilns, and ovens have attracted the attention of excavators and have been widely documented in site reports. As a result, these types of industrial pyrotechnological features represent some of the best studied technologies of workshops and production sites. The sheer number of kilns and furnaces from the Roman world is noteworthy, and attempts to analyse these technologies have come to rely on synthesized regional compendia and kiln design typologies as a means of organizing an ever-growing corpus. Emphasizing classification over context, however, fails to engage with social questions concerning technological choices and the transmission of technical knowledge. In response, this paper presents the results of an on-going study of pottery kilns from across the eastern Roman provinces, the aim of which is to socially contextualize the technological choices and design changes observed at the workshop, production centre, and regional scales. In so doing, it will situate these technological traditions within wider artisanal communities of practices.

From the table to the furnace: the adaptation of domestic pottery into metalworking tools in Roman period Britain

Carlotta Gardner (Institute of Archaeology, University College London), Noémi S. Müller (The Fitch Laboratory, British School at Athens, NCSR Demokritos), Andrew Gardner (Institute of Archaeology, University College London), and Ian Freestone (Institute of Archaeology, University College London)

The analysis of Roman metalworking crucibles provides an opportunity to investigate the technological choices made by metalworkers and to explore cross-craft interactions between the metals and ceramic industry. The re-purposing and adaptation of domestic objects used in both industrial and funerary settings, in the Roman period, has previously been documented and this paper will explore, by the application of a 'technological choices' framework, the use or re-use of domestic wheel-thrown vessels as crucibles in Roman period Britain. It will look at the effects on the vessels affordance by the application of secondary layers of clay.

Particularly demanding requirements were placed on crucibles, due to the high temperatures at which they were used. It has been proposed that the extra layer of clay improved thermal and mechanical properties, vital to the success of the vessel, and were also used to adapt the form of the vessels so that they were appropriate for use. Results from both morphological and scientific analysis of material from Britain will be presented in order to discuss possible reasons why metalworkers chose to use domestic wheel-thrown

vessels over the traditional handmade crucibles, used in the pre-Roman periods, and suggest why they may have adapted them.

Sticking with the familiar: Laconian roof tiles in Roman Greece

Pirjo Hamari (University of Helsinki)

During the excavation of a 5th century AD basilica church in N Greece (Paliambela), a large number of roof tiles were recovered from the destruction layers covering the church. These well-preserved tiles were of a type called Laconian, with curving pan tiles and semicircular cover tiles.

Laconian-type tiles are a common type in Late Roman Greece. As a type, they follow the form already established in the Archaic period. This type continues in use throughout the Hellenistic period and into the Roman period in Greece and nearby areas. It seems to have been the most common type in use during the Roman period, which makes it a frequent find in surveys and excavations of that period.

Based on the Paliambela material, this presentation discusses the manufacture and use of roof tiles in Roman Greece against the spread and use of "advanced" Roman building materials in the West, especially the Roman-type *tegula* tiles. It will assess the modes, contexts and agencies involved in the production, paying particular attention to the organization of the workshops and the role of craftsmen in producing tiles. Roof tiles are functional rather that aesthetic, simple rather than prestigious, yet visible elements in architecture, and might be valuable elements in assessing the interconnectedness of social and technological choices.

Session 11 - "Take two of these for what ails you" – Material approaches to Medicine and Magic

Organisers: Adam Parker (Open University) and Thomas J. Derrick (University of Leicester)

Session abstract:

The dual concepts of 'Magic' and 'Medicine', no matter how they are defined semantically or conceptually, can be argued to have fulfilled a very similar function in the Roman world: both aim to improve an individual's situation through the application of specialist, learned, or arcane knowledge and often required the use of specialist equipment pertinent to specific situations. The boundaries between the two may overlap in great detail, but where this boundary might lay is argued over in Classical as well as Modern literature to no firm conclusion. It is not the purpose of this session to try and delineate the fundamental distinctions between medicine and magic in the Roman world but to explore some aspects and approaches to the surviving material evidence. We aim to develop a dialogue between these two concepts and through a multidisciplinary approach hope to promote an interconnectedness between the ideas.

Theoretical archaeological approaches are inherent in the PhD topics of both of the session organisers (one from a background in 'medicine', one from 'magic'); although, on paper, the two concepts may sit on different sides of a divide researchers are forced to travel to the opposite side not only to admire the theoretical view, but to consider the differing interpretations of similar material culture from similar archaeological contexts appearing to involve similar functional intentions, but which has been catalogued or conceptualised differently. Furthermore, both sides can be considered archaeologies of belief, with an aim to investigate potential relationships between practitioners and petitioners/patients.

The purpose of this session is to invite others to share in this dual-view and to invite additional approaches to the debate from all over the Roman world. We are particularly interested in investigating the duality of magic and medicine in terms of the plethora of material evidence that this may relate to, especially in relation to ideas of materiality, the senses, and/or spaces. The session aims to include

multidisciplinary perspectives from students, academics and museum professionals in order for a range of theoretical approaches to this topic to be brought together and facilitate an important dialogue.

Friday afternoon, Calman Learning Centre, Rosemary Cramp Lecture Theatre

SESSION 1

Introduction & Chair - Adam Parker (Open University)

- 14:00 Thomas J. Derrick (University of Leicester) An Archaeology of Roman Pharmacy: Pastes, Powders and Performative Belief
- 14:20 Nicky Garland (University College London) Movement, medicine and magic in the understanding of mortuary practice: The Doctor's Burial at Stanway, Camulodunum'
- 14:40 Lajos Juhász (Eötvös Loránd University) The dog, the snake and the arrow a Roman healing intaglio from Gaul
- 15:00 Discussion
- 15:20 COFFEE BREAK

SESSION 2

Chair - Thomas J. Derrick (University of Leicester)

- 15:50 Adam Parker (Open University) Curing with Creepy Crawlies: Approaching Insects and other Invertebrates in Roman Magical and Medicinal Practices
- 16:10 Lisa Lodwick (University of Reading) Magic, medicine and middens: Nightshades and people in Roman Britain
- 16:30 Ufuk Soyöz (Istanbul Kemerburgaz University) Architecture and Healing Magic: Pilgrimage to the Roman Sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos
- 16:50 Mariya Avramova (University of Warsaw) Healing in Roman spas between medicine and magic
- 17:10 Discussion

Abstracts:

An Archaeology of Roman Pharmacy: Pastes, Powders and Performative Belief Thomas J. Derrick (University of Leicester)

The Medieval and early-modern apothecary is a trade which is integral to social histories and popular imaginings of those periods. It is easy to see them as pre-cursors to modern pharmacists/druggists/practisers of alternative or holistic medicine, and even 'snake-oil' sellers. However, the reality is more nuanced, and we should perhaps see the ability to transmute simple reagents in to substances with seeming/alleged curative, or at least transformative, capabilities is more in line with more controversial pursuits also akin to those periods: alchemy and witchcraft/magic. This paper wishes to bring a similar and nuanced focus to Roman *pharmacopolae* (and related trades) - the forerunners to Medieval apothecaries - and therefore reveal and examine personal and secret desires which are not often discussed in mainstream social histories of the Roman world.

The medical treatises of Galen and Celsus, among others, from antiquity survive to us, as do the hypercritical reactions of Roman moralisers. It is clear, however, that these texts do not effectively represent the full gamut of Roman experience with these substances, and they are rarely problematized when they are used to decode the archaeological record. This paper discusses the archaeological contexts

of glass unguentaria – likely the containers for pharmaceuticals – and associated paraphernalia (such as spoon probes and cosmetic grinders/palettes), and examines specific case studies from across the Empire.

The necessity to simultaneously study perfumes, medicaments, ointments, oral medicines, magical preparations, potions, poisons, tonics, magical herbs, and everything between is that there is a striking level of commonality: similar ingredients, small volumes/amounts, the instantiation of arcane/artisanal knowledge, and 'performative belief'. It is the latter that this paper wishes to explore in more detail, to examine the complex interaction between the uninitiated and the initiated, implicit power relationships, and the role of wishful and magical thinking in Roman society.

Movement, medicine and magic in the understanding of mortuary practice: The Doctor's Burial at Stanway, Camulodunum

Nicky Garland (University College London)

The Doctor's burial, found within the Stanway burial complex, Camulodunum, remains an important and enigmatic feature of Late Iron Age/Early Roman Britain (Crummy et al. 2007). The material evidence from the burial represents one of the earliest collections of medicinal instruments in Roman Britain (Jackson 1997) and objects suggestive of "native magic", i.e. divination rods/jet beads (Eckardt 2009, 375). Within this single burial lies evidence for the dual concepts of 'magic' and 'medicine', reflecting the interconnectedness of indigenous and foreign knowledge to "improve an individual's situation". The construction/use of the Stanway complex occurred during a period of considerable social and cultural change in south-eastern Britain, "just before, during and immediately after the Claudian conquest" (Eckardt 2009, 374). The examination of the burial reflects the complex mix of identities present at Camulodunum during the transition period and how the role of 'magic/medicine' was transformed in light of merging practices from indigenous and Roman social groups.

While the examination of this burial can tell us much about the false dichotomies between 'native/Roman' and 'medicine/magic', its broader context allows the investigation of medicinal and magical practices in belief systems of the transition period. This paper adopts a multi-scalar methodological and theoretical approach (Garland 2016) to examine the context of the Doctor's burial as part of the personal and collective practices occurring within the Stanway complex and, through the establishment of processual routeways, the wider landscape (e.g. Esmonde Cleary 2005). This graduated approach, stemming from individual to group to landscape, allows the understanding of both "empire-wide phenomena and local experience within one framework" (Gardner 2013, 7). Explicit within this understanding of 'medicine/magic' is an experiential approach to interpreting movement towards and through space within the burial enclosures, which will be presented within the paper in a non-traditional format.

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The dog, the snake and the arrow – a Roman healing intaglio from Gaul

Lajos Juhász (Eötvös Loránd University)

During the excavations in Bibracte (Mont Beuvray – France) a unique intaglio of high quality was uncovered. The perplexity of the depiction posed lot of questions, since these three elements – dog, snake and arrow – are not that common in ancient sources of any kind. Two of them together – even if of completely different character - can readily be explained, but the combination of them all together is unique. As a result of a long and diverse research in various fields of ancient iconography, everyday and religious life the only compelling explanation for the intaglio is that of a healing gem. It seems it was specially designed to protect from poison, thus serving a somewhat medical purpose firmly grounded in ancient chthonic believes and rather acting as an amulet. The vivid colour of the oval chalcedony gem, most likely set in a ring, must also have contributed to the stone's powers. Due to the findspot some further explanations also come to mind. One must not forget that dogs were held in high esteem by the Gauls, although the use of gems can only be attested with the Roman expansion. The stratigraphic evidence point to only a short use of the intaglio after the Roman conquest, therefore it can mostly inform us about the beliefs of the conquerors and not the vanquished. This is especially true if we consider the substantial ancient magical and medicinal knowledge needed to decipher the intaglio's iconography.

Curing with Creepy Crawlies: Approaching Insects and other Invertebrates in Roman Magical and Medicinal Practices

Adam Parker (Open University)

A passing reference in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (11.34) to the use of the Europe's largest native beetle - the Stag Beetle, *Lucanus cervus* – as an apotropaic pendant raises a lot more questions than it answers. In this and works by other Classical authors, the natural properties of certain insects and other invertebrates are proposed as remedies for a variety of illnesses and conditions, sometimes utilising the physical remains and sometimes the image and/or name; the use of entomological remedies straddle the complicated boundary between Medicine and Magic.

This paper will consider the feasibility of not only the Stag Beetle as a pendant in a Romano-British context but a range of other invertebrates in terms of their supposed magical or medicinal functions and consider chronological, seasonal, and spatial factors which may affect their theoretical use with reference to other material evidence from the Roman world, the magical guidelines of the Greek Magical Papyri, and information from modern and archaeological datasets. The ultimate aim is to discuss whether the insects and other invertebrates could have been used for the purposes set out in Classical texts in a Romano-British setting and, whilst focussing on materiality, will discuss the wonderful range of issues surrounding this use.

Magic, medicine and middens: Nightshades and people in Roman Britain Lisa Lodwick (University of Reading)

Plants were common aspects of magic and medicine in the Roman world, yet material remnants of these components are rare due to the vagaries of archaeobotanical preservation. This paper chooses to start from the plants themselves. Taking influence from Richard Doyle's Darwin's Pharmacy and relational approaches in archaeology, this paper approaches plants as active agents, who have the capacity to purposefully affect humans both after ingestion and as living plants within settlements. The relationships between the residents of Roman Britain and the Solanaceae family, or nightshades, are considered here, including deadly nightshade, henbane and black nightshade. Relatively recent arrivals into the flora of Britain, these plants infiltrated urban settlements to form new communities in middens and waste areas. The Solanaceae also interacted with humans through their roles as medicines, psychoactives and poisons. This paper draws on a range of contextual archaeobotanical evidence to show how archaeology can inform upon the entangled relations between people and plants.

Architecture and Healing Magic: Pilgrimage to the Roman Sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos

Ufuk Soyöz (Istanbul Kemerburgaz University)

This paper shall discuss the evidence for two types of travel that shaped the architecture of the Roman sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos during first century CE. First, is the travel of the local patron Gaius Stertinius Xenophon from Kos to Rome. This trip shaped the architectural form of monuments that Xenophon commissioned upon his return from Rome. The second type of travel is the healing pilgrimage to Kos that shaped the perception of the same monuments by Asklepian pilgrims who visited the sanctuary with the expectation to receive a cure by means of a dream vision. My methodology for the interpretation of both travels that shape the production and the perception of the architecture departs from the interpretation method of Asklepian healing dreams. The priests who interpreted dream symbols established *similitudes* between internal workings of human body and the external world, which are then brought into *contact*. Hence, it is with the issues of *copy* (mimesis) and *contact* that James Frazer calls to be the two classes of sympathetic magic in *The Golden Bongh*, I shall be exploring first the production of provincial architecture by a local elite and second its reproduction through perception of Asklepian pilgrims.

I will discuss the perception of the water monuments commissioned by Xenophon within the ritual framework (healing pilgrimage) that controls and defines contact of the architecture with the intended visitor (pilgrim). I will I look at the interaction between the monuments and the pilgrim with a specific question in my mind; how the monuments became an instrument of magic during the healing rituals. By reconstructing the moments of viewers' contact with the monuments of Xenophon during the ritual performances and by focusing especially on the interaction of visual and tactile dimensions, I shall bring forth the tactility of the monuments that played a significant role in the occurrence of magic.

Healing in Roman spas between medicine and magic

Mariya Avramova (University of Warsaw)

Healing spas, understood as settlements where mineral water was used for healing, appeared in Italy during the Late Republic. However, many scholars have argued that using mineral water for medicinal purposes was a much older idea, which can be traced back to the numerous tribes, who inhabited Italy before the Roman conquest. In scholarly literature these settlements are often referred to as "spas" to underline their unbreakable relation to the use of mineral water of healing, it also points to the recreative character of some of them, i.e. Baiae, situated close to Naples. However, this term does not hint the existence of other aspects of those sites, such as the cult activity, that took place there. Another more suitable and precise expression with regard to the main function of these settlements is "healing settlements". Nonetheless it does not precisely indicate the type of health-improving procedures applied. The use of water was common in Greek medicine, however in most cases there is no particular requirements as to its chemical composition. On the other hand, traditional Roman medicine was particular to the mineral qualities of the spring water, some authors, e.g. Varro, even discuss the precise chemical composition of the liquid and its effect on health. However, many scholars have indicated that the Romans attributed healing power to springs because of their believed connection with different deities. Thus Ancient sources as well as archaeological evidence suggest that the reasons for travelling to a spa were sometimes of metaphysical or religious nature. For example, epigraphic evidence suggests that the sick travelled to a particular spa even though they could visit another, which was closer to their place of origin. Another, more tangible evidence, is the presence of vota in the shape of physical organs. This "cooperation" between the rational medicine and religion, when it comes to healing, is not uncommon for the Roman world and for the Romans one did not exclude the other as we are used to think on the basis of our present-day experience.

The paper aims at presenting different ways of healing, applied in ancient healing settlements, based on written sources and the archaeological data. Furthermore, it will try to present the complicated picture of the methods used, focusing on their material aspects, and will try to clarify what was the main reason behind visiting a spa – the belief in medicine or the gods.

Session 12 - Theorising Roman wells and their contents: beyond structured deposition

Organiser: James Gerrard (Newcastle University)

Session Abstract:

Wells are ubiquitous features on many Roman period sites but their ubiquity and the ease with which they are identified has left them languishing. Traditionally the interpretations of wells have either been functionalist (emphasising their role as infrastructure) (for instance Hodge 2000), historicist (associating the creation or more usually disuse of wells with historical events) (for instance Müller and Lange 1977), or situated within the broad and sometimes unenlightening church of 'structured deposition'.

Recent work in the Netherlands has emphasised wells as features with biographies or life-cycles (van Haasteren and Groot 2013). This offers a useful approach to consider the different stages of a well's use and disuse that allow us to separate out different interpretive threads. The use of these approaches can allow us to consider wells from new theoretical perspectives.

Wells can be seen as proxies for changing attitudes to purity and consumption, or as proxies for economic growth and recession, or even as indicators of population size. Such approaches, while relevant, limit the interpretive value of wells. Two wells at Rudston (Yorkshire) (Stead 1980) and Tarrant Hinton (Dorset) (Graham 2006) provide useful case studies. Both were hacked through nearly a hundred feet (30m) of chalk to supply water to late Roman villa establishments. These well shafts embody control and exploitation of labour and resources and the daily back-breaking labour of drawing of water emphasises this point. Cross-cultural comparisons from the Classical Mediterranean, Medieval Europe and the contemporary developing world allow us to see wells not simply as infrastructure but as arenas for social discourse where power, control, social status and cosmology become intertwined. By exploring these interpretive elements we can better contextualise and understand the sometimes complex deposits that were placed within wells at critical points in their 'life-cycles'.

Some of the themes that we hope to critically engage with include: inequality (who controls the water?), status and gender (who draws the water?), cosmology (why are particular wells suitable for 'special deposits' and does this link into cosmological beliefs?) and conflict (why are wells abandoned in the way that they are?). The intention is to showcase a series of multi-facetted theoretical approaches that allows wells and their contents to be interpreted as more than simply a 'water supply' or a 'ritual act'.

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Friday morning, Calman Learning Centre, Ken Wade Lecture Theatre

- 09:00 James Gerrard (Newcastle University) Well, well, well... The social lives of Roman wells
- 09:20 Martijn van Haasteren (VUhbs archeologie) and Maaike Groot (VU University Amsterdam) The biography of wells

- 09:40 Kevin Dicus (Department of Classics, University of Oregon) Wells as memory theaters: a case study from Pompeii
- 10:00 Sébastien Lepetz (Sorbonne Universités, Museum Nationale d'Histoire Naturelle) and Alice Bourgois (Université de Picardie Jules Verne) The animal's bones in wells from sanctuaries of the Roman Gaul: theoretical causes and archaeological facts.
- 10:20 COFFEE BREAK
- 10:50 Jay Ingate (Canterbury Christ Church University) 'Revilding' the water supply: Romano-British wells and hybrid urban identities
- 11:10 Victoria Ridgeway (Newcastle University) Drawing sweet water water supply and collection in a brackish environment
- 11:30 Meghann Mahoney (University of Leicester) Water, Metal, and Bone: Examining the duality of well deposits in a Romano-British small town
- 11:50 Steve Roskams and Cath Neal (University of York) Water, water, everywhere': water sources at Heslington East, York
- 12:10 James Morris (University of Central Lancashire) Thirteen polecats in a well: continuity of practice at Oakridge Well

Abstracts:

Well, well, well... The social lives of Roman wells

James Gerrard (Newcastle University)

Wells are often substantial features, deeply dug and lined with timbers or stone walling. As such they are immediately recognisable by archaeologists and are commonly recorded. Many (but by no means all) wells contain unusual assemblages of artefacts and ecofacts in their fills. These structured or special deposits have aroused considerable interest and debate.

This paper (and session) attempts to investigate the social lives of Roman period wells. Instead of concentrating on the well as a piece of infrastructure, or as a receptacle for ritual deposits I argue that wells should be seen as focal points for communities. By understanding both the context and relationships of these archaeological features we can better understand their functions and significance.

An approach utilising cross-cultural comparison is advocated as one way of exploring the social lives of these features. In this paper we explore how such comparisons enable us to better understand these fascinating archaeological features and their contents.

The biography of wells

Martijn van Haasteren (VUhbs archeologie) and Maaike Groot (VU University Amsterdam)

This paper will discuss the lifecycle of wells. Through analysis of about 70 wells, found in Late Iron Age and Roman rural settlement sites in the Netherlands, it became clear that different phases in the lifetime of wells can be recognised. These phases include construction, taking into use, period of use, abandonment or de(con)struction, and even a post-abandonment phase. Objects found in different locations within or outside a well can be linked to these different phases. In that way the objects and locations tell us something about the moment of deposition and thus about practices carried out in relation to wells. Patterns between depositions in our data set made it possible to reconstruct such activities. Some of these can be linked to functional practices such as digging a pit or maintenance of the structure, and others to more ritual practices such as initiation, blessing, and commemoration. Although nowadays we consider these practices as ritual, we must realise that they would have had a very functional

use to the actors. By looking at wells and objects found in spatial relation to wells in a detailed way, and then looking for patterns in the finds, it becomes possible to write a biography of wells.

Wells as memory theaters: a case study from Pompeii

Kevin Dicus (Department of Classics, University of Oregon)

In this talk I examine the functional and social biography of a Pompeian public well excavated in 2010. While the well was vital for water collection before the Aqua Augusta was built, it was more than basic infrastructure. I demonstrate that the well, during its use, created social meaning by establishing a zone of community engagement and codifying civic identity. It accomplished this through its inverse qualities of durability and mutability. On the one hand, the well remained a fixed point through multiple generations, not only for drawing water but also for congregating and communicating. Affiliation with the local community meant participating in this tradition. On the other hand, constant use changed the well over time: ropes raising the buckets carved vertical grooves into the stone well head. The use-wear patterns acted as a palpable reference to the past. They reminded subsequent users who interacted with and contributed to the use-wear patterns of the deep social and civic identity to which they belonged. The well's social meaning continued even after the Augustan aqueduct rendered it functionally obsolete. The well was enclosed in a private residence; out on the street a free-flowing fountain served the public. The fountain was constructed to evoke the well it replaced. Its proximity addressed and used the sense of place that the well had established, one of interaction and engagement. Its appearance—four stone orthostats forming the basin-mimicked that of the square well shaft. Eventually, its own use-wear patterns would become indicators of history and civic identity: generations of hands collecting the water wore large grooves on the tops of the orthostats. Although the well was physically removed from the public sphere, the social meaning attached to it endured, having been transferred onto the fountain.

The animal's bones in wells from sanctuaries of the Roman Gaul: theoretical causes and archaeological facts.

Sébastien Lepetz (Sorbonne Universités, Museum Nationale d'Histoire Naturelle) and Alice Bourgois (Université de Picardie Jules Verne)

Animal's bones are frequently discovered in ancient wells, and wells of sanctuaries are subject to special attention by zoo-archaeologists, because of issues involving the ritual and magical practices around animals. These remains also inform us about several other topics: environment, regulations of pest population, epizootic diseases, crafts or meat consumption.

Whether we recognize a sacred dimension of the archaeological site or not, we have to distinguish between the function of the wells and the origin of the fillings inside those holes. On one hand, wells can be mundane water wells or sacred wells; on the other hand, the fillings found inside them can be the result of rituals or evidences marking the end of the use of the wells, considered as open dumps. However, the filling act likely goes beyond simple pragmatic considerations, as is the case of the favissae, resulting from a voluntary act integrated in a process of deconsecration of the structure (in the case of sanctuaries) or a form of symbolism aiming at rending the wells useless (in settlements).

Therefore, the animal species and specific anatomical parts deposited or thrown into wells can have a meaning. Why do certain structures only contain horse or dog skeletons, while others are filled with food wastes, kittens, wild birds or squirrels? From four recent and distinct examples excavated in north-western Roman Gaul (dated between the 1st and 4th centuries): Fresnes-lès-Montauban, Nesle, Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Vieil-Evreux, we propose an archaeozoological reflection about the use of wells and about the limits between ritual and non-ritual considerations.

'Rewilding' the water supply: Romano-British wells and hybrid urban identities *Jay Ingate (Canterbury Christ Church University)*

'Rewilding' is a theme with increasing traction in environmental conservation. At its core, it details a redressing of the balance between the wild and the urban, emphasising the benefits of a robust and powerful natural world in the face of the challenges of climate change. Our archaeological analysis of

wells has similarly fallen out of balance, resulting in a keen emphasis on the 'man-made' aspects of these features. While such routes of inquiry clearly have some merit, they can underplay the fact that wells of the Roman period were complex negotiations with a powerful, wild, and often deified, natural world. Indeed, water itself was a meaning-laden substance that had a far-reaching effect on the conception of places. The presentation of structured deposition can be an important marker in this regard, but likely provides an overly simplistic determiner between what constituted a 'special' or a 'mundane' well. This reliance on deposition also contrasts strongly with our interpretation of 'natural' springs, which are more frequently discussed in terms of their ephemeral significance, despite their clear practical and conceptual similarities with wells.

Using examples from urban contexts in Roman Britain, this paper will explain how wells can help us challenge our tendency to artificially separate what was 'natural' or 'man-made' and 'practical or 'ritual'. Moreover, this can be seen as a starting point for the 'rewilding' of attitudes towards Roman water supply in general. It can move us away from the lingering early 20th century rationalisation of such urban infrastructure, and acknowledge the complex and localised connections communities had with the natural world in antiquity. In doing so, we can also discover new relevance for the Roman town in the on-going debates surrounding the character of 21st century urbanism and its relationship to nature.

Drawing sweet water – water supply and collection in a brackish environment Victoria Ridgeway (Newcastle University)

Approaches to the interpretation of Roman wells and their contents are enjoying a welcome review (eg Gerrard forthcoming; Roskams et al 2013). Roman London's southern 'suburb' of Southwark provides a large data set; wells are numerous but, preservation and excavation conditions aside, clearly not ubiquitous. Land tenure, control, access, elevation and cosmological concerns might all play a part in their landscape setting and use.

London's mid-19th century cholera outbreak amply demonstrates how recent our concepts of water purity and hygiene are; these preconceptions should not be unconsciously ascribed to ancient societies. Sweet water might not always be preferred for consumption (Roche 2001, 148-149), industrial premises, bakeries, laundries and bath-houses might exploit or even prefer brackish water. Yet, wells and springs were clearly venerated in the Roman period (eg Allason-Jones and McKay 1985) and careful construction methods substantiate suggestions of concerns with maintaining a clean fresh water supply. Southwark's location on sandy gravel eyots within the tidal Thames, would provide challenges to the procurement of fresh water. Groundwater level fluctuations would vary diurnally, monthly and seasonally. The hydrology is complex; the location of minor aquifers and buried springlines difficult to predict; a constant water supply may have been considered magical or prone to divine influence.

Within the context of Roman Southwark repeated well construction, at nodal points within the settlement (eg Beasley 2006), suggests communal water supplies, providing an opportunity to contextualise and conceptualise the labour involved in construction and the daily drawing of water, whether cooperative or coercive, across an urban environment. Cross-cultural comparisons might facilitate perceptions of the social interaction, gender and status involved in construction, collection and access. 'Special deposits', from statuary to human remains, potentially reflect ranging responses from deliberate poisoning to wider cosmological concerns; understanding context and method of deposition are key to such interpretations.

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Gerrard, forthcoming. The Social-Lives of Wells in Roman Britain and Beyond.

Roche, D. 2000 A History of Everyday Things: the birth of consumption in France, 1600-1800. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Roskams, S., Neal, C., Richardson, J. and Leary, R. 2013 'A late Roman well at Heslington East: ritual or everyday practice?'. Internet Archaeology 34 http://dx.doi.org/10.11141/ia.34.5

Water, Metal, and Bone: Examining the duality of well deposits in a Romano-British small town

Meghann Mahoney (University of Leicester)

This paper aims to explore the many dualities involved in well fills, using primarily animal bone evidence from the Romano-British small town of Ashton (Northants). Animals have been a crucial part of discussions of "structured deposition" from the beginning; as a part of the natural world both wild and domestic, their use is at once highly symbolic and intimately connected with everyday survival. Similarly, wells represent a force of nature that is simultaneously an enigmatic and powerful bringer of life and a domesticated source of that power. As Hill (1995, 1996) has stated, things can have both ritual and mundane qualities at the same time, and the best way to understand both is with detailed, context-level analysis. The use of detailed spatial patterning analyses helps us differentiate the "normal" from the "odd", and start to get an idea of different behaviours enacted across a site. "Odd deposits", such as the juvenile red deer bones found in a well in association with lead tanks decorated with a Chi-Rho symbol, can be compared with other deposits across the site to allow us to start to think about what was considered a suitable offering for a well, as opposed to a foundation deposit for a house or an offering in a formal shrine. Such deposits also provide a chance to explore the interaction of Christian and pagan iconographies and ideologies in a small town amidst the changing world of the end of the Roman period.

- Hill, J.D. (1995) Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex. British Archaeological Reports British Series, 242. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Hill, J. D. (1996) The Identification of Ritual Deposits of Animals: a general perspective from a specific study of 'special animal deposits' from the Southern English Iron Age. In S. Anderson and K. Boyle (eds.) Ritual Treatment of Human and Animal Remains: proceedings of the first meeting of the Osteoarchaeological Research Group held in Cambridge of 8th October 1994. Oxford: Oxbow, pp. 17-32.

'Water, water, everywhere': water sources at Heslington East, York

Steve Roskams and Cath Neal (University of York)

This site, positioned at the edge of the York glacial moraine, contains no permanent water courses but did include a series of contact springs which then formed loci for activity in both late prehistoric and Roman periods. The areas around the springs have been managed and developed in quite specific ways over time and the focus of our paper will be on some of these water management zones.

Such 'waterholes' began to be exploited from the Bronze Age, if not earlier, and continued to be used, and sometimes modified for a variety of purposes, until the end of the 4th century AD. Activities included both functional adaptations and ritual deposition. They will be considered here in terms of construction (wattle, plank and stone linings), subsequent use and final back filling. Each feature will, in turn, be linked to associated water management features (wattle-lined channels and stone tanks) and wider landscape activity.

In an earlier paper (Roskams et al 2013) we examined, in close detail, a single substantial Late Roman masonry well on this site to elucidate its construction, use and demise. We claimed there that it is only by considering formation processes alongside a full range of artefactual and ecofactual assemblages that we can understand the true complexity of structured deposition and differentiate it from other, broadly-contemporary mechanisms. By applying this holistic, 'life-history' approach to other, water-related features, we aim to show how their full potential can be similarly exploited. In essence we wish to argue here that it remains important, at a theoretical level, to distinguish 'water supply' from 'ritual act'. Yet it is challenging, in practice, to deploy archaeological evidence to understand the intricacy of each type of activity.

S. Roskams et al. 2013 'A Late Roman Well at Heslington East, York: ritual or routine practices?', Internet Archaeology 34.

Thirteen polecats in a well: continuity of practice at Oakridge Well

James Morris (University of Central Lancashire)

During development of a new housing estate north of Basingstoke, the field archaeology group of Basingstoke Museum discovered the remarkable Oakridge well. Despite limited excavation of the associated settlement all 26.7m of the well was excavated, producing evidence of its construction in the 1st century AD, with filling events from the 2nd to possibly 7th centuries (Oliver 1993). The fills produced an impressive collection of 24,426 animal bone (Maltby 1994) of which 25% came from 177 complete and partial animal burials, representing the second largest animal burial record from the UK for the time period.

The number of animal burials is impressive, but it is the variety of the deposits, for example ranging from thirteen polecats to complete cattle which is unusual. Initial interpretations suggested the animals represented natural deaths, falling into the well, and 'waste' from the settlement. However, if we consider the transformations the animals underwent by constructing biographies for each individual burial, both fluctuations and continuity of practise can be identified. These animal biographies in turn inform on aspects of the wells 'life history' and point to its use as a central place for continued structured practices from the 1st century onwards.

Oliver, M, 1993, The Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement at Oakridge, Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society, Vol 48, 55-94.

Maltby, M, 1994. The Animal Bones from a Romano-British well at Oakridge II, Basingstoke,

Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society, Vol 49, 47-76.

Session 13 - Space, Identity, and Heritage on the Lower Danube Frontier

Organisers: Nathaniel Durant (SUNY: University at Buffalo), Jonathan Quiery (Durham University)

Session Abstract:

Attempts are being made to combine the Roman frontiers into a single UNESCO World Heritage Site, the Frontiers of the Roman Empire (FRE), which currently consists of Hadrian's Wall (1987), the Antonine Wall (2004), and the German *Limes* (2005). A number of studies are considering the impact of UNESCO World Heritage Sites on identity (Labadi 2007; Gonzalez 2008), as well as the effects a transnational site like FRE may have (Turtinen 2000; Hingley 2015). Given that heritage sites like the Frontiers of the Roman Empire play a significant role in both the creation and denial of past and modern identities (Witcher 2015), it seems prudent to critically engage with the space of other Roman frontiers as potential future additions to FRE, uniting current archaeological work with an ongoing dialogue regarding the impact of investigations into the past of Roman Eastern Europe.

The Roman frontier along the Lower Danube is one of the most archaeologically dense sections of the Roman frontier network, stretching from Singidunum (Belgrade, Serbia) to Halmyris (the Danube Delta, Romania). This frontier spans over one thousand kilometres and encompasses more than one hundred military instillations, providing an invaluable defensive system while the region enjoyed a less than refined reputation in comparison to places like Roman Britain. The traits of this frontier – as uncivilised as it was critical for the defence of the Empire – still bear true for the modern era. It continues to be in a region on the edge of Europe, and despite the period of time passing since the fall of the Eastern Bloc, there is still a significant divide between eastern and western academic traditions (Trigger 2006). Likewise, the Roman archaeology of this region plays a significant role in the development and sustainment of national identities.

Given the diversity of Roman frontiers and the research directed towards those frontiers, the impetus for a united FRE UNESCO site is a good opportunity to try and bridge the divide between regional

archaeological practices and aim to reconnect the Roman frontier. The session has two aims – firstly, to present the current state of research on the Lower Danube frontier and adjacent provinces while aiming to connect this research to a broader conversation on what it means to engage with the Roman frontier. Secondly, to look at the impact of Roman frontiers as places of transnational heritage in the modern world. In what sense does a region like the Lower Danube still function as a frontier? How is 'the frontier' conceptually or theoretically useful? How does this categorization impact ongoing research and our understanding of these liminal spaces?

- Hingley, R. (2015). The Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site and Transnational Heritage. In Biehl et al. (eds.), Identity and Heritage. Springer International Publishing.
- Gonzalez, M. V. (2008). Intangible heritage tourism and identity. Tourism Management, 29(4), 807-810. Labadi, S. (2007). Representations of the nation and cultural diversity in discourses on World Heritage. Journal of social archaeology, 7(2), 147-170.
- Trigger, B. (2006). A History of Archaeological Thought 2nd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Turtinen, J. (2000). Globalising heritage: on UNESCO and the transnational construction of a world heritage. Stockholm: Stockholm Center for Organizational Research.
- Witcher, R. (2015). Globalisation and Roman cultural heritage. In M. Pitts & M. J. Versluys (eds.), Globalisation and the Roman World: Perspectives and opportunities. Cambridge University Press.

Friday afternoon, Calman Learning Centre, Ken Wade Lecture Theatre

- 14:00 Jonathan Quiery (Durham University) and Nathaniel Durant (SUNY: University at Buffalo) Introduction: Bridging the Divide: The Archaeology of the Lower Danube Frontier and the Requirement for More
- 14:20 Eli Weaverdyck (University of Michigan) The urbanity of forts: army and settlement on the Lower Danube Frontier
- 14:40 Nathaniel Durant (SUNY: University at Buffalo) Finding Forts in Scythia Minor: A Case Study in Predictive Modelling
- 15:00 Discussion
- 15:20 COFFEE BREAK
- 15:50 Jonathan Quiery (Durham University) A Cultural History of the Tropaeum Traiani in Moesia Inferior
- 16:10 Alexander Ivanov (Sofia University, St. Kliment Ohridski) Continuity between pagan and Christian places of worship in the diocese of Thrace and Dacia in Late Antiquity Studies in the Republic of Bulgaria: Problems of chronology and interpretation
- 16:30 John Karavas (International Center for Hellenic and Mediterranean Studies (DIKEMES)) and Emily Hanscam (Durham University) Excavations at Halmyris: beyond the frontier
- 16:50 Ioana Oltean (University of Exeter) Between quantity and quality in re-conceptualizing the Roman Frontier on the Lower Danube
- 17:10 Discussion

Abstracts:

The urbanity of forts: army and settlement on the Lower Danube Frontier Eli Weaverdyck (University of Michigan)

Recent research in Western Europe has demonstrated that army bases were inhabited by a mix of soldiers and civilians from various social backgrounds (Allison 2013). This diversity, along with the presence of monumental architecture, craft production, and administrative functions has led some to characterize garrison settlements as urban centres (Adams 2007: 231; cf. (Davies 2002, Oltean 2007: 218-220; Poulter 1987: 388-409). If forts did act as towns, the frontier zones should be considered among the most densely urbanized parts of the empire, rivalling even the Mediterranean core. This fits well with an older tradition of scholarship that sees the army as stimulating provincial economies and sees army bases as nodes through which the imperial periphery was incorporated into the Roman world (MacMullen 1963: 77-98; cf. Wierschowski 1984). It is not clear, however, that forts were integrated into the rural economy in the same way as towns since the military community consisted of immigrants with strong ties to the imperial government while more conventional cities were populated by locals with personal ties to the countryside.

This paper tests the hypothesis that auxiliary forts acted as markets for local produce by using location analysis of rural settlements and comparative modelling. First I create a logistic regression model using environmental variables that would have influenced agricultural production. Then I add a market potential variable – a measure of the total accessibility of marketing opportunities from any given location – to see whether this improves the model's goodness-of-fit. This variable is constructed in different ways by either including or excluding forts. Improvement in model fit implies that marketing opportunities influenced settlement location choices while the variable that improves the model's fit the most contains the marketing system that best approximates ancient reality. Applying this method to the middle of the Lower Danube Frontier, I conclude that auxiliary forts did not act as local marketplaces and therefore they cannot be considered urban centres in the frontier economy.

Adams, C., 2007. War and Society, in Sabin, P. et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Allison, P.M., 2013. *People and Spaces in Roman Military Bases*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Davies, J.L., 2002. Soldiers, Peasants, Industry and Towns. The Roman Army in Britain: A Welsh Perspective. In Erdkamp, P. (ed.), *The Roman Army and the Economy*, Amsterdam: Gieben. MacMullen, R., 1963. *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire*, Harvard Historical Monographs 52,

Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.

Oltean, I., 2007. Dacia: Landscape, Colonisation, and Romanisation, London: Routledge.

Poulter, A., 1987. Townships and Villages. In Wacher, J. (ed.), *The Roman World*, London: Routledge. Wierschowski, L., 1984. *Heer und Wirtschaft: das romische Heer der Prinzipatszeit als Wirtschaftsfaktor*, Bonn: Habelt.

Finding Forts in Scythia Minor: A Case Study in Predictive Modelling

Nathaniel Durant (SUNY: University at Buffalo)

During the late Roman Empire, frontier forts served as the first line of defence against foreign invasions. Although the archaeological remains of many of these sites have been located, there are still dozens of sites named in ancient Roman registers that have not been attached to any discovered structures. As the Romans took special pains to place their forts in strategically effective locations which took advantage of the landscape, it is possible to determine a number of parameters including distance from water bodies and base elevation that affected their choice of location. This paper develops and combines two models based on these factors in order to predict the most likely locations of forts using the Roman province of Scythia Minor as a case study. There are two sites, *Vallis Domitiana* and *Ad Salices*, mentioned in an ancient Roman road register, as being located in Scythia Minor and, although numerical distances from known sites are provided in the register, their location remains unknown. Thus, by combining a landscape model with viewshed analysis from the surrounding forts, this project determines probable locations for these two unknown sites.

A Cultural History of the Tropaeum Traiani in Moesia Inferior

Jonathan Quiery (Durham University)

The military trophies erected in the provinces and along the frontiers during the late Republic and the early Empire represent a unique form of Roman artwork. The *Tropaeum Traiani* – or Trophy of Trajan – was the last of nine known Roman military trophies to be constructed prior to the Christian period and was raised in Moesia Inferior shortly following the First and Second Dacian War at the beginning of the second century CE. The proposed research abstract uses a cross-cultural and transdisciplinary approach to explore the cultural representations embodied within the *Tropaeum Traiani*. The research abstract utilizes the available literary and archaeological evidence associated with the *Tropaeum Traiani* to investigate the history between the Roman and native people, ethnogenesis, and cultural assimilation.

In addition, since the earliest research and archaeological excavations of the *Tropaeum Traiani* in the nineteenth century, classical scholars have debated the original design and function of the monument. In 1837, a small Prussian archaeological group hired by the Ottoman Empire initially excavated the *Tropaeum Traiani*. In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the *Tropaeum Traiani* was additionally excavated under Romanian supervision – Grigore Tocilescu, Otto Benndorf, and G. Niemann (1882 – 1895), George Murnu (1909), Vasile Parvan (1911), Paul Nicorescu (1935 – 1945), and Gheorghe Stefan and Ioan Barnea (1945). The research abstract attempts to move beyond a historical examination, but also assess the contemporary reception of the archaeological discoveries associated with the *Tropaeum Traiani* and the potential influence the monument had on the formation of the national identity of the Romanian people.

Continuity between pagan and Christian places of worship in the diocese of Thrace and Dacia in Late Antiquity, Studies in the Republic of Bulgaria: Problems of chronology and interpretation

Alexander Ivanov (Sofia University, St. Kliment Ohridski)

Continuity between pagan and Christian places of worship in diocese of Thrace and Dacia" has been long discussed in Bulgarian literature, but so far no summarizing research on issues affecting the adoption of Christianity, its promotion and development in the early years following the establishment the new faith in the Roman Empire, in territory of the Lower Danube, which is crucial for changing appearance of late antiquity city. In foreign literature the question has been long discussed, based on which they can identify relevant parallels to identify similarities and differences with the "Classic" examples of continuity of pagan temples associated with the old religion / beliefs that are adapted / transformed for the needs of the new religion. The work aims to examine the available archaeological, documentary and historical evidence to date that can help, if not resolve, at least for the submission of the issue for discussion among academics. This work contains 27 objects that are placed in the appropriate local, architectural and chronological contexts, aiming to prove or reject the problem raised

Excavations at Halmyris: beyond the frontier

John Karavas (International Center for Hellenic and Mediterranean Studies (DIKEMES)) and Emily Hanscam (Durham University)

Halmyris is a Roman fort located in the Danube Delta, Romania, near the confluence point of the Danube River and the Black Sea. Its enviable strategic position is the primary reason behind its long and uninterrupted chronological continuity, ranging from the late Iron Age through to late antiquity as well as its multifaceted nature and character throughout its occupation: emerging as an Iron Age Geto-Dacian fortified settlement and gradually developing into a Greek Emporium, a Roman fort and harbour, and, lastly, into an important Byzantine civilian, naval and military settlement. Recent excavations, under the auspices of the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest and the Romanian Ministry of Culture have revealed substantial traces of its defensive elements and the remains of an early fourth century C.E. Christian basilica and underground crypt within the interior of the fort, which contained the actual remains of two early Christian martyrs, St. Epictet and St. Astyon respectively.

Halmyris is also the focus of a four week field school which has had over 100 volunteers in the past few seasons, ranging from the 20-something undergraduates in related disciplines or retired folk looking for new adventures. Volunteers are attracted to Halmyris because of its setting, affordability, depth of history, and 'off the beaten track' quality- it still very much embodies the frontier. Because of this diverse demographic and the remote location, developing a sustainable field school has had its particular set of challenges. For a successful excavation at a site like Halmyris volunteer well-being is especially crucial, given the unique social context of a Roman fort which is now the focus of an Orthodox Christian pilgrimage. This paper will present the preliminary results of recent excavations (2014-2016) while questioning what it means for the volunteers to engage with the Roman frontier as understood through Halmyris. How is our concept of 'Roman frontiers' shaped by our personal experiences on individual sites?

Between quantity and quality in re-conceptualizing the Roman Frontier on the Lower Danube

Ioana Oltean (University of Exeter)

The proposed expansion of the UNESCO Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site further east to include the area of the Lower Danube gives a new opportunity to reflect on the shifting patterns of its conceptualization throughout time and to problematize the extent to which modern technology can help us overcome the baggage of the past. This paper will survey the way in which the evolution in technologies and theories applied to heritage have shaped our current understanding of the Roman frontier in Romania and offer half-sider reflections on the current challenges and opportunities faced by the introduction of a new concept of the Roman frontier in the region as a World Heritage Site.

Session 14 - General Session A

Chair: David Petts (Durham University)

Friday morning, Dawson Building, D110, Lecture Theatre

- 09:00 James Dodd (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) A new methodological approach to villa transformation in the Roman West
- 09:20 Lacey Wallace (University of Lincoln) Landscapes of power, belief, and memory: two case studies from the Canterbury Hinterland Project
- 09:40 Richard Jobson (University of Tasmania) Religious Expression in the Rural Landscape of Roman Britain: Henley Wood
- 10:00 Discussion
- 10:20 COFFEE BREAK
- 10:50 Paul Kelly (King's College London) Price Inflation in Egypt
- 11:10 Elizabeth Duffy (University of Nevada) and Jake Weekes (Canterbury Archaeological Trust) Life and death in Roman Canterbury: triangulating approaches to osteological and funerary data
- 11:30 Maxime Scrinzi (Université Montpellier 3, CNRS) Contacts and settlement between the mountains and the Mediterranean coast in Southern Gaul between the 1st century BC and the 6th century AD
- 11:50 Lisa Lodwick (University of Reading), Andrew Gardner (University College London), and Thomas J. Derrick (University of Leicester) *Tracking diversity in TRAC*

12:10 Discussion

Abstracts:

A new methodological approach to villa transformation in the Roman West James Dodd (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)

The mutation of the villa in the Western Roman Empire is a key thread to our understanding of the transformation of the rural landscape between late antiquity and the early medieval period. The archaeology of this transitional phase has long been identified and has been dated to between the 3rd century in some places, and areas late as the 6th century in others; however, it is only in the last 20 years that work has begun to examine the phenomenon in detail, with a number of regional studies emerging, and a few non-empirical larger studies undertaken. The topic, however, is distinctly lacking in a unified theoretical methodology. This paper intends to develop and demonstrate a new methodological approach to the phenomenon of villa change, establishing a clear classification system, augmenting the work done by Chavarría (2004) and Ripoll and Acre (2000), categorising the different elements of transformation and establishing a theoretically informed methodology for this. It will also discuss the basis and feasibility of a standardised terminology to refer to these diverse features, replacing the biased catch-all phrase 'squatter occupation'.

Landscapes of power, belief, and memory: two case studies from the Canterbury Hinterland Project

Lacey Wallace (University of Lincoln)

This paper will explore how two landscapes of power, belief, and memory—composed of complex, multi-period 'places' and their multiple and mutable meanings—were experienced and woven into the Roman-period creation of social landscapes surrounding recently-discovered, high-status Roman-period structural complexes in east Kent. Roman-period changes within these landscapes demonstrate the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of the material and symbolic relationships between natural features, mortuary monuments, and settlements.

Within complex archaeological landscapes, it can often be difficult to make meaning out of data. Seeking to interpret meaning in the social landscape and to understand the diverse experiences of it, the scale of analysis enabled through interpretations of LiDAR, aerial photographs, and geophysical survey can produce an overwhelming visual database. After 5 seasons of the Project's survey and analysis, quantifying, identifying, and typologizing palimpsest features threaten to overtake the questions that drove us to collect the data in the first place. While phenomenology (Tilley 1994) has had its critics and more recent approaches, such as hauntology (ten Harkel et al. 2012), have yet to find wide application, descriptions of what people did with the land are more dominant in Roman archaeology than theoretically-driven studies of meaning and experience in the landscape.

In developing a consideration of how and why people created and experienced the landscapes that we have been digitally 'reconstructing', we are attempting to identify and interpret significant places, relationships, and the associations that produced meaning. Focussing on 'local landscapes' surrounding particular high-status settlements has enabled us to investigate the roles that power, belief, and memory had in the creation of Romano-British rural identities in the hinterland of Canterbury.

Religious Expression in the Rural Landscape of Roman Britain: Henley Wood Richard Johson (University of Tasmania)

Religious expression in the province of Britannia was altered, to varying degrees, by the arrival of the Romans. Religious worship was an integral part of the lives of the Romans as well as their indigenous counterparts.

This paper examines the archaeological evidence uncovered through excavations at the Romano-British temple and its ancillary buildings located at Henley Wood in Somerset. It concentrates on the early stages of development of the temple precinct up to the 3rd century AD. This paper aims to gauge the extent of

Roman cultural influence on the religious practices of the indigenous inhabitants within the rural landscape during this early period of occupation.

The available archaeological evidence is approached in three phases. First, the site is considered within its geographical context in order to assess various characteristics of the landscape that may explain the sanctity of the site. Second, a spatial analysis of the buildings within the temple complex is conducted in order to identify their specific function and the religious activities that may have taken place within them. Finally, the evidence is tested against the theory that cultural identity in this period is far more complex than just Roman or British (Creighton, 2006). It is necessary to examine evidence from both the urban and rural setting to provide a comparison and contrast of Roman cultural influence within these spheres.

The indigenous population probably formed over 95% of the population of Roman Britain (McCarthy 2013) and whereas numerous studies have focused primarily on the urban environment of Roman Britain this paper will place its focus upon the rural environment and endeavour to unravel some of the threads that made up the cultural identity of the rural inhabitants of Roman Britain.

Price Inflation in Roman Egypt

Paul Kelly (King's College London)

The commonly held view is that the only period of price inflation between AD 1 and 270 in Roman Egypt occurred between AD 160 and 190, probably as a result of the Antonine plague. This paper will demonstrate through the statistical analysis of the source papyri that contrary to this view there was continued price inflation for most commodities including barley, wine, donkeys and slaves after AD 190. There are high correlation factors for these commodities showing that their prices moved in similar ways. Land rentals and house prices also had continued increases. The exception to this pattern was wheat where the Roman state appears to have intervened in the market to keep prices low and stable and there was thus a co-existence of state-led and private market economic sectors.

A price index for a basket of goods is constructed from the price trends of the individual commodities. This index is compared with the concurrent debasement of the silver coinage to see the extent to which a relationship between coinage debasement and price inflation can be shown to have existed.

The conclusions as to inflation have important implications for the current interest in the quantification of the Roman economy since the only reliable price information for the Empire comes from Egypt. The conclusion as to the co-existence of economic sectors which had different price behaviours has implications for the debate as to the nature of the Roman market economy. The differential pricing for wheat and other crops also provides a theoretical basis which may help archaeologists when they are considering farming strategies and individual behaviours.'

Life and death in Roman Canterbury: triangulating approaches to osteological and funerary data

Elizabeth Duffy (University of Nevada) and Jake Weekes (Canterbury Archaeological Trust)

Bioarchaeological examination of human skeletal remains can provide an invaluable perspective on the past because it involves an integrated contextual analysis of direct sources of evidence for how individuals lived and died. Skeletal data are interpreted within a biocultural framework that acknowledges the complex relationship between the physical, biological, and social contexts in human societies, including the funerary context. Human skeletal remains from a Romano-British cemetery in Canterbury (3rd – 4th century AD) are examined here as a case study. Skeletal evidence of health stress among those that came to make up the cemetery population has been assessed using cribra orbitalia, porotic hyperostosis, periosteal lesions, and fractures, with these findings then considered in view of selection and treatment of individuals for funerary rites, and the construction of identities in death.'

Contacts and settlement between the mountains and the Mediterranean coast in Southern Gaul between the 1st century BC and the 6th century AD

Maxime Scrinzi (Université Montpellier 3, CNRS)

Between mountain, plain and coastline, the Mediterranean landscapes are composed of rich contrasted landscapes put forward by Fernand Braudel in his time. From the Pyrenees to the Alps, south of the Massif Central, marked by the Causses and the mountain range of the Cévennes, Southern Gaul presents all the physical characteristics that make up this space that is both open to the sea and the hinterland. These assets have in part contributed to the dynamism of archaeological research in this sector and in particular to the programs centred on the evolution of the settlement and the man/environment interactions on the long time. All these researches constitute a first order of reference, both in terms of methodology and results, on the basis of which this communication centred on settlement systems and contacts between the hinterland and the plains of the South of Gaul between the 1st century BC and the 6th century AD.

In this sector, as on the Mediterranean scale, this theme has enhanced numerous research programs, particularly around river valleys. Indeed, the rivers link the different landscapes of this Mediterranean environment and constitute paths of penetration between sea and hinterland. This essential aspect in the context of trade and the movement of people, quickly attracted the human communities that took benefits of rivers. While the latter may constitute natural boundaries, they also represent administrative boundaries contributing to the political and economic structuring of the territories they cross. Thus, better understanding their roles and their place in the landscape occupied by human societies is primordial in the understanding of the interactions between mountain and coastline.

Tracking diversity in TRAC

Lisa Lodwick (University of Reading), Andrew Gardner (University College London), and Thomas J. Derrick (University of Leicester)

TRAC was founded in 1991 with the intention of increasing the range of voices heard in Roman archaeology as well as the integration of explicit theoretical approaches. Indeed, issues of male dominated speaker line-ups, poor gender diversity and sexism were raised at the first TRAC (Scott 1993), and key factors such as work-life balance, committee representation and conference politics were all subsequently discussed (Scott 1998). However, diversity has received much less attention at recent TRACs. Furthermore, post-colonial approaches have been extensively applied to archaeological material, yet few initiatives have sought to increase the range of nationalities, or non-academic voices, contributing to TRAC, or investigate how we can de-provincialise theoretical Roman archaeology.

The relative success of annual TRAC conferences and publications is increasingly judged by the extent and success of the application of theory, whilst the other aims of TRAC, of engaging and valuing a diverse community, and providing an open forum for discussion, have ceased to receive recognition or discussion. Given the increased attention to issues surrounding diversity in academia, and the work of organisations such as Athena Swan, the CIFA, and the Women's Classical Committee to raise these issues and present ways forward, the lack of consideration of diversity in recent years in TRAC is stark.

As a starting point, this paper seeks to draw on the resource of 25 years of Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference programmes to assess where the TRAC community stands in terms of diversity – highlighting gender, institutional nationality of presenters, and sector of employment as case studies, and situate this data alongside recent studies in other areas of archaeology and academia. The ways in which TRAC events are currently made accessible will be evaluated, and suggestions made as to how we can increase the diversity of the TRAC community, and Roman archaeology in the future.

Scott, E. 1993. Introduction: TRAC (Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference) 1991. In E. Scott (ed.) 1993 Theoretical Roman Archaeology: First Conference Proceedings. Worldwide Archaeology Series, vol. 4. Aldershot: Avebury/Ashgate.

Scott, E. 1998. Tales from a Romanist: a Personal view of archaeology and 'equal opportunities'. In C. Forcey et al. (ed.) TRAC 97: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Session 15 - General Session B

Chair: Darrel Rohl (Canterbury Christ Church University)

Friday afternoon, Dawson Building, D110, Lecture Theatre

- 14:00 Eleonora Zampieri (University of Leicester) Targeted audiences? Considerations of propaganda reception in late Republican Rome
- 14:20 Ghislaine van der Ploeg (University of Tampere, Finland) *Identity and Emotions in the Funerary Inscriptions of Ostia and Isola Sacra*
- 14:40 Tais Pagoto Bélo (State University of Campinas, Brazil) Women in Britannia
- 15:00 Discussion
- 15:20 COFFEE BREAK
- 15:50 Lucy Elkerton (University of Bristol) Manly Men: Images of Gender in Iberian Mosaics
- 16:10 Rubén Montoya González (University of Leicester) *Patrons, viewers and villa mosaics in 4th century Hispania Citerior.*
- 16:30 Discussion

Abstracts:

Targeted audiences? Considerations of propaganda reception in late Republican Rome *Eleonora Zampieri (University of Leicester)*

Targeted audiences? Considerations of propaganda reception in late Republican Rome It has long been recognised that propaganda was carried out in the ancient world, if of course, on a different and less systematic and sophisticated level than that of the modern world. Many studies have been dedicated to ancient propaganda since, particularly in relation to the Roman world, since Romans were able to use it systematically, extensively and effectively by exploiting all available forms of communication (Jowett and O'Donnell 2006, 54).

But this research has focused mainly on the identification of the propaganda themes of different political groups or individuals (notably emperors), and on the 'media' used for its diffusion, such as coins, buildings, literature or works of art: a very prominent study is Zanker's Augustus and the Power of Images. Yet few scholars problematize the reception of those messages; it seems therefore necessary to be asking questions like: could everybody understand any message? Were some messages targeted only at particular population sectors?

This paper presents some initial reflections and seeks to promote discussion on the problem of propaganda reception in the Roman world. It will focus on the late Republican period and on architecture at Rome. Its aim is to investigate the ways by which it is possible to study the propaganda expressed by a monument in relation to the public at which it was aimed. Did the accessibility of a place influence the positioning and the typology of displayed propagandistic messages? Were some messages shown only/predominantly in highly frequented places, and were some confined to more 'exclusive' ones? The

Forum of Caesar in Rome, and the development of its architectural and artistic propaganda up to Caesar's death will be presented as a case study.

Jowett G. S., O'Donnell V. 2006, Propaganda and Persuasion, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks (California) – London – New Delhi.

Identity and Emotions in the Funerary Inscriptions of Ostia and Isola Sacra

Ghislaine van der Ploeg (University of Tampere, Finland)

Funerary inscriptions make up the vast majority of the inscriptions found across the Roman Empire. For the most part they are highly formulaic, stating only the deceased's name, the name of the dedicator, and sometimes also some additional details such as profession or the age at which the person died. However, these inscriptions were still highly important markers of status and identity and the elements included in these epitaphs were carefully selected and considered. Epithets were one such element in which the most important or appropriate characteristics of the deceased, such as piety or sweetness, could be highlighted and displayed for viewers to see. This paper will present a statistical analysis of the epitaphs of Ostia and Isola Sacra, indicating a slight local variation in the use of these epithets but also an appropriateness for the use of certain epithets with particular members of the family. This will then be analysed in order to show how this reflected status and the position of people within the family and how these elements were an important part of the display of identity. The reasons behind the choice to include aspects of identity in these inscriptions will be explored and also how, despite their formulaic nature, emotions and loss were displayed in these epitaphs via a case-study analysis. The main questions this paper wishes to ask are: How did the epitaphs of Isola Sacra and Ostia differ from each other? How were identity and emotions displayed in these inscriptions? and What do these inscriptions tell us about the relation between status and power in antiquity?

Women in Britannia

Tais Pagoto Bélo (State University of Campinas, Brazil)

This presentation has the intention to show a study about women in Antiquity, which, for a long time were hidden by past studies in all 'histories', in different places and times, and suffered from prejudice in distinctive ways. The proposal is to reflect on women in ancient society, especially at Britannia, during the arrival and presence of the Roman Empire in the province. This work is searching for women, Romans and Britons, who composed different customs, who lives were interspersed, and evidenced by traces written and/or materials.

By studying these women should be borne in mind that this was not a homogeneous group. Indeed, for both of population, who had already housed, and those who came after, there were a wide variety of ideas about their status and how they should conduct their lives. Materials about Roman and Briton women have been found in epigraphic ways, altars, tombstones and burials, as well as in form of statues and images. However, this study compares these primary sources with the work of Tacitus, Annals, in which the author seems to always put women in pejorative characteristics, very different from caring and loving words given to them in these death sites, leading position and gravestones.

Manly Men: Images of Gender in Iberian Mosaics

Lucy Elkerton (University of Bristol)

The mosaics of Roman Spain constitute an exciting body of visual evidence for the provincial and imperial attitudes of this period. The myths and motifs that cover these elaborate floors draw on both Roman and Hellenistic traditions, but are also firmly connected to, and must be understood in the context of the Iberian provinces. In this paper, I propose to explore some of the examples of this visual and material culture in this case study of Iberian mosaics. My research focuses on questions of gender identity: whether we can use the images of gods and heroes, monsters and men, to explore how the Iberian viewers constructed and understood their gender identity. How did they conceive of concepts such as masculinity and femininity through these fantastical images? This is constantly set against and interacting

with a larger 'Roman' identity, especially in the Late Antique when the province had been part of the Empire for several centuries.

As an example, I will explore a series of hunting mosaics that are very different from the standard iconography of hunts and hunting used in other parts of the Empire, but do draw upon Hellenistic and Roman conceptions of masculinity. I will argue that this motif represents a particularly Iberian conception of Roman masculinity, that these images are a visual language that is drawn from the Late Antique koine imbued with an Iberian accent. These mosaics are instantly recognisable to us as modern scholars as 'Roman' and yet come with their own idiosyncrasies that often lead scholars to dismiss them as badly executed or incompetent imitations. This paper, and this researcher, will argue against that notion, and instead posit an interpretation where these mosaics are the product of a particular imaginative culture, and communicated as such to those viewers who inhabited the Roman Iberian world.

Patrons, viewers and villa mosaics in 4th century Hispania Citerior.

Rubén Montoya González (University of Leicester)

Traditional approaches to Romano-Spanish mosaics have focused on iconographic descriptions and cataloguing of the data to investigate the globalized visual koine detected in late antique villas. Focus on patronage, however, has resulted in examples in which signs of individualism (e.g. inscriptions or portraits) are detectable within the display of specific iconographies. However, little attention has been paid to the role of individuals within Romano-Spanish iconography of villa mosaics. As suggested by the archaeological evidence, the phenomenon of individual self-representation appears to be more common in the provinces at the edge of the Empire (East and West) (Birk and Poulsen 2012), a fact interpreted by some authors as the result of a complex process of cultural contacts (Scott and Webster 2003; Ray 2009: 33). In light of this, this paper will discuss to what extent it is possible to investigate these mosaics beyond the display of such globalized visual culture.

This paper draws upon theories which consider associated contexts (see Scott 2000), to provide an interpretative research framework for the identification of patrons and viewers in 4th century villas from Hispania Citerior. Specific examples presenting contextual information will be presented. Aspects such as the display of specific motifs and their relation to patrons' decision making will be highlighted. An interpretative framework within which patrons' self-representation and viewers' perceptions can be further outlined will be presented.

- Scott, S. 2000. Art and Society in Fourth-Century Britain. Oxford University School of Archaeology Monograph 53. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Scott, S. and Webster, J. (eds.) 2003. Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Birk, S. and Poulsen, B. (eds.) 2012. Patrons and Viewers in Late Antiquity. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Ray, N.M. 2009. Household Consumption in Ancient Economies. Pompeii and the Wider Roman World. PhD Thesis. Leicester: Leicester Research Archive. Available online https://lra.le.ac.uk/bitstream/2381/8465/1/2010raynmphd.pdf

Session 16 (Workshop 2)- Ancient identities today: Iron Age and Roman heritage

Organisers: Richard Hingley (Durham University), Chiara Bonacchi (University College London), and Emily Hanscam (Durham University)

'Civilising the Barbarians'

'But these things that Rome had to give, are they not good things?' Marcus demanded. 'Justice and order, and good roads; worth having, surely?'

'They be all good things,' Esca agreed. 'But the price is too high.'

'The price? Freedom?'

'Yes - and other things than freedom.'

'What other things? Tell me, Esca; I want to know. I want to understand.'

The Eagle of the Ninth, Rosemary Sutcliffe, p92

Iron Age and Roman Heritage: exploring ancient identities in modern Britain (IA&RH) is an AHRC-funded project running from 2016-2019 and is a collaboration between Durham University and University College London. We will study the living meaning of Iron Age, Roman and post-Roman heritage by examining the creative and variable ways in which people incorporate the past into their lives - both through quantitative analysis of digital sources, online ethnography, qualitative interviews and participant observation. We hope to challenge the divisions that currently separate the interests of stakeholders such as academic archaeologists, heritage managers, re-enactors, teachers, and visitors to ancient monuments.

As part of this work we have begun to explore the concept of 'insistent dualities', first introduced by Mary Beard and John Henderson, in which Iron Age and Roman interactions in Britain are often defined against each other through the establishment of oppositions such as indigenous/migrant, spiritual/literal, liberty/slavery, farmers/soldiers. Despite sustained criticisms in academia these dualities appear to remain prevalent across a variety of media: school teaching, television and film, and operate in a powerful way in British culture, at both a personal and national level and in relation to identity, spirituality, and politics.

In this workshop we will focus on just one duality: the 'barbaric' indigenous tribes of Britain versus the 'civilised' Roman invaders. This contrast, initially developed by Classical writers, has been built upon throughout history and continues to colour the ways in which many British people view their origins. Past approaches to the concept of 'Romanisation' tended to emphasise positive innovations brought to Britain by Rome, overlooking less palatable aspects of Roman society such as violence, slavery, and despotism. At the same time, writers romanticised the wild, free, noble, and spiritual nature of the Iron Age Britons, whilst marginalising any pre-existing 'civilisation'. By selecting and combining only the positive attributes of each culture they created an idealised Romano Briton ancestor: a tamed, educated barbarian with manners, literacy, economics, and engineering - yet retaining the noble, spiritual, artistic nature, and connection to the earth of the 'Ancients'. But how do new evidence and ideas challenge these concepts? In what ways do the 'authorised' heritage stories presented by academics, curators, and educators relate to and inform those generated by non-professional participants or understood by the wider public? What values are important in this process of selection, dissemination, and re-creation? How do these reflect contemporary, political and social concerns?

The named participants (below) are asked to reflect on their own research from this perspective and also to comment on the ideas outlined in the presentation by the project team that forms the introduction to the session (the two presentations by the project team will be circulated to the named participants in advance). Contributors might like to talk for around 10 minutes leaving time for questions and discussion. Other members of the audience who attend the workshop will also be given the opportunity to contribute after the individual presentations and during the open discussion.

Provisional workshop programme (2 hours 40 minutes approximately, including coffee break)

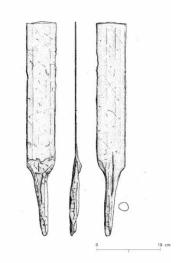
- Introduction and overview of project (IARH Team) 15 mins
- Civilising the barbarians early thoughts (IARH Team) 25 mins
 - o Andy Gardner, UCL 15 mins
 - o Emily Hanscam, Durham 15 mins
 - o Natasha Harlow, Nottingham 15 mins
 - o Darrell Rohl, Canterbury Christchurch 15 mins
- Open discussion 30 mins

POSTER ABSTRACTS

Birth, life and death of a blade. Use-wear analysis and the contribution of metallography in the study of a 2^{nd} century blade.

Marta Alberti (Vindolanda Trust)

During 2014 excavations at Vindolanda, an auxiliary fort and extramural settlement along the Stanegate Road, the lower portion and tang of an extremely well preserved blade was recovered from the construction of a timber building, dated between c. A.D. 105-120. In this period, according to evidence from the Vindolanda tablets, at least some members of the *equites V ardulli* had joined the I cohors of Tungrians and shared a large-scale military encampment (Birley A. 2002, 72). If the blade had belonged to a cavalryman, as its contextual information may indicate, the weapon may have been used to perform slashing attacks against lightly armoured troops: cutting through soft tissues would have left hardly any marks on the blade (Molloy, 2007). Yet microscopic observation has shown that, before irreparably breaking, the blade may have been used in close quarter combat, reporting metal on metal impact marks. Use-wear analysis, first applied in archaeology to lithic tools (Marreiros 2015, 5) but gradually expanding to copper alloys and other metals, is just one of the interesting possibilities offered by archeo-metallurgy. While use-wear analysis of the cutting edges has helped to narrate the story of the life of the sword, other scientific tests such as XRF and hardness tests may aide in the interpretation of its birth and death. Archeo-metallurgy may reveal a more complete history of the artefact, from the source of raw material, through the processes of forging, hammering and hardening all the way to the reasons behind its discard.



Birley, A. (2002) Garrison Life at Vindolanda: A Band of Brothers. United Kingdom: The History Press Ltd. Marreiros, J., Gibaja Bao, J.F. and Bicho, N.F. (2015) Use-wear and residue analysis in archaeology. .

Molloy, B. (2007) The cutting edge: Archaeological studies in combat and weaponry. United Kingdom: The History Press.

The afterlife of Roman boundaries and networks in the development of the early medieval kingdom of Northumbria

Brian G. Buchanan (Durham University)

This poster presents patterns in the distributions of late Roman and early medieval burial evidence from the kingdom of Northumbria and demonstrates the importance of the Roman frontier in Britain in shaping the early medieval landscape. The kingdom of Northumbria encompassed much of central Britain and at its greatest extent, stretched from the Firth of Forth to the Humber and from the North to Irish Seas. The Leverhulme Trust-funded *People and Place: The making of the kingdom of Northumbria 300-800*

CE project is charting the evidence of burial records from the late Roman through to the early medieval periods in order to explore patterns of health, wealth, ethnicity and lifestyle in order to investigate the origins of kingship. The late Roman border zone in Britain contained two defensive walls along the northern border, numerous forts and settlements, and an extensive road network. These features of the Roman built environment appear to have had a strong effect on the spatial location of early medieval settlements and burials. For example, Hadrian's Wall was the northern border of the Roman Empire for much of the Roman period in Britain, effectively bisected the later kingdom. It can be argued that the wall affected Northumbria's development as the kingdom was formed out of the merging of two earlier polities, Bernicia and Deira, whose territorial boundaries strongly correlate to the location of the wall. This poster explores the importance of not only the late Roman built environment but also late Roman identities and ethnicities as formative on the development of Northumbria as a socio-political unit. In doing so it brings to the forefront new ideas on the afterlife of the Roman built environment as a structuring force in early medieval kingship.

Visions of Empire - Roman personal ornament in Ireland and Scandinavia (AD 1-500) Alexandra Guglielmi (University College Dublin)

This poster will present my doctoral research: an analysis of the significance of Roman personal ornament in Ireland and Southern Scandinavia. Long considered an "enigma", mainly due to the paucity of archaeological remains from that period, the Irish Iron Age has in recent years been the subject of two major research projects which have highlighted not only its unique character but also the central part played by material imported from the Roman world during the late Iron Age (AD 1-500). In southern Scandinavia, this same period saw the development of important social and political changes that gave rise to the great Nordic kingdoms of the following centuries. However, to date in both regions, the analysis of the Roman imports has concentrated on prestigious items and other indicators of the contacts between the local elites and the Roman world, such as gold and silver coins and silver vessels. By concentrating on the personal ornaments – brooches, glass beads, pottery pendants and toiletry sets – this project adds a new dimension to our knowledge of the period by moving beyond the current focus on rulers and warriors. By comparing the reception and active use of Roman personal ornaments in these two regions, this research is shedding light on the complex mechanisms of cultural change during that period. The assemblage under study encompasses finds from both graves and from domestic contexts in Ireland, Denmark and Sweden for the period of AD 1-500.

18th Century Perspectives on Roman Religious Monuments on Makarska Littoral: Material Culture Between Power, Knowledge and Social Structures

Ivan Huljev (Independent researcher) and Antonia Vodanović (Independent researcher)

The subject of our research is the perception of Roman religious sculpture in 18th century Makarska region, Dalmatia, Croatia. Based on the available data, the aim of our project is to elucidate how various social groups, separated by relations of power and knowledge, were positioned regarding this form of sculpture. Assuming that the identity is socially constructed, two basic discursive communities can be discerned. The first such community is the elite – wealthy aristocratic families, highly positioned in the social relations of knowledge and power. They are also highly influential in the social hierarchy pertaining to their functions as various church and political dignitaries. This group has the highest education the period can provide, they are in possession of large house libraries and some of them received their PhDs at the opposite side of the Adriatic coast. Their worldview and particularly a sense of past is built upon the available scholarly literature.

The second socially constructed discursive community consists of financially and otherwise disempowered peasants, lacking in (formal) education. Here we can assume that knowledge is transmitted orally, from generation to generation, unlike the formal knowledge of university institutions.

Precisely the knowledge and the mode of transmitting that knowledge are crucial in the relationship formed towards the Roman religious monuments. A note recorded in a famous work from 1774 Viaggio in Dalmazia by a venerable naturalist, travel writer and theologian Alberto Fortis is particularly telling. In

this work he claims that a depiction of a satyr, "half – covered in a goat skin robe, with a staff in his hand and a dog by his side" is venerated in Drašnice village. The locals have interpreted the image as a depiction of St. Roch. Similar practices were recorded in 18th century by Ivan Josip Pavlović Lučić, a theologian and collector of epigraphic monuments from Makarska. The depictions on Roman religious sculpture in early Modern period were interpreted by local population as Christian saints and venerated in a Christian context.

Food and culture on the Frontier: rice (Oryza cf. sativa L.) and black pepper (Piper nigrum) in Roman Mursa, Croatia

Kelly Reed (University of Warwick) and Tino Leleković (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

The frontier of Roman Pannonia would have been a dynamic zone where the interactions of different peoples would have had transformative repercussions on the local food system. Food impacts not only ourselves physically, but the global economy, the environment and society (i.e. rituals, social status etc.), but to date very little is known about what was eaten and why in this region. Presented here are new archaeobotanical finds from Roman Mursa providing for the first time evidence of rice and black pepper imported from Asia during the early 2nd century AD. Access to such exotics on the frontier was likely influenced by the settlement of veterans within Mursa, who would have brought with them their own culinary experiences creating a new 'food culture' within the town. The rarity of such finds brings to the fore questions on who was consuming them, whether there was a great demand for such items and what this may say about society and culture in Mursa.

Aims:

- To present the trade of rice and black pepper to the Roman colony of Mursa, Pannonia;
- To explore the connections between exotics and the development of a 'food culture' within the town and its connection with social status and identity;
- To explore the role of Mursa as a regional centre and distribution point/harbour within Pannonia, especially in relation to exotic food stuffs.

Identifying daily consumption at a rural Roman villa: a case study from Lički Ribnik, Croatia

Kelly Reed (University of Warwick), Ivana Ožanić Roguljić (Institute of Archaeology, Zagreb), Siniša Radović (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts), and Tatjana Kolak (Museum of Lika, Gospić, Croatia)

Large volumes of work exist on Roman villas, aiming to classify and make sense of the numerous variety of villas excavated over the past two centuries. However, what the inhabitants ate on a daily basis at these sites is frequently overlooked with much of the evidence based on site plans, architectural findings, literary sources, and pottery. Dietary habits not only varied through time, but also across and within different provinces, as well as between different social groups. In particular, consumption is extremely important in the pursuit of social status and lifestyle. Here we present archaeobotanical and zooarchaeological evidence to explore aspects of daily consumption patterns and social status within the rural villa of Lički Ribnik in Croatia. The remains date from the second half of the 2nd to the first half of the 3rd century and offer a preliminary glimpse of the local diet and how social status is manifested and expressed through consumption patterns at the villa. Aims:

- To present an integrated approach to analysing diet at Roman villas;
- To explore aspects of social status and how this is manifested through consumption patterns.