The Sixteenth Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference

Conference Programme and Abstracts

Held at the Faculty of Classics, Sidgwick Site, University of Cambridge

24th and 25th March 2006
TRAC 06
CAMBRIDGE

The Sixteenth Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference

Organizers: Ben Croxford and Dr. Roman Roth

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Logo: a Romano-British bronze figurine (c.9cm high) found near Cambridge and used here by kind permission of Gill Hayden-Smith
TRAC 2006 Timetable of Sessions

Friday morning

Making ends meet or early globalisation? Economies of power, culture and identity in the Roman world – Dr. Irene Schrüfer-Kolb

General Session I

Friday afternoon

Religion in the Roman Empire: The Private versus the Public sphere – Philip Kiernan and Ben Croxford

A Zooarchaeological approach to Romanisation: Cross-cultural synthesis or one-way traffic? – Krish Seetah and James Morris

Saturday morning

Field archaeologists don't think... – Dr. Pete Wilson

Expression of identities in the Eastern Empire – Hannah Friedman and Jennifer Baird

General Session II

TRAC general meeting

Saturday afternoon

Presenting the Romans – Philip Bethell

Engendering cultural change: 'Romanization' or continuity? – Rebecca Redfern and Christine Hamlin

General Session III


LUNCH WILL BE FROM 13:00 UNTIL 14:30. THOSE OF YOU WITH LUNCH TICKETS PLEASE MAKE YOUR WAY TO THE UNIVERSITY CENTRE – SEE MAP FOR DIRECTIONS.

THE TRAC GENERAL MEETING WILL BE AT 13:05 ON SATURDAY IN ROOM 1.02 IMMEDIATELY AFTER GENERAL SESSION II HAS FINISHED.

THERE WILL BE A WINE RECEPTION ON FRIDAY AT 18:00 IN THE MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY (THE CAST GALLERY).
Friday ~ Room G.19

Making ends meet or early globalisation? Economics of power, culture and identity in the Roman world – Dr. Irene Schriifer-Kolb

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<td>10:25</td>
<td>Meat, spice or cheese? Using lipid residue analysis of mortaria to examine issues of identity in Roman Britain Lucy Cramp</td>
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<td>10:50</td>
<td>The social identity of nailsmiths in Egypt as reflected in the archaeological evidence and documentary papyri Mark Eccleston</td>
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<td>11:30</td>
<td>The guild seats of Roman Ostia: expressions of economic and cultural identity and platforms for social integration Hanna Stoger</td>
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<td>The urban elite and the landscape of production Dr. Damian Robinson</td>
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<td>Ruling regions, exploiting resources Prof. David Mattingly</td>
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Religion in the Roman Empire: The Private versus the Public sphere – Philip Kiernan and Ben Croxford

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<td>Self representation or personal piety? Scenes on Roman provincial grave monuments Steven Ditsch</td>
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<td>The virtue of Hercules and the owner of Piazza Armerina Franziska Ofner</td>
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<td>New pictures for old rituals: The Saturn stelai as media of personal cult in Roman North Africa Dr. Günther Schörner</td>
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<td>Romano-British sculpture in relation to public and private religion Ben Croxford</td>
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**Friday – Room G.21**

### General Session I

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<td>Landscape of power in Early Iron Age Latium Vetus: defining proto-urban developments in Middle Tyrrhenian Italy Francesca Fulminante</td>
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<td>11:15</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>Amphora burials and/or burials with amphorae: on the use of amphorae in the northern necropolis of Potentia (Porto Recanati, Marche) Patrick Monsieur</td>
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<td>11:55</td>
<td>The tumulus of Tienen-Grijpen: funerary feasts and purification rituals Marleen Martens</td>
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<td>12:20</td>
<td>Hermann the German: a national hero? Representations of Arminius in German history schoolbooks Hannah Cordts von Löwis of Menar</td>
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**A zooarchaeological approach to Romanisation: Cross-cultural synthesis or one-way traffic? - Krish Seetah and James Morris**

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<td>Romans on the East Frontier: animal husbandry and the acculturation of Britain Dr. Umberto Albarella</td>
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<td>Marrow production: a comparison of Iron Age and Romano-British evidence Dr. Mark Maltby</td>
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<td>Associated bone groups; continuation and Romanization James Morris</td>
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<td>A local barrow for local people? Ritual deposition of cattle at Ferrybridge David Orton</td>
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<td>Dogged persistence - Why the domestic dog continued to be a favoured sacrificial animal offering in Roman Britain Dr. Kate Smith</td>
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**Saturday ~ Room G.19**

Field archaeologists don't think... - Dr. Pete Wilson

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<td>Did something funny happen on the way to the forum? Describing urban markets from archaeological data</td>
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<td>Thinking in Contexts</td>
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<td>10:50</td>
<td>Detection, protection and exploration of Romano-British cemeteries through competitive tendering</td>
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<td>11:55</td>
<td>Out of town: new perspectives on settlement in the Roman period and the implications for field archaeology</td>
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<td>General discussion (Discussant, Prof. Martin Millett)</td>
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**Presenting the Romans - Philip Bethell**

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<td>Fiddling with old bits of Romans: How the public got involved with the Groundwell Ridge excavations, and their responses to it</td>
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<td>What has the National Curriculum ever done for us?</td>
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<td>Displaying the Romans at the Museum of London</td>
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Saturday – Room G.21

Expression of identities in the Eastern Empire –
Hannah Friedman and Jennifer Baird

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<td>Europeans under the Romans: Expression of identity among the</td>
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<td>Gaelle Coqueugniot</td>
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<td>Alexandrian monumental tombs: A case study on the Greco-Egyptian</td>
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<td>Kyriakos Savvopoulos</td>
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11:15  Tea/Coffee Break

11:30  The symbolism of spinning in funerary art and representations 28
       Daniela Cottica

11:55  Domestic structures of the Roman Near East as reflection of the 28
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Engendering cultural change: 'Romanization' or continuity? – 37
Rebecca Redfern and Christine Hamlin

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<td>14:55</td>
<td>Transformation and continuity in Roman Dorset: a gendered health</td>
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<td>Identities in life and death: The use of personal adornment in Roman</td>
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15:45  Tea/Coffee Break

16:00  Perceptions of gender in Roman Britain; the perpetuating myth 38
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16:25  General discussion

17:30  End of Day
## Saturday ~ Room 1.02

### General Session II

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<td>Ritual tanning at Lullingstone Roman villa</td>
<td>Lucy Britt</td>
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<td>10:25</td>
<td>Not just a nice place to live: religious place and its articulation with urbanisation in the Roman era</td>
<td>Adam Rogers</td>
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<td>10:50</td>
<td>A Fistful of Nummi; Late Roman coin hoards at the Wild North-Western Edge of Empire</td>
<td>Nicholas A. Wells</td>
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<td>11:30</td>
<td>Springhead revisited: problems with the past and possibilities for the future</td>
<td>Richard Jarrett</td>
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<td>11:55</td>
<td>The Temple of Hercules in Ostia</td>
<td>Marion Boos</td>
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<td>12:20</td>
<td>Geographic distribution and architectural characteristics of ancient theatres</td>
<td>Dr. Zeynep Aktüre</td>
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<td>The emperor's new clothes? The utility of identity in Roman archaeology</td>
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<td>15:20</td>
<td>The symbolic construction of the healthy self through material culture in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain</td>
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<td>16:00</td>
<td>Parasitic, piggy-back trade: ancient practice or modern myth?</td>
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<td>The use of amphorae for interpreting patterns of consumption</td>
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<td>Romano-British Shipping in the 2nd Century A.D.</td>
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Friday morning ~ Room G.19

Making ends meet or early globalisation?
Economies of power, culture and identity in the Roman world

Dr. Irene Schrüber-Kolb (Open University)

This session seeks to include papers that explore the different ways in which identity was represented and communicated in the Roman world, with a particular emphasis on manufacture, trade and exchange.

Identity can be expressed in many ways and economic activity plays an important part in this. Professions, industries and crafts define cultural identity, contribute to social status and represent the goals, values and power of the individual, social groups and society as a whole.

In the Roman world, professional status was an important medium to communicate one's place in society. However, to what extent were economic activities shaped in particular contexts by social factors such as legal status, family and gender, ethnic origin, religion or cultural traditions? Can industries and crafts be seen as a statement of diversity as well as uniformity in the Roman world? And how do the processes of cultural interaction and Romanisation affect this?

The session hopes to debate these ideas of diversity and community in the Roman economy in an interdisciplinary way, by bringing together various strands of archaeology and ancient history, with the aim to facilitate cross-fertilisation and exchange of ideas. Potential starting points for a critical discussion could include material culture studies, managed production and consumption, the visual arts, epigraphy, spatial analysis of towns and industrial landscapes or (post)colonial economic thought.

Participants and paper titles:

Dr. Phil Perkins (Open University)
Have you got what it takes to be a Roman?

Lucy Cramp (University of Reading/Bristol)
Meat, spice or cheese? Using lipid residue analysis of mortaria to examine issues of identity in Roman Britain

Mark Eccleston (University of Sheffield)
The Social Identity of Nailsmiths in Egypt as Reflected in the Archaeological Evidence and Documentary Papyri

Hanna Stoger (University of Leiden)
The guild seats of Roman Ostia: expressions of economic and cultural identity and platforms for social integration

Dr. Damian Robinson (University of Oxford)
The urban elite and the landscape of production

Prof. David Mattingly (University of Leicester)
Ruling regions, exploiting resources
**Abstracts:**

*Have you got what it takes to be a Roman?*

**Dr. Phil Perkins (Open University)**

Back in the 20th century, we used to think that we could identify Romanized people by examining their material culture and characterizing it, and so them, as Roman. Now we take a more sophisticated view and realize that people (agents) in their social contexts (structure) may wilfully select from material culture to construct a facet of their identity. So an individual selecting to use a Roman fine ware as part of their material culture assemblage, may be considered as to some extent Roman. The potential range of factors influencing the selection of an artefact, as part of the construction of identity, is vast. However, a fundamental part of making that choice is the availability of an artefact, and one determinant of the availability is the economy. Of course there may be other determinants, such as taboos or symbolic functions, but even then the economy - seen in general terms as the process that produces and supplies artefacts - still makes the artefacts available to choose from. So a Roman may be considered as someone participating in the Roman economy.

But how easy was it to participate in the Roman economy? The burgeoning literature on globalization - of both culture and economy - frequently and simplistically cites the Roman empire as an early example of globalization. Some more prudent commentators qualify it as 'known world globalization'. But what do we as Romanists have to say about it? A recent book by Richard Hingley, *Globalizing Roman Culture*, takes a rather theoretical approach. In this paper I will attempt to fit the theory to some evidence and identify elements of the Roman economy that might be characterized as global, drawing particularly on work quantifying African Red Slip Ware. Once it is possible to assess the global and temporal availability of an artefact, it then becomes possible to assess the significance of a choice or rejection of an artefact in constructing an Roman or other identity for individuals in a globalized known world.

*Meat, spice or cheese? Using lipid residue analysis of mortaria to examine issues of identity in Roman Britain*

**Lucy Cramp (University of Reading/Bristol)**

Researchers of colonisation episodes in prehistory and history are becoming acutely aware of the complexity of episodes of significant demographic and/or social change. The unilinear and monolithic nature of such terms as 'Neolithicisation' or 'Romanisation' render them an unacceptable framework within which to work, since they fail to appreciate the heterogeneity of these encounters, nor that this would have had a significant effect upon the specific manifestation of new ideas, and the sentiment and expression of self- and group identity.

The post-processual framework of recent decades has led to an examination of the mediation of identity and ethnicity through material culture (e.g. Appadurai 1986; Deetz 1996; Jones 1997). This theoretical framework has been used in order to challenge the concept of 'Romanisation' and in particular, research has focussed upon whether aspects of a new culture were sought, enforced or carefully selected to meet
pre-existing needs (Cooper 1996; Mattingly 1997; Hill 2001; Webster 2001). Food and food preparation is a key area for investigation, since by examining the way in which food is selected, obtained, prepared and consumed, we may address issues which factor into nearly every other aspect of human behaviour, such as belief systems, identity, social structure and economy (Goody 1982; Shanks and Tilley 1987; Meadows 1994).

The analysis of cooking vessels, and the way in which they were used, can therefore further our understanding of self- and group identity and how this may manifest itself during episodes of profound demographic and social change. My research intends to approach this using a recently developed scientific technique (GC/MS) to separate and identify non-visible ancient lipids which may have become absorbed into the walls of mortaria during their use at a range of site-types. Mortaria are often perceived as synonymous with a 'Roman' diet and continental traditions of food preparation, and yet their prevalence in Britain along with an unexpectedly high recovery of mortaria from some small and low-status rural sites (Evans 1995; Cool 2004) challenges this concept. My work therefore intends to re-examine traditional conceptions of the function of this vessel, and to investigate whether the use of mortaria was consistent throughout all site-types, or whether the role of the vessel was reassigned to suit specific needs at certain sites or points in time.

Initial results from a small number of preliminary will be presented. Emphasis will be placed upon the implications of these data regarding the absorption or transformation of ideas and material culture in Roman Britain.

References


The social identity of nailsmiths in Egypt as reflected in the archaeological evidence and documentary papyri
Mark Eccleston (University of Sheffield)

The iron industry and the production of objects in iron would have been crucial to the economy in Egypt during the Roman Period. Apart from the large quantities of iron needed for the military, public buildings and state enterprises such as mining expeditions, there would have been a constant demand for farming tools and domestic building materials such as nails. Very little is known about the iron industry in Egypt during the Roman Period, either from an archaeological perspective or from the Greek or Coptic documentary papyri. This paper will examine some of the Greek documentary papyri relating specifically to the profession of 'nailsmith' and discuss possible interpretations of the social and craft identity of nailsmiths. This will be compared to the papyrological evidence for 'blacksmiths' more generally and put in context via a discussion of some archaeological evidence for blacksmith's workshops. Questions such as 'What was a nailsmith and how did this differ from a blacksmith?' will be addressed along with the difficulties of using the Greek names for trades to infer specific craft specialisations. This short case study highlights the need for further work on the iron industry in Roman Egypt and the possibility of dealing with concepts such as social identity, craft specialisation and agency in the context of Roman Egypt.

The guild seats of Roman Ostia: expressions of economic and cultural identity and platforms for social integration
Hanna Stoger (University of Leiden)

Ostia, the harbour city of Rome is one of the key sites for the study of Roman economy and urbanism. The richness of the material record, foremost the city's built environment, offers suitable case studies to examine the full complexity of Roman society.

Central to the proposed paper are questions concerned with the integrative capacity of Roman Ostia in the 2nd century AD. Following the construction of the imperial harbours, the city attracted a massive wave of immigration. During the 2nd century AD Ostia was transformed into a new city obscuring both its history and original population. The study focuses on urban processes and the associated forms of spatial utilization when the city experienced its fastest urban expansion and the biggest changes in its social structure touching all levels of society. Conspicuously, the major part of the population seemed to share a lack of identification with the city. Only gradually could a new sense of belonging develop, allowing Ostia's guild seats (collegia) to flourish, offering new means for social integration and individual self-representation.

The collegia, hybrid spaces between public and private, encouraged social cohesion by promoting activities attached to specific and identifiable locations. Within the theoretical framework of spatial analysis the proposed paper explores the role of the collegia as one of the strategic elements in Ostian society. Under the premise that the complexity of the urban society is reflected in the physical complexity of the town, the guild seats are being examined as shaping force of Ostia's urban and social development.
Space syntax analytical tools will be applied to examine Ostia’s *collegia* in terms of their location and overall integration within the city’s street network and built environment. In addition, three independent spatial aspects of Ostia’s *collegia* will be considered: the size and shape of spaces, the organisation of space and the ease of access. Size and form as a physical expression of economic and social standing reflect the status of the guild and their members. The degree of control or ease of access reflects the level to which the *collegia* have been structured to encourage public use or include or exclude people and/or activities and ultimately promote social integration.

**The urban elite and the landscape of production**

*Dr. Damian Robinson (University of Oxford)*

In their writings on the villa system of production the Roman agronomists Cato, Varro and Columella reveal a rural elite identity actively shaped by capital investment, economic risk taking and a quest for greater productivity and profitability from their farms. Such ideals are also archaeologically observable in the remains of the villa buildings themselves, which form part of the landscape of rural production so celebrated in the sources. While Nicholas Purcell has suggested that such landscapes run all the way from the countryside into the market place of towns (1995, 172), for many scholars the active participation of the upper class in the economy simply stops at the city walls. Once inside, profitability is in the hands of entrepreneurial freedmen and while the participation of the urban elite is no longer denied, their role is somewhat marginalised and the impetus towards the economic maximisation of their urban landholdings is seldom considered. Yet the archaeological remains of the largest houses in Pompeii, which are the subject of this paper, bear eloquent testimony to the activities of their owners; activities that through archaeological investigations can be seen to extend back in time to the foundation of such properties. Urban shops and workshops are a facet of the identity of the elite house, whose owners are part of the same group of bold economic risk-takers addressed by Cato, Varro and Columella. Long-term investment in urban business, an active role in their management and issues such as profit maximisation and specialisation can be seen as playing important roles in the creation of a distinctly upper class economic identity. Indeed the intensely visible character of the shops and workshops that crowd around the front doors of elite houses are as much a part of upper class demonstrations of wealth as the luxurious ornamentation of the interior of their houses, or for that matter by the ideal combination of both *pars urbana* and *rustica* in their rural villas.

Reference


**Ruling regions, exploiting resources**

*Prof. David Mattingly (University of Leicester)*

The economy holds an interesting place in the debate about the relative impacts of structure and agency in shaping the Roman world. Since Finley dismissed the modernising tendencies of Rostovtzeff it has become conventional to stress the primitive and under-developed characteristics of the Roman economy. The minimalist model, much associated with Cambridge University, emphasises subsistence strategies and individual agency over state structures and the capacity for surplus
production and growth. It also encourages us to think in terms of a monolithic and homogeneous 'Roman economy'.

In this paper I shall mainly focus on the needs and behaviour of colonial powers like Rome and shall explore some crucial relationships between imperialism and economy. I suggest that these led to the formation of different economic identities in the Roman world, much as social identities were also transformed under the globalising influence of incorporation into the empire. In other words, we need to think in terms of 'Roman economies' and to recognise that power was a key driver of some areas of economic activity, with significant consequences for individual actors.

**Friday morning ~ Room G.21**

**General Session I**

Dr. Roman Roth (University of Cambridge)

**Participants and paper titles:**

**Letizia Ceccarelli** (University of Cambridge)
*Religion and society: The phenomenon of the anatomical votive offering in the Republican period*

**Natalie White** (University of Cambridge)
*Catering for the Cultural Identities of the deceased in Roman Britain*

**Francesca Fulminante** (University of Cambridge)
*Landscape of Power in Early Iron Age Latium Vetus: defining proto-urban developments in Middle Tyrrhenian Italy*

Dr. Patrick Monsieur (Universiteit Gent, Belgium)
*Amphora burials and/or burials with amphorae: on the use of amphorae in the northern necropolis of Potentia (Porto Recanati, Marche)*

Marleen Martens (Flemish Heritage Institute, Belgium)
*The tumulus of Tienen-Grijpen: funerary feasts and purification rituals*

**Hannah Cords von Löwis of Menar** (Institute of Archaeology, UCL)
*Hermann the German: a national hero? Representations of Arminius in German history schoolbooks*

**Abstracts:**

*Religion and society: The phenomenon of the anatomical votive offering in the Republican period*

Letizia Ceccarelli (University of Cambridge)

The central theme of this paper is an analysis of the connection between religion, ritual and society and their reflection on the landscape in the area of Latium, south of Rome, from the 4th to the 2nd centuries BC. Society transforms and expresses individual experience through culture and ideology, which has its materialisation in physical realities such as rituals, symbols and public architecture, whose distribution across the landscape is a reflection of the socio-political organisation.
Roman religion is generally understood to have comprised of ritually induced experience and collectively perpetuated belief. The religious acts and observances then had a strong political component and were a statement of social status and cultural identity.

When considering rituals, it is fundamental to explore the literary sources. However, literary texts rarely offer an objective representation of rituals, as they themselves reflect an ideological structure that served the interest of the ruling elite. This generated a sharp separation between the elite religious beliefs and those of the mass of the illiterate population, and thus encouraged the growth of specialist, 'pragmatic' cults, especially healing cults, where participation was more an individual experience expressed by votive offerings.

This paper will explore the theoretical interpretation of Roman religion in order to identify the meaning of individual performances of ritual activities, that it was not merely the repetition of fixed rules but a conscious attempt to undertake a ritual. The phenomenon of mid-Republican votive deposits, in particular ex-voto terracottas, provide the opportunity to recognise individual experiences of religion in the participation of rituals not just as part of a community, but also in taking an active role in the ceremonies. It also offers the opportunity to analyse the modes and effects of the Roman expansion. The sudden increase in the number of votive terracotta deposits within Etruscan and Italic societies has been associated with the Roman expansion in Italy. It is suggested that a function of colonies was not only as a strategic place for garrisons in troublesome areas, but also as "religious staging posts of Roman expansion".

Catering for the cultural identities of the deceased in Roman Britain
Natalie White (University of Cambridge)

The recognition of cultural change being not only multidirectional, but unique according to geographical and chronological context has fuelled a number of recent identity studies within the realm of Roman archaeology. These have focused upon the discrepant experiences of Britons during the late pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman period. Parallel to this, has been the recognition that we are what we eat, and that foodstuffs in the past were not simply consumed for subsistence. This has generated a great deal of research on the cultural associations between food and people.

I propose to bring these two strands of thought together, and highlight the possible potential of examining the food remains within burials at this time of active cultural change. Both the Romans and indigenous Britons appear to have possessed similar funerary rituals involving food, particularly the inclusion of food offerings with the deceased in the grave. I intend to illustrate that if sufficient steps are taken to retrieve such data, that it may be possible to detect some of the social and cultural choices that were made.

In time, I hope that I may be able to ask a number of questions, although some will be introduced here. For example, does funerary cuisine change visibly over time, and can we see any regional patterns? Do late pre-Roman Iron Age tastes prevail? Are these remains reflective of the typical diet within the area, or were these foods perhaps being chosen for religious or monetary reasons? Does the age and sex of the deceased individual have any bearing of the food that they were buried with?
Landscape of power in Early Iron Age Latium Vetus: defining proto-urban developments in Middle Tyrrenian Italy
Francesca Fulminante (University of Cambridge)

Urbanisation in Middle Tyrrenian Italy has been a much-debated question in recent years: when did the city in central Italy begun? What is the relationship between the rise of the city in this region and colonisation by Greece?

This paper aims to answer these questions by applying a contextual approach based on the analysis of archaeological evidence from Latium Vetus, the region south of the Tiber, which is dominated by the city of Rome.

By comparing funerary evidence and spatial analyses (rank-size, X-Tent, weighted Voronoi and central place model), I aim to reconstruct the political landscape of Early Iron Latium Vetus. My analysis concludes that urbanisation in Middle Tyrrenian Italy is an autochthonous process which must be seen within the perspective of the peer polity interaction model between various regions of the Mediterranean basin, rather than as a secondary phenomenon imported from Greece.

Amphora burials and/or burials with amphorae: on the use of amphorae in the northern necropolis of Potentia (Porto Recanati, Marche)
Patrick Monsieur (Universiteit Gent, Belgium)

From 1962 to 1965, L. Mercando excavated the necropolis on the north of the colony of Potentia, just near the coast. Recent excavations in the monumental centre of the ancient city by the Soprintenza and survey by the Ghent University, as well intra muros as in the nearby countryside, allow a confrontation of old and new results. Especially the circulation and use of amphorae is of high interest, since the region itself produced several types (a kiln was recently discovered), but also saw imports from different regions as North-Italy and the East. The necropolis dates mainly from the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., but some tombs are from the late republican period, others late antique. Of the 385 excavated tombs, nearly 14% yielded 1, 2, even 3 amphorae, 70 in total of which at least 14 different types were recognized.

It is the aim to present different levels in the study of amphorae in funeral contexts: chronology, their occurrence or absence, presence and preference of different types and possibly their content or what they stand for, absence of specific types, residuality, relation to sex, age and social identity, the funeral rituals, eschatology. There is the nearly complete absence of amphorae in tombs during the Julio-Claudian period, whereas from the Flavians on they occur regularly. The functional interpretation is hampered by the waste of production sites and of consumption scattering around, as well as the use of amphora fragments for building purposes (civic and funeral), a fact that was clearly revealed by survey and recent excavations. Is there a preference in the ritual for Aegean and Forlimpopoli amphorae, or do they only count for libations of wine and Dionysiac rites? Why these funnel-mouth amphorae, most probably designed for the transport of olives? Were amphorae used as grave-markers? There is the specific use and deposition: as a coffin (double meaning?), put upside down sometimes in combination with another vessel (libation), as gift for the departed. Finally, can the northern necropolis of Potentia be considered as a current example of funeral practices with amphorae at different periods, or is it a mere example where local or regional burial customs were dominating?
The tumulus of Tienen-Grijpen: funerary feasts and purification rituals
Marleen Martens (Flemish Heritage Institute, Belgium)

In the summer of 2002 archaeologists discovered the remains of an undisturbed tumulus burial. The grave was situated in the liminal zone at the far end of the settlement area next to a road for intra vicus circulation. The chamber was set in a shaft almost 4 metres deep. The chamber was 12 square metres with a timber-planked wall founded on posts. One of the postholes contained a statue of Dionysus/Bacchus. The floor of the burial chamber was covered with remains of the funeral pyre and some intact objects. On first inspection this would appear as a rather poor tumulus burial. However, the focus of this burial was on top of the roof of the chamber.

On the roof of the chamber, the body of a young woman was laid next to a horse, 4 dogs and dozens of dog foetuses. In between the woman and the animals a range of roof tiles, complete pots, objects in copper alloy and glass were laid out. The presence of objects on top of the funeral chamber has rarely been observed while excavating tumulus burials. Even more surprising is the position of the woman and the animals on top of the cover of the chamber, instead of in it. The fact that the woman was laid outside the burial itself and amongst the animals puts her in the centre of the funerary rituals with the sacrifices. Are we dealing with a human sacrifice?

Dogs and puppies have never been registered before in tumulus burials of the region. What could be the role of the dogs and especially of the dog foetuses? We know that dogs and especially puppies were customarily used for purification. We know that death together with childbirth are the most important transitional phases of life and therefore potentially heavily polluted. Dogs were used as scapegoats by means of which the impurity and pollution of both people and places were removed. From Plutarch we know that rubbing people with dead bodies of puppies was thought to cause all harmful and polluting substances to be absorbed by the animal, and thus remove them from the person. This role is not at all insignificant in a culture in which ceremonies of purification are almost a necessity of life. Are we dealing here with purification rites concerning a death in circumstances considered so polluted that it could bring calamity over the community?

Hermann the German: a national hero? Representations of Arminius in German history schoolbooks
Hannah Cordts von Löwis of Menar (Institute of Archaeology, UCL)

History schoolbooks offer a wealth of information about the society that produced them. For example, they reflect the 'official' version of the past more than any other medium - the state carefully considers what picture of the past it wants its children to acquire. As such, schoolbook research offers interesting insights into the way history as a subject is used/contributes to the development and construction of national identities and notions of citizenship. History education also represents the sole (or the primary) source of historical knowledge for most people and thus must not be neglected by archaeologists who have an interest in making their discipline accessible and relevant to the general public. In this paper I will examine the changing nature of the representation of Arminius in German history schoolbooks through time - placing particular emphasis on the differences in the portrayal of Hermann between East and West German schoolbooks. This paper will therefore provide insights into the difficult and close relationship that the Germans have with their Roman past, highlighting the
ways in which politics and political ideology colour the interpretation and knowledge of the past as well as the role that is ascribed to Arminius and the Varus battle (and history in general) in the construction of German national identities.

**Friday afternoon ~ Room G.19**

**Religion in the Roman Empire:**
The Private versus the Public sphere

**Philip Kiernan** (Ruprecht-Karls Universität, Heidelberg) and **Ben Croxford** (University of Cambridge)

The religious practices of different ethnic groups and cultures within the Roman Empire e.g., the Celts, Greeks and Romans etc., have frequently been commented upon. Archaeological evidence for Roman religion can also be considered on a personal and public level. On the one hand we have the emperor cult, the construction of stone temples by elite groups and organisations, and monumental depictions of mythological and divine subjects. On the other hand we have the simple dedication of small objects in shrines, the deposition of curse tablets, superstitions, and the construction of smaller monuments by individuals, such as votive altars and tombstones. On one side the driving motivation seems to be self-representation, on the other, true personal piety. Is this really the case? How greatly do these two aspects of Roman Religion differ from another, and what do they share in common? This session aims to move away from the somewhat worn theme of native versus Roman, and explore the idea of personal versus public religion.

**Participants and paper titles:**

**Philip Kiernan** (Ruprecht Karls Universität, Heidelberg)

*Valuing votives*

**Steven Ditsch** (Ruprecht Karls Universität, Heidelberg)

*Self representation or personal piety? Scenes on Roman provincial grave monuments*

**Franziska Ofner** (Ruprecht Karls Universität, Heidelberg)

*The virtus of Hercules and the owner of Piazza Armerina*

**Dr. Günther Schörner** (Friedrich-Schiller Universität, Jena)

*New pictures for old rituals: The Saturn stelai as media of personal cult in Roman North Africa*

**Henning Wirth** (Ruprecht Karls Universität, Heidelberg)

*Left-handers and the left side in Roman religion and superstition*

**Ben Croxford** (University of Cambridge)

*Romano-British sculpture in relation to public and private religion*

**Abstracts:**

*Valuing votives*

**Philip Kiernan** (Ruprecht Karls Universität, Heidelberg)

The translation of ancient values for goods and services into modern terms is well known to be an awkward task. The problem is particularly vexing for the study of
votive objects, as it is a fairly universal assumption that there was a change from high value communal offerings to low value personal dedications towards the end of the Iron Age. The chief evidence for this shift in ritual activity is the material found in the sanctuary sites of the northwest provinces. The new trend towards depositing coins, jewellery, figurines, models, and other small objects is certainly a stark contrast to the earlier large-scale deposits of arms, armour and precious metal. Of course, high value offerings were still made in the Roman period, but there is a marked tendency amongst archaeologists to interpret the “cheaper” offerings as indicative of genuine religious piety and private religious practice, and the “expensive” offerings in terms of social display and advancement, or communal ritual. Just how valuable were the objects that we usually consider to be trinkets purchased at the sanctuary stall? Where do we draw the line between low and high value votive offerings, and what do these distinctions actually mean?

**Self representation or personal piety? Scenes on Roman provincial grave monuments**

Steven Ditsch (Ruprecht Karls Universität, Heidelberg)

For a long time, research on Roman funerary sculpture was chiefly concerned with Roman beliefs about the afterlife. The very diversity recorded in the literary sources made these attempts highly speculative. While the different scenes carved on grave monuments sometimes do match the ideas found in the textual sources, others seem to represent quite different eschatological ideologies. More recent research has seen grave monuments as media for the self-representation of the deceased and their families. But funerary art also records contemporary social values, in which society paints an ideal picture of itself (ideologia funeraria). The sculptured reliefs from the funerary monuments of the north eastern part of Germania Superior (known today as the Pfalz) include mythological imagery, scenes from the daily life of the deceased, and representations of the deceased performing religious activities. We will consider to what extent the three types differ from one another in their meaning. Do they record true personal piety or reflect one aspect of an idealised society, or are they just another means of self-representation?

**The virtus of Hercules and the owner of Piazza Armerina**

Franziska Ofner (Ruprecht Karls Universität, Heidelberg)

This paper considers the function of mosaics depicting Hercules in Roman households, a somewhat rare hero for mosaics in domestic settings. In fact, he is found on about 15 mosaics, six of which depict the Dodekathlos or modified versions of it. The Dodekathlos is the term applied to the twelve canonical deeds of Hercules, a group of images that was often used in religious contexts, such as temples. The arrangement of these six mosaics suggests that they were set in banquet-rooms. The best published of them is found at Piazza Armerina, where the Herculean scenes are interspersed with Dionysian scenes. While the deeds of Hercules can be seen as representative of the daily work (negotium) of the symposiasts, the Dionysian scenes are representative of life's pleasures (otium). The balance between otium and negotium are an example of Hercules' virtus, and these three Roman values are subsequently transferred to the master of the house. The different owners of the six mosaics probably identified themselves with the hero, but also wanted to be identified with Hercules and his virtues by their guests.
New pictures for old rituals: *The Saturn stelai as media of personal cult in Roman North Africa*

Dr. Günther Schörner (Friedrich-Schiller Universität, Jena)

The large number of Saturn stelai found in Roman North Africa show the important position of this god in the religious landscape. The majority of these votives were set up by private dedicants, and by analysing their inscriptions and iconography, it can be shown that the stelai served to commemorate the performance of indigenous rituals. Significant elements of their design, especially the portraits, are adapted to Roman concepts and may have been used to reinforce the dedicators’ Roman habitus in a public context. To understand these stelai, both as instruments of a personal religious act and as subjects of collective memory, they need to be discussed along with other provincial votive monuments such as the Jupiter-Giant columns of Germania.

*Left-handers and the left side in Roman religion and superstition*

Henning Wirth (Ruprecht Karls Universität, Heidelberg)

“Certain auspices and omens he regarded as infallible. If his shoes were put on in the wrong way in the morning, the left instead of the right, he considered it a bad sign.” (Suet. vit. Aug. 92, 1) Suetonius’ anecdote not only allows insight into the superstitious behaviour of Augustus, but also shows that left and right sides had different connotations for the Romans. The right side was regarded as normal and lucky, whereas the left side caused misfortune. A graffito from Ephesos shows a theatre scene in which a thief is stealing a bottle-like object with his left hand. Outside the realm of superstition, the opposite is true in the Roman augural system. Discussing the differences between Greek and Roman auspices, Cicero wrote: “While we see (birds or lightning) on the left as better, the Greeks and Barbarians consider things on the right to be better” (Cic. De div. 2, 82). This paper will analyse the significance and association of the left side in the public and private life of the Romans, and attempt to find the reasons behind these different viewpoints. Against this background we can ask how, and in which contexts, left-handers were perceived and valued by the Romans. How did the Romans explain the phenomenon of left-handedness, and which activities were associated with the left hand?

*Romano-British sculpture in relation to public and private religion*

Ben Croxford (University of Cambridge)

Sculpture undeniably plays an important role in Romano-British religion. This is particularly the case from a modern perspective as it is frequently the only surviving visual representation of a deity worshipped in any particular place. Indeed, it is often the only evidence relating to cult practice on some sites. Whilst much is often made of the process of identifying the intended subject in each case, an important aspect is often overlooked when considering these objects. These carvings can tell us a great deal about the division in religion at the heart of this session – that of public and private.

This paper will examine the various standpoints concerning Romano-British religious sculpture, and will attempt to discern some elements of contemporary private thought and action in relation to religion in Roman Britain. This paper moves away from the (still) common and overly simplistic dichotomy of Roman vs. native. Our aim is to
generate a hypothesis that fully takes account of the possible separation in religious activity (public vs. private). Such a hypothesis should consider the impact of means and circumstances on both personal expression in religious sculpture and public response to it.

Friday afternoon ~ Room G.21

A zooarchaeological approach to Romanisation:
Cross-cultural synthesis or one-way traffic?

Krish Seetah (University of Cambridge) and James Morris (Bournemouth University)

Recently, the axiom that Romans brought civilisation to native Britons has been challenged: did 'Romanisation' dictate how trade, economics and religion functioned, or was there a greater degree of interaction between Romans and Britons? Zooarchaeology holds the key to understanding certain aspects of Romanisation; recent findings have pointed to distinct differences in the perception and utilisation of animals across the Empire. This session draws on all aspects of faunal research to illustrate how the economic exploitation and perceptual importance of animals offers insight into the process of Romanisation. By highlighting case studies and methodologies where the analysis of animal material culture has gone beyond the purely economic this session aims to aid in our understanding of the possible cultural, and indeed cross-cultural affects, involved in Romanisation. We would encourage research that uses all related aspects of faunal studies, including figurines and other iconographic representations.

Participants and paper titles:

Dr. Michael MacKinnon (University of Winnipeg)
Zooarchaeological indicators of 'Romanization' in the Mediterranean context

Dr. Umberto Albarella (University of Sheffield)
Romans on the East frontier: animal husbandry and the acculturation of Britain

Dr. Mark Maltby (Bournemouth University)
Marrow production: a comparison of Iron Age and Romano-British evidence

James Morris (Bournemouth University)
Associated bone groups: Continuation and Romanization

David Orton (University of Cambridge)
A local barrow for local people? Ritual deposition of cattle at Ferrybridge

Dr. Kate Smith (University of Wales, Newport)
Dogged persistence - Why the domestic dog continued to be a favoured sacrificial animal offering in Roman Britain

Abstracts:

Zooarchaeological indicators of 'Romanization' in the Mediterranean context
Dr. Michael MacKinnon (University of Winnipeg)

As some of the first zones 'Romanized', the Mediterranean provinces provide valuable information about the initiation, rates, and impact of cultural change, evidence that in turn may help us understand and model these processes elsewhere, including Roman
Britain. Using zooarchaeological data, this paper discusses the effects of 'Romanization' on aspects of animal production and consumption in two key Mediterranean areas, Iberia and North Africa.

Zooarchaeological data from North Africa indicate a continuation of much of the pre-Roman husbandry and dietary focus on ovicaprids, with the exception of large urbanized centers such as Carthage. Here, the demand for pork and other elite or preferred meats (including lamb and hare) in a city with a burgeoning 'Romanized' economic and social component brought changes to husbandry operations. Traditional pastoral herders were pushed to distant pastures to encourage more fodder-fed, market-driven, meat production schemes in the Carthaginian hinterland. As Roman influence waned in late antiquity, suburban pork and choice-meat farms became too expensive or impractical to maintain and the hinterland reverted back to agricultural and pastoral land.

In Iberia, Mediterranean coastal regions such as Baetica appear to embrace 'Romanized' diets fairly early on, as indicated in escalating values for pig bones relative to other taxa. This trend slowly filters inland during Imperial times, but chiefly only among urban centers where a significant colonized, or at least assimilated, elite base existed. Rural areas seem to retain more diversified diets, focusing upon whichever livestock species was best suited to local environmental and cultural factors. Noteworthy throughout, however, is the high reliance on wild game to the traditional pre-Roman Iberian diet, a pattern that does not seem to be followed by Roman elite in this province, even if consumption of wild game marked higher Roman status elsewhere in the Empire, such as in Italy and North Africa.

Romans on the East frontier: animal husbandry and the acculturation of Britain
Dr. Umberto Albarella (University of Sheffield)

The study of the impact caused by the 1st century AD Roman invasion has discussed many different aspects of the culture and economic life of Britain, including animal husbandry. Curiously, however, hard zooarchaeological evidence has been little used in shaping the debate. Recent work carried out in East Anglia has, however, brought to light new zooarchaeological evidence spanning from the late Iron Age to the early Saxon period, which is of great importance for our understanding of the mechanisms, nature and timing of the Romanization of Britain. What emerges from the work carried out in this area is that rural and urban centres reacted in different ways to this period of economic and cultural change and that the Romans did indeed bring about a number of innovations in agriculture and husbandry that cannot be traced back to the earlier Iron Age. Such changes, however, did not all take place in one event, but they rather occurred in two or possibly more stages. The nature of the evidence, the reasons why such changes were stimulated and our cultural perception of them are discussed in this paper. It is argued that - in contradiction to some recent discussion on the subject - the effects on agricultural practices of the Romanization of Britain have hardly been overestimated.
Marrow production: a comparison of Iron Age and Romano-British evidence
Dr. Mark Maltby (Bournemouth University)

It has long been recognised that there were marked differences in carcass processing methods between the British Iron Age and Romano-British periods. The latter period witnessed the general increase in the use of the cleaver and there is abundant evidence, particularly from urban and military sites, for large-scale processing of cattle carcases by specialist butchers employing standardised methods. It has also been suggested that marrow production became more intensive, although there have been few attempts at quantifying this, largely because of problems of differential preservation between assemblages. This paper will review some recent analyses of Iron Age and Romano-British cattle assemblages, to discuss whether it is possible to monitor chronological changes in the intensity of marrow production and to assess whether there were any significant variations in this intensity in different types of settlement. The implications of the results will be discussed in relation to the main theme of the session.

Associated bone groups; Continuation and Romanization
James Morris (Bournemouth University)

The phenomenon of discrete deposits of articulated animal remains, often referred to as associated bone groups (ABGs) after Hill 1996, has been noted on many types of archaeological sites from differing chronological periods. The majority of research into ABGs has concentrated primarily on sites from Iron Age 'Wessex' with the deposits often being interpreted as forming part of a ritual framework. The deposition of ABGs continues into the Roman-British period, but archaeology interpretations of these deposits change to a more functional viewpoint, although this is starting to be challenged.

This paper is part of a larger PhD project attempting to understand the nature of ABGs and investigating the theoretical framework utilised for their interpretation. The paper will show that multiple interpretations of ABGs are possible and valid. To attempt to resolve this we need to look at ABGs with a new depth and range. On one level utilising the skeletal information collected to a greater degree, as well as integrating it with detailed contextual and associated non-faunal artefact data. Finally it will discuss the possible meanings of ABGs, do they show a continuity of 'native' practices, or a change to a 'Romanized' mindset.

A local barrow for local people? Ritual deposition of cattle at Ferrybridge
David Orton (University of Cambridge)

At Ferrybridge, West Yorkshire, a spectacular assemblage of cattle bones was found in the ditch around a Middle Iron Age chariot burial and dated directly to the first or second century AD. Originally interpreted as the results of a single enormous social event focused on the barrow, the animal remains were suggested to present an example of the 'alteration and intensification of pre-existing social practice' in the face of the new threats and opportunities that the Roman period presented to individuals in the region.
Subsequent developments have rendered this interpretation untenable. New radiocarbon dates indicate that the bones were deposited around the beginning of the 3rd century or later, suggesting that at least some of the cattle had been curated for a considerable period of time before final deposition. Meanwhile, element representation data show parallels with certain Romano-British 'temple' sites, and indeed a possible nearby shrine building has been identified by the excavators. This paper considers the significance of Ferrybridge in the light of the new evidence, with particular emphasis given to the site's implications for the maintenance and negotiation of local identities during the Roman period. Was there a 'revitalization' movement in 3rd century Britain, as Eleanor Scott has argued? If so, why might this have been reflected in a shift from curation to mass deposition at a putative Ferrybridge shrine? And what can the evidence for animal sacrifice tell us about the importance of local traditions in the development of Romano-British religion?

Dogged persistence - Why the domestic dog continued to be a favoured sacrificial animal offering in Roman Britain
Dr. Kate Smith (University of Wales, Newport)

Through extensive analysis of pit features at Iron Age sites it is now widely accepted that the deposition of groups of animal bones exhibiting certain specific characteristics are best explained as the result of ritual practises of a non-secular nature. Recently the possibility that, along with other types of artefacts, the ritual practice of placing animal remains into human-made holes in the ground at settlement sites continued in to the Romano-British period has been re-examined. It has been noted that during both periods dog burials appear in statistically high numbers in these types of context.

For a sacrificial offering to be accessible to a supernatural entity it has to be removed from circulation in the earthly domain. It is well known that in antiquity one of the ways in which this was accomplished within areas of constructed sacred space was to create a shaft or pit to receive offerings. There are a number of remarkable shaft deposits from Romano-British sacred sites, including Springhead, Kent, Folly Lane, St Albans and Ridgeons Gardens, Cambridge that were undoubtedly used in this way. During my research I noticed that these shafts have yielded a number of homogeneous features, including domestic dogs. Furthermore, the nature of these finds from sites purposely constructed for spiritual activity is remarkably similar to the archaeology recovered from human-made holes in the ground at a considerable number Romano-British domestic sites, supporting the idea that in a secular arena pits were still considered to be valid receptacles for sacrificial offerings.

In this paper I hope to illuminate my findings, particularly in relation to domestic dogs, and to discuss why this species might have continued to be a favoured offering during the Romano-British period.
Field archaeologists don't think...

Dr. Pete Wilson (English Heritage)

That appalling statement was made to a group of undergraduates in the early 1980s. It is patently untrue, but does highlight an issue that most people working in British archaeology would recognise - the apparent gulf between new thinking and the realities of the situations in which most people work. The basic issues to be addressed are how to use new (and newish) intellectual approaches and theoretical constructs to inform and underpin the mass of research that is undertaken outside an RAE-driven framework, and conversely how to best capture, integrate and utilise the 'research benefit' of that work. Theoretical approaches may seem irrelevant to the hard-pressed development control archaeologist dealing with planning applications in a restricted time frame. But they should not be. Setting a brief can be regarded as mechanistic, simply a matter of cutting and pasting the right conditions into it, but what underpins the priorities that the brief identifies? Regional Research Frameworks, Agendas and Strategies inform, but again what informs them? Similarly, those charged with presenting the Roman period to the wider public rely on the research that we all undertake, but what informs the decisions that dictate what appears in displays and by way of interpretation?

Participants and paper titles:

Dr. Dominic Perring (Field Archaeology Unit, UCL)
Did something funny happen on the way to the forum? Describing urban markets from archaeological data

Dr. Andrew Gardner (UCL) and Francesco Trifilo (Birkbeck)
Thinking in contexts

Dr. Jake Weekes (University of Kent)
Detection, protection and exploration of Romano-British cemeteries through competitive tendering

Phil Bethell (National Trust)
Towards a virtuous circle

Dr. Steven Willis (University of Kent)
Out of town: new perspectives on settlement in the Roman period and the implications for field archaeology

Prof. Martin Millett (University of Cambridge)
Discussant

Abstracts:

Did something funny happen on the way to the forum? Describing urban markets from archaeological data
Dr. Dominic Perring (Field Archaeology Unit, UCL)

This paper explores some of the ways in which the results of commercially funded fieldwork can be used to describe the impact of urban foundations on the settlement landscapes of Roman Britain.
Thinking in contexts
Dr. Andrew Gardner (UCL) and Francesco Trifilo (Birkbeck)

In this paper, we will try to circumvent the well-rehearsed distinction between theory and practice in archaeology through two arguments. As a starting point, we will suggest that the terms deployed in making this distinction are unhelpfully laden with inappropriate ideological baggage and that, insofar as a distinction between various modes of working exists, it might better be labelled in terms of 'craft' and 'experimentation'. We will then go on to argue that the oppositional elements of this distinction could and should be eroded by a greater degree of attention to the basic units of archaeological recording, where both current commercial field-craft and university-based experimentation already have a great deal of common ground - though this can certainly be enhanced. Recent concerns with issues like identity and agency require detailed understandings of artefact and feature distributions and an appreciation of different (i.e. more or less intentional) mechanisms of site formation. These are exactly the same problems which, from a methodological standpoint, are part-and-parcel of context recording. The point of union between these modes of working thus becomes the humble context sheet, a type of artefact which, though already contested to some degree, deserves more serious attention by all archaeologists. We will also suggest, as a positive step forward in the breaking down of intra-disciplinary barriers, that the definition of what constitutes a 'professional' archaeologist be further debated, and that denigration of either 'craft' or 'experimentation' serves nobody within the discipline.

Detection, protection and exploration of Romano-British cemeteries through competitive tendering
Dr. Jake Weekes (University of Kent)

This paper re-evaluates the PPG16 system in terms of locating, excavating, analysing and researching Romano-British funerary contexts, looking specifically at the level of data protection and interrogation afforded by current legislation, research strategies and excavation methods. The aim here is to create a forum for discussion, in an attempt to generate more specialised guidelines within the town and country planning and developer funded context for this very particular type of archaeology. The changing impact of development on a particular Romano-British cemetery area is traced and assessed, with a view to putting forward alternative research designs and methodologies for the future.

Towards a virtuous circle
Phil Bethell (National Trust)

Using the example of the Chedworth Roman Villa, a virtuous circle of research aims, leading to fieldwork, leading to re-assessment of the site, leading to re-interpretation for the visiting public, leading to new questions, can be shown to be an ideal. Finds in recent years have altered our understanding of the site, and this has been fed through into the interpretation.
Out of town: new perspectives on settlement in the Roman period and the implications for field archaeology

Dr. Steven Willis (University of Kent)

Approaching the archaeology of sites and settlements of the Roman era we are accustomed to the terms: military site, canabae, civitas capital/major town, small town, roadside settlement, villa, rural site, etc. These familiar categories have a utility and there is a tacit agreement as to what is broadly defined by these terms. Some have looked at 'sites' in somewhat different terms, as expressed, for instance, by the nature of consumption that took place. However, since c. 1990 three unfolding developments engender a change in approach to understanding sites and settlements of this period. Firstly, the altered nature of fieldwork in Britain, which has meant that Roman archaeology has, of course, been found in many types of places in the modern landscape where we had not looked before, especially in the suburbs of large modern towns, in and around our current small and market towns and in the countryside. Indeed, the quantity of new evidence forthcoming upon settlement of the Roman era has been remarkable. Secondly, we have made advances in refining our understanding of the character of settlement sites, not least in terms of intra-site studies which have fulfilled the old (processualist) promise of finding differing functional and status areas within settlements (eg. the work of Cool, Eckardt, Jane Evans and Jeremy Evans). Thirdly, it is now clear that if Roman archaeologists had been inclined to lump sites into streamlined categories implying regimented similarity our increasing knowledge of their archaeology underscores instead how different and unique sites actually were. It is now apparent that each town, each roadside settlement, each villa, etc., was distinctive. Each had its own identity, trajectory and fingerprint (yet so much work still remains to be done, as, for instance, evaluation of military sites has begun to show).

Nonetheless the old categories (cf. above) still work; that is, they still have a strong analytical validity, at least for the core areas of such sites. Yet what of the areas a little 'out of town' from which field units are now collecting so much data? This has brought forward something new and exciting, for it demonstrates that so many sites were much more expansive than hitherto realized, with suburbs, cemeteries, ceremonial and significant places covering a wide landscape, perhaps for kilometres (think of the new pictures we have of Carlisle, Chichester, Colchester and Catterick, as well as Elms Farm and the roadside complexes through East Yorkshire). The picture is suggestive of the low-density occupation, zoning and sheer spread of many Late Iron Age sites such as oppida. These places should not be seen as 'hinterland' but part of the everyday lived environments of the people of Roman Britain. In other words we need to re-conceive (i) the extent and materiality of settlements of all types, and (ii) the experience of them by past actors 'in Roman times'. The phenomenology of such cultural milieux needs to be considered.

This contribution argues therefore that the traditional settlement categories are not dead, but that the outcome of PPG16 demonstrates their refinement is necessary at a number of levels. Often the best placed archaeological personnel for exploring these refinements have been and will be the archaeologists in the field themselves. Characterising the world of the Roman era remains a collective project and there are many perspectives that the wide constituency of those working upon and experiencing its archaeological record can contribute.
Saturday morning ~ Room G.21

Expression of identities in the Eastern Empire

Hannah Friedman (University of Leicester) and Jennifer Baird (University of Leicester)

Newer ways of examining populations of the provinces have recently been put forward, one being David Mattingly's concept of the expression of identity (Mattingly JRA 2004). Here, rather than framing discussions around the concept of Romanization or lack thereof, the identities that the provincials chose to adopt and express is instead the focus. In this way, diversity rather than homogeneity is explored in discrepant experiences, highlighting a range of responses to the presence of the Roman Empire. How did the long history of colonization before the Romans, especially contact with the Greeks, affect identity? How did the presence of other empires, for example the Sassanians, change or affect aspects of personal identity? How were issues of power negotiated between Roman and native, or elite and non-elite, military or civilian, and rural or urban populations? How did these identities interact, and to what extent were they situational? Most importantly, how can this be seen in the archaeological record - can meaningful patterns be identified and related to social groups, thereby finding markers for the way identity was expressed? The papers of this session will investigate the Roman East using the framework of discrepant experience and identities to explore what contribution this theory can offer to provincial studies.

Participants and paper titles:

Jennifer Baird (University of Leicester)
Identity at Dura-Europos: Life in the Roman Far East

Gaelle Coqueugniot (Université Lumière Lyon 2)
Europeans under the Romans: Expression of identity among the Macedonian rulers of Dura-Europos from 165-256

Kyriakos Savvopoulos (Leiden University)
Alexandrian monumental tombs: A case study on the Greco-Egyptian cultural interaction and its effects on the cultural identity of Roman Alexandria

Daniela Cottica (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia)
The symbolism of spinning in funerary art and representations

Dianne Van de Zande (University of Leiden)
Domestic structures of the Roman Near East as reflection of the construction of identity

Hannah Friedman (University of Leicester)
Pastoral nomads: The urban legend

Abstracts:

Identity at Dura-Europos: life in the Roman Far East
Jennifer Baird (University of Leicester)

The nature of the impact of Roman rule in the Near East has long been neglected in comparison with the well-studied West. This neglect is in part due to the trouble scholars have had distinguishing Hellenic and Roman cultural forms. This paper
explores what can be learned from housing and household assemblages in the Near East under Roman rule. The site of Dura-Europos is used as a case-study, exploiting archival information in tandem with new fieldwork to examine domestic architecture and to reconstruct the household assemblages. Although the 'Greek' character of Dura has often be emphasized, due in no small part to its 'Hippodamian' town-plan, the actual nature of the site and its people has been little explored, and the reality of daily life shows not only Hellenic elements alongside Mesopotamian ones, but an existence profoundly impacted by Roman hegemony.

*Europeans under the Romans: Expression of identity among the Macedonian rulers of Dura-Europos from 165-256*

**Gaelle Coqueugniot (Université Lumière Lyon 2)**

This paper observes the reaffirmation of the ethnic identity of the Graeco-Macedonian elite at Dura-Europos after the Roman conquest. Under the philhellenic Parthian rule, descendants of the first Macedonian settlers received a large consideration and privileges, among which the status of *polis*. This community, that recognised itself as "Europeans" or citizens of Europos, was established around the governor's palace and the sanctuary of Artemis *Nanaia*, in the centre of the city. The few public buildings that have been unearthed in the area, namely the Odeon-*bouleuterion* in the sanctuary of Artemis and the *chreophylakeion* in the agora, provide us with precious information about the civic institutions and magistrates of Europos during the two last centuries of the city. After the conquest of Dura by Romans around AD 165, several elements in the textual and archaeological record demonstrate the attempt of the Europeans to maintain their leadership through an evocation of their Greek origin and a mythical Seleucid past by such means as renaming magistracies and reviving traditional cults.

*Alexandrian monumental tombs: A case study on the Greco-Egyptian cultural interaction and its effects on the cultural identity of Roman Alexandria*

**Kyriakos Savvopoulos (Leiden University)**

There is no doubt that Alexandria, the capital of Egypt during Hellenistic and Roman periods, constituted one of the cities of Eastern Mediterranean where contact between diverse cultures was particularly intense. This was due to the continuous "process" of coexistence and interplay among different ethnic groups, mainly between Greeks and Egyptians, and their cultural backgrounds. This process started almost three centuries before the arrival of Romans and resulted in the emergence and development of multiculturalism in the society of Alexandria. The aim of this presentation is to discuss some ideas on how the long contact and cultural interplay between Greeks and Egyptians affected the identity of the city, during Roman period. Elite Alexandrian tombs, known also as the Monumental tombs of Alexandria, will be used as a case study for this discussion, since they constitute one of the most well investigated of archaeological disciplines of the ancient city, providing us with information about several aspects of its cultural identity.
The symbolism of spinning in funerary art and representations
Daniela Cottica (Università Ca’ Foscari Venezia)

It is well known that funerary monuments conveyed to posterity an image of the deceased and communicated information through selected and often standardized iconographic and epigraphic formulae. Nonetheless tombstones created a unique identity for each individual and group (i.e. family identity). The process of communication implied, in order to be successful, that it operated on the basis of concepts and values shared by the community (the viewers). Within this conceptual framework, the paper will try to explore the reasons why spinning implements are so frequently represented on funerary tombstones found in some Eastern provinces, while they are almost absent in the West. A possible explanation seems connected with the meaning(s) attached in Eastern cultures to spinning tools and with its stratified symbolism. The paper summarizes the available evidence, presented in a statistic format and discussed within the overall context of the dynamics of persistence and change in symbolism of spinning and spinning tools in pre-Classical and Classical world.

Domestic structures of the Roman Near East as reflection of the construction of identity
Dianne Van de Zande (University of Leiden)

This paper will focus on domestic structures of the Roman Near East. The Roman period in the Near East is marked by one of the strongest urban and rural expansions until modern times. During this period habitation expanded, towns and countrysides became more densely populated, and more wealth was generated. Especially in the later Roman period, the 4th - 6th centuries AD, the expansion of the settled regions not only incorporated large areas of the countryside but also marginal areas. The Near Eastern culture in Roman times was highly fluid, with many different identities and rich of nuances. Existing local structures as well as Graeco-Roman elements influenced the socio-political stratification. The population consisted of Romans, Hellenized local elites, and indigenous people, dealing with market systems and a range of modes of subsistence, often used complementary. Archaeology sometimes seems to define different groups of people with varying means of existence as separate cultures. Factors such as social formations or political allegiances, which transcend geographical and economical conditions, can create larger identities which are often not so easily discerned in the archaeological record.

The question whether the inhabitants of the provinces, who were after the incorporation of the region into the Roman empire subjects of Rome, indeed saw themselves as Roman, has not been sufficiently answered. When regarding the larger developments, the view of the Roman world as a homogeneous culture comes into perspective, and correlations in development between cities, regions or provinces might be detected. City-centres were embellished with monumental structures which stated incorporation within the Roman empire. It remains to be seen whether domestic structures can be regarded in the same way and whether these structures were, like monumental or public structures, used to express (local) identity. Notably in the countryside, domestic structures don't always show a clear association with the Roman cultural frameworks. Could a study of domestic structures be used to indicate the level of Romanisation? Could it help to shed light on questions whether rural populations developed culturally and economically towards the Roman empire.
Or did they remain a closed, self-sustaining society, consisting of the same autarchic peasant communities with a small local market-system like they had been through the previous ages, to a much larger extent than is generally assumed of provincial populations that were part of the Roman empire? Examples form the Near East in the Roman period will be used to consider these issues.

**Pastoral nomads: The urban legend**
Hannah Friedman (University of Leicester)

The theoretical framework of the Roman Levant often begins with the premise of a continuing trend of urbanization and rural settlement. These theories place emphasis on the Hellenistic cities and agriculture. While these are very important themes to be explored, they do not create an all-inclusive narrative. The Levant has a long history of nomadic herders who existed before, during and after the presence of Romans. These individuals would have markedly different economic stratagems and social behaviours from individuals in the cities and towns.

Pastoral nomads therefore do not presently fit into most of the theoretical frameworks concerning the Roman East. In order to gain fuller understanding of the period, culture groups such as these must be included rather than marginalized. This paper puts forth ideas to integrate the nomadic presence in the narrative of the Levant. A region of southern Jordan, the Faynan, will act as a case study and textual, archaeological and ethnographic evidence will be presented.

**Saturday morning ~ Room 1.02**

**General Session II**

Dr. Roman Roth (University of Cambridge)

**Participants and paper titles:**

**Lucy Britt** (University of Southampton)
*Ritual tanning at Lullingstone Roman villa*

**Adam Rogers** (University of Durham)
*Not just a nice place to live: religious place and its articulation with urbanisation in the Roman era*

**Nicholas A. Wells** (University of Cardiff)
*A Fistful of Nummi: Late Roman coin hoards at the Wild North-Western Edge of Empire*

**Richard Jarrett** (University of Durham)
*Springhead revisited: problems with the past and possibilities for the future*

**Marion Boos** (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg)
*The Temple of Hercules in Ostia*

**Dr. Zeynep Aktüre** (Izmir Institute of Technology, Turkey)
*Geographic distribution and architectural characteristics of ancient theatres in modern Spain: A theoretical approach based on Fernand Braudel's three planes of historical time*
Abstracts:

**Ritual tanning at Lullingstone Roman villa**  
Lucy Britt (University of Southampton)

In reports of excavations, functional explanations of finds and features tend to prevail and religious connotations are often played down. This has led to the role of religion at these sites being understated until later re-examinations of the evidence have taken place (for example the 'water-feature' at Darenth villa, originally interpreted as part of a fulling industry, but since identified as having a religious function).

This paper will attempt such a re-examination, focusing on the contents and context of the 'tannery' pit excavated at Lullingstone Roman villa in Kent, which (based primarily on the finds of leather and sandals) was identified in the original excavation report as part of a tanning industry which lasted for ten years at the end of the second century AD. Arguments will be presented however that suggest that this interpretation is incorrect. Instead, it will be argued that the contents of the pit are actually an example of structured deposition, the remains of religious rituals perhaps connected with the shrine which also forms part of the villa complex, leading to the conclusion that ritual practice was more prevalent at Lullingstone than the original excavators believed.

**Not just a nice place to live: religious place and its articulation with urbanisation in the Roman era**  
Adam Rogers (University of Durham)

The locations of the towns of Roman Britain, and elsewhere in the Empire, have traditionally been explored in militaristic and economic terms with less consideration of pre-Roman use of the sites and understandings of place. Place can be considered as a way of seeing, knowing and understanding the world (Cresswell 2004). Places are foci of human feeling and thought and central to experiences of the environment; they are constructed in human movement, memory and encounter (Taylor 1997: 193). This marks a sharp contrast with most modern Western understandings of place which is considered more as space for disconnected actions. Dominating many of the studies on the places of Roman towns have been scientific and geographical stances with emphases made on the economic potential of the areas and their strategic importance. Although these factors and methods of study are important, possible additional ways of examining the significance of the locations have been neglected. It is unlikely that pre-Roman peoples, or indeed the Romans themselves, will have experienced or understood them in ways that are comparable in the West today. It is also possible that the pre-Roman significance attached to many of these places was an important reason in their choice for urbanisation. This paper will put an emphasis on the importance of religious place and explore the evidence for late pre-Roman activity in the areas of the Roman towns, our understanding of oppida and the watery nature of many of the locations. It will be argued finally that the importance of the places may have continued to influence the nature of the towns in the Roman period.

References
A Fistful of Nummi; Late Roman coin hoards at the Wild North-Western Edge of Empire
Nicholas A. Wells (University of Cardiff)

Compared with other regions of the Roman Empire, Britain is exceptionally rich in coin hoards dating to the late 4th/early 5th century AD. The marked difference between the observed numismatic record of the island compared to the continent has, over the last 30 years, occupied the minds of many a numismatist and archaeologist all seeking a model for the end of coin use in Roman Britain. Such research has led to diverse theories ranging from complete cessation in the early years of the 5th century to continued use into the early 6th, albeit varying regionally.

Using statistical and GIS spatial analysis this paper explores the nature of this hoarding phenomenon and examines the chronological and spatial variations within coin hoards of all metals.

Springhead revisited: problems with the past and possibilities for the future
Richard Jarrett (University of Durham)

The Romano-British settlement of Vagniacis at Springhead in North Kent has a long history of excavation, producing large amounts of finds and structural remains. The site is famous for its 'temple complex' excavated under the auspices of William Penn and Sydney Harker between 1957 and 1984. It is now approximately five decades since excavations began at the site and, unfortunately, the archaeology of the settlement is neither as accessible nor easy to understand as it could be. The excavation reports of Penn and Harker are riddled with ambiguities, many finds have been lost and over two hundred boxes of unpublished 'small finds' from Harker's excavations lie, gathering dust, in an abandoned church on a council estate.

Oxford Archaeology and Wessex Archaeology have recently undertaken an extensive programme of work at Springhead, uncovering a large cemetery and another 'temple complex', perhaps connected with the veneration of a number of natural springs in the northern part of the site. The results of these excavations will open up a large amount of material for academic research, but how will it be possible to set this material in the context of the disorganised and largely unpublished information from Penn and Harker's excavations? The two excavators uncovered a large number of buildings and thousands of finds forming an important part of the settlement which cannot afford to be ignored, regardless of ambiguities and damage caused to the archive.

This paper intends to present ways to deal with the problems of the past at Springhead, assess the potential value of the material surviving from the settlement to current research and, for any Springhead fans out there, a large amount of unpublished photographs and finds from the excavations will also be on display.

The Temple of Hercules in Ostia
Marion Boos (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg)

Ostia, the port of ancient Rome, is among the best-preserved Roman settlements in Italy. The abandonment of the site in the post-Roman period allows modern archaeologists to study Ostia more thoroughly than most other Roman towns, including Rome itself, where modern buildings cover much of the ancient city. The
enormous amount of archaeological material that has come to light at Ostia since the 19th century is not completely published yet, and many buildings are still waiting to be properly documented. The temple of Hercules is one of these buildings. Erected in late Republican times on the Via della Foro, the sanctuary remained in use until late antiquity. Its dominant position within a separate sacred enclosure next to the very centre of town is indicative of its importance. It has so far not received the attention it deserves; this paper wants to make up for this lack of attention. It discusses the architectural remains of the temple of Hercules, providing a possible reconstruction on the ground of a thorough on-site study of these remains, which was conducted in autumn 2004. The votives attributed to the sanctuary are also taken into consideration to provide a broader picture of the quality and meaning of this significant sacred building.

**Geographic distribution and architectural characteristics of ancient theatres in modern Spain: A theoretical approach based on Fernand Braudel’s three planes of historical time**

Dr. Zeynep Aktüre (Izmir Institute of Technology, Turkey)

Those by Fernand Braudel would rank high on a list of works that set Mediterranean historiography into a new course, through an approach to the past in three planes of historical time - namely, the almost timeless history of the relationship between man and the environment that is called "geo-history"; the gradually-changing history of economic, social and political "structures"; and the fast-moving history of "events". Braudel argues that the history of "events" is unintelligible without the history of "structures", which is unintelligible without "geo-history". The proposed presentation will adopt this framework for an interpretation of the geographic distribution and some architectural characteristics of ancient theatres in modern Spain in the light of "Romanisation" processes.

From an epistemological point of view, all architectural works are "events" produced by man. However, the essentiality of theatres for Classical town and religious life would enable a conceptualisation of their construction as a produce of a change in Braudel's "structures". Some authors argue that the greatest structural change brought by Roman control over the Mediterranean basin was the creation of a hierarchically-organised "urban network" (e.g. Woolf 1997: 1). Although Roman involvement in the Iberian Peninsula dated to the third century BC, the establishment of such a "network" had to wait for the Augustan defeat of the Cantabri. The earliest-dating theatres, in the pro-Caesarian cities at the southern tip of the Peninsula where Pompey's descendants were finally defeated, pre-date this re-organisation. Augustan theatres are located nearby and, notably, in the provincial capitals of the southern Peninsula. Tiberian theatres are further to the north, around the Ebro valley. The mountainous Cantabrian northwest is marked by a total absence of theatres.

This distribution by "period" would support Braudel's (1995: 34) binarism of "mountains vs. plains": "In Baetica, Rome was much more successful in the lowlands, and along the rivers, than on the plateaux... In the mountainous northwest of Spain with the added difficulty of distance, Rome penetrated late on and with little success." The location of the largest in provincial and conventus capitals would, on the other hand, enable an interpretation of the geographic distribution of Iberian theatres by "size" as a reflection of the hierarchies intrinsic in the Roman "urban network" structuring them. A distribution by the "construction technique applied in the cavea"
would reveal very few of these latter as having a cavea over sub-constructions from level ground, as in the idea of a "Roman Theatre", and the rest with one over a hillside, as in the idea of a "Greek Theatre". Therefore, contrary to the commonly-held image, the formation of seating rows over a natural slope would appear to be part of the almost timeless history of the relation of man with the environment. The "exceptions" that fail to accord with these observations will be interpreted as individual "events" that demonstrate the usefulness of Braudel's three historical time planes as a "representational model" that would resist, as a central analytical tool, the criticism of "geographic determinism", which has been the most radical of all triggered by the author's work.

1 The proposed presentation is out of my Ph.D. in Architecture, dissertation entitled A Typology of Ancient Theatres in Modern Spain and Greece: A Geo-Historical Approach (May 2005, Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey).

References


Saturday afternoon ~ Room G.19

Presenting the Romans

Philip Bethell (National Trust)

Archaeologists develop their own perceptions of what being 'Roman' means, through an immersion into a wide range of information sources, analysis and discussion. It is very easy for us to assume everybody else knows what we are talking about, but the reality is different. The ways in which 'the Romans' are presented to other audiences mean that the public perceptions of Romans and their Empire is often markedly at odds with prevailing academic theory. This session will look at a number of ways in which the Roman period in Britain is presented to a range of public audiences, through Museum displays, schools education, re-enactment, the broadcast media, and so on. The theme will stimulate debate and hopefully reflection on how we, as archaeologists, convey our messages to a wider public, and whether the gulf between academic theory and the prevailing public perceptions can ever be truly bridged.

Participants and paper titles:

Phil Bethell (National Trust)
Presenting the Romans

Andrew Gardner (University College London)
Playing the Roman Empire

Pete Wilson (English Heritage)
Fiddling with old bits of Romans: How the public got involved with the Groundwell Ridge excavations, and their responses to it

Sarah Talmage (National Trust)
What has the National Curriculum ever done for us?

Jenny Hall (Museum of London)
Displaying the Romans at the Museum of London
Abstracts:

**Presenting the Romans**  
Phil Bethell (National Trust)

A brief overview of the ways in which "The Romans" are presented to "the public": through the media of TV, cinema, factual books, fiction, toys and games, a multitude of images and perceptions of the Romans are presented to a wide variety of audiences. Is there a true image?

A look at how the Romans are presented at the Chedworth Roman Villa in Gloucestershire will provide a case study. The interpretation of the archaeology is filtered through the lens of income-generation and the need to feed an audience with something it can relate to. This involves re-enactment, 1st-person interpretation, and various visual and audio media.

**Playing the Roman Empire**  
Andrew Gardner (University College London)

Computer and video games have begun to take over from Hollywood movies in terms of the amount of money they make, and are reaching ever-wider audiences. A significant number of computer games falls into the 'strategy' genre, and of these many are set in the ancient world. From 'Age of Empires' and 'Caesar III' to 'Rome: Total War', the Roman empire has proved a particularly popular focus for such games. In this paper, I will cast a sympathetic yet critical eye over some examples of the presentation of Rome in computer games. While primarily forms of entertainment, an educational sub-text is often quite apparent in the pseudo-academic trappings attached to many of these games (such as historical notes in instruction manuals), and yet they present very partial and Modern accounts of the Roman past. I will conclude by arguing that a more holistic approach need not be incompatible with entertainment, particularly though alternative genres which are becoming increasingly popular, such as online role-playing games.

**Fiddling with old bits of Romans: How the public got involved with the Groundwell Ridge excavations, and their responses to it**  
Pete Wilson (English Heritage)

The Groundwell villa was found during development and after a public campaign to save it was purchased to save the site from further destruction. From the start the intention was that the site would be 'for the people of Swindon'. It was incorporated into an area of public open space and protected as a scheduled monument. How do we square that circle? Working with Swindon Borough Council, English Heritage organised two seasons of community archaeology that investigated a bath suite with deposits up to 1.7m deep, excavated by a team in which the volunteers were an integral part. How did people respond? A new archaeological group - 'The Friends of Groundwell Ridge', a community website, a digger's blog, 2000+ visitors, and one attempted nighthawking attack; everyone's responses were different and, with the exception of the last, almost all entirely positive.
What has the National Curriculum ever done for us?
Sarah Talmage (National Trust)

According to the definition provided by Directgov, an official government website, "The National Curriculum sets out the stages and core subjects [a] child will be taught throughout their school life. Children aged five to 16 in state or maintained schools must be taught according to the National Curriculum."

This paper looks at the way in which "the Romans" are taught at various Key Stages, and the knowledge, skills and understanding required of school students. A case-study at a primary school in Suffolk outlines how this works in practice, and how using visits to heritage sites can create problems of understanding.

Displaying the Romans at the Museum of London
Jenny Hall (Museum of London)

The Romans engender tremendous interest across all age groups and any Roman Gallery has to attempt to satisfy all level of visitor needs. Most Roman displays, however, are heavily used by school children at Key Stage 2. So how can the Romans be presented in museums and enjoyed by seven or seventy year olds? The Roman Gallery at the Museum of London was refurbished ten years ago to both include the most recent of archaeological discoveries and to interpret a period in the context of London's chronological history in such a way that it could be enjoyed by all ages.
Engendering cultural change:
'Romanization' or continuity?

Rebecca Redfern (University of Birmingham; MoLSS) and Christine Hamlin (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

"The body is a corporeal phenomenon which is not only affected by social systems, but which forms a basis for and shapes social relations" (Shilling 1994, 100).

The process of culture contact, exchange and adoption traditionally termed 'Romanization' has long been of interest to historians and archaeologists. A number of theorists (e.g., Hill 2001; James 2001; Mattingly 2004) have recently augmented the discussion of more commonly considered aspects, such as architecture and religious syncretism, with research addressing questions related to the construction or expression of communal and individual identity. Few theorists, though, have considered Romanization in terms of sex and gender, and fewer still have addressed the social construction of identity in Roman Britain in terms of these variables.

Mattingly (2004) has suggested that different groups constructed their own interpretations of identity, many of which may have drawn upon earlier social models (Mattingly 2004, 22). The heterogeneous nature of the archaeological evidence supports his theory, suggesting a continuity of Late Pre-Roman Iron Age/Early Roman regional identities and, perhaps, of LPRIA/ER gender and age identities. By examining the corporeal remains of the body in conjunction with evidence for socio-cultural elements such as mortuary treatment and patterns of artefact association, a more nuanced understanding of the construction of identity by individuals and communities in Roman Britain can be achieved. The human body is central to this endeavour, for the body is the three-dimensional model on which gender and age ideologies, as elements of social constructions of identity, are displayed. As Shilling (1994) has noted, "if one feels unable to exert influence over an increasingly complex society, at least one can have some effect on the size, shape and appearance of one's body" (Shilling 1994, 7).

This session examines the extent to which Romanization changed expressions of identity, specifically focusing upon the relationship between the body and socio-cultural evidence. This enables the exploration of areas as diverse as changes in social ranking, the expression of gender throughout the life course, and the presence of new and competing expressions of identity.

References
Participants and paper titles:

Keith J. Fitzpatrick-Matthews
*Discarded bodies: identity, gender and the dead of Iron Age and Roman Baldock*

Rebecca Redfern (University of Birmingham, MoLSS)
*Transformation and continuity in Roman Dorset: a gendered health perspective*

Judith Rosten (University of Leicester)
*Identities in life and death: The use of personal adornment in Roman Britain*

Melanie Sherratt
*Perceptions of gender in Roman Britain; the perpetuating myth*

Abstracts:

*Discarded bodies: identity, gender and the dead of Iron Age and Roman Baldock*
Keith J. Fitzpatrick-Matthews

The oppidum and 'small town' of Baldock shows massive settlement continuity from the first century BC to the second century AD, despite the momentous political changes of the era. The site has also yielded one of the largest collections of burials from any site in the Roman Empire, the majority still unpublished. They represent a huge resource for an exploration of attitudes toward the body.

The town's sixteen-plus burial grounds show huge variations in the treatment of the dead, both between cemeteries and within them. This paper will explore the extent to which these variations are correlated with physical factors such as sex and age and will pose questions about why variations not attributable to these characteristics are found. Baldock will be compared with other sites in the region to assess whether the patterns seen here are more widespread or if they relate to the identity of the local community.

*Transformation and continuity in Roman Dorset: a gendered health perspective*
Rebecca Redfern (University of Birmingham, MoLSS)

The changes observed in post-conquest communities are typically discussed in terms of religion, material culture and architecture, with a marked absence of biological evidence, resulting in an incomplete view of this period. Clinical studies have proven that numerous health consequences can result from periods of social stress and change; for example, alterations in social status and identities can result in changes to stature, demography and disease prevalence. Such studies have also observed that the social frameworks and environmental conditions experienced by individuals strongly influence their health and well-being, from conception to old age. One of the most important determining social factors is the gender identity of an individual, as their gender role influences exposure to disease and violence.

This paper seeks to address the biological consequences of social change, by presenting the results of the first gendered analysis of health in Britain from the late...
8th century B.C. to the end of 4th century A.D., based upon a regional analysis of human remains from Dorset. The discussion combines the biological data with the socio-cultural and environmental evidence to create a fully integrated analysis. The presentation focuses upon evidence for changing gender roles, regional heterogeneity and the extent to which the health of communities changed through time, offering a new perspective on Roman Britain.

**Identities in life and death: The use of personal adornment in Roman Britain**

Judith Rosten (University of Leicester)

In the period leading up to the Roman occupation in Britain the range and quantity of items of personal adornment began to increase significantly. Following the conquest, further items continued to be added to the repertoire of goods that were available. With appearance of the body having the potential to transmit a complex range of meanings, often bound up with identity, this increased availability of items associated with appearance provided a more widespread opportunity for manipulating the body to express identities. In order to see the details of such use, we must rely largely on cemetery data, as assemblages of items can be directly associated with individuals, which, when suitably preserved, can be aged and sexed to aid our interpretations. However, cemetery assemblages do not necessarily equate to what was being expressed in everyday practices. To understand more fully the significance of how appearance was being used in the Roman period, we need to consider the material that is coming not just from assemblages associated with the dead, but also from those of the living; the assemblages from settlement sites. Using as case studies sites that have received excavations of both their settlement and cemeteries provides the opportunity to look at the way in which personal adornment items, Roman introductions or otherwise, were being used in a variety of contexts Roman Britain.

**Perceptions of gender in Roman Britain; the perpetuating myth**

Melanie Sherratt (University of Durham)

The call for gender to be addressed in the Roman Period has been issued from many quarters, none more loudly than at TRAC itself. Attempts have been made to address the issue, but many studies are built on sand as the question of what is the Roman notion of gender, specifically what was it to be 'female' or 'male' in Roman Britain has not been addressed adequately. Consequent understanding of how gender was displayed upon the body and the accuracy of 'gendered' artefacts remain unchallenged. Gender continues to be viewed as a separate aspect of identity, homogenous and based upon the 'Roman' model.

This paper will address the issues arising from the false-start that gender studies have had in Romano-British archaeology by attacking the preconceptions of gender that are allowed to perpetuate in discussions of Roman Britain. Such assumptions concerning 'gendered' artefacts allow for certain gender stereotypes to be reinforced that are at their root a mirror of contemporary ideals and are not entirely applicable to past cultures. In conclusion, this paper will discuss how gender studies can be advanced through the systematic analysis of mortuary remains and the engendering of the body in death. Such studies can lead to the understanding of how gender was expressed in a certain area, and reveal the levels of integration or resistance in Roman Britain.
Saturday afternoon ~ Room 1.02

General Session III
Ben Croxford (University of Cambridge)

Participants and paper titles:

John Manley (Sussex Archaeological Society/Dept of Social Anthropology, University of Sussex)
Decoration and demon traps - the meanings of geometric borders in Roman mosaics

Dr. Martin Pitts (University of Sheffield)
The emperor’s new clothes? The utility of identity in Roman archaeology

Angela Wilson (Bournemouth University)
The symbolic construction of the healthy self through material culture in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain

M. Walsh (University of Southampton)
Parasitic, piggy-back trade: ancient practice or modern myth?

Mariana Egri (University of Cambridge)
The use of amphorae for interpreting patterns of consumption

Roderick Millar (University of British Columbia, Canada)
Romano-British shipping in the 2nd Century A.D.

Abstracts:

Decoration and demon traps - the meanings of geometric borders in Roman mosaics
John Manley (Sussex Archaeological Society/University of Sussex)

The thousands of mosaics that survive from the Greek and especially Roman worlds are taken by many to be one of the great surviving artistic hallmarks of these two classical civilisations. The decorative variety of the floors, made usually and mostly from small stone tesserae, strike a chord with those who view them as ‘works of art’ (Neal and Cosh 2002, 9).

What I want to suggest in this paper is an alternative way of looking at mosaics. I want to argue that there is something to be explained in the sheer constancy of mosaics through the Hellenistic and Roman periods - a period of some seven centuries. By constancy I mean the enduring nature of the underlying and unchanging structural schema of mosaics comprising geometric, abstract, complex borders framing one or more figurative emblematia. Stability needs its explanations just as much as change does. I particularly want to focus on the abstract and geometric borders, - for example the meander, the guilloche, the wave-pattern - and seek to understand why these motifs were utilised across the length and breadth of the Roman Empire.

By looking at a few of the mosaics revealed by Barry Cunliffe at Fishbourne Roman Palace, and by drawing on some recent anthropological studies concerning the agency of art, I argue that the geometric borders surrounding figurative panels may have had more functions than simple decorative framing devices.

Reference
The emperor's new clothes? The utility of identity in Roman archaeology
Dr. Martin Pitts (University of Sheffield)

This paper discusses the concept of identity as an increasingly popular research theme in Roman archaeology. The first part provides an overview and critique of the issue in recent academic discourse in the sub-discipline, highlighting some potential theoretical and methodological problems. I argue that, if pursued uncritically, there is a danger that approaches to identity in the Roman Empire are reducible to the search for diversity for diversity's sake, and even worse, that identity is simply read-off from archaeological remains in a culture-historical fashion. In the second part, directions for future research on the topic are considered, emphasising the constitution of identity through dynamic social practices, rather than a direct one-to-one relationship between identity and static material culture. I hope to show that identity is best approached through the implementation of methodologies specifically designed to elucidate aspects of social practice through archaeological evidence, rather than simply identifying variability in material culture.

The symbolic construction of the healthy self through material culture in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain
Angela Wilson (Bournemouth University)

Concepts of health contain multiple dimensions. One that has received little attention in archaeology is that of health and well-being. Supported by historical narrative, iconography and anthropology this paper works on the premise that 'good' health formed part of late Iron Age and Roman peoples' social lives. Material finds from large settlements during the late Iron Age and Roman periods that are commonly associated with personal use such as combs, make-up tools, bath-flasks and unguent bottles are examined in relation to their chronological placement, decoration, appearance and context. Underpinned by an interpretive position which includes material cultural theory and interdisciplinary models, the objects are considered in light of perception, the body and the senses, the self and personhood. The findings suggest that these items can be seen as indicators for the deliberate construction of the healthy body, spiritual healthiness and as a means of memorialising the healthy self.

References

Parasitic, piggy-back trade: ancient practice or modern myth?
M. Walsh (University of Southampton)

This paper will present new evidence that challenges the long-held belief that samian and other common pottery types were primarily distributed as parasitic commodities dependent upon the movement of other more valuable commodities. This is seemingly corroborated by overwhelming evidence from Mediterranean shipwrecks on which pottery is frequently subsidiary to a more significant cargo usually borne in amphorae. However, the vast majority of wrecks have been discovered serendipitously; the disproportionate temporal and geographical representation has been acknowledged for
some time, but now the typological has been revealed. Only a tiny fraction (half of one per cent) of all Roman wrecks found in the Mediterranean contain pottery cargoes. Five of the six wrecks containing bulk consignments of pottery were only discovered during the investigation of other wrecks in accident blackspots where several vessels had sunk, while the sixth wreck contained a composite cargo that included amphorae.

In this light the paucity of evidence for pottery cargoes appears to represent a detection bias in favour of amphora-laden wrecks rather than an aversion to the shipment of bulk pottery cargoes in antiquity. In addition, most of these wrecks were looted prior to archaeological investigation, which had serious implications for the quality of subsequent publications. Only one pottery cargo from the Mediterranean has been fully published (Culip IV) but only in Catalan. My research has focussed on the only maritime samian cargo from northern Europe recovered from the sea off the north Kent coast; although the site has not yet been located, detailed analysis of the assemblage suggests that it represents a bulk pottery consignment. The transportation of pottery in its own right has serious implications for the use of pottery as a proxy for other more valuable commodities.

**The use of amphorae for interpreting patterns of consumption**  
Mariana Egri (University of Cambridge)

The paper will compare the patterns that can be identified using two different methods of counting amphorae - the number of individuals and the volume contained. The first system was used constantly within the analyses concerning the wine or olive oil consumption in the Roman period. The number of amphorae counted for each site was mapped in order to identify supply routes or to determine the service area for various production centres.

However, the number of individuals may not really help when one wants to identify patterns of consumption within different sites or regions. This is mainly because first, each site provides regularly more than one type of amphorae for the same commodity, in the same period of time, coming from different workshops or areas of the Roman Empire. Second, each type of amphorae has a different volume, and comparing volumes instead of the number of individuals may reveal more patterns of consumption.

For this discussion, a number of amphorae assemblages from some significant sites in the Lower Danube provinces, dated between the 1st and the 2nd century AD, will be analysed using both systems.

**Romano-British shipping in the 2nd Century A.D.**  
Roderick Millar (University of British Columbia, Canada)

From the archaeological record we know that substantial amounts of foodstuffs, raw materials, semi-processed materials and finished manufactured goods were traded, both internally in Britain, and with Gaul, Germany and Spain. Within Britain the trade involved both coastal voyages and inland waterways. Foodstuffs traded included very large quantities of cereals as exports, and wine, olive oil, olives and garum as imports. Other imports were fine building stone, fine pottery and glass. Jewellery and other luxury items were also imported, but the shipping space required would have been negligible.
In this paper, based on the best estimate of the British population and the amount of land under cultivation and its productivity, the surplus of cereals available for export has been calculated, after meeting local civilian needs and the provisioning of the Roman garrison. Estimates have also been made of the volume of imports, olive oil, wine, fine pottery, fine and building stone, and of the shipping needed to move this traffic. Apart from grain, semi-processed metals in the form of ingots of iron, lead, copper, silver and gold were significant exports. Small amounts of pottery and some tiles were also exported.

The number of ships needed to carry the annual volume of cross-Channel trade and the local internal coasting trade around Britain has been calculated, together with the cost of building, maintaining and manning the vessels. The Blackfriars Ship 1 has been taken as typical for the seagoing trade to Gaul and the Rhine, and for the trade around the coasts of Britain. Its cargo capacity has been estimated to be up to 50 tonnes of dressed stone, 36.4 tonnes of loose ragstone, 18.36 tonnes of grain, or 12 large wine barrels totaling 15.34 tonnes. A smaller vessel, the Barland's Farm boat, an undecked boat suitable for use in estuaries and short coastal voyages could carry about 4.5 tonnes.

For internal movements on inland rivers and in sheltered estuaries it is suggested that flat-bottomed barges of the Zwammerdam type in several sizes would have been used. The numbers needed and the costs of building and operating these inland craft has also been calculated.

The costs of building and operating the waterborne trade has been calculated in terms of BEUs (Basic Economic Units). This has been defined as the surplus produced by the peasant agriculturist above his own needs. This is a relatively stable unit and is independent of the continuous devaluation of the Roman coinage in the Imperial period. The conclusion reached is that the total cost of the waterborne transportation system was about 0.7% of the GDP.