ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY CONFERENCE VI
THEORETICAL ARCHAEOLOGY CONFERENCE

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM
31 March – 3 April, 2005

PROGRAMME OF SESSIONS AND EVENTS

Thursday 31 March

19.00 General Lecture
DR. S. SIDEBOTHAM: The Red Sea Trading Port of Berenike, Egypt
ARTS MAIN LECTURE THEATRE

20.00 DINNER (STAFF HOUSE)

Friday 1 April

09.00 A1: Dialogues between Roman and post-medieval archaeologies. LECTURE ROOM 1
A2: TRAC Session: Roman archaeology and spatial technologies. LECTURE ROOM 2
A3: Roman imperialism in the contemporary world. LECTURE ROOM 3

LUNCH

14.00 B1: Material culture and the representation of age and ageing: approaches to the Roman Life Course. LECTURE ROOM 1
B2: TRAC Session: The Romanization of the countryside: the contribution of regional surveys. LECTURE ROOM 2
B3: Material culture studies in the Roman world: new questions and methods. LECTURE ROOM 3

19.00 DINNER (Staff House)

20.30 General Lecture
M. CHRISTOPHE MANIQUET: The Late Iron Age war gear from Tintignac, France
MAIN LECTURE THEATRE, ARTS BUILDING

Saturday 2 April

09.00 C1: Aquitania. LECTURE ROOM 1

C2: TRAC Session: Reconfiguring Late Iron Age tribal identities: Lpria communities and the Roman conquest in north-western Europe. LECTURE ROOM 2

C3: Veteran settlement and material culture on the Lower Rhine. LECTURE ROOM 3
14.00  D1: Continuity and innovation in religion in the north-west provinces. LECTURE ROOM 1

D2: TRAC General Session. LECTURE ROOM 2

D3: Material culture of social dynamics on the roman frontiers. LECTURE ROOM 3

18.30  Reception. FLOOR 3, ARTS BUILDING
HP Vista Centre Display. LECTURE ROOM 2
Posters. FLOOR 1, ARTS BUILDING

20.00 hrs  DINNER (Shackleton Hall)

Sunday 3 April

09.00  E1: Re-viewing the Roman built environment - six case studies. LECTURE ROOM 1

E2: RAC General Session. LECTURE ROOM 2

E3: Roman Britain. LECTURE ROOM 3

LUNCH

13.00  Coach(es) depart for Wroxeter
ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY CONFERENCE

Friday 1 April, am.

A1: DIALOGUES BETWEEN ROMAN AND POST-MEDIEVAL ARCHAEOLOGIES

Organisers: ROGER WHITE (University of Birmingham) and PAUL BELFORD (Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust)

SESSION ABSTRACT
Urban society, concrete architecture, a global economy, single currency, mass production and consumption of goods - there is much in the Roman World that resonates with the experience of the industrialised society that emerged in the 18th century. The archaeology of such societies is complex in that it involves the interlinking of historical accounts, contemporary documents, and the evidence of material culture with the archaeological record. Are there methodological approaches to historical archaeology that could successfully be transferred from one period to the other? What are the parallels between the archaeology of the Roman Empire and the archaeology of industrialised societies and can we throw some light on why the Roman Empire failed to innovate technologically in contrast to the early industrial society of the modern age? This cross-cutting session will attempt to start a dialogue between these two distinct, but inter-related, disciplines.

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES

ROGER WHITE: The same, but different. The archaeologies of the Roman and post-medieval worlds contrasted.

BARRY BURNHAM: Large-scale mining at Dolaucothi: the dating problem.

DAVID CRANSTONE: Before the Albatross: landscape and mindset in 1st century Northumbria.

JENNY PRICE: to be announced

JANET DE LAINE: The bricklayer’s trowel: from Bob the Builder to Trebius Justus

PAUL BELFORD: to be announced

ABSTRACTS

The same, but different. The archaeologies of the Roman and post-medieval worlds contrasted

While it is clear that there are resonances between the archaeology of the Roman World and that of the Early Modern era in the scale of pottery and glass production, for example, and the formation of a single currency system, it is difficult to see how to apply the lessons implicit in such observations. This paper will draw tentative contrasts between the archaeology of abandoned railways and abandoned Roman roads in the English West Midlands to see whether our greater understanding of the process of construction, use, and abandonment of one system can inform us about the other.

ROGER WHITE
Large-scale mining at Dolaucothi: the dating problem

Dolaucothi is well known as the only site in Britain where the Romans are certainly known to have mined for gold. Indeed it has been argued that the basic form of the mines had already taken shape in the Roman period, with the various leat systems being used in extensive hydraulic operations. This paper will briefly explore some of the issues raised by recent work, which should warn us against approaching such large-scale sites from pre-determined perspectives. Particular interest will focus on the possibilities of both medieval/early modern activity and of later prehistoric mining.

BARRY BURNHAM

Before the Albatross: landscape and mindset in 1st century Northumbria

The paper will look at the landscape archaeology of the Roman northeast before the inception of Hadrian's Wall with a Post-Medievalist's interests and assumptions, and suggest that the mindsets of both individuals and of the Roman administration can be glimpsed from the archaeological record, and that this record provides a case study of Historical Archaeology in the broad sense - the relationship between the historical record of what people said or wrote, and the archaeological record of what people actually did. Using these approaches, the field evidence suggests a radically different political geography of the region, in which the concept of a northern frontier did not yet feature.

DAVID CRANSTONE

The bricklayer's trowel: from Bob the Builder to Trebius Justus

The documentary sources for Roman building practices are minimal in the extreme, with the 4th century painting from the tomb of Trebius Justus in Rome the only extant depiction of concrete construction taking place. Leaving aside the tunics, the scene is surprisingly modern, even down to the shape of the bricklayer's trowel. Similar scenes also occur in late medieval illustrations, and with a few gaps they can be traced through to the present. Documentary sources for construction are generally accounts which increasingly give wages, numbers of workmen, and sometimes amount of work done. From the eighteenth century onwards, there are also handbooks for what we now call quantity-surveyors which provide labour constants for a variety of building tasks. This paper examines the extent to which it is possible to use these later visual and documentary sources to widen our understanding of Roman building practices and the economics of construction.

JANET DELAINE

A2: ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND SPATIAL TECHNOLOGIES

Organisers: PAUL NEWSON and JAMES BRUHN (University of Durham)

SESSION ABSTRACT

The purpose of this session is to address the role of spatial technologies, particularly Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and allied methodologies in the study of Roman archaeology. While there has been some utilisation of GIS in Roman archaeology, most of it has focused on recording sites and features, much like a sophisticated mapping programme. GIS has a far greater potential than just mapping and we hope to explore some of the possibilities of GIS in analysing Roman material culture, landscapes and domestic space. But what features of GIS are useful? How do we go about using it and are the results epistemologically valid for Roman archaeology? What other methods can be employed alongside GIS technology, and are there any valid alternatives to the implementation of a GIS? How can the information collected through GIS analyses be disseminated and can there be any standardisation of data? In addressing these debates the papers will explore aspects of study...
undertaken with such technologies and focus on the methods undertaken. This will hopefully lead to a critical discussion of how we can effectively embed new spatial technologies within Roman archaeology and benefit future research.

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES

HELEN GOODCHILD (University of Birmingham, England): Modelling Roman demography and urban dependency in central Italy

JAMES BRUHN (University of Durham, England): Can we map Imperialism? Anisotropic cost surfaces and Roman forts

PEDAR FOSS and REBECCA SCHINDLER (Dept. of Classical Studies, DePauw University, Greencastle, IN, USA): The collaboratory for GIS and Mediterranean Archaeology

JOHN PETERSON (School of Computing Sciences, University of East Anglia, England): Is improved numeracy needed for the study Roman land surveys?

PAUL NEWSON (University of Durham, England): Going beyond the viewshed: widening the application of a GIS in understanding Roman landscapes

JASON LUCAS (University of Cambridge, England): GIS approaches to the military landscape of Roman Wales

ABSTRACTS

Modelling Roman demography and urban dependency in central Italy

The existence of the huge dataset for the South Etruria field surveys has enabled the generation of Roman site distributions in the Middle Tiber Valley. This data, combined with ancient sources and geographical data, means that it is possible to model this data in order to investigate theories of food supply and population density.

By calculating the potential agricultural production of the area, based on the ancient sources, we may address both the ‘accuracy’ of these ancient texts and how we can use such sources quantitatively. This research has produced a range of potential population figures that may be compared to previous demographic models of the area. It also enables us to make some assessment of possible surplus production. This, in turn, may help us to understand how the urban structures within Rome’s hinterland were supported, and how far they may have been reliant on external sources for subsistence.

HELEN GOODCHILD

Can we map Imperialism? Anisotropic cost surfaces and Roman forts

Our understanding of what is relevant to the study of frontiers is much broader today than it was ten years ago. In addition to the work on territory areas and martial phasing, recent scholarship has taken into account issues of social organisation and cohesion. This wider conception allows for and perhaps even demands new heuristic approaches. This paper will address whether we can make use of Anisotropic cost surfaces to map areas of Roman impact. Can we map imperialism? Core to this is an understanding of time in the landscape, with the aid of the cost surface we can model the time it would have taken to reach or access areas. Using this coverage we can measure the density of settlement within certain time-distance zones of Roman installations as well as creating the possibility of another avenue of study regarding material culture.

JAMES BRUHN
The collaboratory for GIS and Mediterranean archaeology

CGMA (Collaboratory for GIS and Mediterranean Archaeology) is an interdisciplinary, inter-institutional project to merge faculty research and student learning with the help of technology, and provide a specific, tangible contribution to Mediterranean archaeology. CGMA's mission is to construct a GIS inventory of all archaeological survey projects that have been undertaken over the last 50 years throughout the greater Mediterranean. CGMA's on-line GIS will serve metadata, bibliographies and geographical coordinates for these projects through both cartographic and database interfaces. This will provide a 'first stop' for scholars and students of history, archaeology, anthropology and sociology who wish to locate, use and compare survey data to study long-term broad-scale changes, or period-specific patterns, in human settlement and interaction in the Mediterranean.

CGMA is a joint project of faculty and students at four liberal-arts colleges. During an annual seminar, students learn the theory and practice of both archaeological survey and GIS. Lectures and discussion are synchronously accomplished via real-time streaming audio and internet chat; students, faculty and other scholars also gather together in person once during the term to discuss the progress of the project, allowing faculty to model intellectual collaboration. Students work on individual projects to track down surveys and their metadata, and join together in campus-based teams to carry out their own local surveys using GPS, which they then develop into full-fledged GIS projects. Students are able to apply their conceptual and theoretical lessons through immediate work ‘in the field’, and play a crucial role, via work-study and summer research grants, to help build a useful scholarly resource.


PEDAR FOSS AND REBECCA SCHINDLER

Is improved numeracy needed for the study Roman land surveys?

Students of ancient planned landscapes may be expert in the historical, social and linguistic context of their work, but sometimes fail to appreciate the importance they should attach to accurate measurement, and to models of ancient land surveyors' methods which could produce reliable results. Examples of this can be seen in the work of Tom Williamson and Brian Campbell.

Furthermore, recent studies of supposed Roman land surveying in Britain reveal a lack of mathematical understanding sufficiently serious to invalidate the results.

The first example is due to Sheppard Frere, whose model of a 'Limitatio of Iceniian territory' is not sufficiently accurate to be a Roman survey.

The second, and more worrying, study purports to reveal significant angular relationships between Roman roads and the OS grid which consequently support the idea that there was a general limitatio of most of the province of Britain. In fact, such relationships do not exist. They are the product of the mishandling of the results of a mathematical procedure (linear regression) performed on a spreadsheet.

The level of mathematical expertise required of, and shown by, some Roman land surveyors was probably higher than that possessed by many of us. For this reason the study of their products requires mathematical training that classicists and archaeologists may not have experienced. Multidisciplinary approaches may get round this, but it might be better if we all tried to develop an improved grasp of mathematical common sense.

JOHN PETERSON
Going beyond the viewshed: widening the application of a GIS in understanding Roman landscapes

In the last decade or so the application of spatial technologies within archaeology has multiplied. However, the employment of such technologies in landscape archaeology, and in particular, Roman archaeology has focussed on a few key methods, such as site prediction, or aspects of visibility and spatial analysis. Is it possible to go beyond such methods to create more dynamic models of diachronic change and discern certain aspects of socio-political transformations in particular landscapes through the application of a GIS? Can a GIS be used to go beyond its current use as merely, dots on maps, ‘theory free’ tool within Roman archaeology? This paper will attempt to address some of these issues and will identify through a number of examples how a theoretically informed approach could widen the application of spatial technologies to target certain aspects in the formation of Roman landscapes.

PAUL NEWSON

GIS approaches to the military landscape of Roman Wales

This paper will explore some of the cultural impacts of the Roman conquest of Wales. The creation of the military infrastructure of forts and roads had a direct effect on the on both the landscape and people. The position and visibility of forts and roads within the landscape served to reinforce the imposition of new political and social structures, in addition to their practical and strategic functions. Utilizing the publicly available data from the Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM), the visual impact of various forts will be examined using viewshed analysis. The topographic model also allows an examination of the interconnectivity of military bases through the use of least-cost analyses. Both of these aspects will be compared to the more general settlement patterns during the LPRIA and the early Roman periods. This paper will also briefly discuss the nature of the available data for the distribution of sites (both military and non-military) within the study area, and how the biases in these data can affect the results and models derived from GIS analysis. Finally, this paper will examine the suitability of the SRTM data, particularly with regards to scale and accuracy.

JASON LUCAS

A3: ROMAN IMPERIALISM IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Organisers: RICHARD HINGLEY (University of Durham, England), R. BRUCE HITCHNER (Tufts University, USA)

SESSION ABSTRACT

The legacy of the Roman Empire has acquired new importance in the contemporary world. Specifically, the emergence of the European Union, US political and military expansion, and the increasing economic, cultural, and social integration brought about by globalization, with all its attendant benefits and consequences, are developments that resonate with the long history and evolution of the Roman Empire. This session thus seeks to explore the meaning and relevance of Roman imperialism in the contemporary world. The session will also explore the potential hermeneutic value of current theories of political, social, economic, and cultural integration - and resistance to it - as a means of advancing understanding of this process in the Roman World.
PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES

R. BRUCE HITCHNER (Department of Classics, Tufts University, USA): The Roman Empire as an early globalization

STEVE DYSON (University at Buffalo, USA): With Moses Finley in the Sacred Grove of Nemi: can we have Roman globalization without slaying The Ancient Economy?

DIMITRIS GRIGOROPOULOS (Department of Archaeology, University of Durham, England): The benevolent empire: creating unity in the Roman east

REBECCA SWEETMAN (School of Classics, University St Andrews, Scotland): Knossos in the 1st century AD: a case of globalization?

DAVID MATTINGLY (Department of Archaeology, University of Leicester, England): Regime change, resistance and reconstruction: imperialisms ancient and modern

RICHARD HINGLEY (Department of Archaeology, University of Durham, England): Roman culture and 'Empire'

JOHN FITZPATRICK (School of Political and International Studies, Flinders University, Australia): The United States as the new Rome: a case of mistaken identity?

Discussant: GREG WOOLF

ABSTRACTS

The Roman Empire as an early globalization

The Roman Empire extended over an area now occupied by no less than 36 nation states extending from the Atlantic Ocean to Iraq. And depending on the beginning and end dates one chooses for the time span of the empire, it lasted anywhere from five hundred years to more than a millennium. By almost any measure, it was the largest and most successful empire in Europe and the West until the emergence of the British Empire in the 18th century.

But imperialism is out of fashion these days which means that the Roman Empire as a causal force in history is the subject of much debate, much of it not especially favorable to the Empire and its legacy. As a leading Roman archaeologist and historian, David Mattingly, has recently remarked, historians are increasingly divided into those who still hold 'cosy and uncritical views about the civilizing benefits of Roman rule'- i.e., the propagators of the so-called 'Romanization paradigm,' and those who take a post-colonialist and thus more critical perspective of Roman imperialism. The latter has led to an array of new approaches emphasizing the way in which provincials responded to or mediated the effects of the empire. But this does not resolve the problem of redefining the varied causal or facilitating influences of the Empire across time and space. This is why Romanization survives as a paradigm - it is convenient label that has long outlived its utility. We need a new framework for understanding the impact and legacy of the Empire on its peoples, cultures, and the long history of Europe and the West. In this paper I shall argue that the concept of globalization provides a more useful approach to structuring and appreciating the nature of the Roman Empire as an effecting force, and for understanding the range of responses both positive and negative that it provoked.

R. BRUCE HITCHNER
With Moses Finley in the Sacred Grove of Nemi: Can we have Roman globalization without slaying the Ancient Economy

Moses Finley was the most important student of the ancient economy of his generation and played an invaluable role in focusing the attention of scholars on economic processes in antiquity. He provided an important counterweight to the interwar models of Michael Rostovtzeff. However, many of his positions on the Ancient Economy in areas ranging from slavery to the consumer city were based on ‘primitivist’ views that have hindered an appreciation of the complexity of the Roman economy and hence the feasibility of proposing Roman globalization. In this paper I will explicate what I see as the distinctive elements of complexity in the Roman economy, and discuss them in the context of both traditional Finleyian and neo-Rostovtzeffian models of interpretation.

STEPHEN L. DYSON

The benevolent empire: creating unity in the Roman East

Studies of imperial situations in the modern world have stressed the importance of local responses to conquest and imperialism at the small-scale level of the community and the individual. According to such studies, psychological and ideological factors play a significant role in justifying in the minds of the conquered the purpose of empire and their role as imperial subjects. This paper explores these issues by looking at the ways in which social coherence and unity were created in the eastern (Greek) provinces of the Roman Empire. It is argued that this unity should be seen as underpinned by a powerful Roman discourse of benevolence. During the conquest period, this discourse related to ideas of ‘just war’ and often provided a justification of expansion, coercion and territorial control, while in the post-conquest era it provided a background for action in the relation between the conquerors and conquered. Drawing upon archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the area under study, the paper will explore how this discourse may have been received by communities and individuals and how it may have helped to engage them actively in reproducing social order.

DIMITRIS GRIGOROPoulos

Roman culture and ‘Empire’

Understandings of the contemporary world inevitably impact upon the approaches that people take to the study of the past. A recent generation of scholars has explored that ways in which Romanization theory projected ideas that derived from understandings of late nineteenth/early twentieth century imperialism onto the information for the Roman past. The Roman empire has been used to provide a highly influential set of ideas for the peoples and nations that have inherited its claim to world power. These have been used to inform imperial acts, both in terms of critique of these acts and also in the form of moral justification. Classical writings, together with the material culture surviving from Roman times, have been mined for contemporary lessons. In similar terms, recent approaches to Roman identity (becoming Roman, connectivity, etc) map ideas derived from understandings of our global world onto the evidence for the past. In so-doing, they articulate what Gopal Balakrishnan (2003, ‘Introduction’ in G Balakrishnan (ed.) Debating Empire, London, Verso, x) has termed ‘less dichotomous’ and ‘more intricate patterns of inequality’ than the previous interpretations. This makes writings that are used to help to inform the relationship of the contemporary world to the Roman past both significant and problematic. The past is reinvented in the context of present knowledge, whilst also being used to contribute to contemporary undertakings. This raises complex and challenging issues for Roman studies, focussing upon outmoded idea that we live in a ‘post-colonial/post-imperial’ world.

RICHARD HINGLEY
Regime change, resistance and reconstruction: imperialisms ancient and modern

This paper addresses problems arising from the presentation of Roman imperialism in much current literature as a largely benign power. Current events remind us of the potential messiness of imperial adventures designed to bring about regime change. The events of the conquest period in Britain will be reassessed, with a particular focus on the dismantling of the client kingdom that lay at the heart of the decision to invade.

DAVID MATTINGLY

Knossos in the 1st century AD: a case of globalization?

In the 2nd half of the 1st century BC the only colony in the joint praetorian province of Crete and Cyrene was founded at Knossos. In other colonies such as Corinth and Patras, such changing status is visible in the archaeological record, however with Knossos there is little such evidence to reflect significant alteration from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD. However, obstacles such as a lack of historical sources and material culture have not discouraged scholars from applying the changing nature module on Knossos. This has led to hasty assumptions based on false perceptions and a reliance on bare archaeological data often without synthesis and contextualization. Consequently, the nature of Roman Knossos and its role within Crete has been poorly understood and the misleading supposition that there is a marked change in Knossian society in the 1st c. B.C./A.D. following the Roman conquest, often considered as Romanization, has been applied and grown to become accepted hypothesis.

With the concepts of globalization in mind, it is possible to approach the study of Knossos from a different perspective to the norm; that Crete and Knossos were an important economic part of the Empire but that there was a strong desire to maintain its pre-existing cultural identity. Moreover, cultural developments in Knossos can be viewed as relative to Rome and the Empire, rather than falling under a subsuming process of Roman acculturation. The concept of globalization allows elements of intentional changes such as the establishment of a colony on the part of the Romans while at the same time unintentional ones on the part of the Knossians. Furthermore the concept of globalization accepts the imposition of certain elements of Roman culture such as language and at the same time allows an interpretation where the Knossians adopt a selective position where new cultural elements could be accepted or rejected according to their own agenda.

With this as a starting point, it is easy to accept that in a city such as Knossos the effects of a Roman take over may not have had an immediate cultural impact. In fact, the changes might ultimately only come as part of a gradual progressive process.

The aim of this paper is to present an alternative view to the 1st c. B.C./A.D. Romanization of Knossos; that is, that the city underwent a slow process of globalization and that the ultimate effects of this cannot be seen until almost 100 years after the foundation of the colony.

REBECCA SWEETMAN

The United States as the new Rome: a case of mistaken identity?

Much contemporary discussion of the United States as the ‘new Roman empire’ appears to assume that ‘Rome’ and ‘America’ can be treated as discrete and comparable entities, and that the early ‘republic to empire’ transition in Roman history provides the most relevant temporal comparison to the 20th century rise to world empire of the United States. Comparisons in these terms illuminate the way in which the ideological charge of the republic/empire couplet in Roman political discourse resonates with similar concerns in contemporary American political discourse: but they obscure, rather than illuminate, the most interesting geopolitical and political economy implications of the Roman comparison.
This paper will argue that the Roman imperial phenomenon – considered as a total geopolitical complex and trajectory – is best compared not just to the recent imperial history of the United States but to a much broader and longer-term process of imperial expansion and globalization emanating from ‘Atlantic Europe’. Within this broader imperial history, the closest structural analogy to the early ‘rise of Rome’ is the British imperial ascendancy from around 1700 to 1900 (a period which, of course, also produced a political break with the major British settler colonies in the Americas and the consolidation of the continental United States). Conversely, the closest geographical analogy to the continental United States in the Roman imperial complex would be the imperial territories in western continental Europe, while the closest temporal analogy in the Roman sequence to the contemporary period of American world empire would be precisely the period of the ‘fall of the Roman empire’ in the west.

The paper will suggest that, reworked in this fashion, a ‘Roman comparison’ for the contemporary American world empire may be an illuminating one - despite the obvious vast differences in geopolitical reach and technological resources in the US case. In particular, the implication that American power today may correspond more to the end, rather than beginning, of a great sequence of imperial ascendancy seems worth taking seriously.

JOHN FITZPATRICK

Friday 1 April, pm.

B1: MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE REPRESENTATION OF AGE AND AGEING: APPROACHES TO THE ROMAN LIFE COURSE

Organisers: MARY HARLOW (University of Birmingham, England) and RAY LAURENCE (University of Birmingham, England)

SESSION ABSTRACT

The study of age and the life course has become a prominent subject in the last five to ten years in the disciplines of anthropology, history and sociology. The importance for archaeology was set out in the World Archaeology issue devoted to Human Life Cycles edited by Roberta Gilchrist and published in 2000. However, we can point to an awareness of the importance of age in the study of epigraphy that goes back well into the early twentieth century and earlier. The important contributions by Ramsay Macmullen and Keith Hopkins in this area presented a somewhat pessimistic view of what may be deduced from the epigraphy. However, the refocusing of analysis on the statements of age as part of cultural definition and identity re-establishes the data as meaningful, as Louise Revell outlines. An attention to the context of the material, allows Valerie Hope to view statements of age on the part of the military in a new light. Both papers highlight how the Roman Empire contained not one society or one life course but many different age systems. The evidence of epigraphy has seldom been considered in the same session as osteoarchaeology. The co-operation of epigraphers and osteo-archaeologists is paramount in seeking to understand the nature of each others’ evidence, if we are to understand the representation of age in funerary contexts. Rebecca Gowland sets out to reveal the limits of osteoarchaeology, whilst seeking to highlight the information that can be recovered from cemeteries. The final two papers of the session look at specific stages of life. Hanne Sigismund Nielsen evaluates the evidence for very young children found in tombstones recovered from cemeteries. One of the key features for understanding Roman culture was the institution of the bathhouse. A. Asa Eger evaluates the role of age and age-mixing, whilst focussing on the sensory awareness of nudity or the body revealed to others.
PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES

LOUISE REVELL (University of Southampton, England): The Roman life course: the epigraphic evidence reconsidered

VALERIE HOPE (Open University, England): Age and the Roman army: the evidence of tombstones

REBECCA GOWLAND (University of Cambridge, England): The ageing body in Roman Britain

HANNE SIGISMUND NIELSEN (University of Calgary, USA): Becoming a person in Rome: from dulcis to pius/a in Roman epitaphs commemorating children

A. ASA EGER (Chicago University, USA): Architectures of Desire and Queered Space in the Roman Bathhouse

ABSTRACTS

The Roman life course: the epigraphic evidence reconsidered

Epitaphs inscribed on stone record biographical information about the deceased, and in certain cases, the age at death. However, it has been demonstrated that these ages are not an accurate reflection of the demographics of death, but are subject to cultural bias. This has led to a pessimistic view of the usefulness of this data. In contrast, this paper offers a methodology for investigating such biases to learn more about ideologies of life course and in particular the transition from child to adult. It explores the way in which these are negotiated differently for males and females, and by using regional data-sets, how these also vary in different parts of the western empire.

LOUISE REVELL

Age and the Roman army: the evidence of tombstones

This paper will explore the representation of age and ageing in military tombstones. Many epitaphs composed for soldiers included a statement of age and thus military populations have featured heavily in modern evaluations of Roman demography and statistical analyses of age at death. Here the emphasis will fall less on demography and more on military identity. Why was information on age at death regarded as so important for this element of the Roman population? The epigraphic statement of years lived was often listed with other standard details such as rank, unit and length of service. Age defined the individual, but by its standard inclusion was also a factor in defining the military as a group. Other aspects of the tombstone, especially the use of portraiture, could also reveal or suggest the age of the deceased. Did these reinforce and complement epigraphic information? Did funerary portraiture present the soldier as always youthful or allow him to age gracefully?

VALERIE HOPE

The ageing body in Roman Britain

When we look at most cemetery reports from Romano-British sites we could be forgiven for thinking that very few individuals in the past lived beyond the age of forty-five years. It is apparent that this evidence does not tally well with either historical or epigraphic evidence for the Roman period. This under-representation of older members of past societies is something common to cemetery populations of all periods and for some time now palaeodemographers have realised that there is something very wrong with this picture. Recent work has shown that this bias relates partly to taphonomy, but more significantly, to the systematic under-ageing of skeletal material by osteological techniques. Current research has attempted to remove the biases inherent in conventional methods of skeletal age
estimation through the use of different statistical techniques. This paper applies a new ageing methodology to several late Roman skeletal populations and discusses the potentials and limitations of osteological evidence for the identification of older members of past societies.

REBECCA GOWLAND

**Becoming a person in Rome: from dulcis to pius/a in Roman epitaphs commemorating children**

Infants and young children do not count much in pagan Roman society. When they are commemorated they are almost always characterized by the epithet dulcis, or a form hereof. Only after children have reached the age of reason — about five years of age — do they appear as persons worth any concern. From this age onwards they are very frequently characterized as pius/ae. The change signifies that the child now had reached an age when he or she could understand his or her role in the complicated social web of duties and obligations that constituted Roman society.

HANNE SIGISMUND NIELSEN

**Architectures of desire and queered space in the Roman bathhouse**

The public bathhouse, which is widely attested in the archaeological record, functioned as a space of great social significance within Roman cities throughout the Mediterranean and beyond. However, archaeological inquiries focus on the technical or architectural elements while the social function of the bathhouse is described merely as a salubrious and communal use of space. In contrast, Roman sources like Martial and Petronius, paint a vibrant picture rife with sexuality and homoeroticism. The expression of erotic desires made by individuals or groups can create added levels of social sexual spaces. Using the modern gay bathhouse as ethnographic evidence to parallel the Roman bath, the paper explores the role of queered, gendered, and sensory space by juxtaposing their internal architecture and revealing architectures of desire. In partaking of a sensory analysis and interpretation of the past through not just the eyes of the bather (and archaeologist) but through all the senses, the paper constructs a theoretical framework for a queer archaeology, one that departs from traditional archaeological ways of privileging seeing.

A. ASA EGER

**B2: THE ROMANIZATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE**

Organiser: HANNELORE VANHAVERBEKE (University of Cambridge, England/ Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Netherlands)

**SESSION ABSTRACT**

The beginning of the Roman era coincides in many occupied regions with marked changes in regional settlement patterns, quite often a dramatic increase in the number of rural sites, as is attested by archaeological survey. While urban changes, particularly a rapid increase in the urbanisation of existing centres, or the emergence of the first cities in hitherto scarcely urbanised areas, have convincingly been related to the active involvement of the Roman rulers, aiming to create or support fiscal centres, it is much less clear how the contemporary transformations in the countryside should be interpreted. Are these the direct and intended outcome of the integration of a region into the Roman political and economic sphere, in order to support the (newly established) fiscal centres and to ensure the collection of taxes? Or should we rather interpret the stability of the Roman period as a 'passive' stimulus for settlement expansion driven mainly by local initiatives? Or is it the case that certain new fashions (the use of sigillata, stone architecture, villae, ...) lent a higher archaeological visibility to a fully established pre-existing settlement system by the creation of a new material idiom through which to express distinct social positions? In many instances these questions have not been asked when
discussing the countryside in Roman times, which has rather been treated as an addendum to the
Roman city. This session seeks to incorporate papers discussing these topics, and highlighting what the
contribution of regional archaeological survey is or can be to defining the character of ‘rural
Romanization’.

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES

CECILIA COURBOT (UFR d’Histoire de Paris, France): *The evolution of rural settlements, from late
La Tène to the setting up of a villa network in north-western France (1st B.C. –1st A.D.)*

DANIEL STEWART (School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, England):
*New eyes on old landscapes: cultural interaction in the Roman Peloponnese*

HANNELORE VANHAVERBEKE (Catholic University Leuven, Belgium): *Romanization in the
countryside of Sagalassos (SW Turkey): fact or fiction?*

MELISSA MORISON, Assistant Professor, Department of Classics, Grand Valley State University,
(Grand Rapids, Michigan, USA): *Romanization in southern Epirus: a ceramic perspective*

MARGHERITA CARUCCI (University of Nottingham, England): *The mosaic representation of the
villa and the problem of Romanization in North African countryside*

ABSTRACTS

*The evolution of rural settlements, from late La Tène to the setting up of a villa network in north-
western France (1st B.C. –1st A.D.)*

The study rural settlements at the La Tène/Early Empire transition is not to be restricted to the mere
archaeological description of a shift from the so-called native farm to the Gallo-Roman villa. In order
to better tackle such complex phenomena of evolutions and transformations, it has proved necessary to
collect a suitable corpus, deriving from the inventory of rescue archaeology digs in the French regions
of Pays de Loire, Bretagne, Haute and Basse Normandie. Specific limits of rescue archaeology reports
have contributed to the choice of specific tools like quantitative analysis and, in a few cases,
descriptive statistics. This in turn has made it possible to identify various categories of rural
settlements, which were then compared to the individual stories of the sites to ethnological studies of
north-western French traditional farms. Major characteristics of late La Tène rural settlements thus
consist in specific enclosure architecture on the one hand, and different space organisations, from
isolated enclosure to nuclear field system around the settlement, on the other hand. The Augusto-
Tiberian era is one of accelerated changes but it was only from mid-1st century A.D. that the first
villae are settled amidst a roads based field system. By the beginning of 1st A.D., some villae
expanded their dwellings and diversified their activities while native farms and simple villae were
gradually deserted.

CECILIA COURBOT

*New eyes on old landscapes: cultural interaction in the Roman Peloponnese*

*The voyage of discovery is not in seeking new landscapes but in having new eyes*

M. Proust

Acculturation and Romanization are popular, if contentious, topics within Classical archaeology. Yet
with the modern scholarly emphasis on cultural interaction and identity these are topics that cannot be
ignored. The vast majority of scholars attempt to assess the degree of cultural interaction within an urban context; I propose to address these issues from a rural framework.

Undeniably, identifying disparities of culture which might point to some form of acculturation between ‘Rome’ and ‘Greece’ is quite difficult. Not only were Greek colonies present in the south of Italy for centuries before the conquest of Greece in 146 BC, but much of what is termed Roman culture has its roots in Greek precedents. Thus, looking simply at artefact presence/absence cannot illuminate the nature of contact in this area of the empire. Recent studies have shown that it is land use that holds the key to understanding cultural interaction in Greece.

Land use implies settlement patterns, economic activity ranging from viticulture to subsistence farming, and regional economies, whether market-based or otherwise. As such, I shall study the degree of acculturation within several rural Peloponnesian areas during the early Roman empire. This paper will draw on several archaeological field surveys of disparate regions within the Peloponnese to compare a variety of conditions relating to the pre-Roman era communities with those of the Roman period.

DANIEL STEWART

**Romanization in the countryside of Sagalassos (SW Turkey): fact or fiction?**

The beginning of the Roman era coincides in the region of Sagalassos (Pisidia - SW Turkey) with a dramatic increase in the number of rural sites, ranging in function from ‘isolated’ farmsteads to large villages, artisanal, religious, funereal and military sites, as is attested by non-intensive surveys.

While this rural expansion is remarkable when compared to the situation in Hellenistic times, one should be wary of attributing it to a completely new, ‘Romanized’ exploitation of the countryside. The pre-Roman landscape remains largely hidden: resources were primarily spent on the communal defence of the countryside, limiting archaeologically visible sites to a few fortified hill and mountain tops. Moreover, pottery used in this period was badly known at the time of surveying and may not have been recognised; we may assume that a (large) number of sites have escaped detection.

With this caveat in mind, the extent of the observed changes in the countryside and their relation to a conscious policy of Romanization should be carefully considered. A study of the localisation and possible land use of rural sites indicates that the organisation of the landscape was highly rational, aimed to ensure food, raw materials, and leisure for the city. This may be the outcome of pressure related to Roman occupation, but since indications for Hellenistic land use with which to compare this settlement pattern are lacking, this remains controversial. The political and economic stability of the Roman period may well have been a sufficient, passive stimulus for rural expansion in terms of a demographic increase. Other changes seem to be more of a ‘collateral’ nature: new fashions in architecture and funereal habits provided a vocabulary through which the elite could express their social position under the new government, and at the same time local, highly recognisable tableware production was stimulated, rendering also non-elite settlements more visible in the landscape, thus possibly merely creating the impression of rural expansion.

HANNELORE VANHAVERBEKE

**Romanization in southern Epirus: a ceramic perspective**

Regional surveys have relied extensively on pottery as evidence for the Romanization of the countryside. Ceramic data are commonly used to reconstruct change in provincial settlement patterns, population density, and negotiation of local identities. Broad regional changes such as these often have been interpreted as indicators of Romanization processes.

However, more nuanced approaches to the role of ceramics as material expressions of social change, and recent refinements of the concept of Romanization itself, have begun to strengthen the potential of
regional surveys to make significant contributions to the study of the provincial countryside. This paper argues for an approach to survey data that emphasizes shifting regional patterns of importation and local production as well as variability in the spatial patterning of imported and local tableware, cooking and other common wares, and transport amphorae.

Recent analysis of data recovered in southern Epirus by Boston University's Nikopolis Survey provides a case study for this approach. This paper argues that the ceramic evidence illuminates significant differences in urban and rural responses to the Roman conquest, reorganization, and governance of the region. More specifically, the role of the ceramic data as indicators of intraregional differences in urban and rural cuisine systems are analyzed, and the broader significance of these results regarding the Romanization of the Epirote countryside is considered.

MELISSA MORISON

The mosaic representation of the villa and the problem of Romanization in North African countryside

A group of mosaics from Roman North Africa depicts a series of luxurious country mansions or villae with porticoed façade and corner towers. Though the representation of the African villa owes to the villa iconography established in pattern books, it surely refers to a type of building that actually existed in the North African countryside. Since the mosaic served as a means of displaying the wealth and magnificence of the landowner who commissioned the work, the representation of mansions not corresponding to actuality would have not conveyed any message of social significance. The presentation of the villa along with agricultural and/or hunting scenes was intended to display the landowner's affluence and munificence, to illustrate his leisure activities (the traditional otium), and to declare his position in Roman civilization.

There is a tendency to see the villa as a symbol of Roman luxury and comfort. That approach is entirely reasonable: villa is a Latin word and must have applied to something which was part of a Latin speaker's culture. That raises questions about the Romanization of North African countryside.

What is the nature of Romanization that the mosaics with the representation of the villa embody? Why should the architectural layout of the villa equate to social form? How is the villa a symbol of Romanitas of North African elite? What are the motives and the methods of the process of social change we call Romanization?

It is these issues that the paper will try to answer on the basis of archaeological and iconographical evidence.

MARGHERITA CARUCCI

B3: MATERIAL CULTURE STUDIES IN THE ROMAN WORLD:
NEW QUESTIONS AND METHODS

Organisers: ROMAN ROTH (Peterhouse, Cambridge, England) and ANDREW GARDNER (Cardiff University, Wales)

SESSION ABSTRACT

The relationship between material culture patterning and past social action is well established as a topic of central importance to Prehistorians in the Mediterranean and beyond. The questions posed by this framework are increasingly being addressed through novel methodologies which integrate various categories of artefacts, and which make use of new computer applications like GIS and techniques such as multivariate statistics. Such work is ultimately inspired by advances in ethnoarchaeological research,
which have opened up new avenues for conceptualising human interaction with the material world for societies of the distant past. Although Roman archaeologists are increasingly aware of such works, they have still made comparatively little impact in our field. On the one hand, this appears to be the result of a tradition which has tended to view material culture, particularly pottery and 'small finds', primarily as a dating tool, as well as evidence for commercial contacts or, more recently, acculturation. On the other hand, this reluctance may be explained by scepticism towards overtly theoretical approaches, which is rooted in the absence of methodologies and of 'mid-ranging' frameworks by which such concepts may be fruitfully applied to the study of the Roman world.

The objective of this session is to provide an incentive to discuss the potential contribution of such approaches to the study of the Roman Mediterranean and the Western Provinces, through demonstrations of their methodological consequences, and to pool the experiences of those already pursuing them. Papers are invited which highlight the connections between specific research questions, particularly those dealing with identity and social change, and new methods of material culture analysis. Overall, we aim to highlight the rich potential of the material data of the Roman world, and the continual progress being made in marshalling these data to answer increasingly sophisticated questions.

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES

SIMON KEAY and GRAEME EARL (University of Southampton, England): Urban connectivity in Southern Spain: uncovering and redefining the provincial landscape of Roman Baetica

PETER GUEST (Cardiff University, Wales): Being Roman and using Roman coins

ROMAN E. ROTH (Peterhouse, University of Cambridge, England): Bridging the gap: measuring stylistic choices in republican ceramics

MARTIN PITTS (University of York, England): The consumption and deposition of Roman pottery: a multivariate approach to social practice

STEVEN WILLIS (University of Kent at Canterbury, England): Evidence for the use of marine resources within cultural assemblages: a contextual perspective

PENELOPE M. ALLISON (Australian National University, Australia): Mapping for gender: interpreting artefact distribution in Roman military sites in Germany.

JASON LUCAS (University of Cambridge, England): Agency and assemblages: interpreting Samian ware distributions in western Britain

J. THEODORE PEÑA (The University at Buffalo, State University of New York, USA): The lifecycle of Roman pottery and its implications for the composition of Roman pottery deposits

ABSTRACTS

Urban connectivity in Southern Spain: uncovering and redefining the provincial landscape of Roman Baetica

The Province of Baetica (modern Andalucía), presents evidence for a compelling diversity of cultural practice. In particular, archaeological interventions across southern Spain since the 18th century have generated an extensive and disparate range of data concerning towns. Through our work we have attempted to confront this issue, employing systematic application of techniques based around database and GIS technologies. Our aim has been to record the information as it is, limiting as far as
possible the standardising influence of prescribed methodologies. Through this process we have begun
to question and reinvigorate decontextualized and ‘dead’ data whilst addressing the issues implicit in
such approaches – namely the extent to which one might recontextualise the artefacts of an Iberian and
Roman past in computer-generated, virtual places.

This paper introduces our technological aims and methodologies. Using a pilot-study based on epigraphic
evidence for urban benefaction we then examine how networks of connectivity surrounding and defined
by such material culture might function. We consider how these networks, by building upon vital contextual
information and dating evidence, can inform the creation of fluid Iberian and early Roman site hierarchies
and thus lead to a better understanding of the creation of the political and social networks that underpinned
the Roman province of Baetica.

SIMON KEAY and GRAEME EARL

**Being Roman and using Roman coins**

Coins are a common and characteristic feature of Roman material culture, but to what extent did using
Roman coins require the adoption of Roman ideas and values? Perhaps this depended on the nature of the
exchanges that involved using coins, and whether coin-use was readily accepted in places such as Britain
or had to be imposed by the Roman ‘authorities’? This paper will present some preliminary results of the
_Iron Age & Roman Coins from Wales _project (an inventory of 50,000 coins from this part of western
Britain), and consider how we might begin finding answers to questions such as those outlined above.

PETER GUEST

**Bridging the gap: measuring stylistic choices in republican ceramics**

Slowly but surely, the last decade or so has seen a marked increase in the study of style in Roman material
culture as a result of specific, culturally conditioned choices. In particular, this is true with regard to those
types of ceramics that have traditionally been regarded as indicators of ‘Romanisation’ processes. While
this change in theoretical outlook should be wholeheartedly welcomed, it has arguably led to a neglect of
what may be described, rather unfashionably, as the ‘middle range’. In this specific case, these are the
methodologies by which stylistic variability can be quantified within a given ceramic assemblage, and be
meaningfully linked to the choices made by ancient producers and consumers. Focusing on the case of
regional black-glazed wares from central Italy during the second century BC, this paper sets out to
demonstrate how, first, patterns of breakage in large ceramic deposits can highlight significant degrees of
variability in the behaviour of ancient consumers. Second, the paper will discuss several possibilities of
how such patterns may then be related to a theory of stylistic behaviour, in order to understand the
changing social attitudes at the non-elite level during the formative phase of ‘Roman Italy’.

ROMAN E. ROTH

**The consumption and deposition of Roman pottery: a multivariate approach to social practice**

This paper presents an approach to understanding social and cultural identities through the interrogation
of ceramic assemblages. Particular suites of vessels are believed to have played an active role in specific
forms of socio-cultural practice, and by inference, the negotiation and elaboration of identity. It is argued
that such ‘suites of consumption’ can be isolated in the archaeological record through the use of
correspondence analysis on multiple well-dated pottery groups. The methodology has applications at
both regional and in-site resolutions, and can also be used to provide insights into attitudes to deposition.
A large component of the paper will involve the exploration of these issues at several early Roman sites
in Essex and Hertfordshire. Specific attention will be given to the diverse range of identities evident in
the generations preceding and following the Roman conquest in this region.

MARTIN PITTS
Evidence for the use of marine resources within cultural assemblages: a contextual perspective

The evidence for the use of marine life (‘marine resources’) in the Roman period is everywhere about in our assemblages: oyster shells, fish bones, sea birds, indicators of the use of seaweed, and so forth. Typically this evidence has been identified, recorded as present, left to the faunal or environmental specialist to log and may be enthuse over, and then passed over in any wider discussion of a site and culturally generated assemblages. These remains and what they may indicate have remained in the background despite our developing, textured attention to assemblages and contexts. Yet the presence of these remains is remarkable at various levels. In Britain, for instance, their occurrence is in profound contrast to the pattern seen across much of the British Isles during the Iron Age: remains of fish and marine life are virtually absent from Iron Age deposits. This would seem to be a function of cultural choices. These change with the reconfiguration of societies in the Roman era. Attention to the presence of the remains of marine life in Roman period deposits reveals some remarkable cases. Moreover, consideration of the context of these finds reveals a strong association between finds of sea bird remains, oysters and fish and deposits which evidently relate to ‘events’ or seem to be structured or just plain ‘strange’ (to us). Often the conjunction of the presence of marine life remains and items of material culture in deposits is telling.

A major implication and incentive of this paper is that finds found in association whether of material culture, or faunal, or palaeobotanical, etc. in nature, need to be considered in reports as integrated groups and this aids interpretation of deposit formation and what it may represent. This is not a new idea, its rather an idea that has only partially been applied in recent years. Often seemingly mundane finds such as oyster shells and shells from other marine life and fish bones have much to reveal about the ‘life and times’ of the Roman West, not least when a contextual view is taken.

STEVEN WILLIS

Mapping for gender: interpreting artefact distribution in Roman military sites in Germany

There is a range of artefactual remains found within Roman military bases in the early Roman Empire which seems to indicate, not only the presence of women and children inside the walls, but also the places they frequented and the activities in which they were engaged.

This paper discusses arguments for the ‘gendering’ of such artefacts and highlights the need to investigate artefact assemblages more holistically. It proposes methods for categorising all artefacts according to various activities and uses GIS mapping techniques both to visualise and to analyse the distribution patterns of such artefacts, within and between Roman forts and fortresses on the German frontier. It also investigates the social significance of these distribution patterns.

PENELOPE M. ALLISON

Agency and assemblages: interpreting Samian ware distributions in western Britain

The interaction between local historical and material conditions are reflected by the distributions of sites and artefacts recovered by archaeologists. The relationship between agency, identity, and material culture is investigated here through a brief examination of the distribution patterns of Samian Ware in the region surrounding the Severn Valley in south-west Britain.

Samian Ware occurs in a substantial proportion of Roman-period ceramic assemblages, albeit often in small quantities. Although its distinctive characteristics have led to its classification as a high-status good, this often uncritical extrapolation of present perceptions has been questioned in more recent research, which has investigated not only its role as an indicator of status, but also the ‘life-span’ of different types, the variation in the Samian assemblage at different types of sites, and chronological variation in the supply of Samian to Britain (Willis 1997; 1998).
Drawing upon published ceramic catalogues, this paper examines the range and variation of Samian Ware among the assemblages from a variety of Roman-period sites throughout the region. Comparisons of the nature of Samian Ware distributions at the inter-site, regional, and provincial levels suggest that local and regional factors played an important role in the acquisition and use of Samian Ware vessels, even when considered against larger-scale issues of supply and economics. These local distribution patterns of Samian Ware may help uncover some of the ways in which material culture plays a role in the creation or expression of identity through social action.

JASON LUCAS

References:


The lifecycle of Roman pottery and its implications for the composition of Roman pottery deposits

This paper presents a systematic exposition of the lifecycle of Roman pottery with a view to elucidating the factors that conditioned the incorporation of this most abundant class of Roman artifact into the archaeological record. It begins with the exposition of a flow model that diagrams the passage of pottery from its manufacture to its incorporation into an archaeological deposit, identifying eight distinct sets of behaviors that governed this process (manufacture, distribution, prime use, maintenance, reuse, recycling, discard, and reclamation). It then describes the operation of the more important of these practices and the effects that they had on the passage of examples of the various functional categories of Roman pottery (dolia, amphorae, lamps, cookwares, tablewares, and utilitarian wares) through the pottery lifecycle, illustrating these by means of archaeological, textual, and representational evidence. It next describes the effects that certain of these practices had on the composition of various types of pottery deposits, considering their implications for the sorts of research questions that archaeologists can address through the analysis of these deposits. It concludes by identifying avenues of research that might improve our understanding of the practices that governed the passage of Roman pottery through the pottery lifecycle and the effects that these had on the composition of Roman pottery deposits.

J. THEODORE PEÑA
Since 2001 the area of the Arènes at Tintignac has been the focus of a project to upgrade the site for visitors at the initiative of the municipality of Naves in the Corrèze. As part of the project trial-trenching by machine was undertaken, followed by a series of summer excavations. The trial-trenches have confirmed the existence of an extensive Gallo-Roman rural sanctuary comprising four main structures including to the west a temple and to the east a theatre.

The excavations since 2001, principally on the temple, have permitted the identification of six successive phases of activity, with the earliest dating to the Gaulish period, more precisely the first century B.C. At this time the cult centre took the form of a large, square space with sides of 25 m at the centre of which lay a circular, post-built structure.

It was in one of the angles of the sacred precinct that a deposit of metal objects came to light at the end of September 2004. Nearly 500 objects were recovered, amongst which were many weapons (including ten or so swords and some iron scabbards, a shield-boss). There were also ten helmets, nine of bronze and one of iron some still with their cheek- or neck-guards, and the majority of which had suffered blows. The iron helmet was decorated with bronze plaques and one of the bronze helmets was fitted with three bronze rigid rings 30 cms. in diameter. An exceptional helmet was one in the form of a swan, a form hitherto unknown in the Celtic world. In addition to the weaponry there were sheet-bronze models of parts of animals, as well as a cauldron. However, the exceptional character of this find lies principally in the discovery of five examples of the carynx, the Celtic war-trumpet. Four of their bells took the form of boars and one a serpent. Previous to this find no complete example has been recovered.

The exceptional character of this find must not be allowed to overshadow the splendour of the site in the Gallo-Roman period. In the early first century A.D. the sanctuary took the form of two free-standing cellae with to the east a courtyard surrounded by an enclosure wall. The latest phase of the sanctuary saw a temple with two cellae with a courtyard to the east surrounded by porticos. We know from antiquarian references that the walls had a marble cladding, and that the cult building along with the hemicycle building (below) were destroyed by fire towards the end of the third century A.D.

The 2003 campaign of excavations brought to light a hemicycle building with very well-preserved marble flooring and wall-revêtment. The robber-trenches suggest that there was a series of statues on stone pedestals, and at present the building is interpreted as a form of pantheon.
ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY CONFERENCE

Saturday 2 April, am.

**CI: AQUITANIA**

(Please note that the papers in this session will be delivered in French)

SESSION ABSTRACT

The province of Aquitania is probably the least-known of the Three Gauls to English-speaking archaeologists and ancient historians. This despite the evidence from pottery such as Black-Burnished ware and céramique à l'éponge or the altar of Lunaris, from Bordeaux but in Yorkshire millstone grit, that there was reciprocal trade between the Aquitania and Britain in the Roman period. The contributions to this Session are designed to show the vitality of current and recent research and excavation in this province. Amongst the themes which emerge from these papers are: first, work on urban centres such as Bordeaux, Cahors, Éauze and Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges; second, temples and sanctuaries with the work on Cahors and Tintignac (General Lecture); third, trade with Britain as evidenced from Bordeaux and in the distribution of Montans samian; fourth, the late Roman period with the evidence, particularly, for fortifications, from Saint-Lézer and Saint-Bertrand.

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES

ROBERT SABLAYROLLES (Professeur de Histoire Antique, Université de Toulouse II-Ie Mirail, France): *The Coupére buildings at Lugdunum of the Convenae (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, France)*

JEAN-LUC BOUDARTCHOUK (Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives – INRAP), PIERRE PISANI (INRAP) and CHRISTIAN DARLES (École d’Architecture, Université de Toulouse, France): *Excavations on a town-house at Elusa (Éauze-Cieuta)*


THIERRY MARTIN (Professeur de Philosophie des Sciences, Université de Toulouse, France): *The Atlantic trade in Montans Samian to Britain: the present state of knowledge*

CHRISTIAN DARLES (Architecte, enseignant-chercheur, École d’Architecture, Université de Toulouse, France): *Seven years research on Castrum Bigorra*

ABSTRACTS

*The Coupére buildings at Lugdunum of the Convenae (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, France)*

Fifteen years of excavation by the team from the University of Toulouse II, covering nearly 6,000 m² in an area of the town considered as peripheral, have allowed us to reveal two superimposed buildings. The earlier, constructed directly onto the natural ground surface, was most probably a *palaestra* consisting of courtyard with a centrally-placed pool and surrounded on all four sides by a portico. The complex was oriented west, that is to say towards the town centre, only some 80 m distant. A large, axial room occupied the centre of the eastern gallery, the only place where the central chamber was flanked on either side by a series of symmetrical rooms. An underground aqueduct fed the central pool. Constructed in the first third of the first century A.D., this complex was destroyed by fire at the turn of the first and second centuries.
After an abandonment of some thirty years, the site was reoccupied by a large private *domus* to the unusual plan of a *villa suburbana*. Facing westwards, and thus oriented towards the distinctive massif of the Pic du Gar, it was of asymmetric plan comprising a main range with its back to the town centre and two wings of differing size, the smaller to the north and the larger to the south. In the south-western angle and projecting from the main building-line was a small set of baths, and in the south wing a very large room heated by a ‘Union Jack’ hypocaust. Abandoned in the second half of the fourth century, during the fifth the *domus* became a quarry for a meticulously-organised programme of stone recovery.

The complex is noteworthy as much for the types of building (*palaestra, domus* to a *villa* plan) as for the problems of urbanism that it raises: the fate of a peripheral area which was by turns a public space linked perhaps to the urban core, a private space deliberately turned towards the exterior of the town, and a stone-quarry bearing witness both to the abandonment of this building and to the continuance of construction.

**ROBERT SABLAYROLLES**

*Excavations on a town-house at Elusa (Éauze-Cieutat)*

Long identified as the capital of the late Roman province of *Novempopulana* and revealed through excellent aerial photographs, trenching and rescue excavations on the Gallo-Roman town of Éauze have allowed a better understanding of its urban structure, as well as bringing to light a remarkable hoard of later-third-century coins and jewellery.

Since 2001 a team consisting of personnel from the University of Birmingham, INRAP and the School of Architecture of the University of Toulouse has been engaged in uncovering a sector of the ancient town. This consists of a *domus* (town-house) at the crossing of a *cardo* (?*maximus*) and a *decumanus*, and covering more than one quarter of an *insula*. To date, an area of more than 1200m² of the house has been uncovered, and taking into account streets etc. the entire area of the excavation is now over 3000m². The house lies to the west of the *cardo* and consists of a central courtyard roughly 20 m by 20 m, though slightly longer N-S than E-W, and surrounded by a gallery. The principal entrance, on the eastern side opening off the *cardo*, opens onto a vestibule linking straight through to the peristyle. The rooms seem to open inwards towards each other, though the northern wing, opening onto the *decumanus*, seem to be more concerned with artisan activity.

Most probably constructed in the mid first century A.D. with framed walls on stone and mortar sills, the house was totally rebuilt in the fourth, albeit to the same plan and still in timber-frame techniques. As yet no mosaics have been uncovered, but the material culture recovered testifies to the wealth and high social status of the owner. Although lying in the heart of the ancient town, this house was abandoned at the end of the fourth century and the site was never re-occupied.

**JEAN-LUC BOUDARTCHOUK, PIERRE PISANI and CHRISTIAN DARLES**

*Recent discoveries in Bordeaux: the sites of the courtyards of Chapeau-Rouge (2003) and Grand-Hôtel (2004)*

Since 2001, the works associated with the construction of a tram system – modifications to streets, earth-moving for the lines, but above all the creation of a new complex of underground car-parks – have entailed a series of large-scale rescue excavations. Never in the history of the Gironde’s great city have so many remains of its past been brought to light in so little time – be they proto-historic, Roman, mediaeval or post-mediaeval. First of all we shall look at two sites where the results have allowed us to bring to bear new, more detailed information on the origins of the town in the Iron Age and on its development down to the end of the reign of Augustus. These are the excavations in advance of the car-parks at the Chapeau-Rouge and the Grand-Hôtel of Bordeaux. Then we shall look at the evidence
from some recently discovered artefacts for the commercial links between Bordeaux and Britain in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.

CHRISTOPHE SIREIX

The Atlantic trade in Montans Samian to Britain: the present state of knowledge

The 'Atlantic' character of the distribution of Montans samian is clearly established. For a long time it has been appreciated that the products of this centre on the river Tarn, after having descended the Tarn and the Garonne, were exported through the port of Bordeaux along the sea routes: on the one hand south towards the Cantabrian coast, Galicia and Lusitania, on the other hand north along the Atlantic littoral towards Brittany and Britain. This paper, which in no way pretends to being exhaustive, is a preliminary statement of synthesis — and of such analysis as one can at present put forward — on our knowledge of the Atlantic trade in Montans products as far as Britain, during the first two centuries A.D.

Montans samian is more-or-less absent from sites in Britain before the end of the first century A.D.; effectively, there are only a few, isolated examples amongst a huge representation of La Graufesenque products. During the Julio-Claudian period their distribution is largely sporadic; only a small handful of examples has been identified, notably from Exeter, Southampton, Chichester, Richborough, London and at Mancetter. The last years of the reign of Domitian are marked by the arrival of Montans products, at first in small numbers then more consistently: even if the amounts are not huge, they are nonetheless sufficient to confirm the establishment at this period of a trade in Montans samian through Bordeaux, via Armorica and up towards the south of Britain and also the Thames estuary, as demonstrated by the presence at Richborough of a reasonably significant number of Montans vessels at the end of the first century. The first half of the second century was to see this trade flourish as is shown by the large number of find-spots of vessels of this period in Britain, at present the trade is represented at more than fifty sites. The products of three Montans potters, namely Chresimus, Felicio II and Q Valerius C——, overwhelmingly dominate this market and seem truly to have a monopoly. Montans vessels are now exported along the sea-routes not just to London but also as far as Scotland where it is not uncommon to find it ca. A.D.150 in the forts and fortlets along the Antonine Wall. The trade also includes much of the west coast as demonstrated by the many coastal find-spots in Wales as well as Wilderspool and Lancaster.

This regular trade in Montans products with the British ports in the Antonine period can be explained, we believe, by the combination of two phenomena both relating to developments in the economic climate.

The first is marked by the intensification of activity which the port of Bordeaux underwent at the end of the Flavian period. This increase in Bordeaux's maritime traffic is probably due in part to the exportation to newly-conquered Britain of biturica, a good-quality wine produced from established Gaulish grape varieties and creating a regional wine industry at that period in full flower, having developed particularly from the mid first century A.D. thanks to wealthy, entrepreneurial land-owners. This trade emphasising the links between Bordeaux and the British ports along the Channel and the North Sea would moreover develop in the following centuries, as witnessed by the dedication in A.D.237 of the altar erected by Marcus Aurelius Lunaris, negotiator with Britannia Inferior and sevir of York and Lincoln. So also does the discovery in the excavations on the Cité Judiciaire site in Bordeaux of Black-Burnished I from Dorset and of objects in Whitby jet.

The second is marked by the decline at the beginning of the second century of the workshops of La Graufesenque which no longer (or only minimally) supplied Britain because of competition for this market. This was above all from Central Gaulish centres (as it happens, Les-Martres-de-Veyre), which at this point become dominant. It very much looks as if the Montans traders sought to profit from this
opportunity by seeking to dispose into Britain, albeit on a modest scale, of quantities of stock, perhaps making use of networks hitherto exploited by La Graufesenque. In this regard, the relative frequency of Montans samian at military sites on or near the Antonine Wall is noteworthy, for instance: Camelon, Inveresk, Traprain Law, Newstead, Balmuidy, Bar Hill or Old Kilpatrick. Such a concentration can hardly be the result of chance, but for the moment remains difficult to explain. For us the preferred scenario is to link the distribution of vessels from Montans to the supply of wine from the Bordeaux region to the Roman army in Scotland. As yet this is just a working hypothesis, which is nevertheless worth pursuing.

THIERRY MARTIN

Seven years research on Castrum Bigorra

The site of the castrum of Bigorra named in the fifth-century Notitia Galliarum is that of the triangular hill-top of Saint-Lézer, near Vic-en-Bigorre, on the western side of the Adour and overlooking its central valley.

The research programme undertaken at Saint-Lézer from 1998 to 2004 has allowed us to understand the sition of the late Roman fortifications, their mode of construction, the form of their wall-top and the overall morphology of these fortifications. In addition we now understand the sition of the Gallic system of fortifications, their transformation in the Roman period and the construction principles of the medieval motte (the Tuco).

A PREHISTORIC EARTHWORK? The discovery of earlier elements in the upper part of the Tuco shows that the Roman wall is sited on top of a proto-historic earthwork.

TRACES OF A GALIC FORTIFICATION? On the western side of the site a proto-historic earthwork has been recognised, with the foundations of the Roman fortifications on top.

ONE OR TWO ROMAN TOWERS ON THE SUMMIT OF THE TUCO. A fragment of walling high up on the Tuco has been identified as the rear part of a tour identical to the one now lying at the foot of the motte. It is tempting to reconstruct the southern gate as lying between these two towers.

THE NORTH GATE OF THE SITE? At the northern extremity of the site we have identified the end of the wall, and we would propose to locate there the northern gate of the castrum.

TWO OTHER TOWERS. On the western side we think we have the remains of one of the flanking towers, and on the south-eastern side we have identified the location of a new tower which had fallen away. It consists of a two-phase tower ‘à talon’ constructed on top of a proto-historic earthwork.

MEDIEVAL FORTIFICATIONS? A study of the masonry fragments on the top of the Tuco shows that they can be attributed to the medieval fortification crowning the motte.

CHRISTIAN DARLES

C2: RECONFIGURING LATE IRON AGE TRIBAL IDENTITIES: LPRIA COMMUNITIES AND THE ROMAN CONQUEST IN NORTH WESTERN EUROPE

Organisers: TOM MOORE (University of Newcastle) and ANDY WIGLEY (Shropshire County Council).

SESSION ABSTRACT

There has been a recent emphasis on debating Romanization and Creolization in Roman archaeology. Despite these attempts to explode the myth of simplistic ‘Roman’ vs. ‘Native’ identities, the nature of pre-Roman societies, and their influence upon the landscapes of the Roman period, is often regarded as unproblematic. Roman archaeologists frequently view the late Iron Age societies of Britain and Gaul as consisting of relatively uniform tribal entities. Within this paradigm, Roman political boundaries, such as those of the civitates, are deemed to reflect and represent a pre-Roman picture of tribes with elites centred at tribal capitals.
Not only do these approaches cloud our understanding of the development of the Roman provinces but they also present a misleading view of the complexity and diversity of late Iron Age societies. Within Britain, this is particularly unhelpful for areas beyond the south east of England, where Roman archaeologists often continue to emphasise tribal coherency in the LIA in their search for the origins of the military and political frameworks of the early Roman period. Yet Iron Age archaeologists are currently finding such entities increasingly difficult to define. The continued pre-eminence given by Roman archaeologists to fragmentary and problematic textual sources, rather than assessing the nature of LIA social organisation from the archaeological evidence, exacerbates the problem.

This session aims to explore the ways Roman archaeologists may have misrepresented the nature of LIA societies and suggest other ways of exploring the communities of LIA and the early Roman period. In particular, it will examine the transformations in social relations that occurred as a result of the changing relationships between people and objects which the conquest brought about.

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES

SUE STALLIBRASS (University of Liverpool, England): Can you ride it, wear it, eat it? – or should you be dressing it up? A consideration of the multiple roles of animals in northern England

LAURA CRIPPS (University of Leicester, England): Enduring ‘Celts’ and the Romanist revolt: re-situating the Late Iron Age – Roman transition in Cornwall

TOM MOORE (School of Historical Studies, University of Newcastle, England): Viewed through a Roman kaleidoscope? LIA tribal identities and Early Roman landscape organisation

ANDY WIGLEY (Shropshire County Council, England): Reassessing the Cornovii: the LPRIA communities and the Roman transition in the central Welsh Marches

DAVID ORTON (University of Cambridge, England): Iron Age feasting in Roman Yorkshire? The cattle from the Ferrybridge chariot burial

MEL GILES (University of Manchester): The ‘Arras’ culture and the Parisi – a critique

ABSTRACTS

Can you ride it, wear it, eat it? – or should you be dressing it up? A consideration of the multiple roles of animals in northern England

Animals can have many different meanings, varying with context and perspective.

Physical remains of animals from Iron Age sites in northern England are extremely scarce. Evidence from Roman sites (mainly military) and sites of later periods is more abundant and indicates that we should expect diversity across northern England during the Iron Age.

To what extent might the diversity observed at Roman sites reflect a continuation of pre-existing variability rather than new developments or impositions?

This paper looks at how animals can reflect ethnic or cultural identities, utilitarian resources and modes of subsistence, statements of power and authority, economic networks of an empire, and religious beliefs and iconography.

Taking the premise that northern England has always contained more than the stereotyped beer-swilling barbarians fabled in southerners’ folk tales, suggestions will be made as to how we might look
for and identify a variety of human groups and lifestyles in the late Iron Age and early Roman periods using animal bone remains.

SUE STALLIBRASS

Enduring ‘Celts’ and the Romanist Revolt: Res-situating the Late Iron Age – Roman Transition in Cornwall

This paper will re-evaluate the evidence for the Late Iron Age – Roman transition in Cornwall, and highlight discrepancies in the traditional narrative currently identified from the archaeological record.

The current orthodoxy, it will be suggested, is dominated by a desire to witness the ‘arrival’ of the Roman period in Cornwall, around the second half of the first century AD. This ‘arrival’ is inferred largely by the onset of courtyard houses in the west; declared a purely Roman phenomenon (see Quinnell 1986:120), and by the presumption of Roman ‘forts’, most frequently at the sites of Carvossa and Golden.

A re-examination of the spatial relations within specific settlements will be combined with recent geophysical survey undertaken in the region to construct an alternative narrative; whereby a period of ‘Romanisation’ in the second and first centuries BC, provided the basis for localised Cornish communities to continue living in relative political autonomy from the rest of Roman Britain. Central to this assessment will be the re-situation of the origins of courtyard houses to the Later Iron Age, and the re-interpretation of key sites such as Carvossa.

LAURA CRIPPS

References:
Quinnell, H. 1986 The Iron Age and the Roman Period in Cornwall, Cornish Archaeology 25,111-34.

Viewed through a Roman kaleidoscope? LIA tribal identities and Early Roman landscape organisation

Within Roman archaeology there has been a recent attempt, through models such as ‘Creolization’ (Webster 2001) and more recently Mattingly’s ‘discrepant identities’ (2004), to move away from simplistic notions of Romanization. It now widely accepted that there was a more complex forging and expression of identity within the Roman provinces. Yet there is still a tendency within Roman archaeology to regard Later Iron Age identities and ethnicity, particularly the existence of tribal units, as unproblematic. Ethnic descriptions such as Britons, Dobunni and even ‘Celtic’ still abound in the literature of Roman archaeology despite their critique in Iron Age studies. In addition, the fragmentary classical sources continue to be given pre-eminence in explaining the nature and organisation of pre-Roman Britain despite their inherently problematic nature. This in turn is frequently used to explain the organisation of the Roman political and settlement landscape.

This paper will suggest that in order to understand the relationship between Roman provinces, and the LIA communities and landscapes that preceded them, we need to interrogate the nature of Roman perceptions of Iron Age societies. In particular, we need to examine how LIA societies may have been viewed through Roman political, social and philosophical influences, a distorting kaleidoscope through which Roman archaeologist still tend to view the LIA world.

Revisiting the archaeology of LIA Britain this paper will suggest that as we begin to recognise Roman identities as more complex and ‘discrepant’ so we must accept that the identities of the communities and individuals of the LIA were similarly complex. Re-examination of the nature of LIA Britain suggests that identity and community were in a state of flux in many areas of Britain in the 1st c. A.D. We cannot,
therefore, regard Roman socio-political organisation and frames of identity as reflecting or masking a homogenous LIA social system and culture.

TOM MOORE

References:

**Reassessing the Cornovii: the LPRIA communities and the Roman transition in the central Welsh Marches**

The *Civitas Cornoviorum* has longed provided Roman archaeologists with something of an enigma: a large urban centre (Wroxeter), the fourth largest in Britain, seemingly surrounded by a largely 'un-Romanized' hinterland. Those attempting to explain this picture have often sought its roots in the nature of Cornovian society prior to the conquest, with the result that the post conquest tribal civitas is effectively projected back into prehistory. In this approach Wroxeter is often argued to been inhabited by a tribal elite, who had once occupied the hillforts in the region, and who maintained their prestige by adopting a Romanized way of life. In contrast, the countryside remained the domain of a materially impoverished peasantry, which either lacked access to, or consciously rejected, 'Roman' material culture.

This paper will contend that such explanations misread the nature of later Iron Age communities in the central Marches. Instead it will argue that we can only understand the changes in social relations that occurred in the early Roman period by working forwards from, not backwards into, the Iron Age. By doing so we can gain a better appreciation of how people were able to construct novel forms of social identity in relation to a transformed set of material conditions.

ANDY WIGLEY

**Iron Age feasting in Roman Yorkshire? The cattle from the Ferrybridge chariot burial**

Two issues have dominated recent TRAC conferences: (a) the nature of Romanization and the interplay of Roman versus native identities in the provinces, and (b) social memory and the uses made of the past, in the past. The site of Ferrybridge, West Yorkshire, has a bearing on both of these issues. At some point within the early Roman period, remains of at least 128 cattle were placed in the ditch surrounding a Middle Iron Age chariot burial, apparently in a single event. The deposit has been interpreted as feasting remains, although sheer scale casts doubt on this.

Roman period activity at prehistoric monuments is relatively common, whether involving continuity of 'ritual' practices or re-use of long disused sites. This is often interpreted in overtly political terms, either as Roman appropriation of the past or as an expression of native resistance to Roman rule, although such explanations need not always apply. The putative Ferrybridge feast took place at least 240 years after the initial inhumation, at which point Castleford fort, 2km away, was probably in use. Since an event of such scale can hardly have escaped the garrison's notice, the deposit must have had political implications. If the cattle were indeed culled over a short period, the economic impact must also have been enormous, implying either involvement by, or open defiance of, the authorities. This paper will explore the possible social contexts of the Ferrybridge deposit and address issues of continuity and tradition from the LIA into post-conquest northern Britain.

DAVID ORTON

**The 'Arras' culture and the Parisi – a critique**

The 'Arras culture' of East Yorkshire has often been equated with the Parisi of the early Roman period. This paper questions both the elision of the two phenomena and the concepts of identity upon which they are based. The distinctive Iron Age funerary customs of the region, including 'chariot' burials,
have been used to argue that its inhabitants originated on the Continent; a model which persists despite general antithesis to invasionary narratives. This paper seeks to move beyond such models, by exploring the way in which groups may have perceived themselves within the later Iron Age period, using an analysis of social networks. In so doing, it will critique the notion of a unified late Iron Age tribal identity, arguing instead that this is a mutual creation of socio-political processes in the early Roman era, colonial projects of ‘naming to know’ people and place, and the history of our discipline’s struggle to identify ‘identities’ in the past.

MEL GILES

C3 VETERAN SETTLEMENT AND MATERIAL CULTURE IN LOWER GERMANY

Organiser: TON DERKS (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, Netherlands)

SESSION ABSTRACT
The massive presence of Roman soldiers in the army camps along the Rhine is well-documented as is the large-scale recruitment for the Roman army among some of the tribes of Lower Germany such as the Batavians. In the countryside soldiers and veterans of the Roman army have, however, largely remained invisible until recently. According to the prevailing view, the Roman countryside in the Netherlands was a relatively poor area inhabited by small-scale communities of self-sufficient farmers hardly touched by the effects of Roman conquest. Whereas Roman style villas are largely absent here, farmyards and nucleated settlements of long houses seem to have been the norm. As far as cemeteries are concerned, stone monuments and funeral inscriptions are virtually non-existent. The few residential or funeral sites that produced evidence for stone building have mostly been related to a native elite that readily adopted a Roman way of life.

This orthodox view of the Roman frontier in the Netherlands is now challenged by new research on various items of Roman material culture including Roman military equipment. These studies point to a large-scale presence of soldiers and veterans in the countryside. At a theoretical level, an interesting question is what the results of these studies imply for the much-discussed concept of Romanisation. Do we have to consider the particular ways of cultural change that become visible here as a form of Romanisation? Or what alternatives do we have to describe these changes?

At a practical level, the Batavian studies urge a broader comparison and contextualisation. How unique or how common is the example from the Batavian area? Drawing on historical, epigraphical as well as archaeological evidence, this session reconsiders the issue of veteran settlement in the Roman province of Lower Germany. What do we know about the scale of veteran settlement in this province? What kind of veterans do we deal with predominantly: auxiliary or legionary veterans? What patterns of settlement preferences are to be distilled from the available evidence? And what differences may there be discernible within the province of Lower Germany? What, for instance, can be said of the extent of veteran settlement on the fertile löss soils in the hinterland of Cologne? The session will be concluded by a general discussion, which may compare the situation in Lower Germany with other frontier provinces, especially Roman Britain.

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES
IAN HAYNES (Birkbeck College, University of London, England): First comments and opening of the general discussion
NICO ROYMANS and TON DERKS (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Netherlands): Veteran settlement in the Rhine delta: a reappraisal

JOHAN NICOLAY (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Netherlands): Roman military equipment from rural sites: a life cycle model

JORIS AARTS (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Netherlands): Soldiers and monetary exchange in the Lower Rhine area

CLIVE BRIDGER (Rheinisches Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege Xanten, Germany): Veterans in Xanten and its hinterland: the archaeological and epigraphic evidence

KARL HEINZ LENZ (University of Frankfurt am Main, Germany): Veterans in Roman Cologne and its hinterland: archaeological and written sources

ABSTRACTS

**Veteran settlement in the Rhine delta: a reappraisal**

The Batavian area has long been renowned as a breeding ground for the Roman army, and rightly so. As far as may be concluded from the available historical and epigraphical sources, no other subjected people raised as many units for the auxiliary forces of the Roman army as the Batavians. Given the relatively small community, the number of recruits needed to keep these units at full strength would have required almost every family to send one of its sons to the army. Epigraphically, the great impact of the army on Batavian society is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that virtually all Batavians that have become known to us, are soldiers, among them several brothers serving in the same unit.

In the past five years, the Archaeology Department of the Vrije Universiteit at Amsterdam carried out a project on the Batavians. Large-scale excavation of two rural settlements as well as a communal cemetery flanked by regional inventories of various items of material culture, such as Roman military equipment, seal-boxes, and coins, have produced a wealth of new information which largely confirms the conclusions from the historical and epigraphical evidence on the impact of the army. Particularly important is the extreme level of return of auxiliary veterans to their homeland, especially in the first century. This rises the question what factors may explain this specific return pattern.

NICO ROYMANS / TON DERKS

**Roman military equipment and horse gear from non-military contexts. The role of veterans**

Finds of Roman weaponry and horse gear in urban and rural settlements have long been associated with the presence of military guard posts or fortifications. An inventory of finds from the eastern Rhine delta, the supposed core area of the Batavian civitas, however, shows that these finds are very common in non-military contexts as well: till now about 2700 objects from more than 300 sites are collected!

This inventory was part of my PhD-research at the Free University of Amsterdam, focusing on the use and significance of military equipment and horse gear from civilian contexts. In this paper I will discuss the different contexts in which the military objects are found (urban centres, rural settlements, cult places, rivers and graves), followed by an interpretation of the finds in relation to returning veterans and the way they deal with their equipment after finishing service. Crucial for the interpretation is the use of a so-called life cycle-model, distinguishing two important stages in the life of a Roman soldier, each associated with a specific use of equipment: the stage of active soldier/military use versus the stage of veteran/social use.

JOHAN NICOLAY
Soldiers and monetary exchange in the Lower Rhine area

During the past decades many coins have come to light in the eastern Dutch river area, which roughly corresponds with the territory of the civitas Batavorum in the first three centuries AD. They are not only found in the military settlements along the Rhine, but also turn up in large numbers in the rural settlements. Looking at their chronological distribution, it appears that many coins seem to have already entered the Batavian civitas during the reign of Augustus and seem to have been quickly spread over the countryside. How should we interpret this early circulation of money in this area? Are the coin finds symptomatic of a rapid monetization of the Batavian economy? What was the impact of Roman money on Batavian society; did it contribute to a shift in the structure and values of the existing exchange system? It will be argued that Batavian auxiliaries in the Roman army played a crucial role in the distribution of early-Roman money, but also in the spread of new ideas about how coinage could be used. Also, it will be explained why the traditional oppositions between Roman and native, military and civilian and between urban and rural do not really help us to understand the circulation, use and meaning of Roman coins.

JORIS AARTS

Veterans in Xanten and its hinterland - the archaeological and epigraphic evidence

The ager Traianensis was centred upon the civitas capital of the Colonia Ulpia Traiana (CUT) in Xanten on the Lower Rhine. The territory of the Cugerni, Baetasii and Sunuci (?) stretched between that of the Batavi to the north centred on Nijmegen and that of the Ubii to the south centred on Cologne, from the Rhine in the east and reaching well into the Netherlands in the southwest. The paper charts the archaeological and somewhat sparse epigraphic evidence for veteran settlement in this area. With a permanent legionary presence at Vetera (I/II) near Xanten and five auxiliary forts along the Rhine (Kalkar-Altkalkar, Wesel-Büderich, Duisburg-Baerl, Moers-Asberg, Krefeld-Gellep) there must have been considerable veteran settlement in the region. From the earliest Augustan-Tiberian period of intense military activity we find archaeological evidence for early Germanic veterans. Following the founding of the colony in A.D. 98/99 we have gravestones and dedication inscriptions confirming settlement by legionary and auxiliary veterans of diverse geographical origins in and around the hinterland of Xanten, especially in smaller rural market-centres. The number of stone inscriptions is limited, as local rocks hardly occur. During the later period crossbow brooches may indicate the presence of further veterans in the region.

CLIVE BRIDGER

Veterans in Roman Cologne and its hinterland. Archaeological and written sources

Tacitus reports that in A.D. 50 a colony of veterans, the Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (CCAA) was founded on the territory of the oppidum Ubiorum. But can the settlement of veterans near the modern city of Cologne, confirmed as it is by literary sources, also be identified in archaeological material from the Early and Middle Empire, and if so how? A study of the distribution of the tombstones and votive inscriptions set up for or by Roman military veterans reveals that they are almost exclusively restricted to the immediate vicinity of CCAA and other central places along the Rhine, for example Bonna (Bonn). Only a few tombs have been found near villae rusticae in the hinterland. However, the rural settlements in question are situated close to the central places, and not in the more remote hinterland. We get the impression that the veterans chose to settle primarily in the towns and vici along the Rhine, or in their immediate vicinity. In contrast to the situation in rural settlements close to the limes in the Netherlands, finds of Roman military equipment are unknown from either the adjacent or the more remote hinterland of the Roman city of Cologne. The villae rusticae from the area are a form of settlement that was imported from central and northern Gaul in the second half of the first century A.D., and can be interpreted as evidence of the arrival on the Rhine of settlers from there. Rural settlements in the form of Mediterranean-type villae rusticae, which might be
indications of Italic or southern Gallic settlers (e.g. veterans of the Early Empire), are to date completely absent from the hinterland of Roman Cologne.

KARL HEINZ LENZ, (read by CLIVE BRIDGER)

Saturday 2 April, pm.

DI: CONTINUITY AND INNOVATION IN RELIGION IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES

Organisers: RALPH HÄUSSLER (University of Osnabruck, Germany) and ANTHONY KING (University College Winchester, England)

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES

RALPH HÄUSSLER and ANTHONY KING: Introduction

COLIN HASELGROVE (University of Leicester, England): Iron Age coin finds from religious sites and contexts in northern Gaul

ANTHONY KING (University College Winchester, England): Coins and coin-hoards from Romano-Celtic temples in Britain

PHIL ANDREWS (Wessex Archaeology, England): Sacred place to sacred space: the Roman religious site at Springhead, Kent

GIL BURLEIGH and RALPH JACKSON (British Museum, England): Romano-British Religious Rituals and Activities. The Semuna shrine and treasure


ELEANOR GHEY (University of Wales, Bangor, Wales): Empty spaces or meaningful places? A broader perspective on continuity

FRANCISCO MARCO (University of Zaragoza, Spain): The missed identity: Celtiberian iconography after the Roman conquest

SILVIA ALFAYÉ (University of Zaragoza, Spain): Sanctuaries and Rituals in Hispania Celtica

RALPH HÄUSSLER University of Osnabruck, Germany): A new sacred landscape at the fringe of the Roman Empire

PHILIP KIERNAN (Ruprecht-Karls University, Heidelberg, Germany): Late Roman miniature grave goods: an innovation in an old tradition?

NADJA GAVRILOVIC (Archaeological Institute in Belgrade, Yugoslavia): Romano-Celtic Religion in Central Balkans: a contribution to the study of the cult of Dea Orcia in Upper Moesia
ABSTRACTS

Iron Age coin finds from religious sites and contexts in northern Gaul

This paper examines c. 1100 archaeological sites in northern Gaul with Iron Age coin finds. Nearly one-third of them apparently had a primarily religious function, from various types of wet site (e.g. rivers, marshes, beaches, sources) and natural foci (e.g. caves, to larger constructed cult places and sanctuaries. There are also a number of cemetery finds, mostly late. Most other finds are from habitation sites, but even in settlements, many of the coins were deposited in formal cult areas (e.g. in oppida) or according to specific cultural practices (e.g. at rural settlements). Within the overall pattern, we can see important regional and chronological variations, whilst the first century BC was a period of particularly rapid changes throughout northern Gaul.

COLIN HASELGROVE

Coins and coin-hoards from Romano-Celtic temples in Britain

The deposition of coins in Iron Age and Romano-Celtic temple sites is well-known, but little work has been undertaken to assess its importance in relation to other ritual activity. An analysis of coin numbers and other classes of material, including animal bones, is presented for a selection of recently excavated temple sites in Britain and Gaul. Other aspects of coin deposition, such as site zonation and the question of copies and mutilations, are briefly reviewed. Lastly, coin hoards in or near temple sites, and in other ‘ritual’ locations, such as pools, are discussed in relation to the motivation for their deposition (ritual, economic, etc).

ANTHONY KING

Sacred place to sacred space: the Roman religious site at Springhead, Kent

Springhead is one of the most extensively excavated Roman religious centres in Britain, best known for a remarkable complex of temples investigated between the 1950s and 1980s. Excavations undertaken in 2000-3 in advance of the Channel Tunnel Rail Link have considerably increased our knowledge of the origins, extent, layout and function of this ‘small town’. The dramatic setting of the site, partly occupying the steep slope overlooking the springs at the head of the Ebbsfleet, was a key feature in its development, but one which appears to have been utilised differently at different times. In the Late Iron Age various elements of what might be described as a ‘ceremonial landscape’ covered an extensive area of the slope, with no features and very few finds from the immediate vicinity of the springs. In contrast, the Roman sanctuary that followed was very clearly focussed on the springs, but there are elements of this complex which show close similarities, even continuity with the earlier use of the site, perhaps reflecting cult continuity. Overall, Springhead provides important archaeological evidence of how such a place evolved from the 1st to the 4th century A.D., and serves to emphasise the regional variety in religious sites that existed at the beginning of the period.

PHIL ANDREWS

British Museum: Romano-British Religious Rituals and Activities. The Senuna shrine and treasure

A Roman precious metal hoard, interpreted as temple treasure, buried in the later 3rd or 4th century A.D., was found at a site near Baldock, Hertfordshire, in 2002. It comprises twenty six gold and silver objects, including gold jewellery, a silver figurine and votive plaques of silver alloy and gold. Inscriptions on six of the plaques and on the plinth of the figurine demonstrate that they were ex votos dedicated to the goddess Senuna. Fieldwork has located a shrine at the findspot, possibly at a springhead, within an extensive settlement. Excavation of the shrine is revealing evidence of associated Romano-British religious rituals and activities.

GIL BURLEIGH and RALPH JACKSON
It is apparent that two traditions developed within Roman period religion in the north-west provinces. First, there are those divinities associated with natural features; a geographical determinism, as expounded by Derks. Second, there is the association of divinities with tribes and communities, as expressed by Roymans. Both traditions can be identified in the territories of the civitas Dobunorum and the colonial territory of Glevum, which were created from the Iron Age tribal territory of the Dobunni. The representation of a topographical region will be considered first, to show how specific groups of sculpture could be restricted geographically. Following that, a group of sculpture will be considered, which is not confined to a single topographical feature. This group can be shown to have been used in a uniform pattern in the key settlements of the region.

STEVE YEATES

Empty spaces or meaningful places? A broader perspective on continuity

Taking a long-term perspective on temple sites in the Burgundy region, this paper considers issues of continuity and change from the Iron Age to post-Roman periods. Rather than emphasising the continuity of structural remains, the value of seeking continuity in space, place and practice is discussed, allowing nuances of meaning to be found in apparent transformations.

The different constitution of ritual practice in the Iron Age demands a broader approach to the search for precursors to Gallo-Roman traditions. Without a distinct sphere of the 'sacred', earlier ritual traditions may not be expected to be focused at a particular locale. The choice of location for temple sites is therefore significant; how do these relate to previous activity at the site and its surrounding landscape? In the later phases of temple sites, less formalisedfreqentation may nevertheless imply a persistence of memory of place. Later traditions may also be of value in seeking analogies for the use and frequentation of sites within a ritualised landscape.

ELEANOR GHEY

The missed identity: Celtiberian iconography after the Roman conquest

The very rich iconography appearing in the pottery of Numantia and other cities, as well as in diverse funerary stelai in Celtiberia, all datable after the Roman conquest, document excellently the cosmology and aristocratic ethos of a departed world which is expressed through scenes where cosmolgic elements appear together with agonistic virtues. At a time when the elites cannot live according to their traditional values, these are transferred and depicted as symbols of a missed identity in which the religious component emerges in the foreground.

FRANCISCO MARCO

Sanctuaries and Rituals in Hispania Celtica

In parallel with the creation of Romano-Celtic provincial societies, the impact of the process of Romanization caused changes in the religious systems of the indigenous populations of the Hispania Celtica, resulting in new cultic spaces and new ways of dealing with the ancient gods.

SILVIA ALFAYÉ

A new sacred landscape at the fringe of the Roman Empire

How much continuity was there at the margin of the Empire between the Late Iron Age and the Roman period? Is it possible to identify pre-Roman elements in the East Gallic civitates, or are religious activities, which can be recognised in the Principate, mainly a creation of Roman times? This paper aims to explore the transformation of the sacred landscape of the civitas Vangionum, such as aspects of 'interpretatio Celtica', Romano-Celtic iconography and cult continuity. Besides the cult places in the
caput civitatis, Borbomagus, there emerged many vici and many new (extra-urban) sanctuaries across the civitas, most of which only existed during the Roman period. Though the pantheon of the Vangiones seems to be 'Celtic' in content, it was at the same very 'Roman', revealing to what extent society and politics were intertwined with religious devotion.

RALPH HAUSSLER

Late Roman miniature grave goods: an innovation in an old tradition?

Archaeologists concerned with Rome’s north-western provinces are often aware of a class of small model objects used for ritual purposes. Though often described as a single continuous phenomenon, model objects most likely stem from a number of different traditions. The so-called 'Mithras symbols' from Roman Cologne represent one of these traditions. They consist of miniature bronze tools and animals found in rich female inhumations of the late third and fourth centuries A.D. The repertoire of things reproduced includes ladders, hammers, ploughs, yokes, lizards, frogs and snakes. While it has long since been established that the miniatures have no connection with the Mithras cult, a satisfactory explanation has yet to be advanced. It has been suggested that they relate to the cult of Jupiter Sabazios, or to some unknown local deity, that they are amulets, or that they are merely functional weights with no religious significance. This paper will explore the contexts in which the miniatures were found, examine current theories, and propose some new ideas. These unusual miniature objects seem to represent a true innovation in Roman funerary practice.

PHILIP KIERNAN

Romano-Celtic Religion in Central Balkans: a contribution to the study of the cult of Dea Orcia in Upper Moesia

This paper presents and explores the archaeological and epigraphic material from the Central Balkans that has indicated different interpretations of Celtic assimilation with, on the one side Illyric, Thracian and Dacian tribes and on the other side Romans. Through epigraphic monuments dedicated to Dea Orcia, this paper examines the Celtic population, their economic and political status, and traces of their religion during Roman domination. By drawing on archaeological material from Celtic centres and cemeteries from the pre-roman and roman periods, this paper will try to point out significant role of Celtic tribes during antiquity in Upper Moesia.

NADJA GAVRILOVIC

D2: TRAC GENERAL SESSION

Organiser: HELEN GOODCHILD (University of Birmingham, England)
Discussant: ROB WITCHER (University of Durham, England)

SESSION ABSTRACT

The TRAC General Session offers an opportunity for both young and well-established researchers to present their current work. This session encourages the continuation of interest in the development of Roman architectural studies, focusing on the role of theoretical issues within this subject.

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES

ROB COLLINS (University of York, England): Late Roman frontier communities in north Britain: the theoretical context for 'the end' of Hadrian's Wall
ISABELLA COOK (University of Liverpool, England): Soldiers and Civilians: A comparison of the first and second century Samian ware assemblages present at Corbridge Fort and Gorhambury Villa

ARDLE MACMAHON (Research Associate, Department of Classical Studies, The Open University, England): Roman Advertising

GÜNTHER SCHÖRNER (Institut für Altertumswissenschaften, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena): Wild animals and domestic animals in the Roman sacrificial ritual: distinction between ‘human’ and ‘animal’ animals

NICK RAY: Consumption in an ancient economy: Pompeii and beyond

E-J GRAHAM: Discarding the destitute: ancient and modern attitudes towards burial practices and memory preservation amongst the urban poor of Rome

ADAM ROGERS: Beyond the economic in the Roman fenland: reconsidering hoards, water, land and religion in the fenland in Roman times

ABSTRACTS

Late Roman frontier communities in north Britain: the theoretical context for ‘the end’ of Hadrian’s Wall

Excavations along Hadrian’s Wall in the past 25 years have demonstrated that ‘the end’ of Roman Britain is more complex than was formerly believed, as stratigraphic sequences at a number of forts continue unbroken from the Roman period into the immediate post-Roman period. There has been some discussion on the implications of these findings, but such discussions are generally limited in depth and scope. As the garrisons of Hadrian’s Wall were one component of a long-standing Roman frontier, it is important to provide a greater context by which we can study the late Roman north. A theoretical understanding of the concept of frontiers, and the social and economic dynamics of a frontier zone provide this context. This paper explores these theoretical aspects, establishing an anthropological perspective suitable to the archaeological investigation of Roman frontiers.

ROB COLLINS

Soldiers and Civilians: A comparison of the first and second century Samian ware assemblages present at Corbridge Fort and Gorhambury Villa

Samian Ware, especially Gaulish, is widely considered to be the most commonly used high quality pottery in Roman Britain and is found on the majority of first and second century sites. It has been mostly used to date deposits and associated structures wherever it is recovered. While the common assumptions regarding its function, manufacture and status remain, little work has been undertaken to provide evidence for these and other aspects of its use, for example its distribution. In my study I have looked at the Samian ware assemblages of a contemporary military installation (Corbridge Fort) and a civilian site (Gorhambury Villa), focusing on the forms present and their corresponding production centres and regions, as a means of looking at the distribution of this pottery. The information that I have used for my analysis has come from the Samian ware catalogues present in the site excavation reports, both of which were analysed by Brenda Dickinson, with Brian Hartley (Corbridge) and G B Dannell (Gorhambury). The initial results of this analysis show that there are distinct differences between the number of forms present and, thus, the production centres and regions represented. The reasons for these can be speculated at given the nature of both civilian occupation and trade when
compared to that of the military. My paper is an attempt to both highlight and understand these differences.
ISABELLA COOK

Roman Advertising

In modern life we are surrounded by advertisements in one form or another. Advertising in its modern form began in the 1900s but this practice had very ancient antecedents. From the very earliest of times individuals have sought means to promote themselves, their goods and services. Advertising in its simplest and earliest form can be dated back to the Egyptians and Greeks, but it is from the Roman period that the best evidence survives. This paper will describe the methods adopted by the Romans to promote their enterprises and attempt to discuss how effective advertising was in the Roman period. It is not the purpose of this paper to show how modern the Romans were, but to demonstrate some of the possible origins of modern advertising practice.
ARDLE MACMAHON

Wild animals and domestic animals in the Roman sacrificial ritual: Distinction between ‘human’ and ‘animal’ animals

The distinction between wild animals and domestic animals is crucial not only to modern theories of sacrifice (e.g. Burkert, Girard), but plays an important role in the ancient discussion of sacrificial violence. In accordance to the written sources the basic rule should be valid that domestic animals are sacrificed predominantly referring, however, to different reasons for this restriction:
- wild animals could not be caught alive and/or without injury.
- wild animals do not stand under human control.
- wild animals are not suitable for the sacrificial meal, because they are not tasty.

This general impression gained by the study of literary sources will be contrasted with the epigraphical and archaeological especially zooarchaeological evidence. In this case it will be obvious that there were no general rules but only culture-specific or ritual-specific conventions. This point can be strengthened in an ethnoarchaeological perspective. Further it will be shown that the boundaries between wild and domestic become blurred, e.g. by sacrificing domesticated ‘wild animals’ or to exalt domestic to wild animals in some rituals.
In a second part I will prove that the Romans were familiar with the idea of using wild animals as victims analyzing the iconographical evidence. The sacrifice of wild animals is predominantly used to evoke an aura of non-normal ritual behaviour.
Finally the boundaries between human and animal are to be parallelized to those between wild and domestic animals in a structuralist approach.
GÜNTHER SCHÖRNER

Consumption in an Ancient Economy: Pompeii and Beyond

The term ‘consumption’ has modernist connotations and is often perceived as anachronistic. However, consumption occurs in various forms with many socio-cultural contributing factors, and is not a concept limited to advanced capitalistic societies. It has received a tentative introduction to Roman archaeology, although application of the concept becomes more plausible if the term ‘consumer’ is stripped down to its foundational meaning of someone who consumes a certain thing, regardless of how or why. Consequently, it offers an alternative perspective from which to investigate the ancient economy, compared to the much-used approach of production.

As a result, specific questions can be targeted; such as, do patterns of consumption exist at all in a distinguishable way that can be observed across or within populations? Additionally, questions pertaining to broader issues can be addressed, such as those relating to market economies in the
ancient world. It has been argued that work on 18th-century probate inventories could provide a model for investigations of material culture in Britain. Not only does this research argue that this is possible but, moreover, sites such as Pompeii provide a wealth of information that can assist in the investigation of consumption in the 1st century AD. Through the examination of records of material culture from households in Pompeii, patterns of consumer behaviour are to be investigated, with scope for subsequent inter-site comparisons.

NICK RAY

**Discarding the destitute: ancient and modern attitudes towards burial practices and memory preservation amongst the urban poor of Rome**

Ancient burial customs, rituals and commemorative practices have been investigated at length, with a variety of diverse studies drawing on abundant archaeological, textual and epigraphic sources of evidence for the treatment and disposal of the body and the preservation of memory. These studies, particularly those concerned with the enormous urban community of Rome itself, often privilege the activities and material remains of either elevated members of society or successful former slaves who were anxious to leave their mark on the world and to legitimise their social and legal position within it. However, the population of late Republican/early Imperial Rome also included vast numbers of free poor who lived their lives precariously on the edge of subsistence. Despite the immense size of this demographic group, often termed simply 'the lower classes', its members are frequently disregarded in discussions of urban burial practice and the assumption is commonly made that their remains were unceremoniously discarded in mass graves. This paper critically examines both ancient and modern attitudes towards the burial and commemorative practices of members of this underprivileged sector of society in order to demonstrate that our current understanding of these people and their funerary activities requires significant revision.

E-J GRAHAM

**Beyond the economic in the Roman fenland: reconsidering hoards, water, land and religion in the fenland in Roman times**

The Fenland, lying in the counties of Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk and extending to around four thousand square kilometres, was, before modern drainage, the largest wetland in Britain. It is an area within Roman Britain that has received much scholarly attention. Dominating many of these studies, however, has been scientific, environmental and geographical stances and emphases made on the economic potential of the land and paramount importance of the economy within everyday life. It will be suggested here that it is unlikely that the inhabitants of the Fenland in Roman times, as well as earlier periods, would have experienced or understood the land, or life within it, in such a manner. It is argued that a more challenging approach to the Fenland in Roman times can be undertaken through an examination of the hoarding and other religious activity, which has a concentration here - what might this suggest about Roman and native British attitudes towards the wetland? A discussion of attitudes towards water and land, the key components of a wetland, both in the Roman period and modern times, going beyond the traditional economic standpoint, is also an important part in re-assessing the position of the Fenland in Roman Britain. The volume of religious activity within the Fenland suggests that this area was undoubtedly of great importance and significance to both inhabitants and outsiders in the Roman period and it is hoped that this study goes some way towards increasing our comprehension.

ADAM ROGERS
D3: MATERIAL CULTURE OF SOCIAL DYNAMICS ON THE ROMAN FRONTIERS

Organizer: PETER S. WELLS (University of Minnesota, USA)

ABSTRACT
In much of Roman archaeology, the idea persists that there exists a characteristic ‘Roman’ material culture with respect to ceramics, fibulae, military equipment, and other goods, that is distinct from ‘native’ material culture, and that these distinctions exist through much of the Roman Period. Historians increasingly challenge the notion that changes in the frontier regions during the third, fourth, and fifth centuries are to be explained mainly through invasions and migrations into the imperial lands. Archaeologists can develop more sophisticated approaches for investigating shifting patterns in identity of individuals and of communities in the frontier zones, and thus contribute to more nuanced understandings of the processes of change that led to the creation of the dynamic societies that emerged during the fourth and fifth centuries.

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES


HELLA ECKARDT (University of Reading, England): ‘Roman’ or ‘Native’ bodies in Britain: the evidence of toilet instruments

J.D. HILL (British Museum, London, England): Who wore the East Leicestershire helmet and who did they think they were?

RICHARD HINGLEY (University of Durham, England): Challenging the myth of the military town on the Roman northern frontiers

FRASER HUNTER (National Museums of Scotland, Scotland): Who’s who?: shifting identities across the frontier in north Britain

EBERHARD SAUER (University of Edinburgh, Scotland): The hidden signature: imported and indigenous ritual use of coins in early imperial Gaul


PETER S. WELLS (University of Minnesota, USA): Creating new identities on the upper Danube frontier: the cemetery evidence

ABSTRACTS

Goths in Cumbria in the 3rd century

The evidence from the recently published cemetery at Brougham clearly shows that in the 3rd century the unit in garrison, the Numerus equitum Stratonicianorum, had come from the Danubian provinces and may well have included individuals from tribes beyond the frontier in that area. This paper will explore how we used the different strands of evidence to draw this conclusion; and will then go on to
consider what this community would have been like and how it may have differed from both the indigenous population and neighbouring military units such as that stationed at Low Borrowbridge to the south. It can also be seen that this community was not static. The cemetery was in use for about 80 years. Even within this relatively short time, patterns of funerary behaviour and the way material culture was manipulated can be seen to be changing. The evidence from Brougham challenges in every way any idea that there is a simple Roman/native dichotomy in material culture and its use; and provides yet more evidence of the complexity and variety of the societies in the north during the Roman period. It also confronts us with ideas that there may have been more ways of ‘Being Roman’ than we are yet ready to deal with.

H.E.M. COOL

References:

‘Roman’ or ‘Native’ bodies in Britain: the evidence of toilet instruments

The use of toilet instruments such as tweezers, nail-cleaners and ear-scoops can be described as a ‘technology of the body’ and as such is closely linked to the expression of identities. The use of these objects relates to status, gender and cultural identity but the patterns are complex and do not reflect a simple native-Roman dichotomy.

In the past, toilet instruments have been associated with ‘Roman’ practices of grooming but in fact there is significant variation in the use of these objects between and within provinces, and over time. For example, recent work by Nina Crummy & Hella Eckardt (Archaeological Journal 160, 2003) has begun to show that some toilet instruments such as bifid nail-cleaners in fact represent a particularly British artefact and that some forms have very restricted regional distributions.

This paper will examine the social distribution of other specialised forms of toilet instruments to investigate the shifting patterns of identities in the frontier province of Britain.

HELLA ECKARDT

Who wore the East Leicestershire helmet and who did they think they were?

The discovery of a silver gilded Roman cavalry parade helmet at a Late Iron Age/Conquest period ritual site in east Leicestershire provides an interesting case study to explore the themes of this session. This unusual object was discovered during excavations by the University of Leicester Archaeological Service and the Leicester County Council Community Archaeological Project of a site producing large numbers of Iron Age coins found by amateur archaeologist Ken Wallace. The helmet is still undergoing conservation at the British Museum, but already there is enough evidence to provide a good picture of its shape and decoration. The helmet was probably deposited in the Conquest period, or possibly earlier, on a ritual site with evidence for the deposition of coin hoard and probable feasting. The site lacks obviously other ‘Roman’ material, suggesting the helmet was deposited, if not probably owned, by natives from the East Midlands. This paper will start to explore who the owners of this helmet might have been, what their relationships might have been with different Romans and Roman institutions and to what extent, if any, they might have considered themselves as ‘Roman’ or ‘Native’?

J.D. HILL
Challenging the Myth of the Military Town on the Roman Northern Frontiers

This paper explores the phenomenon of urbanism with regard to the evidence for nucleated sites in Britain, while setting this within the context of the northern frontiers of the Roman empire as a whole. The origin of the idea of two distinct classes of towns, ‘military’ and ‘civil’, is explored. The information for a number of nucleated sites does not necessarily support this simple bipartite definition; indeed, individual sites have often been forced into one category or the other. Urbanism may be better conceived as a single process, created to serve imperial needs, but modified as required in the context of local circumstances. The reconceptualization of urban sites in frontier zones that is proposed will compliment the new approaches that are emerging in Roman archaeology; understandings that allow for greater cultural variability and dynamism, while also providing a focus upon the imperial influences of Rome within context of the frontier provinces.

RICHARD HINGLEY

Who’s who?: shifting identities across the frontier in north Britain

Many of the small finds in northern Britain in the Roman period are conventionally labelled either ‘Romano-British’ or ‘Celtic’. Behind these labels lies a poorly-understood social process. These finds (such as brooches, bangles and horse harness) often occur on both sides of the frontier. Taking this as a starting point, this paper will explore possible meanings and uses of these artefacts in terms of more complex identities than our current labels. Many of these phenomena change markedly in the late Roman period, and possible reasons for this will be explored.

FRASER HUNTER

The hidden signature: imported and indigenous ritual use of coins in early imperial Gaul

Is it possible to identify the profession and origin of those making offerings in a sacred spring on the basis of what they offer and how? Most would, undoubtedly, be inclined to answer this question negatively. Yet, a novel approach to look in detail at bulk finds reveals that they can tell us a great deal more about the identity of those who made the offerings than is commonly thought possible.

The paper will mainly focus on an assemblage of coins and other objects ritually deposited in a 66°C hot sacred spring within a Roman bathhouse at Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute Marne, France). While offerings continue sporadically into the Middle Ages, the bulk of offerings was made within a few years under Augustus. In numerical terms it is the largest Augustan coin deposit in the Roman Empire whose significance, however, goes far beyond illuminating monetary history. Indeed, the focus will not be on numismatics, but on the identity of the dedicators.

EBERHARD SAUER

Sculpture and self-identity: in search of multi-ethnicity on Hadrian’s Wall

This contribution explores the potential importance of ‘un-Romanized’ religious art as a source of information on the negotiation of identity among soldiers in the Wall zone.

It is widely appreciated that frontiers marked more than simply the physical limits of the Roman world; they were also zones of interaction within which cosmopolitan military and civilian communities forged a wide variety of identities. It has also long been clear from epigraphic and other sources that the auxiliary garrison on Hadrian’s Wall was ethnically very diverse, with Rhineland and Danubian peoples, in particular, being present in force from an early stage.

These ‘barbarian’ soldiers (among them Batavias, Tungrians, Frisians and Pannonians) left their mark on the Wall zone—quite literally— in both epigraphic and iconographic ways. Germanic deities
(including, perhaps, the intriguing di Veteres) were worshipped on Hadrian’s Wall, and Germanic non-figurative religious symbols (including the solar swastika) occur in both sculptural contexts and on ornamental fittings. Yet discussion of these gods and images has been largely confined to works on Celtic deities, suggesting that we tend to conflate these two ‘non-Roman’ religions of the north. What are we missing when we do this, and what might religious art reveal about the interplay between Celtic and Germanic religion and identity along the Wall?

J. WEBSTER

Creating new identities on the upper Danube frontier: the cemetery evidence

Archaeologists traditionally interpret evidence from settlements and cemeteries in the upper Danube River region from the fourth and fifth centuries in the context of textual sources that describe the decline of Roman power and increasing immigration of ‘Germanic’ groups. A different approach that examines the archaeological evidence from cemetery sites in its own terms can offer a new perspective. The archaeology shows that identities of individuals were much more complex than the categories ‘Roman,’ ‘provincial Roman,’ and ‘Germanic’ would suggest. The material evidence enables us to discern significant patterns of social change during this dynamic period.

PETER S. WELLS
Chair and discussant: DR JANET DELAINE (Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford, England)

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES

VIEWS FROM THE TOP

JASON WOOD (Director, Heritage Consultancy Service): Crenellation revelation: new evidence for the form and function of Roman defensive wall tops

JAMES ANDREWS (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, England): The development of Roman urban and domestic space: houses and upper floors at Herculaneum

BEHIND THE SCENES: SUPPLY AND PRODUCTION

KEVIN HAYWARD (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, England): A geological link between the Facilis monument at Colchester and first century army tombstones from the Rhineland frontier

ANDREW LANE (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, England): Quantity and provenance: the use of marble in the architecture of Lepcis Magna

URBAN LANDSCAPES ON THE SMALL SCREEN

PETER ROSE (Department of Archaeology, University of Reading, England): 3-D computer modelling and the 3rd century evolution of Ostia

DR GRAEME EARL (Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, England): Tales from two cities: visual narratives from Italica to Myos Hormos

ABSTRACTS

VIEWS FROM THE TOP

Crenellation revelation: new evidence for the form and function of Roman defensive wall tops

This paper takes as its focus the results of recent research triggered by the discovery of the exceptionally well-preserved wall top of the late Roman defences at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, Haute-Garonne, France. The work formed part of a British initiative, led by Dr Simon Esmonde Cleary and the author, to document and analyse the construction of the defences and their subsequent development through a combination of architectural survey and archaeological excavation. The evidence obtained from the excavations places the construction in the early years of the fifth century.
The best-preserved parts of the wall top are found at the south-west angle and in the north-western defences. Here, removal of vegetation and later masonry revealed stretches of wall-walk, external cornice and parapet, as well as the lower halves of nine traverses and evidence for four merlons and three embrasures.

The wall tops of Roman defences rarely survive, and where they do the remains are often fragmentary. From a review of comparative evidence, it is clear that the elements forming the wall-top at Saint-Bertrand each have parallels in Roman defensive architecture. However, it would appear that the totality of the remains at Saint-Bertrand is certainly a unique survival in France, and perhaps the best in situ example of a Roman defensive wall-top in Europe.

JASON WOOD

**The development of Roman urban and domestic space: houses and upper floors at Herculaneum**

Little of the early development of Herculaneum is known as much of the town visible today belongs to significant redevelopments made from the Augustan period onwards, when numerous public buildings were constructed. The residential areas of Herculaneum were also transformed at this time and many of the older houses from the first and second centuries B.C. were demolished and replaced by larger more luxurious dwellings that occupied several lots of land. Elsewhere earlier houses were modified to include upper floors, or partially given over to commercial activity. Moreover, Herculaneum is frequently assumed to be the same as Pompeii from which in reality it differs in many important respects. These include dramatic differences in the nature of the urban fabric and domestic architecture.

This paper firstly explores the extent of development of upper floors at Herculaneum and how this reflects a fundamentally different urban fabric from that at Pompeii, and assesses the implications of the latter for how domestic space was used. Secondly, focussing on the Casa del Mosaico di Nettuno e Anfitrite and the Casa del Bicentenario, it will examine the chronological development of Herculaneum and how this relates to the wider evolution of Roman housing and patterns of urban renewal between the Republic and early Empire.

JAMES ANDREWS

**BEHIND THE SCENES: SUPPLY AND PRODUCTION**

**A geological link between the Facilis monument at Colchester and first century army tombstones from the Rhineland frontier**

The geological source of the earliest known tombstone from Britannia, the Facilis monument at Colchester (RIB 200) has always assumed to be a 'Bath stone'. This is an ambiguous quarryman’s term that at best describes a whole series of rock types from a large part of the Cotswold district. In order to establish its true geological character, a sample was obtained from the tombstone and subject to a set of rigorous petrological and geochemical tests. The results identify a very different rock type to that originally proposed. Furthermore, its source provides an important petrological link between first century army tombstones at Colchester and the Rhineland.

This short paper will begin by summarising these results and then move on to the wider archaeological significance of this find. In particular the use of this stone in the early development of Colchester; petrological and stylistic comparisons with continental tombstones and mid first century army quarrying operations in southern Britannia and North West France.

KEVIN HAYWARD
Quantity and provenance: the use of marble in the architecture of Lepcis Magna

The well-preserved ruins of Lepcis Magna contain a range of different structures, incorporating a wide variety of marbles. These provide an excellent opportunity to compare and contrast the use of marble, not only between different types of building, but also between similar structures. In this presentation, I will exam the use of marble in the most commonly encountered type of building, temples. Focusing on four structures; the temple Di Augusti, of Rome and Augustus, of Serapis and the Severan temple, I will exam the choice of marble, how it was employed and the volumes used. Leading on from this I will analyse the labour requirements connected to its use and the ultimately the costs involved. The results reveal some interesting, if perhaps rather surprising variations in the way this material was used, even within this single category of buildings.

ANDREW LANE

URBAN LANDSCAPES ON THE SMALL SCREEN

3-D computer modelling and the 3rd century evolution of Ostia

Roman cities and towns present a large amount of material wealth in the form of buildings and larger structures. 3D modelling permits a fast and non-invasive examination of these with a high degree of accuracy. The approach offers great advantages over more traditional recording methods for building surveying by using digital photogrammetry. A 3D model permits an objective visualisation of a structure in its present state from which reconstructions can be produced and used for comparison, hence allowing a detailed analysis of the structure.

The aim of this paper is briefly to demonstrate a method for single-handed 3D recording and its potentials through the study of 3rd century Ostia. By studying the standing structures of two selected areas at Ostia a number of three-dimensional models have been constructed together with a database containing more traditional data such plans, photos and text. The combination of the two applications allows the user to extract information on specific buildings or areas of investigation in a number of formats for later usage while keeping them closely linked.

PETER ROSE

Tales from two cities: visual narratives from Italica to Myos Hormos

This paper discusses the computational reconstruction of Roman urban forms and surrounding narratives of archaeological practice, particularly considering experience in CGI modelled surroundings. Through case-studies drawn from recent fieldwork in Spain and Egypt questions of the genesis and influence of highly subjective visual forms are approached. Specifically the paper considers the varied influences on a computational reconstruction, methods for informing and critiquing this process, the role of visual metaphor in CGI correlates to Roman archaeology, and future applications of the virtual to Roman built space.

GRAEME EARL
New surveys on the Danubian frontier: the Noviodunum Archaeological Project

The site of Noviodunum is situated on a small hill on the southern edge of the Danube in the Dobrogea region of Romania. The Danube now forms the border with the Ukraine in this region, but in the past it has formed the northern frontier of the Roman and Byzantine Empires, and lay between Ottoman dominated Dobrogea and Russian dominated Bessarabia. Each has left its mark on the site with Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman and 20th century defences overlying each other at this key spot, the last easy crossing of the Danube before the multitude of channels and marshes of the Danube delta. During the Roman period, not only were various Roman army units based at the site, e.g. the Legio I Iovia Scythica, it was also the base of the Roman lower Danube fleet, the Classis Flavia Moesica, later known as the Classis Ripae Scythicae. Alongside the military installations there was a large ‘civil’ settlement, and an extensive cemetery. The fortress was paired with another Roman fort at Aliobrix across the river, near the modern settlement of Orlovka in the Ukraine. The site is now a national archaeological reserve, and the subject of several projects including the Noviodunum Archaeological Project.

Until recently, excavation at this site was limited to a few small investigations and rescue work on the beach. The topography of the site was published in 1973 by Stefan and his map, derived from aerial photographs, has been widely reproduced since. Larger scale excavations have been undertaken by Victor Baumann since 1998 and have uncovered a very large late Roman tower which formed part of the defences of the late Roman fortress.

The Noviodunum Archaeological Project was set-up in 1999 with the initial limited aim of undertaking a detailed topographic survey of the site. The survey was started in 2000, and completed after two further seasons in 2002 and 2003. From 2002, however, the Project expanded to include pick-up, auger and geophysical surveys which continued in 2004. The Project has now received support from the AHRB and this summer will see the first excavation campaigns as well as expansion of the field survey into the hinterland of the site.

This paper will review the results of the work so far, and look forward to work planned for the next five years.

KRIS LOCKYEAR, ADRIAN POPESCU and TIMOTHY SLY
Variability in styles of Romano-British cremation and associated deposition in south-east England.

This paper outlines some results of analyses of cremations and associated burials from selected case studies in south-east England, comparing recent findings with previous ‘typologies’. Treating each ceremonial sequence in entirety as the primary unit for comparative analysis, chronological trends are re-evaluated, and regional, local, site- and burial- level contexts for diversity are delineated in terms of pyre practice, and the selection, combination, modification and placement of objects in cremation burials. It is suggested that higher resolution data can reveal more complex patterns of creative agency on the part of ritual participants than have previously been accounted for.

JAKE WEEKES

The Heroön of Erpidase Sarpedonisi and the Aperlite sympolity

The site of Aperlae in Lycia discloses a small and isolated industrial town which specialised in the production of purple dye. The town, despite its Lycian name, was founded early in the Hellenistic period and led a sympolitéia of itself and its neighbours: Apollonia, Isinda and Simena. These three towns are not only far older than Aperlae but also far grander. The reason for Aperlite dominance was, no doubt, its wealth as a purple-producing centre. A series of inscriptions from a heroön at Aperlae provide evidence of the transfer of at least one family of the local elite to Aperlae and their relations with members of the municipal elites of nearby towns. These few tomb inscriptions and dedications from Aperlae, together with documents from its immediate neighbours, provide an image of a strong and enduring local economy in which élite families pursued wealth and social standing through the customary mixture of human and mercantile commerce.

BILL LEADBETTER

E3: ROMAN BRITAIN

Organisers: TONY WILMOTT and PETE WILSON

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPER TITLES

RICHARD ANNIS (Archaeological Services University of Durham, England): The Roman villa at Ingleby Barwick, Stockton-on-Tees

MURRAY COOK (AOC Archaeology Group, Scotland): Fruit from a barren tree: excavations within the Roman marching camp at Deers Den, Kintore, Aberdeenshire


PROF. MICHAEL FULFORD and AMANDA CLARKE (University of Reading, England): Old town – new town: report and reflections on the continuing excavation of insula IX, Silchester

NEIL HOLBROOK (Cotswold Archaeology, England): Recent work on rural settlement and burial traditions in the Gloucestershire Severn Valley

JOHN ZANT (Carlisle Millennium Project, England): The development of the Roman fort at Carlisle
ABSTRACTS

The Roman villa at Ingleby Barwick, Stockton-on-Tees

The site was discovered in the 1970s as a cropmark; it is apparent only because it lies on a pocket of glacial sand and gravel, in a clay landscape. Initial excavations (Heslop 1984) suggested the presence of a PRIA field system overlaid by a ‘droveway’ and rectilinear enclosures. The site has a pre-PPG16 planning consent for housing development. Geophysical survey carried out by ASUD before work unexpectedly found stone buildings of a villa associated with the later cropmark features. Negotiation between the County Archaeologist’s office, English Heritage and the developer, Persimmon Homes, led to a decision to preserve the main building and a sample of the associated enclosures, and excavation of the bulk of the rest of the site.

The main building is of a corridor plan. The excavated structures include a very large aisled barn or store building, a circular feature associated with crop processing or milling, a paved hollow and a small hypocausted building. Among the finds from the excavation were a Mesolithic / early Neolithic flints, a Neolithic polished axe, Food Vessel and Beaker pottery, and evidence of Iron Age buildings. The pottery suggests that the villa’s main period of occupation was between AD 120 and the end of the Roman period; late Roman and Saxon finds were also recovered from the site.

The finds assemblage includes some very fine and unusual objects, including a crossbow brooch and a polychrome mosaic glass bowl. Other finds include an ironworker’s hoard containing iron hoops for wheel hubs, tools, nails and parts of a copper-alloy cauldron.

The excavation was funded by Persimmon Homes and the post-excavation work, now under way, is being paid for by English Heritage.

RICHARD ANNIS

Reference:
Heslop, D, 1984 Initial excavations at Ingleby Barwick, Cleveland, Durham Archaeological Journal 1, 23-34

Fruit from a barren tree: excavations within the Roman marching camp at Deers Den, Kintore, Aberdeenshire

It is a well known ‘fact’ that Roman marching camps were only occupied briefly and that there is no point in excavating within their interior as they rarely bear fruit. While this ‘fact’ is occasionally confirmed by field excavation, it is in fact a self fulfilling prophecy: no one bothers to look in camp interiors so no one ever finds anything, so no one looks! This attitude combined with an over reliance on aerial photography and the extant texts have reduced a complex series of monuments which span 400 years of occupation and are found throughout large areas of Britain to little more than route maps for hypothetical troop movements, tied into questionable texts.

Recent developer funded excavation at Deers Den have revealed over 200 internal features connected with the Roman occupation of the camp, including bread ovens and rubbish pits. The material assemblage recovered from these features combined with an intensive radiometric dating programme has identified three phases over two periods of occupation within the camp, as well as information regarding duration and the internal disposition of troops. The Deers Den excavations have replaced worn out truisms with facts which are the prerequisite to developing the theories.

MURRAY COOK.
Exca'ation arrd Fieldwork, Bradford-on-Avon, 2000 – 2004

This paper will present an interim account of the investigation of a newly discovered Romano-British villa complex and landscape on the northern edge of the Wiltshire market town of Bradford-on-Avon. Combining excavation, geophysics and other non-intrusive methodologies, the investigation has recovered the plan of a villa of unusual form with two contemporary winged-corridor buildings of identical plan and dimensions, on a common alignment and with extensive ranges of out-buildings. Limited excavation has revealed an important sequence commencing in the later Iron Age and extending into the early post-Roman period. Preliminary work in the environs of the villa is revealing a complex multi-period landscape, represented by earthworks and cropmarks that will be the main focus of investigation in 2005-6.
MARK CORNEY

Old town – new town: report and reflections on the continuing excavation of insula IX, Silchester

The Silchester ‘Town Life’ Project was established in 1997 to explore in detail the origins, development and demise of a large part of one of the residential insulae of Calleva Atrebatum. After eight seasons of excavation it is possible to consider the evidence which is emerging for the organisation and character of the occupation of the insula in the early Roman period, and its links with the late pre-Roman Iron Age. It is also appropriate to look back to assess the nature of change within the insula in the third century and explore its wider context within Calleva itself as well as other towns of Roman Britain.
PROF. MICHAEL FULFORD and AMANDA CLARKE

Recent Work on Rural Settlement and Burial Traditions in the Gloucestershire Severn Valley

In 1978 Peter Fowler, in reviewing the results of work done in advance of the construction of the M5 motorway, stated that the field archaeology of lowland Gloucestershire was largely created in 1969-70. While that campaign of heroic rescue digging gave the first indications of the density of Romano-British settlement, developer-led discoveries over the last 15 years around Bristol, Gloucester and Tewkesbury permit a much greater understanding of the form, distribution and chronology of rural settlement. The paper will also discuss a 1st to 2nd-century tradition of inhumation burial in small rural cemeteries which is clearly a persistence of a local Late Iron Age practice.
NEIL HOLBROOK

The development of the Roman fort at Carlisle

In recent years, major excavations south of Carlisle Castle have located the Roman fort of Luguvalium and have revealed something of its complex history. Exceptional waterlogged preservation has allowed the earliest phases to be closely dated by dendrochronology, and has provided evidence for changes in the way in which timber was selected for construction works during the late first and early second centuries A.D.

The fort was founded in the autumn/winter of A.D. 72-3, during Petillius Cerialis’ campaigns in northern England. A major refurbishment in A.D. 83-4 may have been associated with the arrival of the ala Gallorum Sebosisana, which is named on excavated writing tablets. The site was abandoned around AD 105 and the buildings were deliberately demolished, with wall-posts sawn off at ground level. When the fort was rebuilt soon after, much re-used timber was employed, suggesting that salvaged building materials may have been stockpiled on or near the site.

A possible change in the character of occupation during the Hadrianic period, characterised by the replacement of some barracks with industrial-type structures and cobbled areas, and by a marked
increase in metalworking debris, may relate to the construction of Hadrian’s Wall less than half a mile to the north. When the fort was abandoned around AD 140, probably as a consequence of the Antonine reoccupation of southern Scotland, an important group of armour was discarded in one of the central-range buildings.

During the Severan period a stone fort was built, after which occupation continued to the end of the Roman period. The recovery of over 250 coins from external areas adjacent to the *principia* suggests that the centre of the fort may have become a focus for commercial activity, possibly involving the wider community, during the later fourth and early fifth centuries.

JOHN ZANT
Cover illustration: a bronze appliqué (? 2nd-century AD) showing a Roman soldier attacking a barbarian. From the joint French/University of Birmingham excavations at Éauze, south-west France. Actual height = 14.4 cm.