



ROMAN  
ARCHAEOLOGY  
CONFERENCE 1999  
and  
Theoretical Roman Archaeology  
Conference 1999

DURHAM

Friday 16th - Sunday 18th April 1999

Abstracts



University  
of Durham



Society for the  
Promotion of  
Roman Studies



# Roman Archaeology Conference & Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference

Durham 1999

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## Romano-British Research Agendas

Friday morning and Friday afternoon, ER140

Kindly sponsored by English Heritage

Session organizers: Martin Millett (University of Durham) and Simon James (University of Durham)

09.30 Adrian Olivier, English Heritage, Introduction

09.35 Martin Millett, General introduction

### Transitions and identities

Chair and discussant, Greg Woolf

10.00 John Creighton, *Iron Age to Roman*

10.30 Simon Esmonde-Cleary, *Roman to Medieval*

11.00 Coffee

11.30 Simon James, *Military and civilian*

12.00 Lindsay Allason-Jones, *Material culture and identity*

12.30 J.D. Hill, *Alternative approaches to identity*

13.0 Lunch

13.1

### Characterizing settlement and society

Chair and discussant, J.D. Hill

14.30 Jeremy Taylor, *Rural societies*

15.00 Martin Millett, *Urban societies*

15.30 Tea

16.00 Keith Dobney, *Ecofactual approaches*

16.30 Jeremy Evans, *Material approaches*

17.00 Dinner

### Romano-British research agendas debate Dawson Building, D110

20.00 Panel discussion: David Breeze, Greg Woolf, Mike Fulford, Sue Alcock, Eleanor Scott

### Iron Age to Roman

John Creighton, University of Reading

In this paper I wish to show how the use of these historic labels has incredibly constrained our interpretation of the archaeology of this period. A naive reading of the literary sources has created a belief that Caesar's visits to the island in 55/54BC were of little long term importance, whereas Claudius' of AD43 marked a significant shift representing Britain's incorporation into the World of Rome (well... that of a small part of Southern England at any rate, though to the Roman audience this was represented as the conquest of Britannia). This paper deliberately tries to invert this position. The archaeological and historic evidence are re-read to show the fundamental changes which began under Caesar in the political sphere; and yet the extreme degree of continuity which may be found on either side of the Claudian 'conquest' in terms of the symbolism and instruments of political domination. In proto-historic periods archaeologists all too frequently latch on to specific historical events which are recorded. The paper ends with showing how several sites, which we think we know well and understand, can be read in completely different ways. The agenda here is to stimulate far more nuanced and critical readings of transition period archaeology.

### Roman to Medieval

Simon Esmonde Cleary, University of Birmingham

Comparing the agendas and evidence-types proposed by English Heritage for the Roman-medieval transition with those for other periods is instructive: the Roman-medieval agendas are largely historicising and entail an idiosyncratic selection of the evidence.

Archaeological research (including excavation) on this period needs to be led by the nature of the archaeological record and the optimal means of interrogating that record. There are several distinct and distinctive facies to the archaeology in question, each of which will lend itself to differing analyses, these feeding back into research/excavation priorities.

A major problem is the collapse in archaeological visibility at the end of the Roman period. Understanding this must involve publication of outstanding large-scale excavation projects in order to



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characterise the evidence and suggest interpretations, but also to formulate further strategies for field-work and to target the most useful data.

#### **Military and civilian**

*Simon James, University of Durham*

English Heritage's draft document, *Exploring our Past 1998*, identifies 'military and civilian interaction' as a major focus for future research on Roman Britain, and notes that: 'The social and economic interaction between these elements of society has received some attention on a site by site basis. There is an opportunity, now that significant data sets have been gathered from a variety of settlement sites (vici, fort, town, rural, etc.) to provide a synthesis and more complex models of these processes. This in turn should help to create a more focused agenda for future work.' This paper will ask whether we really are currently in a good position to synthesise, and if not, what might be done about it in the medium-term time-frame we are considering? We have copious data, but is it the right kind of data to answer current questions? And underlying the latter, while our notions of the nature of Romano-British civil society have undergone profound critique and revision in recent years, it will be argued that our understandings of the military stand in urgent need of equally rigorous overhaul and rethinking before the opportunities provided by current and new data can be adequately exploited.

#### **Material culture and identity**

*Lindsay Allason-Jones, University of Newcastle*

At first glance finds do not appear to figure largely in the Research Agendas document, either as one of the five primary goals or as one of the six priority groups. Only on closer reading do references to studies of material culture emerge. This may be because finds work is seen as running through all goals and priorities - it would be good to think that this was so. However, realistically, it is more likely that the usefulness of objects to inform our understanding of our ancestors is still not fully appreciated.

This paper will look at the developments in the study of Roman artefacts in the last twenty years and consider how work in the immediate future could be focused to provide a fuller picture of both individual and group identity in Roman Britain.

#### **Alternative approaches to identity**

*J.D. Hill, University of Southampton*

Identity can be said to be at the heart of Romano-British studies with its long concern with Roman and Native. Recent studies of Romanization are increasing questioning into these traditional categories by drawing on new perspectives from the social sciences. These new perspectives argue that identities are more fluid, could have been actively constructed and challenged. Although drawing on what appear to be 'difficult' and impenetrable theory, these ideas have very immediate consequences for how everyday things and settings (dress, domestic space, eating and drinking) played an active role in creating the Roman and the Native.

This paper will review progress in this area and suggest how both future academic and contract archaeology can utilise these ideas. It will suggest that a concern with Roman and Native has detracted from the study of other identities (gender, age, class, regional) in Roman Britain. The paper will concentrate on the practical aspects of addressing these issues, and so provide some guidance to those setting briefs for contract archaeology.

#### **Rural Society in Roman Britain**

*Jeremy Taylor, University of Leicester*

Archaeological investigation of Roman rural landscapes has continued apace in recent years but often with little attempt at wider synthesis of the changing nature of rural societies in Roman Britain. Here an attempt is made to highlight three perceived trends in the development of rural societies in Roman Britain. First, is the varied but often highly significant impact on the cultural geography of the countryside made during the initial conquest and establishment of Roman hegemony. In particular discussion will centre on the ideological and practical impact of roads, short and longer term military occupation, and the establishment of Civitas centres. Second, are detailed changes in the social structure of individual agricultural communities now apparent through recent contextual studies of settlement architecture, material culture deposition and burial, which are starting to provide insights into distinctive patterns of agricultural and ritual practice, and possibly identity. Third, are the complex changes in the tenurial organisation and agricultural practices of rural communities evident in recent integrated studies of landscape architecture and palaeoenvironment. Regionally highly varied, and by



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no means synchronous, these developments are nevertheless highly informative about the development of rural society and the role of secondary nucleated settlements in the later Roman period.

### **Characterizing Urbanism in Roman Britain**

*Martin Millett, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton*

Most past attempts at discussing towns in Roman Britain have either concentrated on the classification of sites or on a description of their physical characteristics. These approaches have provided valuable insights into the development of Roman Britain but have done comparatively little to help our understanding of the nature of urbanism in the province. This paper will attempt to approach the issues of the roles of the full range of nucleated centres within the province drawing on some of the potential of recent archaeological work. It will be suggested that conventional classifications are of limited value in defining agendas for future research. To make progress in the archaeological study of sites we need to deconstruct the concept of urbanism and instead seek to understand the varying functions different settlements fulfilled for the population of Roman Britain. It will be suggested that some recent large scale archaeological work on towns in Britain provides the ideal opportunity to develop these ideas.

### **A place at the table: The role of zooarchaeology within a Roman Research Agenda.**

*Keith Dobney, Environmental Archaeology Unit, University of York*

There is little doubt that the study of Roman animal bone assemblages from Britain has perhaps provided some of the most useful and illuminating evidence for many aspects of Roman life; from husbandry practices, agricultural economics, dietary preferences, specialised butchery, trade and exchange, craft and industry status, waste disposal, to name a few. However, their study merely represents part of a much 'bigger picture'. It is clear that many lines of archaeological evidence (other than animal bones) can also significantly contribute to those topics highlighted above, and that a multi-faceted approach is the most obvious way forward to interpreting the past. Yet it is still the case that the many and varied lines of so-called 'specialist' research remain frequently 'pigeon-holed' and separated during all stages of planning, excavation, recording, analysis and final publication.

On the basis of a recent systematic review of zooarchaeological research for the North of England, this paper will attempt to explore some of the gaps in our knowledge, highlight some lost opportunities' and suggest how palaeoecological data could and should be integrated into a series of more focused, synthetic research schemes for the Roman period.

### **Material approaches to investigation of systematic differences between Romano-British site types**

*Jeremy Evans (Evans and Rátkai PX Partners)*

The aim of this paper is to review methods most appropriate to differentiating different types of Romano-British sites from their material assemblages. Given the author's background the principal focus will be on ceramic approaches, on which, probably, most work has been undertaken. There are, however, also interesting approaches developed for this in other materials, such as coins, glassware and small finds, principally by Reece, Cool and Allason Jones, whilst similar approaches have also been made for animal bone. The principal ceramic indicators are all derived from whole assemblage approaches, which are the only ones which seem to yield consistently good results. Approaches to be examined include functional analysis, levels of finewares, levels and the composition of the samian assemblage, levels of amphorae and the occurrence of graffiti. Absolute assemblage size, average sherd size and the occurrence of riveting also reveal interesting patterns, although more related to regional cultural traditions.

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## TRAC: General session

Friday morning, ER141

Kindly sponsored by the Robert Kiln Charitable Trust and the Thriplow Charitable Trust

Session organizer: Louise Revell (University of Southampton)

- 10:00 John Pearce (University of Durham): *Introduction*  
10:10 Marina Ciaraldi (University of Bradford) and Jane Richardson (West Yorkshire Archaeological Service): *Food, ritual and rubbish on the making of Pompeii*  
10:35 Ardle Mac Mahon (University of Durham): *The Tabernae of Roman Britain*  
11:00 Devon Tully (Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Queensland): *The way to go for settlement studies of Roman Britain: a case study around Silchester*  
11:25 Tea  
11:40 Michael Walsh (University of Southampton): *Roman maritime activities around Britain: what is the evidence and how can it be enhanced*  
12:05 Kris Lockyer (Institute of Archaeology): *168,828 coins, 140 sites and a handful of techniques*  
12:30 Ray Laurence (University of Reading): *Discussion*

### **Food, ritual and rubbish on the making of Pompeii**

Marina Ciaraldi, Department of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford, and Jane Richardson, West Yorkshire Archaeological Service

This paper considers the environmental evidence from two excavations within Pompeii from pre-AD 79 contexts. Recent archaeological research has made it possible to go beyond a city frozen by the eruption to understand the dynamics of a vibrant community. Botanical and zoological data are considered from the House of the Wedding of Hercules VII.9.47) and the House of the Vestals (VI.1.7). The diachronic nature of the deposits will be examined in order to study the exploitation of the natural resources as the city develops. The analysis of two spatially disparate dwellings also allows us to compare a house in the heart of the 'old city' to a house close to the city walls.

The analysis of botanical remains and cess pits has given a clear picture of the diet and status of the inhabitants of these houses. Waste disposal strategies have been indicated by the faunal remains and suggest an organised system of rubbish collection and removal. Finally ritualised deposits have been identified and these incorporate both plant and animal offerings.

### **The Tabernae of Roman Britain**

Ardle Mac Mahon, Department of Archaeology, University of Durham

The general object of this paper is to suggest one direction for the vast quantity of archaeological evidence that has been recently recorded. The motive for this is to give an approximate reconstruction of the tabernae or shops of Roman Britain. Rescue archaeology during the past decades has produced a great number of building plans and a more extensive comprehension of the dwellings of the lower strata of society is now being gained. This occurrence has resulted in a much needed change of bias from masonry buildings to those of timber and clay in Britain although regrettably not as yet in Italy. The archaeological exploration of the domestic quarters of towns is often restricted by the continuous occupation of towns from antiquity to the present day precluding the possibility of widespread excavations except in very special circumstances. The result has been that there is less discussion concerning domestic structures in the theoretical writing than civic buildings. The residential quarters were an integral part of the Roman town, and their design and development can reveal a complex association of relationship with all aspects of urban life, economic, social and even political. Despite this the study of residential and retail dwellings remain a minor part of the architectural history than they warrant. Given the accumulated evidence from the excavated sites more of an effort should be made to redress this imbalance.

### **The way to go for settlement studies of Roman Britain: a case study around Silchester,**

Devon Tully, Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Queensland

There has been much debate in the past on the transition from the Late Iron Age to the Roman period of occupation in Britain. There is dispute over the complexity of Late Iron Age Society, the impact of Roman occupation, the existence of a market economy, the degree of continuity inherent within the settlement pattern and numerous other factors. Furthermore, much previous work has relied on a limited

range of evidence. With regard to settlement patterns, studies have largely concentrated on a descriptive assessment of known sites and their general distribution. A more objective approach, however, can reveal much more about the changes in the settlement patterns over time and can enable the incorporation of a much wider range of evidence, including environmental factors, settlement sites, coins and pottery distributions. The use of GIS and statistical analysis, despite the limitations of the archaeological record, can take this analysis one step further.

This paper will examine all known occupation sites dating from the Late Iron Age to the Early Roman period (100 BC to AD 200) within a 30 km radius of Silchester. A descriptive assessment will provide the basis from which to take a more objective approach to site location, settlement association and artefact distributions within this region. GIS and statistical analysis can enable the further evaluation of factors effecting site and artefact distributions, and so allow for a greater understanding of the settlement patterns and the changes taking place.

### **The Riddle of the Sands: An Assessment of the Potential for Identifying Roman Shipwrecks in British Waters**

*Michael Walsh, University of Southampton*

Our current understanding of cross-Channel contact and trade in the Late Iron Age and the Roman period is largely based upon evidence from terrestrial sites with little or no consideration of material from maritime contexts. Consequently little is known about the ships that conducted this trade, their cargoes or their operations. Currently there are only five known Roman vessels from Britain, and a small amount of known Roman material from coastal waters, little of which has been studied in detail. Recent work has shown that there is considerably more evidence for Roman shipping and other maritime activities in British waters than is usually assumed.

However the haphazard and dispersed nature of this material renders it unusable so it is impossible estimate the extent of the actual maritime archaeological record. It is hoped that the systematic survey and analysis of material from a variety of sources will not only produce a readily accessible corpus of this material but will also bring to light a mass of previously unrecorded material. This corpus might then be used to identify sites for future detailed investigation using controlled trawls, geophysical prospection and diver survey as is currently being undertaken at the Pudding Pan site off the North Kent coast. The discovery of relatively large numbers of wrecks in British waters would be central to future interpretations of maritime trade provided from terrestrial contexts. This research also expects to identify previously unknown prehistoric, medieval and early historic finds and sites.

### **168,828 coins, 140 sites and a handful of techniques**

*Kris Lockyer, Institute of Archaeology*

In 1991 Richard Reece published 'Roman Coins from 140 sites in Britain', a listing of coin data he had collected over some 30 years. Subsequently, in 1995, he published his latest method for the analysis of coin lists, along with a division of the sites into 22 groups. In this paper he stated that more formal, recognised statistical methods had failed to produce satisfactory results. As an archaeologist who has used methods such as cluster analysis and correspondence analysis to study coin hoards, I took this as a friendly challenge. This paper compares the intuitive methods of Reece with these more formal methods, and presents the successful results of these analyses.

## **TRAC: Roman Army**

*Friday afternoon, ER141*

**Kindly sponsored by the Robert Kiln Charitable Trust and the Thriplow Charitable Trust**

*Session organizer: Louise Revell, University of Southampton*

*Discussant: Phil Freeman, University of Liverpool*

Roman military archaeology has the image of being an unglamorous and somewhat backward branch of Roman archaeology. Yet the papers offered for the general session soon revealed that there was an exciting variety of research currently being undertaken with an explicitly theoretical agenda. This suggests that a revival of interest in military archaeology from a new perspective. The number of paper led us to dedicate a session to the theme of the Roman army, reflecting the diversity of research being undertaken and questioning existing preconceptions.



- 2:30 Louise Revell (University of Southampton): *Introduction*  
 2:40 Sue Stallibrass (University of Durham): *How do you tell a Roman cow? Cattle, culture, statue and soldiers in northern England*  
 3:05 Renate Kurzmann (University of Dublin)  
 3:30 Simon Clarke (Shetland College): *In search of a different Roman period: the finds assemblage at the Newstead military complex*  
 3:55 Tea  
 4:10 Andrew Pegler (University of London): *Social organisations in the Roman army*  
 4:35 Evan Chapman (National Museum of Wales): *The Roman army: some thoughts from later military history*  
 5:00 Phil Freeman (University of Liverpool): *Discussion*

### **How do you tell a Roman cow? Cattle, culture, statue and soldiers in northern England**

*Dr. Sue Stallibrass, Department of Archaeology, University of Durham*

Looking at the metrical and non-metrical traits of Roman cattle bones, culturally-related aspects of their treatment and disposal, and associated non-vertebrate finds (pottery and metalwork, building styles, patterns of settlement etc) can we distinguish who raised and utilised the livestock? What impact, if any, did the imposition of an occupying army have on local patterns of livestock breeding, husbandry and carcass utilisation? Is it, in fact, as gross simplification to treat the whole of northern England as a uniform region? No one model suggested so far can adequately explain or predict the range of variability seen in Romano-British vertebrate collections from Northern England

This paper would be a tip of the iceberg indication of how much more detailed work and thought needs to go into the study of Romano-British economies, in order to identify and qualify the factors that influenced them.

### **Untitled**

*Renate Kurzmann, University of Dublin*

I want to present a talk about my research, which deals with brickstamps in Roman Britain. The presentation concentrates on the epigraphic evidence and will not go into detail about material or production techniques of Roman tiles in Britain. It will concentrate on military brickstamps rather than civilian stamps. Although British brickstamps have been well catalogued and researched during the last decades, there seems to be a certain lack of usage of the evidence. Brickstamps have been successfully used for dating on many excavations on the continent, as for example in the German provinces or in Pannonia. On the contrary, nothing like this seems to have been done with the evidence of brickstamps from British excavations- one usually assumes that the appearance of the name of a certain unit necessarily testifies the presence of that same troop near the find location. We have seen from the continental evidence, however, that this does not always apply. Consequently, my paper deals with that use of the material in continental excavation and serves the purpose of finding out if the same can be done with British brickstamps, which rarely seem to have been used in that context. I will also be examining what the presence of a certain stamp can attribute to an interpretation of an excavation and how far one can go with the dating of the material.

### **In search of a different Roman period: the finds assemblage at the Newstead military complex**

*Simon Clarke, Shetland College, University of the Highlands and Islands*

The investigation of artefacts and animal remains from Roman period sites has consistently taken a rationalist view of the data. Researchers' primary concern has overwhelmingly been to identify technological and economic implications from patterning. Many continue to believe that only these lowest rungs on the 'ladder of inference' are normally accessible. The understanding of ideology and belief systems, is usually regarded as too esoteric to attempt. Over the last decade however a number of prehistorians have suggested that ritual was fundamental to everyday life in a way which is difficult for us to comprehend today. To separate it from questions of economy or social organization would be to impose a modern mind set on the data. By examining the military complex at Newstead this paper will show that a high proportion of Roman period site finds are not the product of casual discard or accidental loss, but represent deliberate deposition in which symbolism and ritual were key considerations.

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### **Social Organisations in the Roman Army**

*Andrew Pegler, Department of History, Birkbeck College, University of London*

The Roman army gave their soldiers a rank and a profession within a vast and complex machine. Finding an identity beyond the functional was an inherent desire for most members of that army. To this end within the Roman military there existed certain institutions and manifestations that could provide a soldier with a social experience that was not part of their everyday military existence. Through these they could become part of an exclusive organization that crossed the boundaries of rank and regiment or could attain positions of prestige that were unique within the Roman army. This paper will examine these organizations in their two main forms, the officially sanctioned collegia clubs and the unofficial religious cults. Discussion will center on how far these can be seen as catering for social, and not military or religious needs, and what influence such exclusive associations ultimately had on the army as a whole.

### **The Roman army: some thoughts from later military history**

*Evan Chapman, Department of Archaeology and Numismatics, National Museum of Wales*

Never forget the Roman army was an army, a professional army. The traces it has left in the archaeological record should be interpreted with this in mind, with other explanations being sought only when ideas of military function and mind-set do not provide a satisfactory explanation. Equally, it should not be seen as an intellectual puzzle in which the available evidence, in this case principally epigraphic and textual, is fitted into the most elegant pattern possible. Even if this on occasion appears to lose sight of the fact that the Roman army had to maintain itself without collapsing into bureaucratic chaos and fight without tangling itself in complexity. I would suggest that the study, however cursory, of later military history would provide an antidote to both these tendencies and prove stimulating to one's perceptions of the Roman army. The 18th and early 19th century professional armies of Europe appear to be the most generally useful; I shy away from applicable, though the 19th century in general, particularly in the colonial wars can prove fruitful.

## **Transport in the Roman world**

*Friday afternoon, ERI42*

*Session organisers: Colin Adams and Ray Laurence*

- 14.00 Professor Kai Brodersen (University of Mannheim) *Transport and Geographical Knowledge*
- 14.30 Dr Ray Laurence (University of Reading) *Roman Roads: changes to the geography of space-time in Roman Italy*
- 15.00 Dr Anne Kolb (University of Zurich) *State transport and communication in the Roman Empire: the Cursus Publicus*
- 15.30 Tea
- 16.00 Dr Jon Coulston (University of St Andrews) *The depiction of transport on Trajan's Column*
- 16.30 Dr Colin Adams (University of Warwick) *Delivering the Goods: Private Transport and the State in Roman Egypt*
- 17.00 Discussion

### **Transport and Geographical Knowledge**

*Professor Kai Brodersen (University of Mannheim)*

Successful transport depends on knowledge of the world one wants to move in: where one can go, and how he can get there. In an age of detailed scale maps (let alone satellite navigation), of geography as a standard school subject, and of modern communication, the answers are easily come by. But what of Roman times? This paper will explore how effective transport happened in a world in which scale maps had not been invented, where geography, if taught, was a tool for following literary journeys (Hercules, Jason and the Argonauts, Odysseus), and the study of 'scientific' geography was restricted to a small circle of specialists.

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### **Roman Roads: changes to the geography of space-time in Roman Italy**

*Dr Ray Laurence (University of Reading)*

The building of long-distance roads across the Italian peninsula fundamentally altered both the nature of Roman political organisation and their conception of geographical space. This paper seeks to understand these changes in the context of land transport, with particular focus on the reduction of temporal distances and the creation of a new geography of empire via road-building. Speed of travel will be analysed based on an examination of literary sources. The measurement of distances between places will be examined in order to establish the relationship between speeds of travel and geographical distance. The Antonine Itineraries form a basis for the study of spatial relationships and geographical thinking within this context. The identification of a unified space of Italy will be presented to highlight the discrepancies of temporal distance within that space. Finally, a model of Roman space-time will be presented.

### **State transport and communication in the Roman Empire: the *Cursus Publicus***

*Dr Anne Kolb (University of Zurich)*

Transport and communication were of vital importance to the Roman state. One method by which state transport and communication was effected was through the *Cursus Publicus*. Often referred to as the state postal service, it was instituted by Augustus and appears in its fully developed state by the Late Empire. With a regular supply of transport animals and an infrastructure of stations, officials and those engaged on state business could travel throughout the empire delivering messages and essential goods. Considering several examples of its use, this paper seeks to explain the organisation of this important state institution.

### **The depiction of transport on Trajan's Column**

*Dr Jon Coulston (University of St Andrews)*

In the course of presenting Trajan's Dacian wars on the frieze of Trajan's column, sculptors depicted many aspects of Roman transport (roads, bridges, cavalry and pack-animals, various types of wheeled transport, military and cargo vessels). These may be analysed in the light of what is known of Roman transport technology. Indeed, the Column is a valuable iconographic source in its own right, but these depictions are equally important for the overall propaganda programme of the monument.

Technological capability was an integral part of the Roman perception of victorious achievement in war. Thus, this paper examines both the details and the various functions of transport depictions on Trajan's Column.

### **Delivering the Goods: Private Transport and the State in Roman Egypt**

*Dr Colin Adams (University of Warwick)*

Egypt is rich in evidence for the transportation of commodities ranging from decorative stone and luxury goods to staple foods like grain. Transport was in large part generated by the state, but private trade and transport were clearly important features of the Egyptian economy. This paper considers the organisation of private transport, and uses both papyrological and archaeological evidence to assess how the Roman state facilitated transport and how this was paid for (principally through the collection of customs duties). The picture which emerges is one of the Roman state being actively involved in the monitoring and facilitation of transport, and of state transport systems encouraging a dynamic pattern of private transport.



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## Gallia Narbonensis

Saturday morning, ER140

Kindly sponsored by the Journal of Roman Archaeology

Session organiser: Greg Woolf

Following the success of the sessions on Roman Baetica and on Roman Germany in the first two Roman Archaeology conferences, this session will bring together a series of papers publicizing and commenting on recent work in southern France in an area roughly equivalent to the imperial province of Gallia Narbonensis. Recent archaeological research has offered several new models of the urbanism of the region, both at the material level and also in terms of the role of cult and imperialism in the creation of new cities. At the same time a number of projects have begun to develop broader pictures of the landscapes of southern France, of their prehistoric predecessors, of the impact of Roman power on their formation, and of their subsequent evolution. Urbanism and landscapes will provide the two main themes of this session, but other papers will address diverse issues including economic change and architecture.

*NB Some papers will be delivered in French, others in English.*

- 9.00 Ph. Leveau *Palaeogeography and historical geography of the Rhone during the Roman Period*
- 9.30 Monique Clavel-Lévêque and John Peterson *The Roman cadastres of Béziers: a landscape in harmony*
- 10.00 Anne Roth Congès *Glanum and its territory: recent research on an oppidum Latinum in Narbonensis*
- 10.00 Discussion
- 10.45 Coffee
- 11.15 A. Hesnard *The Harbour of Marseilles*
- 11.45 James C. Anderson, jr. *The Dates of the 'Maison Carrée' at Nîmes and of the temple at Vienne*
- 12.15 Gaëtan Congès *Sheep-farms and transhumance in Roman Provence*
- 12.45 Discussion

### Palaeogeography and historical geography of the Rhone during the Roman Period

*Ph. Leveau*

New research has characterised the hydrology of the Rhone during the Roman period (palaeogeography). The integration of this data with archaeological evidence from both urban and rural sites, and geographical data inform anew our understanding of the role of the river in Gaul Narbonnaise. *River hydrology and environmental evolution* Following the pioneering work of the geographer, J.-P. Bravard, the research carried out by environmental scientists details the hydrological history of the river during the Roman era. A synthesis of these results has just been completed for; the upper Rhone just down-stream from Léman, the middle Rhone, and the lower Rhone. At a general level, the Roman period can be characterised by conditions that were ideal for settlement and agriculture along the banks of the river.

*Site development and Fluvial Dynamics* Archaeological research has concentrated on urban River locations (Lyon, Vienne, Avignon and Arles) from which large quantities of data have been gathered. This research is complimented by the study of tributary hydrology and of rural settlement on the floodplain. On urban sites, evidence for floods exist only in precarious areas, or localities abandoned after events, that do not have a clear relationship with the river. Thus the observations made in the Rhone valley (on the main river course itself, and on its tributaries now complete the history of the river. A diversity of situations is revealed that relate to the different sections of the valley).

*Commercial and territorial functions* Thanks to the archaeology from the river itself, the history of the channel, and the known constructions allow us to examine the commercial role played by the river: boats sailed towards Lyon, using the tributaries in order to access several different regions as attested to by Strabo (IV, 1, 14). The network that was inherited from earlier periods naturally explains the development of urban sites, but this is just one factor. During the Roman period, the Rhone did not possess the territorial boundary function between the Narbonnaise cities that is often attributed to it. There seems to have been a trend towards the multiple-division of the large pre-Roman territories. The emergence of towns along the river is preferred. However, as a part of this trend, Arles with its enormous territory is obviously a remarkable exception. Once again, we must stress the heterogeneous nature of the different situations.

### **The Roman cadastres of Béziers: a landscape in harmony**

*Monique Clavel-Lévêque and John Peterson*

The territory of Béziers provides good evidence for the creation of three successive superimposed Roman cadastres. An important Iron Age oppidum occupied the site of the city since at least the fifth century BC, and in the late second century, soon after the foundation of neighbouring Narbo Martius, a Roman system of land division was established, oriented according to the grain of the natural landscape. It left some areas, such the Greek chora of Agde, untouched, but elsewhere we can still see good examples of landscape features typical of centuriation. We suppose that this was the foundation for a pre-colonial cadastre which, by supporting land management and water control, contributed to an expansion of agriculture. The second centuriation is that of the colony of Béziers, founded in 36 BC. It incorporates, as an axis, the section of the Via Domitia leading to Narbonne. The new layout, centred on the coastal plain and valleys of the Orb and Hérault, was larger. New, dispersed, settlement was now a feature of the countryside and, in the Augustan period, pottery factories started producing amphorae for commercial wine production. The third centuriation, dated to the later first century AD, has an orientation closest to the north. It extended beyond all previous systems, and seems to have been the basis for a general reorganisation of agriculture and its expansion onto hitherto unproductive valleys, marshland and coasts.

These three systems are apparently related, to a good approximation, by simple trigonometry. The angles between them have tangents which are the ratios of small whole numbers, a phenomenon now seen widely in the Roman world. Such relationships may have arisen solely from the efficient use of an earlier reference system by the designers of a later one, but it may also have been designed to give the landscape that Pythagorean harmony believed to rule the cosmos.

### **Glanum and its territory: recent research on an oppidum Latinum in Narbonensis**

*Anne Roth Congès*

The extensive excavation of Glanum between 1921 and 1969 produced a picture of a small local town that was first thoroughly hellenised and then Romanised. More recent research by a number of different teams have shed further light on a number of aspects of the site.

*The Monumental Centre* Through trenches dug in the area of the Roman forum, more has been learned about the monumental centre of the second and early 1st century BC that lies beneath it. Discoveries included a well approached by a massively built passage that turned two angles. Private housing replaced the public monuments in the last century B.C. but the whole district was covered over at the beginning of Augustus' reign to make space for the forum.

*Housing and craft activity* A series of small excavations to the south of the town have shown how, in the second and first centuries B.C., the settlement consisted of houses of local design built on a series of terraces. A structure that have been interpreted as a bath house turned out to be a smokehouse for wine. Between about 90 and 30 B.C., houses built around courtyards but with no peristyle were constructed on the site of the demolished monumental centre. New excavations in the House of Two Alcoves revealed three phases of construction. Two more houses have been identified under one of the temples on the forum and to the east of it in the Saint-Clerg valley.

*The Ramparts* Excavations in the gateway through the massively built rampart that protected the valley of the sanctuary have shown that the tower was built on top of an earlier structure, also massively built, and trapezoidal in plan. The dressed stone curtain wall, however, simply provided a new face for a dry-stone rampart built in the iron age, probably in several phases and with various appearances. Survey around the edge of the inhabited area have found other traces of this primitive circuit wall. From the sixth century BC to the second century BC the native village seems only to have occupied the central valley. By the late second or early first century BC, however, a new rampart enclosed 40 hectares or so.

*Water Supply* Systematic survey has discovered the remains of the dam and the overground aqueduct through which part of the town was supplied with water from the west. Only a few cuttings through the rock, over a distance of a few hundred metres or so, survive, but it has proved possible to propose a reconstruction. On the eastern side of the town a collection tank has been found through which water was drawn off from a spring before being conveyed to the town by underground aqueduct.

*The foundation, function and status of Glanum* One notion is that Glanum was a sanctuary and market for peoples involved in transhumance. But this hypothesis seems unlikely when one takes into account the geographical and archaeological facts, which make this rather cut-off site seem more like a sanctuary based on healing waters. There has been debate over the status of this site that Pliny calls Glanum, oppidum Latinum but which the epigraphy suggests might also have been a Latin colony. The evidence of Orange cadaster A needs to be brought into this debate.

## **The Harbour of Marseilles**

*A. Hesnard*

Although there has been a good deal of excavation in recent years within the area of the ancient city of Marseilles, the harbour itself has not been the object of archaeological investigation since the excavation of the site known as "La Bourse" in the seventies. Those excavations stopped at the bottom of the harbour basin that dates from the second century A.D. Municipal building by the city of Marseilles provided the opportunity for two rescue excavations, first in the Place Jules Verne, and subsequently in the Place Bargemon, which together lasted for more than 34 months and have revealed quite new information on the ancient harbour.

These excavations allow a picture to be built up of the use of the waterfront from the Neolithic period to the fifth century A.D. A series of harbour installations have been discovered, beginning with a quay built in the first quarter of the sixth century BC. The fall of Greek Marseilles at the beginning of the Roman imperial period brought about major changes in the local topography and this area of the harbour was filled in at the end of antiquity.

The waterlogged and anaerobic conditions have preserved wooden harbour buildings, shipwrecks and a large number of objects made of wood, leather and basketwork. Of special interest is a unique collection of naval equipment from the Greek and Roman periods. It has thus been possible to reconstruct the layout of successive ports over a length of 200 metres or so to produce a complex picture of the different harbour installations.

The excavation has taken advantage of the opportunity offered by the waterlogged condition of this site to conduct studies of the ancient environments, both marine and terrestrial, and to trace their evolution over time.

## **The Dates of the 'Maison Carrée' at Nîmes and of the temple at Vienne**

*James C. Anderson, jr.*

Most of the surviving Roman monuments in Provence are dated stylistically by the apparent relationship of their proportions, architectural details, and sculptural decoration to within about one hundred years of one another, and all to the late Republic or early Empire on the basis of the restored texts of a few building inscriptions. The most important are those restored for the arch at Orange (CIL xii.1230), and for the "Maison Carrée" at Nîmes (CIL xii.3156). However, no actual text survives for either, since the letters that formed them were never cut into the stone but were held on by clamps and have long since fallen, leaving random patterns of clamp holes on the friezes. Texts restored to these patterns are speculative and unprovable.

The dating of the arch at Orange to Tiberius cannot be supported without the inscription, and its architectural decoration and sculptural motifs could be much later. Similar concerns apply to the Maison Carrée. While the usual text is more readily justified than that at Orange, it still cannot be asserted as proven fact, and so should not be used as a criterion for dating. Nonetheless, the "Augustan" date of the Maison Carrée has become the lynchpin for the chronology of temple architecture throughout Roman Provence. The basic unit of measurement in this temple's design was the "pes Drusianus," which was used only in the western provinces and is unattested before the reign of Trajan. This is an unparalleled design module if the building we know dates from the Augustan period, but not if the building were later in date, when this measurement is attested. Furthermore, excavation has revealed an earlier temple beneath the one now standing. The architectural decoration of the Maison Carrée is very similar to that of the temple at Vienne which also possessed a clamped inscription now missing. The two temples are similar in proportions though by no means "identical twins" and neither architectural decor nor plan can be shown to have more than a generalized correspondence to buildings in Italy or elsewhere of the Augustan period.

Historically, so fine an Imperial benefaction to Nîmes seems much more likely during the first half of the second century A. D. than during the time of Augustus. Nîmes may well have been the home town of Plotina; it received a major architectural benefaction from Hadrian, and was the ancestral home of the family of Antoninus Pius. Second century Imperial gifts are regularly recorded there. Even the presence of Augustus at Nîmes during his tour of the western provinces ca. 16-15 B. C. must be inferred from the historical documents; it is nowhere stated. At Vienne a major Augustan gift of such a temple seems equally unlikely. This paper calls into doubt the traditional dating of both temples and suggests alternate means of hypothesizing datings for them. My goal is to point toward possible important revisions in the architectural history of southern Gaul.



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## Sheep-farms and transhumance in Roman Provence

*Gaëtan Congès*

Until recently, the only evidence for stock raising in southern Gaul was provided by a few structures - some isolated, others belonging to the *pars rustica* of villae - and indirectly by fragments of bone in domestic rubbish. It is difficult to identify either the animals penned in those structures, or the origin of the animals whose bones have been recovered. A programme of survey and excavation has examined a large number of sheep-pens dating to the Roman period in the plain of the Crau. On the basis of this research, sheep farming can be studied in the pastures where it took place, located within the territory of the colony of Arles, and over a period of four hundred years, the material that has now been catalogued extending from the late first century BC until the late fourth century AD. This research has also made possible several hypotheses about the economic importance of this activity and about the nature of the stock-raising system employed, which seemed to make use of transhumance.

The climate and geology of the Crau, a semi-steppe zone of 55,000 hectares, explains how these fragile structures have survived in a condition in which they can be located and planned on the basis of surface survey alone. There has been almost no accumulation of soil and the only agricultural activity, sheep raising, has meant that over the 11,000 hectares that have escaped agricultural changes since the sixteenth century, there has been no ploughing between antiquity and the present day. The result is that the bases of dry stone walls survive and are visible above the short grass of the plain.

The buildings are grouped around wells and consist of large sheep pens, some more than 50 metres in length; some smaller buildings (small pens and huts) and bread ovens. They were constructed from boulders and earth, the bottom of the walls made of stone, packed with earth, and the higher sections in beaten earth. The pens and small buildings were roofed in reeds, and the ovens in tiles. The strength of the north wind, the Mistral which (Strabo's *melamborée*) forced the builders to develop new techniques to protect the roofs. The buildings were orientated to the north-north-west, the direction of the prevailing winds, and faced it with a tapered point like the prow of a ship. Wells and ovens were protected from the wind by curved fences.

The peak of activity was located in the second century AD. On the basis of the capacity of the pens (some 600-800 animals) and their density in that period it is possible to calculate the total ovine population of the Crau as about 100,000 sheep, a figure that can be compared to totals from the eighteenth century.

During summer, when there is no grass on the Crau, the herds are normally forced to leave the plain. Mediaeval evidence shows that small herds of up to 500 animals could find summer pastures in the less arid areas immediately around the Crau but that if the size of the herds was any greater they had to go up into the mountains. We suppose that the same was true in antiquity, especially since long-distance transhumance had been known in Italy from the second century BC. The colonists of Arles, themselves Italian in origin, might have brought with them this practice that is alluded to by Pliny when he wrote of the Crau and of "the thousands of sheep that come there from distant parts to eat the thyme". Possibly the same colonists brought with them sheep from southern Italy, a breed that produce good wool but were sensitive to the cold, according to Columella. If so, this might explain the appearance of the pens shortly after the foundation of Arles.

## TRAC: Scales of Interaction:

### Group Identities in the Roman World

*Saturday morning, ER141*

**Kindly sponsored by the Robert Kiln Charitable Trust and the Thriplow Charitable Trust**

*Session Organisers: Garrick Fincham (Leicester), Andrew Gardner (Institute of Archaeology, UCL)*

*Session Discussant: Sian Jones (University of Manchester)*

This session aims to explore the relationship between material culture and group interactions at varying scales of analysis. Within the Roman Empire, group identities can be articulated on many social and spatial scales. However, the focus of this session is the need to study the problems of group identity and power relations at a more particularistic level than is allowed by a generalised Roman/Native

dichotomy. This focus can range from a region of a single province to an area covering several provinces. A diachronic perspective is also valuable in interpreting the dynamics of group interactions.

Fundamentally, then, the aim is to recover the discrepant perspectives of differing groups within the Empire, and explore the construction of ethnicity and the workings of imperialism at scales which are sensitive to variation and diversity in material culture. The development of a sophisticated theoretical apparatus for comprehending the complexities of identities and their expression is a major part of this process, for example in investigating social as well as geographical aspects of ethnicity. From such analyses, we can begin to address the extent to which generalisations can be made about such interactions, and conversely how our perceptions of the use of 'Roman' material culture must appreciate localised circumstances.

- 9:15 Garrick Fincham and Andrew Gardner: *Introduction*  
9:25 Garrick Fincham (University of Leicester): *Romanization, status, and the landscape: extracting a discrepant perspective from survey data*  
9:50 Katie Meheux (University of Reading): *Ethnicity and ephemeral cultures: Roman and native interaction in Central Wales*  
10:15 Louise Revell (University of Southampton): *The creation of multiple identities in Roman Italica*  
10:40 Mark Grahame (University of Southampton): *The transformation of space in Roman Britain*  
11:05 Tea  
11:20 Hella Eckardt (University of Reading): *Illuminating Roman Britain*  
11:45 Andrew Gardner (Institute of Archaeology, UCL): *Understanding Roman identity in fourth century Britain*  
12:10 Ellen Swift (Institute of Archaeology, UCL): *Transforming the Late Roman West: military and provincial identities from Britain to Pannonia*  
12:35 Sian Jones (University of Manchester): *Discussion*

#### **Romanization, Status, and the Landscape: Extracting a Discrepant Perspective from Survey Data** *Garrick Fincham, Landscape Studies Group, School of Archaeological Studies, Leicester*

The theory of Discrepant Perspective, is (simply) the idea that groups who are subject to imperialism may have a different view of their condition than their conquerors. This theoretical approach clearly has considerable potential for the study of Roman Britain. But, given the kind of data that we have, how is this potential to be turned into a concrete application to the archaeology, rather than just a deconstructive tool to be used on the work of others?

In this paper I will begin by exploring the concept of Romanization, not as a single overarching process which has slightly different, but comparable, effects in different regions of Britain, but as a fractured concept, intimately defined by, and deeply different between, the various regions of Britain. Without a deep understanding of Romanization, region by region, an understanding with regional sympathies, we cannot claim to understand 'Romanization' because 'Romanization' was NOT a general process. We must embrace difference and variety, and not enforce a false homogeneity.

I shall then use the East Anglian Fens as a case study to explore 'status', within the frame work of a revised definition of 'local Romanization'. By challenging how we define Romanization, and making it a process based as much in local culture as Roman culture, we can move towards a reading of the evidence as 'fusion' rather than 'acculturation'. This is most keenly evident in the display of status in the Fens. Does status lie in architectural embellishment, the possession of portable wealth, and why do structures of some architectural pretension (for the fens) rarely have substantial numbers of coins, or other indicators of wealth associated with them? By reconsidering Romanization, and looking back at survey data in the fens (and answering the questions posed above), we can read a 'discrepant perspective' in the landscape.

#### **Ethnicity and Ephemeral Cultures: Roman and Native Interaction in Central Wales**

*Katie Meheux, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Reading*

Most acculturation studies focus on sedentary agrarian societies, many already having experienced contact with the Roman World prior to conquest. Scant attention is paid to more ephemeral, transient cultures, particularly pastoral societies. This is a serious imbalance, as the flow of goods and information vital for the production and maintenance of change, especially over distance and space, is often dependent on such groups.

This paper looks at ways to redress this balance and examine the social prejudices that lead to ignorance about non-sedentary cultures and archaeology's corresponding inability to locate them. Central upland Wales, an area of Roman Britain significantly affected by this gap in perception will

serve as a case study. Wales is traditionally viewed as a 'frontier zone' because of spatially high-profile military installations. Yet diachronic examination of these installations and their changing positions reveals this is a static misnomer. There is no occupied-zone, but adaptations responding to the specific administrative requirements of transhumance. An alternative context for the evidence is correspondingly proposed, demonstrating that many elements of 'Romanization' lacking in the region, e.g. villas, towns, etc. are not negative products of cultural hostility, but simply unnecessary where social, even gender relations, economics and architecture are based on ephemera. Non-militaristic evidence such as settlement locations, land boundaries, continuing use of hillforts, etc. shows how these groups maintained their cultural traditions. Other, often more 'portable' elements of the Roman cultural package such as coin hoards in turn illustrate how their interaction with more conventionally-perceived lowland areas, perhaps in the form of long-distance droving, both augmented and ultimately concealed their individuality.

#### **The creation of multiple identities in Roman Italica**

*Louise Revell, University of Southampton*

Recent advances in archaeological theory have resulted in new ways of approaching the questions of creation and display of group identities and the relationship between these identities and the material record. Whilst individual identity is a complex, negotiated matrix of different positions in a group of social relationships, much of the recent work has concentrated on a single facet of this: the ethnic dimension as focussed around the Roman/native dichotomy. Significantly less attention has been paid to the other constituent parts of identity. In this paper I propose to problematize the idea of a single Roman identity, and to explore the creation of other aspects such as gender and status. Using the example of Italica in the province of Baetica, I shall show how the repetitive use of Roman architecture provided the means for the differentiation of other identities, fostering and privileging certain group identities within what is conventionally seen as a homogenous Roman community.

#### **Identities and Power. The Transformation of Space in Roman Britain**

*Mark Grahame, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton*

One of the issues that has caused much debate in recent years is the significance of the transformation of space in Roman Britain. As is well known, Iron Age round houses gave way to villas, which then grew in complexity. It is understood that this transformation has social significance, but there is considerable disagreement as to its exact meaning. The debate has largely centred on whether this transformation represents the emergence of a new social structure based on the Classical model, or if it indicates the continuity of 'Celtic' social organisation. This paper argues that if we are to resolve this question we need to understand the relationship between architecture and human being more closely. It asserts that architecture is implicated in the process of identity formation by affecting how individuals can encounter one another. Since 'society' can only exist in and through such interaction, architecture provides a valuable record of how social networks are constructed and reproduced. Since social networks are rarely equal, architecture also enables the creation and maintenance of social inequality. In this way its functions as a technology of power. As a consequence architecture can be seen as the objectification of social structure, enabling us to 'read' it more fully and elucidate its social meaning. Using these ideas, the transformation of space in Roman Britain will be reappraised and a new theory offered as to its social significance.

#### **Illuminating Roman Britain**

*Hella Eckardt, Department of Archaeology, University of Reading*

The concept that identity is constructed and negotiated through the daily and ritual use of structures and objects is of central relevance to the archaeological study of material culture. This paper will discuss the ways in which a particular group of material culture - lighting equipment - may relate to Romano-British identity.

The paper will present the initial results of the first systematic survey of the archaeological contexts of lighting equipment from the province of Roman Britain. A deliberately contextual approach to the subject has been employed which focuses on the changing patterns of consumption and their economic and social implications.

The continual need for fuel clearly has implications beyond the mere acquisition of imported objects and the presence of lamps on a site can also be understood to relate to specific cultural practices and active social behaviour. Identity and status are defined through the use of this very 'Roman' object.



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Key issues to be addressed are whether certain types of sites have more or different forms of lighting equipment and whether there are differences in the ways in which these various forms of lighting equipment were used by different sections of Romano-British society.

### **Understanding Roman Identity in Fourth Century Britain**

*Andrew Gardner, Institute of Archaeology, UCL*

The expression of cultural and ethnic identities in the past may be one factor behind the production, use and deposition of material culture, and it is therefore of paramount importance for archaeologists and historians to continue to tackle the many problems of identifying such expression. The Roman world, with its abundant literary and material evidence, provides an excellent context for the exploration of these problems, through comparative approaches on many different levels. Roman Britain, for example, is potentially a focal point for the interaction of many identities, from indigenous groups to Imperial administrators, from Batavian auxiliaries to, ultimately, Anglo-Saxons.

This paper will focus on the transformations in the construction of 'Roman' identity in Britain after three centuries of Imperial administration. It will seek to explore the diverse elements that make up 'Romanness', how these incorporate or compare with other, particularly ethnic, identities, and ultimately to what extent the Roman Empire was anything more than the sum of its provincial parts. Fundamental to these questions is the idea that colonial powers are themselves transformed in the act of colonisation (C. Gosden, pers. comm.). How was 'Roman' culture itself 'Romanized' in the provinces?

### **Transforming the Late Roman West: Military & provincial identities from Britannia to Pannonia**

*Ellen Swift, Institute of Archaeology, UCL*

This paper explores the use of dress in the 4th century to both define and question Roman identity. The uniformity of Roman military culture is undermined over distance and through time, and regional identities are clearly defined by both male and female objects. Mapping spatial and chronological divergence in decorative style brings into focus the sharp cultural contrast between the heavily militarised provinces on the limes and areas further west. Roman Britain is rarely considered together with the rest of the late Roman West; the importance of an inclusive approach is clearly demonstrated as the post-Roman destination of Britannia and each provincial area is anticipated in the changing material culture of the late fourth century.

## **Sculpture & Society**

*Saturday morning, ER201*

*Chair: Dr Jas Elsner, Courtauld Institute*

Classical art history has never been fully integrated within the study of ancient society. Insofar as that connection has been made, 'art' has been regarded as an epiphenomenon of society or a reflection of 'historical experience'. There are exceptions. The uncomfortable position of Roman art within the Western tradition has always generated more critical debate, and Italian and German scholars in particular have studied Roman art-objects as the products of society and an index, therefore, of social structures and relationships. But their influence has been surprisingly limited. Perhaps as a result of this inertia, mainstream Roman archaeology has neglected the active role of art in the formation of Greek and Roman society, though archaeology provides some of the tools that will be necessary to explain it. This session is intended to counter that imbalance by examining Roman sculpture and its production in context. Our focus on the modern category of sculpture allows us to engage with traditional art-historical approaches, and it embraces some of the better preserved and more familiar of Roman artefacts. More importantly, it includes those monuments which were most prominently implicated in the public expression of social relationships in the Roman world. It is these forms of self-expression and the processes facilitating them that we aim to analyse in a series of separate but closely allied studies.

- 0930 Dr Peter Stewart (University of Reading) *Bianchi Bandinelli and Provincialism in Roman Sculpture*  
 1015 Dr Jeremy Tanner (Institute of Archaeology, UCL) *Portraits, Patrons and Power in the Late Roman Republic*  
 1115 Coffee  
 1145 Dr Alison Cooley (Corpus Christi College, Oxford) *Word and Image in the Theatre at Herculaneum*  
 1230 Discussion  
 1300 Lunch

### **Bianchi Bandinelli and Provincialism in Roman Sculpture**

*Peter Stewart, University of Reading*

The Marxist archaeologist Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli condemned traditional aims and methods in classical art history, advancing the analysis of Roman art as a component and index of society. While his influence is felt in the work of some continental scholars, it is largely misunderstood or ignored in Britain. This paper takes his general comments as a starting point, and draws upon his particular presentation of provincial and 'non-classical' art to re-evaluate certain forms of sculpture in Rome and the western provinces. It focuses on the Roman province of Britain which has inspired some of the more reactionary and backward-looking studies of ancient art, and surveys examples of Romano-British sculpture from the west of England, framing them in their wider social context.

### **Portraits, Patrons and Power in the Late Roman Republic**

*Jeremy Tanner, Institute of Archaeology, UCL*

Historians of Roman art have traditionally sought to decode the meanings of images on the basis of iconography, style or the viewers' cultural preconceptions. This paper develops a sociological approach to portraiture based on neofunctionalist social theory and pragmatist semiotics, thus exploring not only meanings but the broader social and political effects of visual representation. Approaching portrait statues as elements in institutionalised systems of exchange, it shows how the characteristic iconographic and stylistic features of late Republican art as elements in institutionalised systems of exchange, it shows how the characteristic iconographic and stylistic features of late Republican portraits were developed in order to construct new kinds of relationships of power and solidarity with client communities in Rome's expanding empire.

### **Words and Images in the Theatre at Herculaneum**

*Alison Cooley (Corpus Christi College, Oxford)*

The excavation of the theatre at Herculaneum, one of the earliest major archaeological digs, caused a great stir among contemporary observers, attracting great scholars and artists such as Winckelmann and Piranesi to the site. The Bourbon collection of art objects was greatly enhanced by the bronze and marble statues found there. This paper will explore the extent to which we can trace a system of symbolic honours behind the dedication of honorific statues. This involves examining many facets of the statues themselves - their poses, materials, and locations in the theatre - alongside their inscribed bases. By comparing the messages conveyed by both image and inscribed text, we can look at the identities of the men and women being honoured with statues, and of the groups who set up the statues. This provides us with an insight into the way different social groups interacted with each other

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## Roman North 1: What's new on the northern frontiers

Saturday afternoon, ER201

Session organisers: Paul Bidwell and Vivien Swan

Chair, David Breeze

In the past decade or so, there has been something of a revival of archaeological activity on the Northern frontiers. Not only have excavations and aerial photography produced new information, but systematic studies of several classes of artefacts have thrown light on a wide range of long-standing problems, sometimes with a significance far beyond the province itself. The orthodoxies embodied in the standard textbooks on the two Walls are now being increasingly challenged. The aim of this session is to present a selection of new and largely unpublished information, alternative ideas and fresh approaches, utilising the latest evidence from aerial reconnaissance and excavations, the result of several multi-disciplinary projects, and the implications of recent research on artefacts. The evidence of the Vindolanda documents has been deliberately omitted on this occasion, as this was included in the 1995 RAC.

1400 *Introduction:* David Breeze Historic Scotland, Chairman.

1405 *Infilling and interpreting the map of Roman Scotland and the North: new evidence from the air* Gordon Maxwell

1435 *The Road North* Tim Strickland, Gifford and Partners

1505 *Changing ideas on the function of Hadrian's Wall* Paul Bidwell, Tyne and Wear Museums

1535 Tea/coffee.

1555 *Carlisle: the Corbridge of the North-west* Mike McCarthy, Carlisle Archaeological Unit

1625 *The history and garrisons of the Antonine Wall: some alternative approaches* Vivien Swan, University of Durham

1655 *New light on later Roman fort plans* Nick Hodgson, Tyne and Wear Museums

1725 *The frontier army in action: research by re-enactment* Alex Croom and Bill Griffiths, Tyne and Wear Museums

1755 *Summing up:* David Breeze.

### **Infilling and interpreting the map of Roman Scotland and the North: new evidence from the air** Gordon Maxwell

Aerial survey data offer more than just a quantitative expansion of our knowledge of military field monuments in the North. Deeper and subtler interrogation of the relevant material, as a complement to the comparable techniques of terrestrial field survey, may help not only to identify the dynamics of conquest and occupation, assigning each structure to its appropriate historical phase, but occasionally even to deduce subordinate objectives from the physical traits of the monuments under consideration. In some cases, and especially in the Flavian period, the anatomy of sites may cast light upon such nebulous topics as the prevailing Order of Battle, or the interrelated roles of different structural categories. Conference is invited to consider examples of the analytical processes used by aerial field archaeologists in the context of investigative procedures employed by other disciplines, with particular reference to the concept that 'form is a diagram of forces'.

### **The Road North**

*Tim Strickland, Gifford and Partners*

In recent years the Gifford Archaeological Service has conducted excavations and related research at a number of sites in the north-west, many of them on or closely related to the main road north. These sites will be described briefly, their locating-factors explained and some of the more outstanding discoveries and their implications outlined.

### **Changing ideas on the function of Hadrian's Wall**

*Paul Bidwell, Tyne and Wear Museums*

Despite four centuries of study, there are many gaps in our knowledge about the architecture and history of Hadrian's Wall. The continuing debate about the function of the Wall which began in the late 1960s has heightened interest in the study of its fabric and structural history. As a result of recent excavations



and research, the original design of the Wall is better understood, and much has been learnt about its structural history.

Fundamental problems still remain, particularly concerning the function of the Vallum and the later Military Way, and the use of milecastle gateways. These have a bearing on wider questions such as whether the Wall really was an 'open' frontier for civilians, allowing them supervised passage across its line at many points.

#### **Carlisle: the Corbridge of the North-west**

*Mike McCarthy, Carlisle Archaeological Unit*

Excavations have revealed the presence of a number of forts and/or camps in and around Carlisle. The best known, below Tullie House Museum and Carlisle Castle, was in use from AD 72-3 to the late 2nd century. In its 3rd and 4th century phases the site may have resembled one or more stone-walled compounds. Beyond the fort there was an annexe and the extensive settlement of *Luguvalium*, the growth of which may have been organic and focused around roads, the fort and crossing of the River Eden. The emerging chronology suggests that major changes entailing new roads, the erection of large structures, and some land reclamation took place late in the 2nd or early in the 3rd centuries. At the same time the idea of defences was also considered. The parallels between Corbridge and Carlisle are noteworthy, and it may well be the case that Carlisle will provide models for understanding the growth of Corbridge, much of which remains tantalisingly obscure notwithstanding the fine street plan.

#### **The history and garrisons of the Antonine Wall: some alternative approaches**

*Vivien Swan, University of Durham*

The recognition of small quantities of locally made cooking-ware of North African type in the forts of the Antonine Wall, and also at Holt and Chester, implies the presence of men from that region, -- a phenomenon not easily explicable. It is suggested that, as with many frontier provinces, legionary and auxiliary detachments were sent from *Britannia* to the Mauretanian war of Antoninus Pius in c. 145/6, and that in c. 149/50, the returning expeditionary force included North African recruits, transfers from Legio III Augusta, and perhaps Moorish levies or irregulars (as are recorded for Dacia and Upper Moesia). The implications of possible troop withdrawals from Scotland are explored for the re-allocation of the building tasks on the then-unfinished Antonine Wall. Contexts for the two attested garrison changes, and internal building alterations recorded at many Antonine Wall forts are also reconsidered, together with the significance of some epigraphic evidence.

#### **New light on later Roman fort plans**

*Nick Hodgson, Tyne and Wear Museums*

Twenty years ago the interior arrangements of fourth-century forts on the northern frontier were seen only 'through a glass, darkly'. One seeming breakthrough was the discovery of 'chalet' barracks, interpreted as accommodation for civilians as well as soldiers in the context of units of drastically reduced size.

'Chalets' must now be viewed in the light of a late-Roman five-contubernium barrack type found in more recent excavations in northern Britain. This barrack type housed 30-40 soldiers and its origins can be traced to the first half of the third century.

Barracks of this type occur in the fort at South Shields, re-planned *a novo* around AD 300. This site now reveals the only newly designed late-Roman fort plan in Britain known in anything approaching entirety. Not only does this plan differ strikingly from fort plans of the first and second centuries, but the recovery of the complete fourth century barrack complement allows a calculation to be made of the intended size of the late-Roman garrison, an exercise of great interest given current uncertainty about unit sizes in the late-Roman army.

#### **The frontier army in action: research by re-enactment**

*Alex Croom and Bill Griffiths, Tyne and Wear Museums*

Historical re-enactment is a fast growing hobby throughout Britain and Europe. It is traditionally viewed by many scholars as, at best, harmless fun. However, increasingly, at least in Roman studies, the work of re-enactors is being used as a valid method in the study of the past.

The speakers have worked with *cohors quinta Gallorum*, a third century auxiliary re-enactment group based at Arbeia Roman fort, South Shields, on a variety of research projects, often based closely on finds from the site. This paper will seek to outline the results from some of this work, in particular on hand launched missile weaponry, and present suggestions for how data generated from such work can be best applied.

## TRAC: rethinking the late antique transition

*Saturday afternoon, ER141*

**Kindly sponsored by the Robert Kiln Charitable Trust and the Thriplow Charitable Trust**

*Session organizer: Geoff Harrison (University of Durham)*

The inspiration for this session came from a comment made by Dr. Esmonde Cleary at the end of the 'Negotiating Identities' session at TRAC 98. He asserted that late Roman Britain and the subsequent transition to early medieval England had all too often been studied in isolation from the rest of the late antique 'Romanized' world. Thus, the aim of this session is to broaden the debate and address the processes of transition, which saw the constituent parts of the late Empire become what might be called 'post-Roman', 'sub-Roman' or 'late antique' (and indeed definitions and terminology are an integral part of the problem), as Empire-wide phenomena, with potential manifestations from Britain to Africa, Gaul to Palestine.

- 2:00 Geoff Harrison (University of Durham): *Introduction*
- 2:10 Geoff Harrison (University of Durham): *History, and explanations for change in Late Antique Europe*
- 2:35 Luke Lavan (University of Nottingham): *Measuring urban change in the Late Antique settlement network*
- 3:00 Dominic Janes (University of Cambridge): *Wood, masonry and the construction of identity in late and post-Roman north-west Europe*
- 3:25 Tea
- 3:40 Jim Crow (University of Newcastle): *Monumental architecture and technology in fifth to sixth century Constantinople: end or beginning?*
- 4:05 Alan Rushworth (University of Newcastle): *Late Antique transformations in North Africa*
- 4:30 Richard Reece (University of Oxford): *Discussion*

### **History, and Explanations for Change in Late Antique Europe**

*Geoff Harrison, University of Durham*

For as long as archaeology has been practised, scholars have used historical texts to interpret material remains. Such approaches assume that these documents do have an objectively recorded chronological and factual content. Whilst deductions about people(s) and places cannot be ignored, it might also be asked *why* late antique authors wrote as they did.

Building on the work of historians such as Cameron and Howe this paper will show that the 'events' recorded in late antique texts might also be interpreted as narrative or literary devices common to a number of late antique Christian authors across the 'Roman' world. These authors drew particularly on Biblical sources to lend authority to their religious and political polemics.

Highlighting this Christian 'historical imagination' or 'world view' demonstrates that simplistic correlations between historical sources and wider, archaeologically visible changes cannot be assumed. Archaeologists and historians might thus reassess their use of certain interpretative concepts (e.g. migrations and defined ethnic groupings) which have traditionally been used to explain fourth to sixth century material transition and develop alternative understandings.

### **Measuring Urban Change in the Late Antique Settlement Network**

*Luke Lavan, University of Nottingham*

The status of provincial capitals has been recently held responsible for reshaping the urban network in late antiquity. This paper seeks to examine what kind of methodology might be able to investigate patterns of urban change, from largely an archaeological standpoint. Different kinds of potential indicators of overall urban development are investigated and compared. A methodology for investigating the impact of the status of provincial capitals is then worked out in detail and some provisional conclusions suggested.

### **Wood, masonry and the construction of identity in late and post-Roman north-west Europe,**

*Dominic Janes, University of Cambridge*

This paper will examine the evolving meaning of building materials at the end of antiquity in north-west Europe. Late Roman art and architecture can be seen, not simply as subjects in isolation, but as a component of antique material culture in a general sense. A division may be made between the art and

culture of ordinary Romans and that of their elite. However, this distinction is often neglected in favour of presenting the 'greatest monuments' of the ancient world. The landed elite, together with the State, were the predominant builders and patrons in late antiquity. The aristocracy's distinctive material culture was eloquently expressed through their mosaic and marble decorated villas and town houses. These reached a peak of magnificence in Britain and parts of Gaul in the fourth century. By the sixth century, on the other hand, these traditions of building and decoration were virtually restricted to the Christian church and nobles apparently lived primarily in comparatively simple wooden dwellings. How did this removal of splendour from domestic contents come about?

**Monumental Architecture and Technology in Fifth to Sixth Century Constantinople: End or Beginning?**

*Jim Crow, University of Newcastle* [no abstract available]

**From Periphery to Core in Late Antique Mauretania**

*Alan Rushworth, University of Newcastle*

It has long been recognised that the early medieval/Islamic era witnessed a shift in the political centre of gravity in North Africa from the coastal regions to the inland plains and high steppe, a process signalled by the foundation of cities such as Fez, Tlemcen, Tihert and most notably Kairouan. This paper argues that the origins of that process can be traced further back into late Antiquity with the establishment by local Berber chieftains of sub-Roman successor states in Mauretania Caesariensis (western Algeria). These new polities were centred on the former Roman frontier zone - the limes - which formed the territorial interface between two distinct groups, the settled communities of the Mauretanian province, and the Moorish tribes of the steppe and mountains beyond the frontier, one time foederati perhaps. The choice of such inland locations as the political centres was apparently designed to facilitate the control and exploitation of these two resources, the military manpower of the tribal 'sheepdogs' drawn from beyond the frontier and the taxes levied from the citizenry of the former Roman provinces. Whilst the provincials were subject to some kind of formal administration, evinced by the existence of named officials, control over the tribal communities was probably exercised by manipulating kinship networks. Clear parallels can be drawn with the dual structure of Manchurian successor states analysed by Thomas Barfield in his detailed study of the dynamics of frontier interaction and post-imperial collapse in China and Inner Asia (*The Perilous Frontier*, 1989). The ethnic, functional duality of many of the late-antique successor states has often been stressed, most notably with regard to Theodoric's Gotho-Roman kingdom. Indeed it seems implicit in the titulature of such rulers. In most cases, however, the new ethnic military arm of the state - 'Goths', 'Burgundians' or whatever - were encapsulated and settled within the former boundaries of the Roman Empire.



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## Archaeological Approaches to Resistance in the Roman Empire

Saturday afternoon, ER142

Session organizers: Sue Alcock and Mary Downs Discussant: S.L. Dyson, SUNY, Buffalo

- 1400 Introduction, S. Alcock and M. Downs  
1410 Nicola Terrenato, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill *North Etruscan attitudes to Roman expansion: Resistance as the defense of cultural self-consistency*  
1435 Peter van Dommelen, University of Glasgow *Beyond resistance and domination: popular culture and local identity in Roman Sardinia*  
1500 Mary Downs, University of California, San Diego *How Iberians thought about the Romans, for example*  
1525 Jane Webster, University of Leicester *Elite resistance: Druidic protest and the 'Romanization' of Britain*  
1545 Questions/Break  
1610 P.S. Wells, University of Minnesota *Identity, adaptation and resistance in Roman Raetia*  
1635 Sue Alcock, University of Michigan *The resistance of things*  
1700 Jàs Elsner, Courtauld Institute *Art and religion in the Roman East: Iconographies of resistance*  
1725 Discussion (Discussant: S.L. Dyson, SUNY, Buffalo)

### North Etruscan attitudes to Roman expansion: resistance as the defense of cultural self-consistency

Nicola Terrenato, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The paper will attempt to reconstruct the attitudes and reactions of Northern Etruscans throughout the period of their annexation within the Roman state and further into Imperial times. Strategies aimed at preserving cultural identity are detectable both at the level of the elites and at that of the commoners. At the same time, when the nature of the political and cultural interactions between Romans and other central Italic peoples are properly contextualized, any analogy with modern colonial relationships appears highly debatable. The Romans never made conscious attempts at wholesale acculturation in this area. The paper will argue that resistance eminently occurred as a response to Mediterranean-wide changes that threatened the internal consistency of traditional cultures. These transformations, however, should not be seen as direct consequences of Roman expansion, as it happened in the case of modern colonialism. On the contrary, the hypothesis will be advanced that incorporation and Romanization may have been part of a wider strategy to maintain a degree of cultural coherence and harmony.

### Beyond resistance and domination: popular culture and local identity in Roman Sardinia

Peter van Dommelen, University of Glasgow

The study of indigenous resistance against Greek, Phoenician or Roman domination represents an important theme in Mediterranean archaeology. It is especially important for the examination of the assertion of autonomy and distinct cultural identities of indigenous populations on the margins of the Classical world. The notion of silent resistance is particularly useful in archaeological contexts for the exploration of attitudes towards dominant or colonizing Greeks, Phoenicians or Romans. But can archaeological evidence help to distinguish the subtle differences between manifestations of cultural resistance and the less obvious strategies of persistence or accommodation? The island of Sardinia, located centrally in the western Mediterranean provides an eminent opportunity for examination of this question. This paper looks at the ambiguous matters of resistance and accommodation to foreign oppressors through a comparison of two subsequent phases of external domination in the same region, the Campidano region of west-central Sardinia. After some three centuries of Punic domination, the island was formally handed over to the rapidly expanding Roman state in 238 BC in the aftermath of the First Punic war. A large scale revolt in the Campidano, in 215 BC, suggests considerable local resistance to Roman rule, while the reaction of the native population to the preceding Carthaginian dominance appears to have been more accommodating. Intensive field survey by Leiden University and examination of other evidence suggests that there are a number of local variations in the response of the native population to the hegemonic Punic culture. This contrasts with the response to Rome and brings out well the ambiguous nature of resistance and local culture.

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### **How Iberians thought about the Romans, for example**

*Mary Downs, University of California, San Diego*

The Iberian reaction to Roman domination ranged from armed rebellion to unabashed collaboration. Such sensational headlines may be found in the Roman Transcript, yet a more subtle and nuanced version of the story emerges from our Iberian (archaeological) sources. This paper is concerned with the notion of cultural authenticity among the Iberian peoples and with persistence of local and traditional practices (such as language, iconography, style and technology) in the face of Roman domination. It examines the relationship between ethnic identity and resistance and considers the question of whether identity is prior and ongoing (authentic?), rather than contingent and situational (merely reactive?). It addresses the problem of internal conflicts (across class, gender and age) as reflective of authentic cultural organization, and not necessarily as a reaction to domination itself. The paper concludes with a consideration of the recent debate between Obeyesekere and Sahlins on the cultural politics of identity and who is authorized to tell whose story by which means.

### **Elite resistance: Druidic protest and the 'Romanization' of Britain**

*Jane Webster, University of Leicester*

Classical ethnographies of the northwestern European peoples conquered by Rome have recently been subject to increasing scrutiny. New approaches to this body of writing owe much to the post-colonial critique of modern Western constructs of the colonial 'other'. In turn, as I argue here, these new readings force archaeologists to challenge traditional assumptions regarding the development of Romano-Celtic societies. Yet, it is a testimony to the continuing power of Classical rhetoric that some crucial elements of the Graeco-Roman portrait of 'Celtic' society remain unchallenged. The druids of Gaul and Britain are a case in point. The Classical portrait of a powerful pre-conquest religious-judicial elite, rapidly descending into harmless soothsaying in the aftermath of conquest, has been little questioned. Drawing on post-colonial approaches to the literature of contact and culture change, I propose a radical new reading of the role of the post-conquest druids. The druidic response to the conquest, I argue, took the specific form of millennial (or 'end of the world') protest. This is a reading which recognises that experiences of conquest are discrepant: a point which cannot be accommodated by the traditional model of the homogenous 'Romanization' of the western Provinces. For the druids, unlike other more opportunistic sectors of the indigenous elite, the Roman conquest was, literally, the end of the world.

### **Identity, Adaptation, and Resistance in Roman Raetia**

*Peter S. Wells, University of Minnesota*

Resistance by indigenous peoples to both power imposed by imperial societies and material manifestations of the imperial lifestyles is frequently expressed through the maintenance, restructuring, and revitalization of cultural traditions from the past. This paper begins its analysis of adaptation and resistance among native peoples in temperate Europe with an examination of those groups before the Roman conquest, then addresses questions raised by the conquest and the establishment of Roman administration. Mechanisms of change among indigenous peoples documented from modern ethnohistoric contexts aid in the development of models that suggest interpretations of the observed archaeological patterns to explain processes of adaptation and resistance to the Roman presence. This approach is applied to the region south of the Danube in Germany, part of the province of Raetia, where both pre-conquest and post-conquest archaeological evidence is of exceptionally good quality.

### **The resistance of things**

*Sue Alcock, University of Michigan*

This paper will extend the session's exploration of resistance in the Roman empire into the sphere of commemoration, specifically the remembrance of local pasts within an imperial world. The relevance of such a question to archaeologists is argued through the materiality of memory (instantiated in 'things', in monuments and in landscapes); the promptings of their spatial context (or human encounters with 'the resistance of things', as Maurice Halbwachs termed it) worked to determine what people decided to remember (or were encouraged to forget). Significant differences in patterns of social memory have been suggested across the Roman empire, from the Greek east's apparently easy continuity with its own history to a Latin 'forgetful west' which jettisoned its pre-conquest past. Combinations of imperial intervention and local initiative have been variably argued in these processes, for both ends of the Mediterranean. These distinctions will be briefly re-examined and nuanced, leaving such 'east/west' divisions somewhat less straightforward. For the purposes of this session, however, the essential questions include: how far did choices made in social memory dictate a people's relationship to the imperial power? Who controlled, or tried to control, such choices? Did hybrid forms of memory ever

evolve? And, above all, at what point does commemoration become contentious, remembrance become resistance? That it frequently takes on that aspect is undeniable, but automatic equations are doubtful.

### **Art and religion in the Roman East: Iconographies of resistance**

*Jas Elsner, Courtauld Institute*

Among the recent scholarly contributions to acculturation and resistance in the Roman empire, the visual has oddly been overlooked. By the second century A.D., the Roman world was filled with religious iconographies -fostered by sacred cults from the most established civic traditions of Greece to extreme salvific and initiatory sects- that proclaimed the non-Roman nature of their origins, messages, and even forms of salvation. In this paper, I explore examples of religious iconography that proclaimed themselves as specifically eastern. These range from the idiosyncratic form of Artemis Ephesia, to the eastern clothing and posture of Mithras, to the Persian-looking iconography of some early Christian art, in particular the Magi and the Hebrews in the fiery furnace. I aim to show that such eastward-gesturing iconographies articulated a self-assertion of the east within the empire -a self-definition by cult members in terms of identities and sacred centers that excluded Italy- and a resistance to the centripetal focus of Rome. Beyond mere self-affirmation, the cults disseminated their non-Roman ideologies and iconographies in a series of missionary programmes throughout the empire. Modelling themselves on the expansionist dynamic of the centrally fostered imperial cult, the eastern religions set up sanctuaries in every part of the Roman world which sent a message of non-Roman sacred identity throughout the empire. With the official promulgation of Christianity in the fourth century, this process of resistance laid the basis for what would become the conversion of the Roman world.

## **Provincial Capitals**

*Saturday afternoon, ER140*

**Kindly sponsored by Giffords Ltd.**

*Organised by N. Bateman (MoLAS) & Dr I. Haynes (Birkbeck)*

- 2.00 *Types of Provincial Capital* Dr R Haensch (Univ. Cologne)
- 2.25 *The development and role of Provincial Capitals in the Hispaniae* Prof. S Keay (Univ. Southampton)
- 2.50 *Unhoused Governors? The Provincial Capitals of Belgica, Upper and Lower Germany.* Dr P Kuhnen (dir. Trier Landesmuseum)
- 3.15 *Londinium: a capital city?* N. Bateman (Museum of London Archaeology Service)
- 3.40 coffee
- 4.05 *Christianization and the provincial capitals: Bostra and Petra* Rev. David Clark (Birkbeck College, London):
- 4.30 *Salona and Corinth: Greek and Roman in the Balkans* Prof. J J Wilkes (Inst. of Arch., London)
- 4.55 *Caesarea Maritima: the Provincial Capital of Judaea Palestina and its Praetoria* Dr J Patrich (Univ. Haifa, Israel)
- 5. 20 *Illusions of Grandeur: Nicomedia and Thessaloniki as the 'capitals' of Diocletian and Galerius* Mr T Brown (Queens College, Oxford)
- 5.45 Discussion

### **Types of Provincial Capital**

*Dr R Haensch (Univ. Cologne)*

The concept of a 'provincial capital' is to a certain extent a modern one. It should be applied to the city where the central representative of the Roman domination exercised his power for the most part of the year. Although sometimes questioned, there existed certainly from the 2nd century on, such fixed governor's residences. But these 'capitals' did not constitute one type of city. The Roman provincial administration already knew various forms. The size of the staffs differed between tens and hundreds of persons. We do not know if there were praetoria in all provinces and how far they resemble one another. Even more different were the other factors which influenced the respective towns: their history before becoming a capital, their position within the province (seat of the provincial cult?/ rivals of equal importance?), their economic structure etc; and governors were neither willing nor able to change urban landscapes in view of ideas of a 'residential town' as did princes of the 17th and



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18th centuries. Nevertheless, some types of capitals with largely equal characteristics can be observed: the garrison towns on the middle Danube, the megalopoleis in the East with often anti-roman attitudes, etc. Furthermore, the growing together of the Empire and the tendency towards provinces of equal size in the 3rd century should have contributed to an assimilation of the capitals.

#### **The development and role of Provincial Capitals in the Hispaniae**

*Prof. S Keay (Univ. Southampton)*

This paper looks at the development of Tarraco, Corduba and Emerita as provincial capitals during the Republic and Early Empire. It then uses recent archaeological and epigraphic evidence to address questions surrounding their roles in the social, cultural and economic life of the Hispaniae. It puts forward the idea that they should not be seen as capitals in the modern sense but more as symbols of Roman power which acted to bring about social and political cohesion in the provinces.

#### **Unhoused Governors? The Provincial Capitals of Belgica, Upper and Lower Germany.**

*Dr P Kuhnen (dir. Trier Landesmuseum)*

Evidence of provincial capitals in the provinces of Belgica, Germania Superior and Germania Inferior is less dense than expected. Literary and epigraphic sources point to the presence of personnel of the provincial administration not only at Köln, Mainz, Trier and Reims, but also at minor places. Archaeological excavations revealed the governor's palace of later Roman Köln. Its earliest building phases remain unclear. The so-called procurators' palace underneath the Basilica at Trier has been only partly excavated, and its identification is still under discussion. A short analysis of the geographic and economic situation of the provincial capitals will contribute to the question of why these cities became centres of provincial administration.

#### **Londinium: a capital city?**

*N Bateman (Museum of London Archaeology Service)*

Londinium was built at the margins of already existing polities, but developed rapidly into the largest and most important town in the new province. This paper will examine the evidence for its role as the centre of the province's cultural and financial administration, as well as the unresolved arguments on the location of the governor's official residence in the first and second century AD. The paper will take into account the most recent excavations at the so-called 'Governor's Palace' by Cannon Street, and a comparable complex in Southwark, as well as epigraphic evidence.

#### **Christianization and the provincial capitals: Bostra and Petra**

*Rev. David Clark (Birkbeck College, London):*

The process of christianization in Transjordan, Palestina Tertia, with its growing internal clerical divisions and external administrative responsibilities impacted the urban structures of the provincial capitals. This paper will examine literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence (including the results of space syntax analysis) from Petra and Bostra. Close study reveals that these capitals exhibit continuity of provincial influence and status from the Roman into the Byzantine period. Furthermore, the changing ecclesiastical topography of both cities may be seen to reflect social change within their surrounding areas.

#### **Salona and Corinth: Greek and Roman in the Balkans**

*Prof. J J Wilkes (Inst. of Arch., London)*

From their foundation as colonies by Julius Caesar, Salona (or Salonae) and Corinth dominated their respective provinces Dalmatia and Achaëa. Both were foci of government, of trade and communications. Over the centuries Latin Salona became increasingly cosmopolitan while Roman Corinth lost its Latin culture and reverted to ancestral Hellenism. The notion of a city as *caput provinciae*, though widely understood and attached to both was not to be formalised until Diocletian's restructuring of the provinces. The sites of both cities, unoccupied since late antiquity, have yielded an abundance of remains: Roman Corinth has been the site of American excavations for a century, while the changing and multi-cultural population of Salona over seven centuries is revealed through ten thousand inscriptions. Does either have remains or characteristics that can be related to their pre-eminent role in their provinces?

### **Caesarea Maritima: the Provincial Capital of Judaea Palestina and its Praetoria**

*Dr J Patrich (Univ. Haifa, Israel)*

Caesarea Maritima, founded by Herod the Great in the years 22-10 BCE, became the capital of the Roman province of Judaea, renamed Palaestina under Hadrian. First governed (from 6 BCE) by an official of equestrian rank subordinate to the governor of Syria, the province was promoted (in 70 CE) to be ruled by an imperial legate of praetorian rank - Legatus Augusti Pro Praetore, who resided in Caesarea. Its financial affairs were entrusted to an official of equestrian rank (procurator provinciae), and his residence and officium were at Caesarea as well. From this historical background the paper will focus on the new archaeological evidence, including inscriptions, for the two praetoria exposed recently at the site - that of the Legatus Augusti Pro Praetore, and that of the Procurator Provinciae, and the changes they underwent throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods, until the Muslim capture of the city in 640 or 641 CE.

### **Illusions of Grandeur: Nicomedia and Thessaloniki as the 'capitals' of Diocletian and Galerius**

*Mr T Brown (Queens College, Oxford)*

This paper will compare the length of time spent at Nicomedia and Thessaloniki by Diocletian and Galerius with other cities used as imperial residence in the eastern half of the Empire; and discuss their function in the light of the 'retirement' complexes at Split and Romuliana, and the newly discovered Šarkamen. The amount of time each city actually functioned as an imperial residence will be contrasted with the apparently large-scale construction undertaken in them in this period; and the question raised whether they were able to operate as 'capitals' in any meaningful way at a time when the centre of the Empire was embodied in the figure of the Emperor, wherever he happened to be.

## **Roman North 2: the late Roman transition in the North**

*Sunday morning, ER201*

*Session organisers, Peter Wilson and Tony Wilmott, English Heritage*

*Chair Peter Wilson*

- 9.00 Tony Wilmott *The late Roman transition at Birdoswald and on Hadrian's Wall*
- 9.20 Ian Ferris/Rick Jones *The Beautiful Rooms are Empty; Late Roman Binschester.*
- 9.40 Richard Brickstock [title not available]
- 10.00 Jeremy Evans *Pottery in the North in the fourth century and beyond?*
- 10.40 COFFEE

*Chair Tony Wilmott*

- 11.10 Hilary Cool *The parts left over: material culture into the fifth century*
- 11.30 Jacqui Huntley and Sue Stallibrass *Beyond a Roman Landscape*
- 11.50 Peter Wilson *Catterick: the end of a Roman town?*
- 12.10 Ken Dark *New Perspectives on the End of the Roman Period in North Britain*
- 12.30 Rosemary Cramp

### **The late Roman transition at Birdoswald and on Hadrian's Wall**

*Tony Wilmott*

In 1987 late/ immediate post-Roman timber structures were found inside the west gate at the fort of Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall. Together with discoveries at South Shields at about the same time, a significant contribution was thus made to the characterisation of occupation within the wall forts during this period. Structural and finds evidence which has been thought relevant to the late Roman transition period has now emerged from Carlisle, Castlesteads, Birdoswald, Housesteads, Vindolanda, Benwell and South Shields, and the debate on the nature of the transition, based on this evidence, has gained momentum in recent years.

This paper will review and update the evidence, and examine the several interpretations which have been offered. It will focus on the dichotomy between ideas of an organised sub-Roman reoccupation of the Wall forts, and those of development and evolution on individual sites. Some attempt will be made to reconcile these views, and to set the phenomenon of the Hadrian's Wall transition into a broader context.

### **The Beautiful Rooms are Empty; Late Roman Binchester.**

*I.M. Ferris (University of Birmingham, Field Archaeology Unit) and R.F.J. Jones (University of Bradford).*

The pending completion of the report on the 1970s and 1980s excavations at Binchester Roman fort allows new interpretations to be advanced concerning the nature of late-Roman to sub-Roman activity here in a way that enhances the picture provided by Birdoswald and Catterick. Not only are new, large-scale building projects being undertaken at Binchester in the mid-Fourth Century-our evidence coming from excavations centred on the praetorium-but at least five phases of subsequent rebuilding and alteration follow, perhaps taking the sequence into the Fifth Century, though by then the function of the praetorium may have changed. Rooms in the residential range are now variously used for smithing and as a slaughterhouse, while the bath suite is repaired and maintained, to fall into subsequent disuse some time before the mid-Sixth Century, as attested by a burial here with gravegoods. Binchester provides the closest-grained sequence of late to sub-Roman archaeology yet excavated in Britain.

[title not available]

*Richard Brickstock*

[abstract not available]

### **Pottery in the North in the fourth century and beyond?**

*Jeremy Evans*

This paper will examine Roman pottery supply in the north in the 4th century and beyond. In the earlier 4th century there was a vigorous pottery tradition in East Yorkshire and the central and northern Vale of York, but elsewhere Roman ceramics were only sparingly used away from military sites. In the north-west military sites were mainly supplied with BBI from the west coast trade.

In the mid-4th century military supply seems to have been reorganised with the west coast supply route coming to an end and military sites there being supplied overland from East Yorkshire. It is difficult to see any possible market mechanism producing this supply and a 'military contract' with the Crambeck and Huntcliff type industries seems to be the most likely explanation. In the north-east East Yorkshire wares dominated assemblages, this may have been achieved through cost reductions given the lucrative military contracts for sites in the north-west, and perhaps the north-east. In the early 5th century all Roman pottery disappears rapidly, along with the rest of the material culture, including most metalwork, nails etc. This would seem to be the result of a complete economic collapse consequent on the cessation of cash taxation and army pay.

### **The parts left over: material culture into the fifth century**

*Hilary Cool*

Pottery and coinage have long had a privileged role amongst the material culture of Roman Britain. Rightly or wrongly they often perceived as the foundations of our dated sequences, and other finds are relegated to supporting positions. But what happens at the end of the fourth century, after the last pot's broken and the final coin lost? Unless we postulate a state of affairs where the whole population renounced worldly goods and determined to use only bio-degradable materials, there must still be objects and assemblages that characterise the end of the 4th and the 5th century. This paper will seek to identify what these were. It will explore the assemblages from late fourth to early fifth century occupations in the north and suggest which finds should alert the archaeologist to the presence of 5th century occupation.

### **Beyond a Roman Landscape**

*Jacqui Huntley, University of Durham, and Sue Stallibrass*

This paper will review, briefly, the situation during the later Roman and the post Roman periods in regard of environmental and economic evidence.

Environmental evidence as ascertained by pollen analyses will demonstrate that there is no single pattern of change within the vegetation of the region - a situation similar to that at the time of the arrival of the Romans - but that some areas continue as cleared whilst others demonstrate significant re-growth of woodland.

The economic evidence, from both animal bones and plant remains, is extremely limited in size and extent but, very tentatively, changes may be distinguished. For these aspects the paper will concentrate upon making recommendations for future research.

A short section will deal with demographic and social aspects as determined from the analyses of human bones.



### **Catterick: the end of a Roman town?**

*Pete Wilson Central Archaeology Service, English Heritage*

Catterick (Cataractonium) is well known in the archaeological and historical literature as the probable location of the battle of Catraeth described in Y Gododdin. The late Roman material from the site is also well known from work by Prof Wachter and others. However it is only as the analysis of the bulk of the work in the area nears completion that the probable extent of the late Roman/5th century occupation is emerging. Probable occupation and possible construction/rebuilding of mortared masonry buildings in the later 4th century, and probably in the 5th century suggests some vitality within the settlement that may point to a reduction in the gap perceived to exist between the latest Roman occupation and the appearance of recognisable Anglian material.

### **New Perspectives on the End of the Roman Period in North Britain**

*Ken Dark*

Since the mid-1990s, both new analyses and new data have prompted a dramatic rethinking of the end of Roman Britain. This has drawn attention to evidence suggesting unexpectedly high levels of political, cultural and economic continuity between Romano-British communities in the fourth century and their successors in the fifth and sixth centuries. Although such continuity appears to be a much more widespread pattern, this paper concentrates on the end of the North of Roman Britain. Reviewing recent discoveries, and bringing together the contributions of other speakers in this session, it will draw attention to the relationship between the situation evidenced in the North and wider debates surrounding the Late Roman and immediately post-Roman periods in Britain.

## **TRAC: technology, theory and praxis**

*Sunday morning, ER141*

**Kindly sponsored by the Robert Kiln Charitable Trust and the Thriplow Charitable Trust**

*Session organizers: Jeremy Taylor (University of Leicester) and Julia Robinson (Timescape)*

The background to this session lies in the observation that the theoretical perspectives of the 1980s and 1990s have shifted much archaeological interest to broader contextual studies of past conceptual landscapes. These developments have been paralleled by a number of methodological and technological advances in survey based archaeology and in computer visualisation that now allow us to attempt more complex and nuanced understandings of the changing landscapes of the Roman world. Roman archaeology has seen a number of studies of the role of architectural space, particularly in urban contexts, and of detailed rural and urban survey. Sometimes, however, the full potential and theoretical implications of these developments have not been realised, leading to a marked lack of innovation in their use. In this light we are looking for papers which address innovative theoretical approaches to the use of new or established technologies within any area of architectural or landscape based academic research on the Roman period. It is hoped that this can then form the basis of a useful discussion on how these developments might feed back into more regular practice in the wider archaeological community.

**[titles, timings and abstracts not available]**

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## Sanctuaries: interpretation beyond the ritual context

Sunday morning, ER142

Session organiser Elena Isayev, UCL

The aim of the sanctuary panel is not only to consider the methods of defining sanctuaries in an archaeological context but also to discuss the development of the sanctuaries and the role which they played other than just the ritual. Presentations of current projects will look at the wider implications of sanctuaries: How the sanctuaries in themselves can be used as a body of evidence for the better understanding of the ancient societies, and what could be deduced from their changing patterns of use.

- 9:30 T. Derks (Amsterdam) *Sanctuaries and society in Northern Gaul: some new thoughts about the Mars dedication from the sanctuary at Trier - West*  
10:00 A.C. King (Winchester) *Romano-Celtic sanctuaries: political and social aspects*  
10:40 Break  
11:00 R. van Bremen (UCL) *Sanctuaries and the politico-religious organization of the territory of Stratonikeia in Caria*  
11:30 E. Isayev (UCL) *People without cities? The role of sanctuaries in Basilicata 4-1st.c. BC*  
12:00 J. A. North (UCL) *An inventory of cult places in ancient Italy - a synopsis*  
12:30 Summary and final comments on the panel

### Sanctuaries and society in Northern Gaul: some new thoughts about the Mars dedications from the sanctuary of Trier-West

T. Derks Amsterdam / Mainz

The Roman conquest and subsequent incorporation of Northern Europe into the Roman empire not only bore a profound impact on the political and social organization of the autochthonous population, but also led to important changes in its religious life. One of the main concerns of the archaeological and ancient historical investigation with regard to this topic, is the question to what extent Rome put its imprint on religious life in the new provinces, or conversely, to what extent the local communities were able to continue their pre-Roman religious customs and beliefs, be it in some transformed form. From such a perspective, many studies have put strong emphasis on the distinction between 'Roman' and 'native', or between 'official' and 'non - official' cults. Starting from the idea that Roman religious ideas and practices spread only slowly and gradually, that is in towns much earlier than in the countryside, the goal of such studies is to come to a better understanding of the process and degree of Romanisation. My paper aims to demonstrate that often such an approach not only ends up in vague quantitative assessments which do not really contribute to our understanding of the process of Romanisation, but also fails to do justice to the Roman character of much of our resource material. In a case study on the Mars sanctuary of Trier - West I hope to show, what alternative interpretation may present itself to us, once we try to order the material according to the Roman religious forms and structures of organisation in which they originated.

### Romano-Celtic sanctuaries: political and social aspects

A.C. King Department of Archaeology King Alfred's College, Winchester

The revival in interest in Romano-Celtic religious sites in the past two decades has concentrated largely on the ritual and ceremonial aspects of sanctuary organisation and positioning. This paper looks at aspects of a more secular nature: the relationship of sanctuaries to centres of power and population, and the founding of sanctuaries as a political/cultural action.

### Sanctuaries and the politico-religious organization of the territory of Stratonikeia in Caria

R. van Bremen Department of History University College London

The city of Stratonikeia was founded, in the early third century B.C. as a 'katoikia', by Antiochus I or perhaps Antiochus II, in a region that had been, and in some ways continued to be, dominated by political and religious associations (koina) of villages, incipient 'poleis', districts and peoples, whose religious focus - and political meeting place - was often a sanctuary. Thus the sanctuary of Zeus Chrysaoreus, whose location was, according to Strabo, close to the new city of Stratonikeia (it has not yet been located) formed the religious centre of the so-called Chrysaoric league, which began as a local federation, but expanded probably to take in most Carian cities and villages by the third century BC.

The paper will discuss the process and the nature of the attachment of what eventually became the area's two major sanctuaries, that of Hekate at Lagina and of Zeus at Panamara, to the city.

#### **People Without Cities? The Role of Sanctuaries in Basilicata IVth - 1st c. BC**

*E. Isayev Department of History University College London*

The following paper forms part of a larger research project focusing on the Indigenous community of Lucania, and the changes within it from the 4-1st c. BC. By the second half of the 4th century BC this landscape supported a dense pattern of settlement including small rural habitations, sanctuaries and a large number of indigenous fortified centres. There are some 40 possible fortified sites in the territory many of which functioned very much as urban centres. Not long after they reach their height, at the end of the 4th c. BC most are either destroyed or abandoned in the first half of the 3rd century BC. Interestingly the sanctuaries which rose contemporaneously with the centres were not all abandoned when the life of the centres came to an end. A considerable number, of sacred sites, especially the larger rural sanctuaries, show continued activity throughout the 3rd c. BC, and some even into the following centuries with periods of monumentalization. The paper will first review the evidence for the continued existence of these sanctuaries both within the fortified centres and in the rural sphere.

#### **An inventory of cult places in ancient Italy**

*J.A. North Department of History University College London*

The project on 'Lieux de culte' is organised jointly in Paris, Perugia and London by John Scheid, Filippo Coarelli and Michael Crawford. Its objective is to publish region by region, in Italy, a series of catalogues of pagan cult-sites of all kinds. The initial trial entries have been the work of a small number of volunteers who have met annually in Paris, London and (simultaneously with this conference) Perugia. But the eventual aim is that the areas should be covered by those who know them best, mostly archaeologists working locally in the different regions. The paper will discuss the problems of setting up such a project, the collection of initial information; but above all the definition of what should be included what excluded from the inventory. It has to be recognised that the value of the eventual work to researchers will be religion in this period, defining what is to count as a cult place involves serious methodological problems.

## **Images of Rome**

*Sunday morning, ERI40*

*Session organiser: Richard Hingley, Historic Scotland*

This session will explore the range of ways in which the image of Rome has been represented in different countries, including the USA, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and Britain, during Post Medieval and modern times and the influence of these various images on the different traditions of archaeological research in each country. Several papers will also cover the contrasting image of the native heroes who resisted Roman domination. In discussion the interrelationship of various different national archaeological traditions will be explored.

9.00 Richard Hingley *Introduction.*

9.10 Ray Laurence *Roman Republicanism in the USA and Britain*

9.40 Nicola Terrenato *Ancestor Cults: The perception of ancient Rome in Italian culture.*

10.10 Manuela Struck *The Heilige Römische Reich, Deutscher Nation and Hermann the German.*

10.40 Coffee

11.10 Wilfried Hessel *Civiliser or Foreign Oppressor, contrasting appreciation of Rome in Dutch historiography.*

11.40 Richard Hingley *Images of Roman and native in Britain.*

12.10 General discussion



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### **Perceptions of Roman Republicanism in the USA and Britain**

*Dr Ray Laurence, University of Reading, England*

The first history of the Roman Republic was completed at the end of the seventeenth century and included the concept of revolution. The creation of a new form of government that rejected kingship was crucial to the development of the American Constitution a little under one hundred years later. The new culture of the United States looked back to the rejection of kingship at Rome for its inspiration and adopted icons from antiquity to represent the new nation. For example Minerva was the patroness of American liberty from an early date. The models adopted for the architectural completion for the Capitol in Washington draw on Roman models, as did most public architecture down to the New Deal of the 1930s and 1940s. However, on closer examination, the models from antiquity utilised were those of the high empire rather than the Roman republic. The widespread adoption of this architecture created an image for America that may have caused many to equate it with Rome. For Romanists the ease with which we view the Roman empire in the light of the British empire or more recently American imperialism might spring from the ease with which the two are equated by those studying 'romanisation' or 'resistance' whether from a colonial or post-colonial perspective. This paper will examine how Roman republicanism has been utilised to conjure up a modern/civilised present from 1776 in the USA and deconstruct the cultural reception of this appropriation of antiquity for the study of ancient Rome. In doing so, the paper challenges many of the underlying assumptions of cultural change and contact between those undefined 'Romans' and their 'barbarian' counterparts.

### **Ancestor Cults: the perception of ancient Rome in Italian culture**

*Dr Nicola Terrenato, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA*

This paper will focus on the role of ancient Rome in modern and contemporary Italian culture and ideology. It will be based on a review of the positions discernible in the scholarship of the last two centuries and a half, beginning with the little-known works of the C18, characterised by a pregnant emphasis on localism and diversity within the Roman federation. In the Romantic period this perspective is radically reversed: the Romans become protagonists, and they are seen as paradigms or rationality and military organisation. Their icon is used in contemporary political discourse as an edifying example for the process of the unification of Italy and for its belated colonial efforts. Elements of the perception formed in this period have survived to this day. Positivism and nationalism did little but underscore the advanced civilisation and racial superiority of the Romans. Even in recent Marxist works Rome is seen in a modernist perspective, as an almost capitalist society. Post-modern thought has only just begun to challenge some of these strong assumptions. The paper will also argue that the ideological biases are even stronger and more blatant at the level of popular culture. Current representations and perceptions often offer transparent examples of the value-laden role that ancient Romans play in contemporary Italian mentality.

### **The *Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation* and Hermann the German**

*Dr Manuela Struck, Dep. of Ancient History and Archaeology, Univ. of Birmingham*

According to medieval thinking, the German Empire was legally defined as the direct successor of the Roman Empire. This *Römische Reich Deutscher Nation* formally came to an end only in 1815. Although this might have led to a close relationship with ancient Rome, in fact Germany had an ideological development similar to the rest of continental Europe (Humanism, Enlightenment, growing Nationalism).

After the wars of independence following Napoleon's defeat, Nationalism gained a final foothold, engendering a stronger interest in national history including the Roman period in Germany. The growing threat from France, which came to be identified with ancient Rome, led to the rejection of the latter (manifestation of this in the famous statue of Hermann, the king of the *Cherusci*, in the Teutoburger Forest).

Despite the shortness of the period between 1933 and 1945, the National Socialist regime had a lasting impact on today's archaeology: due to the traumatic experience of the totalitarian state and the Second World War, it put a hold on further methodological and theoretical developments. As archaeology had been ideologically misused for nationalistic and racist purposes, in the Federal Republic (BRD) research focused on the collection and analysis of the archaeological material, deliberately avoiding theories, while in the Democratic Republic (DDR) Nazi ideology was replaced by Marxist theory.

### **Civiliser or Foreign Oppressor, contrasting appreciation of Rome in Dutch historiography**

*Dr Wilfried Hessing, Department of Research and Development, Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek (ROB) or National Service for Archaeological Heritage, Netherlands*

It can be argued that from the earliest start of the foundation of the (northern) Netherlands as a national state in the 16th century, a dualistic attitude in the appreciation of Roman and the Romans perseveres in the minds of historians, archaeologists and to certain degree the wider public.

On one side stands Rome as the centre of civilisation. Its cultural contribution, although largely temporary, to the development of the outskirts of the empire where the low countries belong to should be highly valued. Its achievements are therefore very much worth (re)discovering.

On the other side there is Rome as the symbol of a 'superpower' crushing the freedom of the small nation states. In relation to this one has to bear in mind that the young Republic of the United Netherlands in her 80-years war of independence against Spain (1568-1648) was very much in need of national symbols. An important one had been found in the person of Julius Civilis as leader of the Batavian revolt against Rome in AD 69.

Although the emphasis has regularly changed through time, this contrast has had a continuous effect until the present day, not only within academic historical work and archaeological theory but also in publications and representations aimed at a wider public.

This 350 year development will be sketched, hopefully to provide some cultural-historical setting for any discussion on current themes in modern Dutch provincial Roman archaeology.

### **Images of Roman and native in Britain**

*Dr Richard Hingley, Historic Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland*

This paper will focus on the period from around 1850 to 1940. It will explore some of the range of representations drawn from the image of the Roman Empire which are evident in popular literature and political writings at this time and the ways that these representations interacted. It will be argued that many of these images drew upon ideas of imperial destiny and national identity. The Roman Empire was viewed by many at the start of this period as a period of arid despotism; the free spirit of the English was assumed to derive from an untainted Teutonic inheritance. However, by the 1890s the image of the Roman Empire was being redefined in the minds of many and its relationship to the modern British Empire identified. At this time the image of the Roman Empire was recruited as part of a broad range of representations which were put together to form the discourse of British 'new imperialism'. In Edwardian times, as a result of a concern over national decline, 'lessons' or 'morals' were commonly drawn from Roman history and archaeology to inform the present state of British politics. The paper will examine three representations in detail:

- The role of the native heroes who opposed the Roman domination of Britain (particularly Boadicea),
- the image of frontier defence of the Roman Empire in relation to British imperial policy and
- the assimilation of the native provincials into Romans.

With regard to the final topic, the role of Francis Haverfield as 'the father of Roman archaeology' will be appraised in the context of these popular and political images. It will be argued that his work on 'Romanisation' provided a better area of encounter between varying representations of national origins. This work enabled Edwardian and later authors to envisage a direct national inheritance of both the brave spirit of the native ancient Britons and the civilising influence of the Romans.



# *Oxbow and the Roman World*



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