

## Exchanging Ideas 2020 – List of speakers and abstracts

**Speaker:** ATTEMA, Peter

**Affiliation:** Groningen Institute of Archaeology (NL)

**Paper Title:** A window on the socio-economic and political history of Crustumerium (Latium vetus). Recent excavations by the Groningen Institute of Archaeology of a complex mound on the edge of town.

**Abstract:** The Groningen Institute of Archaeology's archaeological excavations at the Latial settlement of Crustumerium (850 – 500 BCE ca.) have in recent years concentrated on investigating a substantial artificial mound in the southeastern zone of the site, at a point where habitation area and burial grounds meet. The mound covers part of a burial group situated near Crustumerium's defensive ditch (fossato) as well as the ditch itself. However, it also incorporates various phases of Crustumerium's defensive earthworks. In the latter part of the Archaic period, burials, fossato and earthworks were covered up to form a mound that subsequently was heightened and extended, and partially collapsed in a deep quarry-like pit on the inside of the settlement. The heightening of the mound was accomplished by means of a series of parallel retaining walls of which the intermediary spaces were filled in with thick layers of soil containing settlement debris (dolia, tiles, pottery). The outer retaining wall had partly collapsed in the quarry-like pit that consequently still must have been open at the end of the Archaic period.

In my paper, I will present the archaeological features the mound contains in their stratigraphic sequence and then use the results as a window on the complex socio-economic and political history of Crustumerium from the beginnings of the settlement (mid-ninth c. BCE) to its very end (around 500 BC).

Being located on the Tiber at only a short distance north of Rome, Crustumerium's existence was strongly tied to that of Rome. Nonetheless the settlement shows particular economic and cultural characteristics that sets it apart in the Latial context in which it developed.

**Speaker:** BALCO, William M.

**Affiliation:** University of North Georgia

**Paper Title:** Navigating Commensal Identity Expression and Social Transformation in Iron Age and Archaic Western Sicily.

**Abstract:** Late Iron Age and Archaic western Sicily was a nexus of social interaction, entangling indigenous Elymian populations with Phoenician and Greek colonists economically, socially, and in some cases biologically. Such complex social interaction facilitated the exchange of ideas and goods, transforming not only socially constructed power structures, but also the material expressions of wealth, power, and prestige. This paper explores the transmission and reception of displays of status and identity as expressed by Elymian, Phoenician, and Greek populations in western Sicily. Feasting vessels are studied as a proxy representing such displays, demonstrating the creation of new identity expressions incorporating stylistic elements borrowed from foreign cultures. The adoption of mixed-style commensal vessels among indigenous Sicilian and Phoenician colonial sites, yet the scarcity of such vessels at Greek colonial sites, attests to differential reception of such material culture within the feast.

**Speaker:** BECKER, Hillary

**Affiliation:** Binghamton University

**Paper Title:** The tools for regulating Etruscan markets

**Abstract:** This paper explores Etruscan commercial landscapes by asking questions about markets, their location, their periodicity, and their regulation. Etruscan markets and even shops operated on different temporal cycles, with ancient sources providing testimony about both periodic and annual (i.e. pan-regional festivals) markets. Opportunities for more regular, even daily, transactions also occurred in certain contexts. The Etruscan systems of weights and measures will also be assessed to help flesh out these markets and the mechanics of quotidian operations. Assembling literary, epigraphical, and archaeological testimony for Etruscan markets makes it possible to consider what is understood about the Etruscan commercial sphere with an aim to learning more about the means and mechanisms by which the average Etruscan satisfied his or her need for goods and foodstuffs that they did not produce themselves. The myriad interactions facilitated by Etruscan markets demonstrate that in the mundane activities of provisioning, lies evidence about both economic activities and the cultural framework within which they operated.

**Speaker:** BERNARD, Seth

**Affiliation:** University of Toronto

**Paper Title:** Metallurgy and Connectivity in North Etruria

**Abstract:** There are few better pieces of evidence for the interrelationship in ancient Italy between technologies of production and connectivity than Diodorus Siculus' description of the iron industry of North Etruria (5.13.1-2). Following his account, the practice was to mine ore on the island of Elba, transport it to the mainland site of Populonia where it was bloomed into useful metal, which merchants shipped to Campania to be transformed into finished tools and weapons. Looking at textual sources in combination with archaeological data, including some important recently discovered shipwreck evidence, this paper argues that a complex metallurgical industry and trade already existed across much of the Tyrrhenian coast by the Archaic period.

I then turn to consider the implications of this early dating of geographically diffuse iron production. Neoclassical economic theory would identify Diodorus' scenario as one of the international division of labor. Thus, I look at the consequences of the region's decision to specialize in technologies related only to a segment of iron production, rather than to the whole *chaîne opératoire*. As the theory would lead us to expect, the region's metal trade contained potential for (Smithian) economic growth, while also featuring points of diminishing returns, or even systemic fragility. We see the region's elites prospering from this metal trade by an early date; however, the market-based connectivity supporting their wealth also contained limits. The region's epigraphy reveals comparatively high mobility and turnover, as local metal-producing entrepreneurs never appear to have developed or consolidated further into a political class of lasting success. The same interconnected world that made this metal trade successful made it susceptible to alternative sources of ore, as seems to have happened by the later Roman Republic when the region's iron industry rapidly declined.

**Speaker:** BERNARDO-CIDDIO, Leah

**Affiliation:** University of Michigan

**Paper Title:** Regionalisation in the South Italian matt-painted tradition from the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE: a network approach

**Abstract:** Archaeologists often look to ethnographic comparanda and archeometric methods to understand technical transfer and innovation amongst ceramicists. Horizontal transmission of knowledge of wheel-throwing in the Bronze Age Aegean is a popular case study. Stylistic transfer is usually discussed in diffusionist terms, however, eliding the complexities of adopting a new decorative schema. The mobility of producers, recursive influences, and communication between separate communities of practice are omitted, and artisans are positioned as groups forced into change through desperation to compete.

In this paper, I address a South Italian case study. Following the decline of Italo-Mycenaean ceramic production, fine matt-painted pottery (South Italian Protogeometric) gradually replaced it in local markets. From the late 9<sup>th</sup> century, various distinct regional styles developed from this earlier coherent style. Building on earlier works, Herring attempted to integrate agency of local potters in his discussion of regionalization of matt-painted style; however, this contribution did not address the networks of exchange and communication between regions and industries that contributed to the transmission of the style and regional developments within it. His narrative suggests a gradual linear diffusion from Salento to nearby regions.

I will approach this case study from a network perspective. Using methodologies from social network analysis, I will demonstrate its utility for visualizing complex networks of exchange and communication that underlie the gradual development recognisably regionally distinct ceramic styles and forms. I will also address interaction and overlap between communities of practice (i.e. producers of impasto and producers of matt-painted) that contribute to the formation of new local styles. Finally, I will note the importance of key sites where the evidence suggests local artisans had the strongest inclinations to innovate, often producing what are identified as sub-regional classes of their own.

**Speaker:** BLYTH, Dougal

**Affiliation:** University of Auckland

**Paper Title:** The Spread of Pythagoreanism in Southern Italy (500-350 BC)

**Abstract:** The theory of an early reception of Pythagoreanism in Rome (Carcopino 1926, Boyancé 1942, 1952, Ferraro 1955, et al.) would need explanation of its transmission from Magna Graeca, attempted eventually by Mele (1981), (1984), (2013), followed by Russo (2007) and Humm (various, esp. 2005). Essentially the claim is that late sources (Iamblichus, Porphyry, Diogenes Laertius) preserve early reliable information about Lucanian Pythagorean leadership after the destruction of the original Greek communities (c. 450 BC), which, combined with Tarantine attribution of 'Spartanness' to the Samnites (Timaeus ap. Strabo 5.4, 12) suggests the spread of a Doric-influenced form of Pythagoreanism. This would supposedly put Cicero's account of the Samnite leader Gaius Pontius' presence at a discourse by the Pythagorean politician and scientist Archytas (*De sen.*; derived from Aristoxenus; cf. fr. 50 W = Athen. 12.545a-546c) on a historical footing, paving the way for an explanation of Campanians adopting such doctrines and passing

them on to fourth century Romans. I will try to evaluate the plausibility of some early steps in this case, with reference to the division of Greek Pythagoreanism into a quasi-religious cult and separately a mathematical-philosophical tradition. The former alone, if either, seems the only candidate for having possibly influenced Italic neighbours, but this gives no reason to think any philosophical movement could have progressed north from Magna Graeca at this time. Even the case for cultic spread in non-Greek communities is weak.

**Speaker:** BRONKHORST, Remco

**Affiliation:** Groningen Institute of Archaeology (NL) and the University of St Andrews

**Paper Title:** Tracing the economic transformation of Satricum from the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC until the Roman period

**Abstract:** Satricum is frequently cited as one of the few well-excavated protohistoric settlements in Central Italy, because of the wide scale of the excavations and their level of detail. The remains at Satricum are relatively well-preserved, diverse in nature and cover a long time-span, thus enabling a diachronic perspective. As part of my ongoing PhD research project, I created an inventory of all finds (over 300,000 in number) made during the large-scale excavations by the Groningen Institute of Archaeology between 1979 and 1991. By mapping these finds spatially, reanalysis of Satricum in a modern and new way has now become possible.

In this paper, I will highlight the architectural investments made in the town from the early 8<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and use them as a proxy for the upscaling Archaic economy. During the Archaic period, fortifications, monumental buildings (e.g. temples), roads, as well as opulent houses were constructed at Satricum, just as elsewhere in Latium vetus. Such initiatives testify to the ability of the elite to mobilise substantial labour forces and to free up a substantial amount of material resources. Comparing the various assemblages of features within the settlement, functional differences will come to light, that will help to trace Satricum's development from a small hamlet to a major Archaic town in detail.

**Speaker:** CATSMAN, Matthijs

**Affiliation:** Amsterdam Centre for Ancient Studies and Archaeology of the University of Amsterdam and the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.

**Paper Title:** Connected Through Death: The role of exchange networks in the funerary identities of 7<sup>th</sup> century BC central Italian communities

**Abstract:** Central to this paper is the question how new network-based approaches can be used for understanding the role of exchange networks in funerary identity formation processes of 7th-century BC central Italian communities. The last decade has seen a paradigm shift taking place in Mediterranean archaeology towards a methodological focus on connectivity and networks. This paradigm shift has had a profound impact on discussions about acculturation and identity formation processes, introducing new concepts such as globalization and glocalization. Within archaeological research of proto-historic 7th-century Latium Vetus the influence of this methodological shift seems to have been surprisingly low however.

This paper will demonstrate the application of two-modal affiliation networks, a methodology which is based on the work of Lieve Donellan. In order to construct such a two-modal affiliation network, the analysis takes a consumption- centred perspective and links the material culture recovered from the tombs assemblies under study to various consumption collectives or consumption-scapes of different scales, ranging from the local to 'global' Mediterranean scale.

Specifically, this methodology is used in a comparative study of 7th-century funerary assemblies from the sites of Crustumerium and Satricum. The resulting systematic comparative analysis provides a holistic synchronic and diachronic overview of the participation in different exchange networks and their importance for the local communities in the construction of funerary identities. The presentation of this comparison will provide insight into the differences between inland and coastal sites within Latium Vetus, thus contributing to a balanced understanding of the degree of interconnectivity within Orientalizing Latium Vetus.

**Speaker:** CIFANI, Gabriele

**Affiliation:** École normale supérieure – Paris

**Paper Title:** Trade and connectivity of Early Latium

**Abstract:** The paper aims to explore models for the transmission and receptions of objects and ideas, in the regional context of Iron Age and archaic Latium (8th-6th century BC) and particularly of Rome.

As a matter of fact, from the eight century BC onwards, Rome offered protection for the trade and transit of goods along the Tiber valley, through the coastal area of Latium, from Greece towards southern Etruria and throughout the whole central Tyrrhenian area. Further increases in trading activity and the accumulation of wealth reveal the economic boom which took place in sixth century BC Rome, in which political events linked to the Phocaean colonization of Massalia and the development of proto-urban settlements in the Rhône Valley and Central Europe may also have played a crucial role.

Within this historical framework, the paper will discuss the archaeological evidence of interaction, connectivity and social mobility in early Latium, as well the cultural and trade network which laid the foundation of the Roman expansionism.

**Speaker:** COHEN, Sheira

**Affiliation:** University of Michigan

**Paper Title:** Between the Mountains and the Sea: Mobility and Interaction in Archaic Latium.

**Abstract:** Migrations, invasions, and colonisations loom large in historical accounts of the early Roman state, often overshadowing other, less dramatic, forms of mobility and interaction across the peninsula in the first millennium BCE. This, in turn, can skew our explanatory frameworks for political and economic change towards these large-scale, and often externally-driven, events. In particular, the supposed downhill migrations in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE of monolithically-conceived hill-tribes (Volsci, Aequi, Hernici, etc) and the ensuing warfare with settled Latin-speaking agriculturalists have been framed as the anvil against which Latin and Roman identities were

formed in the early Republic. This compelling in-group/out-group narrative, however, retrojects the simplistic ethnic labels and explanations of the Augustan period into the distant past and thus overlooks the complex networks of relationships that emerged over centuries from the smaller-scale mobility of individual groups and families.

This paper considers the impact that regular low-level mobility, including pastoralism and other seasonal movements, had on the development of the Roman state and ideas of Latinity during the archaic period. By tracing the institutions of communication (i.e. religious and political leagues, festivals, regional sanctuaries, games, international magistrates, embassies, etc.) that existed between communities in the Latin plain and their mountain neighbours through time, I will explore how coastal communities adapted and responded to the influx (or increased presence) of different economic and social modes of organization. It is at this interface, between mobile, semi-mobile, and sedentary ways of life, that the contours of community and identity in archaic central Italy were formed.

**Speaker:** CROOKS, James

**Affiliation:** University of St Andrews

**Paper Title:** Competitive Markets: Trade and Advertising in Archaic Central Italy

**Abstract:** During Early Iron Age, we see the emergence of a number of important trading sites throughout Central Italy. These sites - such as Gravisca, Pyrgi, the port at Populonia and the Forum Boarium – usually occupied spaces on the fringes of emergent (proto-)urban settlements and seem to have developed around natural points of contact such as safe moorages or significant crossroads. As such, these sites acted as key nexus points for foreign trade in particular throughout the region.

Recent studies have shown that, during the sixth century, we see the creation and development of infrastructure such as roads, the dredging of moorages and the extension of harbours in and around these sites, despite their liminal nature. These investments would seem to be indicative of the importance of these market areas to the groups and/or communities which occupied the surrounding territory and a desire not only to maintain, but to maximise their potential.

This period also sees another form of investment in these areas: the construction of monumental podium temples. These temples have often been read as examples of conspicuous consumption; the imposing temples stood as a monuments to the wealth of those responsible for their creation. In this paper, I intend to read the development of these structures alongside the improvements to the infrastructure of these spaces as part of a suite of investments in these market areas designed to stake a claim on a larger share of the trade market within the Tyrrhenian Sea.

**Speaker:** DE ANGELIS, Franco

**Affiliation:** University of British Columbia

**Paper Title:** Viticulture and Wine: A Mixed Picture

**Abstract:** Viticulture and wine played well-known important roles in elite interaction and many other aspects of ancient life. Less well known are the origins of viticulture and wine in pre-Roman

Italy and the western Mediterranean in general. Recent scholarship contains contradictory views of whether or not Phoenician and Greek migrants introduced viticulture and wine. Positions slot into one of the two polarized options: indigenous versus introduced. In this paper, I offer a case study on viticulture and wine from a larger book project re-examining the question of cultural and economic transfers in the pre-Roman western Mediterranean between the ninth and third centuries BCE. My approach entails bridging scholarly divides and presenting more complex and nuanced arguments. In the case of viticulture and wine, the picture is much more mixed than currently imagined. To arrive at this conclusion, I use an interdisciplinary approach that is multilateral and draws on all available forms of evidence, including archaeological science, ecological approaches, iconography, and a broader range of theory. With this paper, I attempt not only to present a case study in its own right, but also to sketch out a larger framework on how we might think of indigenous versus introduced features more generally in the crucial centuries before the creation of the Roman Empire.

**Speaker:** FLAVELL, Ashley

**Affiliation:** University of Auckland

**Paper Title:** Connecting the Dots: Adaptation, Adoption, and Agency in Etruscan Tomb Painting

**Abstract:** Historically, much scholarship of the 20th century viewed developments in Etruscan art and architecture through a heavily, hellenocentric lens. This was particularly the case with Etruscan art, where reference was often made to hypothetical lost Greek originals as the inspiration for these uniquely Etruscan compositions. In recent years, however, more scholars are beginning to acknowledge the importance of Etruscan agency and originality, and discussion around this - particularly of artistic forms - is increasingly being addressed. This paper aims to apply these new methodologies to the field of Etruscan tomb paintings, by comparing and contrasting the Etruscan frescoes with surviving late 5th and 4th centuries BCE examples of wall-paintings from Macedon and Magna Graecia. Through disregarding the past issues of hellenocentric methodologies, this paper will present the results of a search for indications of adaptation and/or adoption of foreign artistic styles, as well as assessing the overall agency of the Etruscans in the iconographical forms and composition of their tomb paintings. This paper will also seek to address to what extent the Etruscans employed the networks of migrant artisans around the contemporary Mediterranean and, if so, whether or not the specific iconographical programs were changed or altered to fit local contexts.

**Speaker:** FORSYTH, Doug

**Affiliation:** University of St. Andrews

**Paper Title:** The Interaction between Trade Routes and Technology Transfer

**Abstract:** In my PhD dissertation *Economic development in the Iron Age Cyclades, case studies between 1100 – 500 BCE*, one of the themes that developed through an analysis of the archaeology, was that the exchange of ideas was linked to trade routes. Ideas moved along trade routes across the Aegean through the Cyclades. Two examples: the techniques of hard-rock mining imported from Egypt to the Cyclades where the technology was employed in Greece for the first time to mine and sculpt marble *kouroi* c. 630 BCE, and the importation of the concept of coinage (minted bullion) from

Lydia through the Cyclades in the same period. Evidence suggests that innovations that could be useful economically, created significant wealth in those communities that employed them. Correlative is the observation that isolated communities not exposed to new technologies lagged in wealth generation.

In this paper, I would like to extend this theoretical approach to the western Mediterranean by incorporating an analysis of the role Greek and Phoenicians colonies played in transferring new technologies to the Italian peninsula. Ship construction methods such as the introduction of mortise and tenon construction which allowed ship hulls to withstand the shock of impact from ramming, came to the western Mediterranean from the east. Other area such as coinage, metallurgy, and the alphabet will likewise be explored. The interaction between trade routes and technological transfer will frame the discussion of the material evidence.

**Speaker:** HEITZ, Christian

**Affiliation:** Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck

**Paper Title:** Mobile pastoralism and cultural transfer in Archaic Southern Italy? Testing the evidence

**Abstract:** Mobile pastoralism is a topic that is only rarely addressed in Mediterranean archaeology, although well documented in Italy and Spain as an important branch of economy and a widespread lifestyle over several hundreds of years in historical times – so much that it was considered a major element of the *longue durée* in the seminal work of Fernand Braudel. However, several sources suggest and even testify that already in Archaic times (8<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) shepherds moved around with their flocks in the Mediterranean area, the most prominent perhaps Sophokles' story of the baby prince Oedipus: The Theban shepherd who was ordered to kill the child instead gave it to a Corinthian shepherd regularly arriving to the same highland pastures in the Kithairon mountains. This testifies to the practice of transhumance both in the heroic past but also in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC when the tragedy was written. The paper seeks to identify and present indications for mobile pastoralism in Archaic southern Italy and its possible relevance as an exchange network and a means of transfer of ideas, knowledge and commodities the like. Because of the perishable and seasonal nature of the remains of mobile pastoralists and the difficulty of finding direct archaeological evidence for this kind of economy, indirect factors like social organization and social structure and their development through time derived from cross-cultural ethnological comparisons are taken into account.

**Speaker:** HELM, Marian

**Affiliation:** Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster

**Paper Title:** Managing Expansion – The Liris valley between Romans, Campanians, and Samnites

**Abstract:** The fourth century BC was a dynamic time in Central Italy (Eckstein 2006, Farney/Bradley 2018). One region in particular gives evidence to the rapidly changing political and economic environment: the Liris valley. Nestled between Latium, Campania and Samnium it has always been a neuralgic zone in the Italian peninsula and saw the creation, clash, and foundering of numerous alliances in the second half of the century.



While Roman expansion into Campania has always been seen as a major step towards the imperial republic, the importance of the less glamorous in-between region has received less attention (cf. Smith 2018). However, it was here that the Romans founded the first *coloniae Latinae* Cales and Fregellae (Pelgrom 2012), followed by numerous others in the Second Samnite Wars. It was also here that the vital via Latina connected Latium and Campania, later supplemented by the huge infrastructure project of the via Appia in the course of which the adjacent territory was both remodeled and integrated into a new economic and political network (Di Fazio 2006). Therefore, it will be argued that the land corridor between Latium and Campania was the main link of the new network of trade, traffic and communication that emerged in the wake of Rome's emergence as a major power in Italy. Being the first area to receive Latin colonies and Roman *tribus* in close synergy, this regional study (350-300 BC) sheds light on Roman control, administration and adaptation of existing economic networks and main routes of communication.

**Speaker:** HEUER, Keely

**Affiliation:** State University of New York at New Paltz

**Paper Title:** Face to Face: Isolated Heads in South Italian and Etruscan Vase Painting

**Abstract:** Past scholarship has tended to approach Etruscan and South Italian red-figure vase-painting as entirely separate phenomena while acknowledging their common Athenian technical and iconographic roots in the late 5th century B.C.E. However, Etruscan vases share a striking number of parallel motifs with their South Italian contemporaries, many of which are infrequent or otherwise unknown on Attic painted ceramics. This shared imagery can only be explained by the existence of strong cross-cultural ties between southern and central pre-Roman Italy – linking Greeks, Etruscans, and a wide variety of Italic populations, the latter of which were the primary market for South Italian vases. I argue that this analogous iconography can reveal important mutual societal underpinnings that are not preserved in surviving literary and epigraphic sources. For this paper, I present the isolated human head as an iconological case study. This image is the most predominant subject on South Italian vases, occurring as the primary or secondary decoration on over 7400 pieces (more than one-third of the published corpus). By the second quarter of the 4th century B.C.E., similar heads appear on Etruscan and Alto-Adriatic red-figure vases, concurrent with the use of the motif in all five South Italian wares. By observing the consistent patterns of the image's use on ceramics as well other media, including stone carving, molded terracottas, and wall painting, these heads appear to have been closely associated with eschatological beliefs of peoples throughout the Italian peninsula in the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods.

**Speaker:** HOPKINS, John

**Affiliation:** New York University

**Paper Title:** Dissolving Boundaries: The Ficoroni Cista and Artistic Production in Rome, Etruria and Latium

**Abstract:** Perhaps more than any other object, the Ficoroni Cista has stood out as an icon of artistic production and consumption in Central Italy during the fourth century. Yet those who invoke it unfailingly trace its significance to one end, as evidence either for Roman art and expansion, Praenestine families and luxury consumption, or the enduring sophistication of

Etruscan craftwork. It is, rather, an indexical object that conflates and amplifies all three; it dissolves boundaries, both within its historical context and in the modern disciplinary fields of art history, archaeology and material studies. This paper presents an argument for an object that militates against typological or categorical study in the assessment of early Roman culture.

**Speaker:** IAIA, Cristiano

**Affiliation:** Newcastle University

**Paper Title:** The role of metalworkers in the construction of multiple identities through material culture in central Italy: 950 – 700 BC.

**Abstract:** The very beginning of urbanization in Early Iron Age Middle-Tyrrhenian area (Etruria and neighboring regions) is characterized by a process of diversification in many domains of material culture which reflects the emergence of demographically larger communities and more complex, explicitly hierarchical, societies. Metalworking is certainly amongst the more dynamic craft fields, in an earlier stage predominantly as bronze work and lately (from 750 BC ca onwards) also as iron work and precious metals. Local metalworkers, with special regard to those located in South Etruria, were conceiving many different categories of artefacts which both draw on artisanal traditions tracing back to the Final Bronze Age and incorporated several new technological and stylistic stimuli from external areas: e.g. transalpine and eastern Europe, Nuragic Sardinia and, later on, the Near East. The paper aims at emphasizing how highly innovative artisans in this field actively helped construct new collective and individual identities of emerging social groups, mainly though not exclusively articulated along gender lines. They created an extremely varied repertoire of ostentatious artifacts, including offensive weapons and elements of armor for males, exquisite ceremonial ornaments for females, and paraphernalia for ritual consumption of food for both genders.

**Speaker:** KEENAN-JONES, Duncan

**Co-authors:** DRYSDALE, R., STOFFEL, M., and CORONA, C.

**Affiliation:** University of Queensland, University of Melbourne, Université de Genève, Université Blaise Pascal

**Paper Title:** Climate and Agriculture in pre-Roman Italy

**Abstract:** Recently, climatic reconstructions have started to become available at sufficiently fine resolution to allow their detailed comparison with the historical record (e.g. Cook et al., 2015; Sigl et al., 2015). Some, such as Harper (2017), have argued strongly that favourable climatic conditions fostered Rome's expansion through improved agricultural yields, while others are less certain (Haldon et al., 2018). Detailed climatic reconstructions of Central and Southern Italy are lacking, however. This paper will relate an up-to-date synthesis of climate in Central/Southern Italy over the period 900 – 300 BCE to agriculture in the region. It will test the hypothesis that favourable climate during the 6th-4th centuries BCE in the territories of Rome and neighbouring communities may have made small-holdings more viable, boosting the area's carrying capacity, and hence the manpower available during conflict. It will also explore possible links between rainfall and flooding variability and drainage and reclamation works carried out by Etruscans and Romans.

**Speaker:** ÖHLINGER, Birgit

**Co-authors:** KISTLER, E. and HEITZ, C.

**Affiliation:** University of Innsbruck/Austria

**Paper Title:** Banqueting houses as hubs of intra- and intercultural encounters

**Abstract:** In the 6th century BC, in the hinterland of southern Italy and Sicily at certain sites large and elaborately equipped buildings appear, completely different from the previous building tradition. Rectangular layout, ashlar masonry, heavy tile roofs, interior decorations, architectural terracottas within the structures clearly reflect styles and techniques that in the contemporary Greek world are almost exclusively restricted to sacred and communal buildings. At sites like Monte Iato (Western Sicily) and Torre di Satriano (Basilicata) where the direct participation of Tarantine craftsmen is testified by inscriptions, the abundance of banqueting equipment in the shape of Greek as well as indigenous vessels as well as food remains indicates that these places were used for communal and conspicuous feasting. Although the sites share many similarities in terms of external influence, their local embedding however varies significantly – the “Late Archaic house” at the Iato is part of a central cult district, while the “anaktoron” at Torre di Satriano is a rather solitary building. As Greek as the architectural appearance of these buildings may therefore seem, they nonetheless will have served the needs of the local community and played a central role as a social arena for intercultural meetings and local power-building – both between networks of elite peers and local groups. Departing from the findings of the aforementioned sites (new fieldwork data from the University of Innsbruck), it will be explored how locals produce authority by using foreign elements showing the complexity and local uniqueness of such arenas of cultural encounters.

**Speaker:** MORRIS, Gala

**Affiliation:** University of Auckland

**Paper Title:** The Pork in the Road: Pigs, Prestige and Urbanism in Archaic Central Italy

**Abstract:** Pork was a staple of the Roman diet by the mid-to-late Republican period. Yet, evidence from earlier periods suggests both regional and temporal variation in preferences and procurement of domestic species. Italy saw a radical regional transformation in the social, economic, and physical landscape in the first millennium BCE. As the Roman Republic expanded, it took with it a variety of animal species, ultimately contributing to a greater emphasis on the exchange and consumption of pigs across central Italy. Advancements in agricultural practices facilitated the development of large-scale and long-distance food provisioning. Simultaneously, the growth of urban centres contributed to a rise in social stratification and elite power. Food procurement can offer a means to express identity and prestige and, as such, certain meats and cuts may have been associated with social stratification and elite habitation in Italy during this time.

Pigs offer more than just nutrition and calories. Their consumption may reflect socio-economic status, environmental interactions, and their use as basic units of economic exchange. This paper combines zooarchaeological and environmental data to explore the wider social, environmental and economic context of pig consumption across archaic central Italy. By looking beyond the subsistence value of pigs, this investigation hopes to understand patterns of pig husbandry,

consumption and trade, and the social and economic forces that influenced the emergence of these patterns.

**Speaker:** MOSKOWITZ, Alex

**Affiliation:** University of Michigan

**Paper Title:** Connectivity and Metallurgical Knowledge in the Early Iron Age: Tuyères in Western Italy and Beyond

**Abstract:** The Western Mediterranean was famous in antiquity for its extensive mineral resources, a factor that enticed a host of people to trade and settle in the area. From the south coast of Spain to the west coast of Italy and in between, a natural abundance of metals made the zone an ideal stage for wide-ranging and repeated interactions across cultures. In the Early Iron Age, this motivated increased regional connectivity and facilitated the introduction of metallurgical technologies like iron smelting. My presentation considers a specific object in these connections, the tuyère, and its different forms in order to discuss the ways in which populations adopted, rejected, and manipulated technologies. A tuyère is a pyrometallurgical ceramic that facilitates the use of bellows to stoke the flame in a furnace. Drawing from excavation and survey reports, I conduct a spatial analysis based on regional distribution, making special note of the widespread appearance of Levantine-style tuyères in concert with the advent of iron metallurgy. Next, I consider the localized dynamics involved in the distribution of tuyères along the west coast of Italy. I focus on the interconnected nature of metallurgical technology present at the Greek settlement of Pithekoussai in contrast to the less common tuyère types characteristic to Etruria, especially near Bononia and Follonica. At each level of this multi-scalar discussion, I engage with theoretical approaches to technological transfer like *chaîne opératoire* and communities of practice to understand the nuanced cultural processes entangled with technological change and entrenchment.

**Speaker:** MUBARAK, Sally

**Affiliation:** University of Auckland

**Paper Title:** Benefits of Booty: Economic Exchange through the Roman Triumph

**Abstract:** Warfare enabled economic exchange, looting for spoils in Pre-Roman Italy provided an influx of wealth, however, this wealth needed to be distributed after war. This physical and tangible wealth was not only paraded during the triumph but also distributed to soldiers. From Livy we see at least ten examples of spoils being distributed by generals during the triumphal ritual. Booty, therefore, may have been used as a means of negotiation in the absence of coinage between elites such as the *Triumphator* and his soldiers in an economy based on exchange and obligation. Booty allowed for a transactional negotiation to occur between commander and troops before the formation of 'state armies,' and this exchange also allowed for a new influx of war spoils after war to be incorporated into the economy and distributed amongst the people. The triumph was thus an institution which provided a means for the populous to regain some of the wealth held by the elite, as it was a nexus for negotiation between elites and the people. This exchange of booty was 'obligation free' and functioned outside of the pre-established economic institution of *tributum*. This paper will aim to explore the economic exchange that took place through the triumphal

institution, and the possible implications that these transactions had on Rome's wealth distribution.

**Speaker:** NORMAN, Camilla

**Affiliation:** Institute of Classical Studies

**Paper Title:** The Ritual Ecology of Archaic Italy: a view from Daunia

**Abstract:** Our understanding of the religious behaviours of the indigenous populations of much of pre-Roman Italy is poor. This is especially true of the south, where there is virtually no epigraphic evidence and prior to Hellenic influence people did not typically worship in purpose-built environments, nor use cultic paraphernalia readily recognizable in the archaeological remains.

There can be detected, however, a certain iconographic vocabulary shared across a number of cultures in 7th to 5th-century peninsular Italy almost certainly intended to evoke in the ancient viewer recall of contemporary ritual practices. The same images can repeatedly be found in confluence on objects in a range of media produced in various geographic and social contexts. When taken individually, the vignettes depicted on any one of these items ostensibly come from either the sacred sphere (e.g. processing) or the secular (e.g. weaving). Yet the selection of images is clearly deliberate. When read together they can be understood as individual moments in time from the same ritual system: a specific phenomenon in non-Greek Archaic Italy, which, judging from evidence from the Hallstatt culture, may well have been transmitted from further north.

Using the concepts of 'lived religion' and 'ritual ecology', this paper posits that certain cluster of ritualized behaviours was common to a wide range of pre- and proto-historic Italic communities, taking imagery on the Daunian stelae as its starting point.

**Speaker:** PECHE-QUILICHINI, Kewin

**Co-authors:** CHEVALIER, S. and LECHENAULT, M.

**Affiliation:** Archéologie des Sociétés Méditerranéennes

**Paper Title:** The world is changed... Insularity versus Tyrrhenian Connectivity during Corsican Iron Ages

**Abstract:** 'No Man is an Island', famous poet John Donne wrote. Then what about being an island in a connective and multipolar world? The last decades have demonstrated a scientific renewal about perception of Bronze and Iron ages of Tyrrhenian little-sized Corsica island (France), whose external outreach used to be seen as limited to Alalia/Aleria, in the general spirit. The integration of existing data from economic areas, settlements and various kind of craftsmanship, the evidence of mines, metal artefacts, together with the metallurgist neighbourhood (Etruria, Elba, Phoenician settlements) lead to question the role of Corsican communities through the dynamic Tyrrhenian landscape between IX<sup>th</sup> and III<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, that is a time marked by many significant changes. An increasing number of archaeological surveys related to Iron age occurred since 2000, as well as revisited previous findings, data from former works, most of the time unpublished until nowadays, that bring a new light on the state of the art related to insular indeed, however not isolated societies. Moreover, the current globalization of scientific thinking has played a strong role in the

development of new approaches (Rainbird, Purcell and Horden). As a result, innovative perspectives about the concepts of fragmentation and Mediterranean connectivity have been offered. The talk aims to give a summary of those issues by addressing more specifically the question of material and immaterial transmission. In the other hand, we will test the assumptions by pointing out the current limitation of knowledge and the potential further studies.

**Speaker:** PERUZZI, Bice

**Affiliation:** Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

**Paper Title:** The 'Bradano District' revisited: Tombs, Trade, and Identity in Interior Peucetia

**Abstract:** This paper analyzes geographical variability in burial customs in Peucetia (Central Apulia, Italy) in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, to investigate which aspects could be considered expressions of local identities and which should be attributed to patterns of trade and connectivity. Evidence for the existence of sub-regional zones comes from the study of single classes of pottery and the preference at some sites for miniature vases over full-sized ones in funerary assemblages.

At Gravina and Ginosa, for example, there does not seem to be a decisive break with the earlier Iron Age pottery tradition, and Peucetian sub-geometric vases could still be found in 5<sup>th</sup> century tombs. However, other types of decorated finewares (e.g., overpainted), were attested at these sites considerably earlier than everywhere else in the region.

It has been suggested in scholarship that this area was part of a separate cultural entity –the “Bradano district”– which extended to Central Basilicata. Yet, the general composition of the grave assemblages at Gravina and nearby sites, appears consistent with those of the rest of Peucetia. Thus, these communities must have performed the same funerary rituals as their contemporaries on the Adriatic coast, yet they looked elsewhere to acquire their pottery. By looking at how and where the communities in the internal part of Peucetia obtained pottery for their graves, we will not just gain a better understanding of local trade, but also shed light on the relationship between the consumption of material culture and the construction of cultural identity.

**Speaker:** POTTS, Charlotte

**Affiliation:** University of Oxford

**Paper Title:** Virtue in Variety: Contrasting Temple Design in Pre-Roman Italy

**Abstract:** This paper will consider why temples with variants of peripteral and Tuscan plans were built side by side in select central Italic sanctuaries. The collocation of temples with starkly different plans, as exemplified at Pyrgi and Marzabotto, has often been read as a sign that a site underwent a phase of Hellenisation in architecture, religion, or culture more generally. The juxtaposition has also been ascribed to the demands of unknown rituals. As excavations uncover more similarities between the sanctuaries of Pyrgi and Regio I at Marzabotto, however, potential explanations for this phenomenon should now evolve to include factors that connect both sites as well as other examples. This paper will consequently suggest that the collocation of temple plans reflects a central Italic affinity for visual variety and competition, comparable to the delight in contrasting designs displayed later at sites like Largo Argentina in Rome. The result is a model in which the

use of 'Greek' architectural styles in Etruria and Latium is explained with reference to local aesthetic preferences.

**Speaker:** RHODES-SCHRODER, Aaron

**Affiliation:** University of Auckland

**Paper Title:** The Demon is in the Detail: Greek Pottery in Etruscan Funerary Contexts

**Abstract:** The dominance of Greek figure-decorated pottery in Etruscan contexts has traditionally been ascribed to a profound level of Hellenization in pre-Roman Central Italy. In such models, the local significance of the Greek imagery found on these vases is often subordinated to the practical use of the vessels' shapes in the banquet itself.

However, more recent studies have highlighted the degree to which polysemy can explain the roles of certain Greek themes in Etruscan contexts, whereby the Etruscan consumers of these images could simultaneously recognise the Greek episodes depicted while also finding resonance with local themes and ideas. This is particularly apparent in the funerary sphere, where many of the Greek scenes can be seen to be resonating with local beliefs regarding the afterlife, although these differed from the original Greek meanings.

This paper will examine the ways in which the trade and diffusion of Greek figure-decorated pottery in Etruria served to provide basic iconographical models from which the Etruscans first adopted, and then actively adapted imagery in their own art to present their own eschatological beliefs during the Archaic period. A quantitative analysis of the types of scenes which predominate on Attic figure-decorated pottery imports into Tarquinia, and their relationship with local funerary art will provide evidence of this process and help to explain the patterns of the apparent popularity of particular Greek mythical episodes in Etruria.

**Speaker:** ROBINSON, Ted

**Affiliation:** University of Sydney

**Paper Title:** Mobility of ceramicists in southern Italy

**Abstract:** From the very start of Greek settlement in southern Italy we find examples of the migration of ceramicists into indigenous Italian communities. The phenomenon intensifies from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The new evidence will be reviewed, with some shown to be completely at odds with traditional assumptions about the ethnicity of the artisans. We would not expect that all of the cultural knowledge, practices and meanings of Greek ceramics accompanied the migrant artisans, and there is plenty of evidence that they did not. There is also good evidence that the social and economic value of Greek-type pottery changed very rapidly in indigenous contexts, and that there were dramatic differences across space. The successive redefinition and reappropriation of objects depends entirely on human signification. Interpretations must therefore be nuanced and context-specific, but they encourage us to think about issues such as identity-formation and regimes of value. The indigenous world of South Italy and the "Greek" cities are still largely thought of as quite separate spheres, even in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, after several centuries of cohabitation in the peninsula. Likewise Greek-type pottery in indigenous settlements seems still to be regarded as a class of object used in something akin to a

cargo-cult, and without strong implications for questions of broader cultural change. This paper will argue that the mobility of ceramic artisans and the movement of and reinterpretation/repurposing of associated cultural knowledge and practices should be viewed as symbolic of wider issues for mobility and cultural exchange in South Italy, in spheres for which there is much less physical evidence.

**Speaker:** SMITH, Christopher

**Affiliation:** University of St Andrews

**Paper Title:** Value, production and commerce: Thinking through trade

**Abstract:** Scholars of antiquity and the archaic period in particular are used to thinking in terms of Polanyi's embedded economy and Mauss' theory of the gift, both of which have been developed recently in various contexts, including David Graeber's theory of value. At the same time, there is a strong New Institutional Economics trend in modern scholarship; from a different direction we see a heavy emphasis on elite behaviour; and the ideas of connectivity and ecological niches continue to attract attention. Are these theories compatible? What kind of overarching theory of the archaic economy should we be developing which takes account of the evidence we have and contextualizes it with other work on, for instance, ritualization and urbanization? This paper will give an overview of where we may be heading with the notion of archaic trade, and what the implications are for wider social models.

**Speaker:** TERMEER, Marleen

**Affiliation:** University of Amsterdam

**Paper Title:** Early coin production in central Italy: the transmission of ideas and techniques

**Abstract:** The late fourth and third centuries BCE saw the first coinage production in Central Italy. Rome created its first coinage in this period (though the first issues were probably not produced in Rome itself), as did other communities in Etruria, Umbria, Latium, Samnium and northern Campania. These central Italian coinages took the form of either large cast bronze coins or small, struck silver and bronze coins – well-known in the Greek world. While metal, and especially bronze, had been an important form of wealth in the previous centuries and performed monetary functions as well, this first Central Italian coinage production implies the adoption of the concept of coinage as a form of money. In this paper, I examine the transmission of ideas and techniques involved in this process.

My analysis will focus on the transmission of technical knowledge and production practices. How does the production of cast bronze coins relate to the tradition of *aes rude*? What are the similarities and differences between production techniques used for the coins of different communities? What does that tell us about the organization of production, and the existence of, for example, central or travelling mints? These questions will be explored on the basis of a combination of data on the metal composition of *aes rude* and coins and more traditional numismatic data. In this way, I will show how we can use such data to assess the impact of various exchange networks on the spread of coinage as money.



**Speaker:** TERRENATO, Nicola

**Affiliation:** University of Michigan

**Paper Title:** The paradox of innovation in conservative societies. Cultural self-consistency and *bricolage* in Iron Age central Italy.

**Abstract:** There is an apparent paradox in our narratives about the emergence of state organizations in Iron Age central Italy: on the one hand, we describe these societies as highly conservative and traditional, and, on the other, we have no problem imagining that they underwent a wholesale cultural revolution when states and cities were formed. Implicit teleological assumptions, rooted in what was called the western tradition, have rendered unremarkable that self-replicating kin groups would blithely abandon centuries of relatively uneventful village life to merge into a citizen body agitated by new value systems and ideologies. When we instead make the effort to imagine their limited horizon and their deeply rooted worldviews, it becomes much less obvious to understand why and especially how these changes took place without shattering irretrievably the cultural self-consistency of these groups. Building on visionary work by Fustel de Coulanges and other sociologists, the paper argues that strategies of scaling-up and refunctionalization of traditional elements were deployed to adapt to and cope with the ongoing transformations. A sort of *bricolage*, in which established concepts were rejiggered to serve new and larger purposes, can help us conceptualize choices and responses in the time of the earliest Italian state formation. Some broader theoretical repercussions, which could potentially be applied to other comparable contexts, are also explored.

**Speaker:** TOL, Gijs

**Affiliation:** University of Melbourne

**Paper Title:** The archaic countryside revisited: a ceramic approach to the study of archaic rural infill in southern Lazio.

**Abstract:** In the last decades many field survey projects carried out in Latium have reconstructed a flourishing Archaic countryside that matches the strong urban development in this period (6<sup>th</sup> c. BC). Recently, the nature and density of this Archaic rural infill in Central Italy was put into question by Attema *et al.* (2016) in a contribution to the proceedings of the conference *The Age of Tarquinius Superbus*. A crucial point appeared that identification of phases of Archaic activity has often been based on types and wares with long chronologies, pre- and outdating the archaic period and that we poorly understand what a Central Italian rural archaic assemblage looks like. In this article the author would like to add to this discussion by establishing the material fingerprint for several certain rural sites of this period – both published and unpublished (originating from the collection of the *antiquarium di Nettuno*) - and evaluate its implications by re-examining the evidence for Archaic occupation in several parts of Southern Lazio.