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Queen Sofia and Walter Trillmich

Opening the AIAC Congress (or talking to the Queen)

The opening speeches of the AIAC Congress had the unusual context of being addressed to Queen Sofia, and having to clear royal protocol. The text of mine reflects this:

"Your Majesty,

Mr. president, colleagues, and friends. When Merida was first suggested to the AIAC board as the site for our next quinquennial conference I was enormously pleased. Merida represents for me a very special example of a city that has known how to weave the fabric of the Roman city into its daily life, investing in a talented group of archaeologists and creating an infrastructure for visitors that culminates in Rafael Moneo's truly fabulous museum. Isabel Rodà accepted the idea with enthusiasm, and my visit here, as a guest of Trinidad Nogales and the President of the Congress José María Álvarez Martínez, confirmed my view that Merida was an ideal site for the Congress. My first thanks must go to them and to the secretariat of the conference involved in the actual organization. – as well as to the Spanish Ministry of Culture and the Catalan Institute of Classical Archaeology whose generosity made the Congress here possible. After the Rome adventure of 2008 (which seems yesterday) I am well aware of the work involved in sorting through the innumerable requests to make communications, in corre-

sponding with the authors and in making a coherent and logical structure around the final selection. The program that has emerged is not only rich and promising but beautifully designed: congratulations to all concerned.

Merida beautifully represents the enormous changes that have taken place in Spanish archaeology since the AIAC conference organized in Tarragona 20 years ago. A new generation of archaeologists, practicing urban archaeology in open-area excavations on a grand scale, have put Spanish archaeological technique at the cutting edge of our discipline. At the same time, their attention to the late Roman and Early Medieval city has thrown an entirely new light on its development, opening up windows on the very cosmopolitan center that the city became. It is not a chance that, since urban excavation became a science, our attention has shifted to those periods so often discarded in earlier searches for major Roman monuments.

But there is more to the choice of Merida than the fascination of its archaeology or the inherent charm and interest of the city. It is not lost on any of us that we have entered into a period of profound crisis, and that culture in general and archaeology in particular are usually the hardest hit, as they are often regarded as unnecessary compared to more basic needs. Spain has, of course, suffered more than many European countries, and the effort here in Merida takes on a more poignant character when it is set against the real sacrifices elsewhere – I think not only of Spanish archaeology on a national scale, but also of its international repercussions, and of the numerous, marvelous Spanish teams that will not be able to excavate this year in hard-won sites such as Tyre. And yet I continue to feel strongly that Culture *is* Development, and Merida is a shining example of just this process. By exploiting and encouraging its own archaeology, the city has gained an international reputation and is visited annually by countless groups and individuals who might otherwise never have set foot in Extremadura. This international role, of course, echoes the extraordinary network of Late Roman Emerita, which saw Iberians, Africans and Church fathers, Gauls and Romans come together in what must have been a very cosmopolitan city indeed.

This, of course, brings us to AIAC's own network. Most people remember it only once every five years, when they welcome the chance to meet their colleagues at the Conference, exchange ideas and plans, and generally refresh their outlook by the interaction. This Conference will certainly be no exception to the rule, and I am looking forward to seeing both old friends and new colleagues, and above all to hearing what they have to say! And yet AIAC is so much more: the *Fasti Online*, of course, a database of over 3000 excavations which have taken place since the year 2000, and which I am delighted to announce is soon to be available in Spanish. We hope soon to publish the first Spanish records, as the University of Salamanca, under the leadership of Professor Maria Blázquez Cerrato, has undertaken the daunting task of organizing *Fasti* there, creating a showcase for the marvelous work that is done here. Professor Isabel Rodà has just told me that Barcellona, too, has announced its decision to join the project, as has Merida itself.

Supporting *Fasti* is in itself a good reason to join AIAC, but you might consider the graduate seminars and the Archaeological Calendar we organize in Rome, which could so easily be reproduced in other cities. We are also very open to suggestions, initiatives, and criticisms – indeed anything that will make AIAC more useful to archaeologists, and better able to respond to their needs. Our aim is, and has always been, to facilitate communication between our colleagues and support their initiatives – on Tuesday I will be talking about the new European initiative ARIADNE, which aims at just that. But please do join, participate, and take part: Maria Teresa D'Alessio and myself have membership cards available for anyone who is not yet a member.

There remains only to conclude with my wishes that you will find the Conference scientifically fruitful (which of course you will) and highly enjoyable (there is no doubt of that). It will be a hard task to follow Merida's example, but I hope that my final announcement is a welcome one: the Universities of Bonn and Cologne have proposed to host jointly the conference of 2018. In each Congress we thus remember the last and look forward to the future, but now let us enjoy the 18th!

Elizabeth Fentress

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Ostia's Long-Distance Trade: A New Interpretation of the "Piazzale delle Corporazioni"

Dall'Incontro AIAC
del 12 novembre 2012
"Tre città di mare:
Gades, Pisa, Ostia"
moderato da Marco
Maiuro

Although the "Piazzale delle Corporazioni" in Ostia is a well-known building, current scholarship is not unanimous on what it was used for. In its final phase, the "Piazzale" was a U-shaped colonnade divided up into 61 small rooms with mosaics in front of them. Though not of particularly high quality, these mosaics contain the names of a host of foreign cities, as well as depictions of maritime scenes.

Initial construction of the "Piazzale" was contemporary with the theater; it was originally built as a "foyer" for the spectators. However, its use changed over time; the monumental entrance to the north was blocked up, limiting access to two narrow passages at the southern end (Battistelli & Greco 2002, p. 395-416). This change in orientation is reflected in the temple in the center of the "Piazzale" which has its back turned towards the blocked-up entrance and looks towards the southern access points.

The mosaics are the best indicator of the building's later purpose. Their overarching decorative theme is maritime shipping, and their words refer to groups of foreign traders and shipmasters. Eight African cities are represented, as are Alexandria, two towns on Sardinia, and one town in Gaul (fig. 1).

An early interpretation of the "Piazzale" is that it served the *annona* (Calza 1915, p. 191-196), but this interpretation ignores evidence to the contrary. Statue-bases from the "Piazzale" indicate that honorary spots there were assigned by the Ostian city-council, not the central government. In addition, one booth was assigned to the "Naviculariorum Lignariorum" who did not form part of the *annona* organization. Alternative interpretations of the space are often vague, e.g. office space for foreign mercantile organizations. The

Ostia: "Piazzale delle Corporazioni"

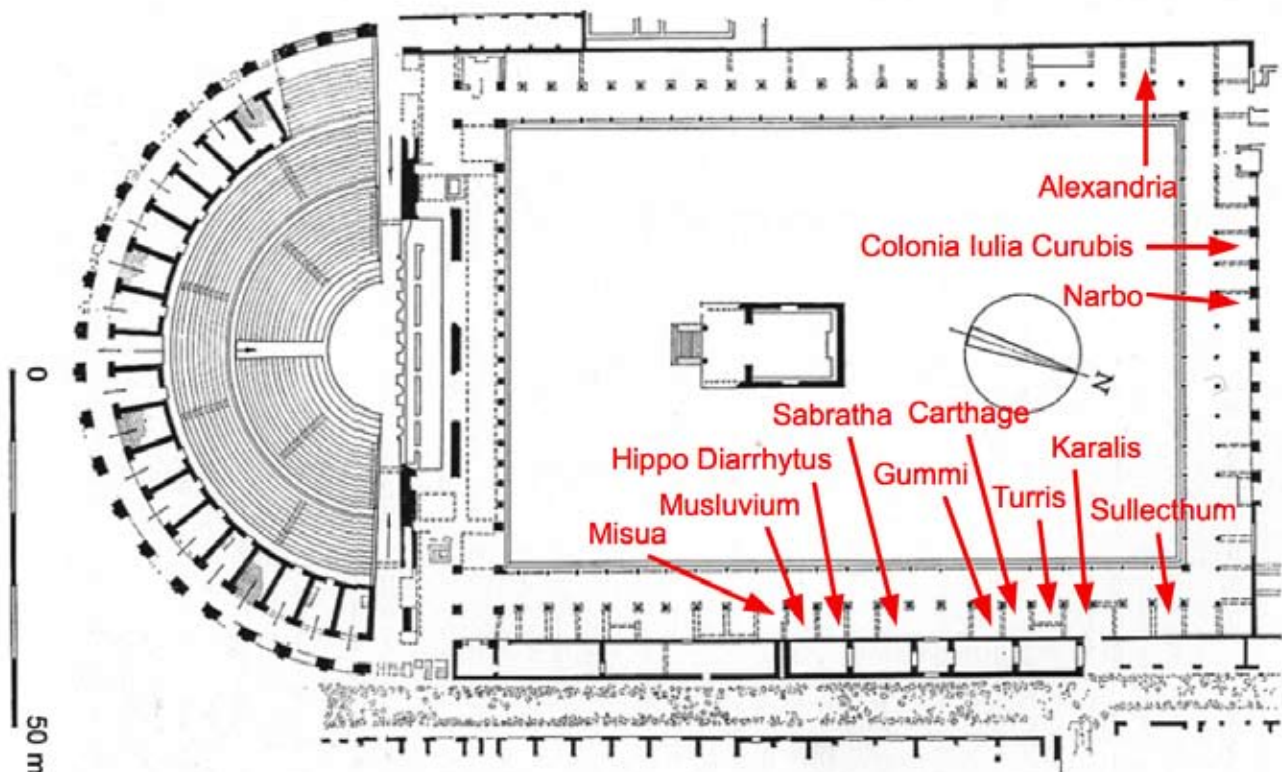


Fig. 1: "Piazzale delle Corporazioni" with represented cities (modified image from Terpstra 2013, p. 126)

current paper proposes a more concrete, microeconomic interpretation.

The “Piazzale” was a permanent building with permanent decoration; the structure thus represents an institutionalized way of organizing trade. Evidence suggests that the “Piazzale” was a place where resident foreign groups in Ostia maintained communal rooms. By maintaining a spot in Ostia that was recognizably their own, they provided traveling merchants from their respective hometowns with a place to go to demonstrate their ethnic group allegiance (Terpstra 2013, p. 95-125).

By visiting the booth maintained by his fellow townsmen, a foreign itinerant trader or shipmaster could demonstrate his group membership and build trust with Ostian businessmen. However, if he behaved dishonestly, this would reflect badly on his group, which could ultimately threaten to expel him. Because the foreign networks represented on the “Piazzale” were based on ethnicity, an individual trader could not join another network, and ostracism was therefore a dire threat. If expelled from his native group, he would no longer be trusted by local merchants and would no longer be able to trade in Ostia.

A recent interpretation of the temple in the center of the “Piazzale” is in line with the hypothesis that the “Piazzale” served to establish trust between foreign and Ostian merchants. It seems unlikely that the temple was used by only one group, but with so many foreign traders present on the “Piazzale”, it is hard to think of one deity that would have appealed to them all. Based on a careful consideration of the archaeological, architectural, and epigraphic evidence, recent scholarship argues that the temple served the imperial cult (Van der Meer 2009). This interpretation fits best with the evidence, and also makes sense from the microeconomic viewpoint advanced in this paper. Adherence and shows of allegiance to imperial power strengthened the ties of foreign communities with the Italian town to which they sailed, and with the Italian business community with which they wanted to establish trust.

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Il sito di Valle Giumentina e il Paleolitico antico e medio in Abruzzo

Nel 2012, l'École française de Rome in collaborazione con la Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Abruzzo ha iniziato un programma di ricerca quinquennale sul Paleolitico dell'Abruzzo. Sessant'anni dopo gli scavi del Prof. Antonio Mario Radmilli, rivive la ricerca archeologica a Valle Giumentina, un sito di incredibile bellezza situato nel Parco Nazionale della Majella (Demangeot e Radmilli, 1966). Nel mese di Settembre, una squadra multidisciplinare composta da archeologi (specialisti in Paleolitico) e da geologi e paleontologi ha ripreso le ricerche per ricostruire la presenza dell'uomo durante gli ultimi 300.000 anni. La registrazione continua della sua presenza per un intervallo di tempo così ampio fa della Valle Giumentina un sito di estrema importanza ed interesse al livello europeo per la rarità e per la qualità della conservazione. Valle Giumentina è una piccola

**Dall'Incontro AIAC
del 28 gennaio 2013
"Paesaggi abruzzesi e
laziali, tra Preistoria e
Medioevo"
moderato da
Jeremia Pelgrom**

valle sospesa a circa 740 m di quota, un tempo occupata da un lago. Nei sedimenti di questo lago, oggi di circa 40 metri di spessore oggi profondi circa 40 m, si rivengono sette livelli archeologici con manufatti in pietra riferiti a gruppi umani neandertaliani. Questi gruppi frequentavano le sponde del lago Giumentina tra l'altro per cacciare gli animali e scheggiare la pietra.

I reperti della cultura materiale sono i testimoni più evocativi del Paleolitico. Sembrano fugaci rispetto ai reperti più recenti, perchè risultano dei modi di vita nomadi dei gruppi umani nomadi, cacciatori-raccoglitori. Gli uomini erano in contatto diretto con l'ambiente naturale, non ancora addomesticato o trasformato in modo intensivo. Così le ricerche sul Paleolitico sono indissociabili dallo studio del Quaternario. La buona comprensione delle produzioni industriali umane, delle modalità di gestione delle risorse naturali e dei territori, dipende strettamente della conoscenza dei paleoambienti. La lunga sequenza di sedimenti di Valle Giumentina contiene pollini, molluschi e altri organismi che testimoniano le vicissitudini del clima e dell'ambiente nel tempo e che permettono di dare un quadro cronologico alle occupazioni umane. Durante la missione sul sito nel 2012, un carottaggio con recupero è stato realizzato e la sezione è stata pulita. La carotta e la sezione sono state campionate per lo studio palinologico e sedimentologico. Un'insieme di analisi sono in corso nei laboratori specializzati di Pisa e Parigi-Meudon (granulometria laser, suscettibilità magnetica, dosaggio carbone organico ed azoto totale, spettrometria infrarosso a trasformata di Fourier, micromorfologia del suolo, studio geochimico elementare, spettroscopia di assorbimento dei carbonati...). I tephra vulcanici sono un'altro elemento essenziale per ottenere un quadro cronostratigrafico affidabile (datazioni laser $^{40}\text{Ar}/^{39}\text{Ar}$, geochimica, microsonda elettronica, spettroscopia Fluorescence X – bulk, minerali pesanti).

Gli insiemi litici dell'Abruzzo riflettono tutta la complessità del Paleolitico inferiore e medio in Italia. Nello stato attuale della questione, parecchi gruppi sono stati creati e interpretati come testimoni di tradizioni tecniche diverse (Tayaziano, Clactoniano, Acheuleano, Levalloiso-Mousteriano...). La denominazione di "paesaggio a mosaico" (Palma di Cesnola, 1996), utilizzata per caratterizzare la complessità del Paleolitico medio d'Italia, descrive bene un panorama frammentato geograficamente, difficile a percepire in sintesi. La ripresa delle ricerche sulle industrie e il sito di Valle Giumentina si svolge in una dinamica di decostruzione dei vecchi paradigmi e d'apporto di nuovi dati tecnici e cronologici. La revisione tecnica e la datazione dei diversi complessi industriali che si succedono in stratigrafia a Valle Giumentina partecipa così alla creazione di un nuovo quadro regionale e nazionale per il Paleolitico antico e medio. Il sito presenta un potenziale ovvio per discutere dell'evoluzione tecnica delle industrie tra Paleolitico inferiore e medio. La presenza di un livello con bifacciali all'interno della sequenza permetterà per esempio di capire l'evoluzione di questo fenomeno bifacciale, che già sappiamo plurale durante la prima parte del Pleistocene medio in Europa occidentale. Per quanto riguarda il Paleolitico medio, il sito offre la possibilità di analizzare la mosaica di culture tecniche che caratterizzano questa fase nella diacronia e di integrarle ai dati sulle dinamiche di popolamento d'Italia e d'Europa durante questo periodo. I grandi passi avanti realizzati dal periodo degli scavi di Radmilli nei metodi di studio e nell'ottenere datazioni radiometriche lasciano augurare considerevole scoperte. Lo studio di questo sito in contesto stratigrafico e delle numerose industrie litiche che contiene ci autorizza a ripensare il Paleolitico abruzzese, con risonanze in Italia e in Europa.

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L'Orientalizzante maturo a Narce. Caratteri di un quadro culturale

L'insediamento di Narce s'impone nell'area meridionale del territorio falisco come punto nevralgico nel controllo di una fascia di frontiera strettamente correlata al territorio dell'Etruria meridionale veiente e, nella gestione condivisa con *Falerii*, di un ampio tratto della riva destra del bacino tiberino, in stretto rapporto con i Capenati ed i Sabini. In questa dinamica insediamentale, *Falerii* a nord e Narce a sud si configurano come gli estremi di un naturale corridoio nord-est/sud-ovest nel controllo del territorio e degli itinerari che lo attraversano, in una dinamica complementare che funge da cerniera tra il mondo tirrenico ed il mondo adriatico.

L'area settentrionale e lo sbocco sul Tevere, accanto agli itinerari verso l'Etruria interna, appaiono coordinati da *Falerii*; Narce si pone come cardine di importanti direttrici a breve ed ampio raggio nei collegamenti tra il territorio di Veio, *Caere*, e l'Etruria settentrionale.

I numerosi tracciati preferenziali, che penetrano nel territorio veiente, pongono Narce non solo come entità in cui si ripercuotono le dinamiche sociali, politico-economiche e le influenze culturali della città etrusca, ma come elemento in grado di interagire con minori filtri in quello scenario di ampio respiro rappresentato dal delta del Tevere, controllato da Veio. Queste dinamiche territoriali e i processi che in esse operano, possono collegarsi al ruolo di coesione di gruppi gentilizi che interagiscono sullo stesso piano socio-ideologico, con alleanze (politico-militari, commerciali, matrimoniali) di cui la pratica del dono è l'elemento maggiormente "decifrabile".

In questo contesto sociale va inserito il dato discriminante che vede, verso la metà del VII sec. a.C. concentrate a Narce un consistente numero di iscrizioni lunghe etrusche (COLONNA 1990, pp. 125-126). In quest'ottica Narce sembra quasi rappresentare una sorta di "traduttore" tra il mondo etrusco e quei territori che si affacciano al di là del Tevere in una costante dinamica con *Falerii* che si affievolirà progressivamente ad iniziare dalla metà del VI sec. a.C. La presenza di testi etruschi nell'agro falisco è stata interpretata in chiave "colonizzatrice" (CRISTOFANI 1988, pp. 13-24) la questione dell'etruscolità dei Falisci è stata sinteticamente risolta da Pallottino (PALLOTTINO 1990, pp. 9-14). Lo studioso, alla tesi di una più o meno massiccia presenza demografica etrusca e conseguente commistione etnica, tende a vedere, nella diffusione dell'etrusco, alleanze e spinte in senso politico-militare. Come spesso accade una tesi non esclude l'altra, e il più delle volte sono un sistema di concause ad agire. Il problema che pongono i testi di Narce, non risiede soltanto nel poter seguire l'etruschizzazione o la falischizzazione (PERUZZI 1990, pp. 277-339) ad opera di alcune *gens*, quanto nella concentrazione e complessità di almeno quattro testi del gruppo più antico, databili entro il secondo quarto e la metà del VII sec. a.C. Se la kylix di bucchero sottile, con complesso decoro narrativo (Tomba 1, Monte in mezzo ai Prati), con ogni probabilità può esser giunta già iscritta (da *Caere*? come dono?) questa non può essere l'ipotesi ricostruttiva di tutto il complesso epigrafico, il cui supporto vira verso produzioni locali. È possibile che personaggi di rango (veienti?) siano i possessori/destinatari di questi testi, quali personalità integrate nel tessuto sociale della città falisca? Oppure bisogna pensare che in questo periodo gli *áristoi* di Narce, per gli interessi enunciati da Pallottino: politico-militari nonché economici e culturali, abbiano operato un processo acculturativo linguistico?

Nell'approfondita sintesi su Narce (DE LUCIA, BAGLIONE 1997, pp. 53-94), è stato evidenziato come nella seconda metà dell'VIII sec. a.C. si registra un grande incremento delle necropoli che rispondono a dinamiche insediative complesse, dove alla cesura dell'insediamento del colle di Narce, tra la fine dell'VIII e gli inizi del VII sec. a.C. si strutturano gli estesi pianori sommitali delle vicine alture di Monte li Santi e Pizzo Piede. A quali esigenze risponde tale fenomeno al momento rimane questione ancora aperta; sicuramente si registra un fermento demografico, un dinamismo e una stratificazione sociale. I nuovi impianti sorgono tutti nella fascia sud-ovest dei due centri, ben distinti sia topograficamente

**Dall'Incontro AIAC
del 18 febbraio 2013
"Caratteri di un quadro
culturale"
moderato da
Josephine Quinn**

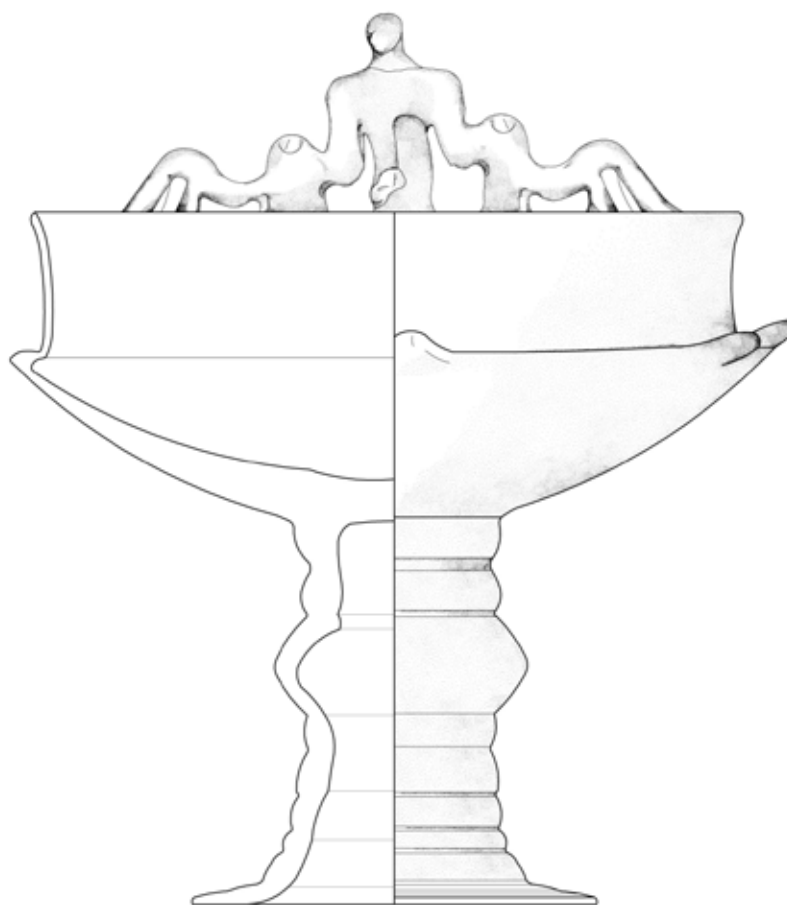


Fig.1. Esempio di scodella "monumentale", dal 3° sepolcreto di Pizzo Piede, tomba 4 (XLVIII).

sia per alcuni particolarismi caratterizzanti. Al centro abitato di Monte li Santi sono collegate le necropoli di Monte Soriano, di Monte li Santi, Monte lo Greco, Cavone di Monte li Santi, disposte a ventaglio a sud del centro abitato. Diversamente, i cinque sepolcreti omonimi connessi all'altura di Pizzo Piede, si sviluppano su un asse longitudinale segnato sia dal Fosso della Selva sia dal tracciato viario che partendo dal centro urbano si dirige a sud-ovest verso Veio. A differenza delle necropoli di Monte li Santi, che nel tempo tendono ad ampliarsi e coagularsi; i sepolcreti di Pizzo Piede, tendono ad esaurirsi verso il terzo quarto del VII sec. a.C. I due centri con le loro distinte fasce cimiteriali, sembrano coesistere e strutturarsi all'interno di un tessuto territoriale come un unico organo che gestisce l'impianto di insediamenti minori di cui sono spia quella cintura di necropoli, più o meno estese, che demarcano il territorio (a nord-ovest: l'Agnese, Valle l'Abate, Maglianel-la; ad est sud-est: Banditaccia, Monte Cerreto, Contrada Morgi ecc.). Se le varianti rituali connotanti alcuni sepolcreti, come pure il diverso uso dello spazio, sembrano rispondere "all'identificazioni sociale o politica dei diversi gruppi" (DE LUCIA, BAGLIONE 1997, p. 71), appare arduo stabilire se i due centri rispondessero a precisi e distinti usi, di funzioni e zonizzazioni anche sociali.

L'uso contemporaneo di diverse tipologie tombali e depositoriali (fossa con loculo per il corredo, fossa con grande loculo sepolcrale, tomba a camera; sarcofagi, letti o casse lignee) suggerisce l'utilizzo di spazi differenziati per gruppi o clan familiari. La mancanza di piante sistematiche (dove presenti) integranti i vari interventi di scavo (scavi 1891; scavi Paille-Mengarelli del 1897; scavi Del Drago 1902), produce non poche difficoltà nella

lettura sincronica nell'uso dello spazio. Seppure l'elemento orografico, particolarmente movimentato, ha potuto condizionare alcune scelte (es. l'orientamento d'ingresso delle tombe a camera) questo tipo di causa non può considerarsi deterministico, nell'impianto di una necropoli che, presieduta da azioni rituali in cui il connettivo sociale si riconosce, spinge nell'individuare, nei dati offerti dai sepolcreti di Narce, precise scelte ideologiche che possono avere differenti matrici.

Tra lo scorcio dell'VIII-inizi del VII sec. a.C. si coglie, in modo sempre più strutturato, l'emergere di individui connotati per genere e per status. Le sepolture femminili sono caratterizzate da ricche parure e vesti cerimoniali, corredi costituiti, tra gli altri, da vasselame in bronzo e da strumenti legati alla filatura e tessitura. Le sepolture maschili sono connotate da articolate panoplie da offesa e difesa. Nelle sepolture di ambo i generi, un ruolo centrale nel corredo d'accompagnamento è rappresentato dalla presenza di set vascolari formati da *holmos*+olla+*kantharos*+anforetta a cui è associato un vaso redatto in scala "monumentale" (*kantharos* o scodella, **Fig. 1**). Questo quadro di base, perdura fino agli inizi del terzo quarto del VII sec. a.C., anche se emergono in alcuni contesti ulteriori elementi cui si relegano il ruolo e i valori di autorappresentazione. È questo il momento di maggiore impulso sperimentale nella produzione degli impasti, ed è proprio nella *techné* del tornio, nelle sue espressioni strutturali e figurative, nei suoi codici metalinguistici (?) e in nuovi modelli all'altro, integrati e tradotti, che si delineano alcuni di quei caratteri peculiari della cultura di Narce di pieno VII sec. a.C.

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Urban Sanctuaries of Numidia from the 2nd c. BC to the 1st c. AD

Dall'Incontro AIAC
del 30 gennaio 2012
"Roman Africa"
moderato da
Elizabeth Fentress

This article presents a part of my PhD project dealing with questions of transformation, continuity and the creation of new forms in pre-Roman and early Roman Numidia. Concerning this region and time, evidence is slowly growing, but its interpretation is still dominated by the bipolar 'Roman vs. indigenous model'. In contrast to this approach, my research is based on the premise of a juridical differentiation between Roman and Non-Roman. This paper focuses on sanctuaries with a distinct urban connection, leaving aside the tophets. A trans-regional synthesis of sanctuaries from this period is still missing. Some local overviews have been published recently, but they still tend to accept the old hypothesis that 'indigenous temples à cour' were dedicated by Non-Romans to traditional deities in the cities' peripheries, and Italian-style temples were dedicated by Romans to 'Roman' gods in the cities' centres (Bullo, 2002: 230. 243; S. Amans, 2004: 60; Ben Abid, 2010: 696).

The analysis of four Pre-Roman sanctuaries – Maktar's Hoter Miskar sanctuary, Thugga's so-called Massinissa temple, and probable examples in Zama and Bulla Regia (temple B) – shows that square podia with profiles comparable to Republican temples in Italy, were en vogue already at least from the early 1st c. BC onwards and were reflected in Numidian royal coins (Ksouri 2012: 248–269 Figs. 189–192). This 'Italian influence' perfectly matches historical events and can be added to the openness for recent architecture in the cities of Numidia, where late Hellenistic architecture from many regions intermingled with pre-existing local norms (Ferchiou, 2011). Ionic and Aeolian capitals, Egyptian gorges as well as double-torus bases were markers of sacred architecture of that time.

After the Roman conquest in 46 BC this development continued without any rupture. Neither did cultic activity come to an end, nor were such institutional structures as priesthoods altered until the 2nd c. AD. All sanctuaries were preserved and slightly modified. Three out of a dozen 1st c. AD built urban sanctuaries that have so far been archaeologically recorded show Italian podia: Hippo Regius (temples on *platea vetus* and forum: Bullo, 2002: 155), and perhaps Simitthus (Khanoussi – v. Rummel e. a., 2012: 198). Their common features are: high profiled podia on a distinctive quadrate plan, central positioning on newly built squares with porticoes, recalling of pre-Roman architecture and Punic measurements, and domination of trans-regional roads, built only shortly before the temples themselves. Three sanctuaries display 'temples à cour': Bulla Regia's Apollon temple, Simitthus' Caelestis shrine donated by Roman citizens and the Dis – Saturnus Augustus temple, built by Thignica's civitas. The last two were elevated on hills, dominated new roads and used local measurements alongside with imported *reticulatum* and *caementa* techniques (Bullo, 2002: 131. 231). A series of presumed shrines with differing layout and *naiskoi* recurring on pre-Roman predecessors have been dated to the 2nd c. BC to the 1st c. AD, but they require more stratigraphical engagement (S. Amans, 2004: 226-7; Sanmarti – Kallala e. a., 2011: 39 Fig. 1. 22).

The epigraphical record shows that from 12 testimonies, mentioning cultic or honorific veneration of the Julio-Claudians and 19 testimonies for the Flavians, the majority was carried out by Roman citizens or officials in newly promoted Roman towns (Hurlet, 2000). However, imperial cult was also practised in Non-Roman *civitates* like Macota. In Masculula a monument for Augustus was built by the *cives Romanorum et Numidarum* (CIL 8, 15775).

Due to this complex picture of the urban distribution of Roman or Non-Roman cultic activity, I argue that the binary interpretations should be given up. The gods honoured by Romans had played important roles in pre-Roman time. Roman *pagani* and officials donated an *aedes Saturni* at Thugga's forum (S. Amans, 2004: 62) and a Tellus temple in Vaga (CIL 8, 14392). At the same time, *civitas*-members were integrated into the imperial cult on the fora by their relatives who had only just gained Roman citizenship (Ritter, 2006). Nevertheless, cult-continuities should be examined more carefully on direct cultic evidence. A Saturn cult doesn't require a Baal cult, as it was inferred for the monument

in Simitthus (Bullo, 2002: 142) and a pre-Roman Apollon cult isn't proven in Bulla Regia (Eingartner, 2005: 115).

In Numidia, therefore, a segregate pantheon that would have reflected the juridical separation of two citizenships never existed. If there was a religious policy at the beginning of Roman rule, it focussed on integration and deliberate respect for pre-existing norms that were carefully extended by Roman cults and sanctuary layouts. In many cases the 'temples à cour' display common features of their podium equivalents, such as elevation on hills/terraces, domination of streets, or new created architecture. Rome could even reuse spaces of Numidian royal power, like Thugga's presumed Massinissa temple by positioning an imperial cult temple for Tiberius at the very same place. The inscriptions show that both civil parts contributed to this integrative process (Ritter, 2006: 557). Their common cultic activity affected entire urban areas, by restructuring the cities' religious topographies. These developments coexisted, never opposing or competing with each other.

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Grain storage and supply in Hispania

Introduction

**Dall'Incontro AIAC
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"Il grano e la spada"
moderato da
Catherine Virlouvet**

Food supply in Roman towns across *Hispania* has been a scarcely studied subject in historiography due to poor conservation of relevant structures (*horrea* –granaries and store buildings- and *pistrina*) and a lack of interest on part of experts dedicated to the archaeology of architecture, who have focused more on the religious, judicial and other types of sites and monuments. Consequently, the study of warehouses and other store buildings has been long neglected, despite being of great importance in terms of understanding the management of primary resources such as grain, one of the most crucial factors behind the functioning of a city.

Recently, archaeologists have analyzed remains that give us more precise information about food production, storage and distribution, namely the *horrea*, warehouses and granaries found in the rural as well as urban areas of the old Roman towns. This was precisely the subject of my doctoral thesis where, in an attempt to go beyond the national frontiers, I analyzed the *Granaries and store Buildings in the west of the Roman Empire*, the results of which were partly published in a book called *Horrea Militaria, Army's Grain Supply in the west of the Roman Empire* and in other works dealing with the study of civilian and military supply in the ancient *Hispania*. In addition, a scientific review called *Horrea d'Hispanie et de la Méditerranée romaine* has recently been published, albeit lacking an analysis of epigraphic documents and archaeological remains, which is precisely the objective of this research paper. We have recently published the book *The horreum of the Roman villa of Veranes* (Gijón, Spain), that underline the importance of the multi-disciplinary research.



Figure 1. Distribution map of Roman rural granaries with raised floor in Hispania (Author).



Figure 2. 3D Reconstruction of the horreum of the Roman Villa of Veranes (Gijón, Spain) (Fernández Ochoa et alii 2013, fig. 55; Julio Mera, Zinco Comunicación).

Grain production in the ager of Roman towns in Hispania

The establishment of first colonies and territorial reorganization in Republican times were an answer to a planned program aimed at restructuring of the agricultural land in order to establish a new taxation system. The result of this territorial restructuring, apart from creating a new road network, would be the appearance of the first *villae* in the Iberian Peninsula. In general, these were small rustic structures with modest residential spaces designed for the rural exploitation of the area that had previously belonged to its respective owners. Consequently, the *villae* were originally used as production centers. In this context, the construction of a granary in a rural area symbolized abundance, prosperity and economic wealth.

The storage systems that reveal the most about the agricultural potential of the area are obviously the raised granaries (Fig. 1). Although it is difficult to estimate the maximum storage capacity of the Hispano-Roman *horrea*, it's true that a simple comparison of the dimensions of rural *horrea* of the Iberian Peninsula with those of the granaries discovered in other northern provinces of the Empire (Salido 2011: 259) allows us to hypothesize that not all of the grain produced in the *fundi* of the *villae* was stored in the rural settlements or the size of the hacienda in the case of *Hispania* was smaller. If we think that the objective of the *dominus* was to sell the agricultural surplus, rather than store goods that could have been spoiled by various factors (humidity, temperature, insects, rodents, etc.), it would have been more convenient to send the major part of the harvest in circulation to the towns or rural markets and sell them later on, store them in other urban *horrea*, use them in the *pistrina* (mills and bakeries/patisseries) and, naturally, ground and cook them in the furnaces of the *villae*. Consequently, the size of the *horrea* depended not only on the amount of grain obtained from the economic territory of the *villa*, but also on the *dominus'* personal interests and the size of the cultivation area since the best part of the harvest would have to be reserved for the next sowing (Fig. 2).

Grain storage and distribution in the urban areas: archaeological evidence

Most of the grain and other agricultural products obtained from the towns' economic

areas were traded in rural markets, at times even promoted on the properties of great landowners to save them in transportation costs, as well as in the *macella*, the *tabernae*, other commercial areas throughout the city and through intermediaries in the *nundinae* or weekly fairs. As a result, the commercialization of agricultural products, subject to fiscal taxes, meant a continuous food supply for the population, so much so that even the *macella* would be known as the supply market where the plebeians got their supplies. This continuous trade eliminated the need for storing huge amounts of goods in large urban *horrea*, especially during the Republican period. Therefore, these buildings should not be considered warehouses of goods consumed on a daily basis but temporary storage and redistribution areas for specific purposes. Contrary to what has been argued thus far, many *horrea* were under private ownership, used for the distribution of seasonal products that had to be traded in the short term so they wouldn't spoil. Some were used as warehouses for products that would be sold later on by the merchants, who had previously rented out the *horrea* or certain storage areas within the buildings. Other warehouses were used for the direct sale of products to merchants interested in reselling them later on.

The management and administration of grain in the urban areas: epigraphic evidence

Even though the archaeological remains tell us about the construction of enormous granaries storing the *annona's* product, it is difficult to distinguish between the community and private granaries. In that sense, epigraphic documents are key to a better understanding of the management and administration of grain warehouses. Epigraphy also gives us information about the *frumentum municipalis*, a type of collect tax controlled and managed by the imperial administration. Supplying the city didn't just require only the participation of State, but also the intervention of private commercial agents in charge of managing certain *horrea* as well as grain transport and trade. Another thing to keep in mind is the collaboration between members of the wealthiest families when it came to supplying the cities. In order to win the favor of their fellow citizens, obtain economic or political compensations or simply out of their sense of civic duty, they significantly contributed to food supply in times of need (*annona cara* o *gravissima annona*).

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Whom the Alimenta Were For and Why: A Reconsideration of (Some) Evidence

My doctoral research on the place of debt in Roman public finance led me to the state *alimenta* program, which in turn led me to reconsider contemporary assessments of both its purpose and its recipients. The state *alimenta* represent a system of (primarily) Italian civic lending funds. Capitalized by the *fiscus*, their revenues depended on low-rate interest-bearing loans given to private landowners—though possibly other economic actors—and were the financial basis for monthly cash subsidies granted to a limited number of freeborn boys and girls enrolled in the program. Scholars debate why the *alimenta* were formed in the first place: some contend they were for impoverished children to alleviate the effects of an impending 1st c. demographic crisis (e.g. Duncan-Jones 1983, Lo Cascio 1978); others argue that they were mainly just a tool of imperial patronage and euergetism intended to endear those of some importance and, therefore, had little to do with poverty (e.g. Woolf 1990).

I offer a third, middling position. On the one hand, I agree with the latter camp that the funds were not concerned about ameliorating the effects of poverty. Heuristic calculations, to take one example, can show that at best 3-7% of the civic youth were effected, which amounts to perhaps ~0.03% of the Italian population more generally, com-



Aureus depicting Trajan and two alimentari, a girl wearing a tunic and a boy wearing a toga.

paratively few of which in poorer regions like Calabria, Bruttium, and Apulia. The effort was rather slight, especially if it were intended to correct a demographically-driven drop in living standards, as is often argued. Alternatively the state's concerns may have been focused elsewhere, on the needs of a different population. This view seems supported by numismatic evidence which regularly depicts male *alimentarii* as togate youths, as well as dedicatory inscriptions erected by *alimentarii* in typical euergetic fashion, some of which even bearing "SCLD" potentially indicating their status and connectedness (CIL XI 5395). If true, this comports with the *alimenta*'s models upon which the former depend: Greek and Asian funds which typically subordinated public good to the good of the patron and those he or she felt the strongest affinity toward. The *alimenta* concerned the better-off and perhaps even some wealthy, but not the destitute.

Identifying the rationale behind the *alimenta* is, however, difficult. On the one hand, the euergetic motivations of such funds in antiquity are often overstated: wily some seem only concerned with reputation (e.g. ILS 6468, 7196), others seem generally concerned about posterity (Syll.[3] 577, 578, 672; CIL XIV 350). Moreover, one reason to doubt that euergetism alone motivated engendered the *alimenta* is that, apart from Trajan, emperors rarely used it as such. On the other, the argument that the *alimenta* were established to improve food supply and demographic reinforcement is based on ambiguous literary sources (esp. Pliny, *Pan.* 28 and Ps. Aurelius Victor, *Epit. de Caes.* 12.4) and dubious evidence for a 1st c. demographic crisis (Duncan-Jones 1983; Lo Cascio 1978; Woolf 2000; Patterson 2006). In my view, possible solutions may present themselves once "poverty" is considered from the perspective of those in charge, who's field of view was more likely to include those closer to their status than the destitute—that is, citizens of some means. Take Horace who describes his father-in-law as the "*macro pauper agello*" despite being wealthy enough to send his son to Athens for boarding school (*Sat.* 1.6.71, *Epist.* 2.2.43). More relevantly, consider Pliny the Younger who tells a story of middling families that could scarcely afford to send children away to school since there were no local teachers—and by extension one can imagine children of lesser means therefore being deprived of schooling that otherwise could have easily afforded it (*Epist.* IV.13). One can likewise imagine a dozen similar needs facing civic families that would have also impeded participation in the military, politics, and attaining certain careers—serious problems already recognized by the state in this period, and which Pliny explicitly says the *alimenta* were intended to resolve (*Pan.* 28ff). Thus another way to conceive the *alimenta* is as providing disposable income to children and their families to improve living standards an opportunities for civil service and upward mobility which ordinary citizens should have and which the empire needed.

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