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A COMPANION TO THE

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

EDITED BY JANE DEROSE EVANS

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations of the names and works of ancient authors, as well as for collections of inscriptions, are as found in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edn, 1996). Abbreviations of journal titles and modern works abbreviated by initial titles of books (e.g. *NTDAR*) are as found in the online abbreviations for the *American Journal of Archaeology* (www.ajaonline.org); if the journals are not listed there, the titles are spelled out in full. All dates are BCE, unless otherwise specified.

Preface

Roman Republican archaeology, while overshadowed by its larger sibling the archaeology of the Roman Empire, has a growing body of evidence that is changing the way that archaeologists, art historians, historians, classicists and anthropologists think about a culture that is nominally recorded by ancient historians. This book, which came about through the suggestion of Haze Humbert at Wiley-Blackwell, is intended to speak to those archaeologists, art historians, historians, classicists and anthropologists who are interested in the sixth through first centuries on the Italian Peninsula and in the empire of the Republic. The work of the archaeologist has changed dramatically in the last 30 years, due to the introduction of new technologies, the explosion of information available (from satellite photos to DNA analysis), and the declining interest of organizations in funding "big digs." Archaeologists have thus expanded the types of questions they ask, the manner in which they can answer old and ask new questions, and the fora in which they publish. One example of how archaeological research has changed is the interpretation of a site through interdisciplinary teams. Thus, the time for such a *Companion* is now, as scholars in differing disciplines publishing in a range of journals and presses develop the picture of the Republic. I have asked a wide variety of scholars, from anthropologists to ancient historians to field archaeologists, to help illuminate broad swaths of this field, allowing readers to see what particular disciplines are contemplating. By giving both a guide to further reading and a detailed bibliography, the reader can move into specialized studies on a particular topic of interest. I have also asked both more established authors and younger authors to contribute, to benefit from their combined wisdom and new thinking. The Roman world, by the end of the Republican period, was an intensely pan-Mediterranean one and in order to bring a fuller discussion of these cultures which comprised the Republic, I have turned to scholars in North America, the United Kingdom, Europe, Africa and New Zealand, and have had contributions from French, German, Italian and Spanish translated for the English-speaking audience of the *Companion* – though the reference list will quickly alert the reader to the global nature of this study.

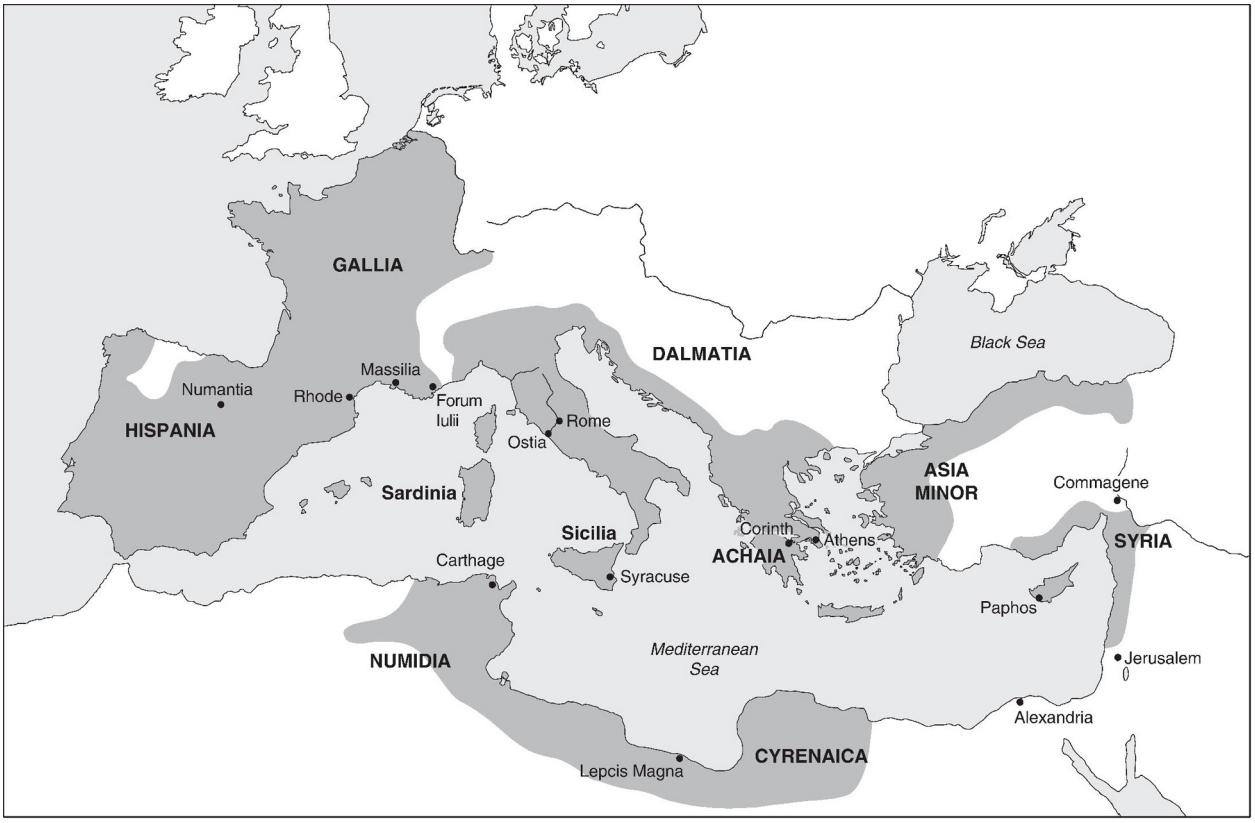

Figure A Map of the extent of the Republican empire at the time of the death of Caesar. Source: Drawing by J.D. Evans.

Figure B Map of the major cultural groups in Republican Italy. Source: Drawing by J.D. Evans.

Introduction

Jane DeRose Evans

In a traditional sense, the Roman Republic begins in 509 and ends with the death of Caesar in 44, or the Battle of Actium in 31, or the reforms of Octavian in 27. Yet what would be the Republic begins to take shape under the rule of its kings, and indeed, even earlier, with the development of the landscape that was to become Rome. Thus, Ammerman and Jackson and Kosso return us to the formation of the very earth itself, to help us understand what the Romans were undertaking as they built their city beside the Tiber. Edlund-Berry moves us into the proto-historical period, technically before the Republic is inaugurated; we cannot understand the later development of the city without this work. In the provinces, Stone (for Africa), Rodá (for Spain), Overman (for Israel) and Hoff (for Greece) explore reforms initiated in the Augustan period, in order to help us see what was begun in the Republican period that would come to full maturity in Imperial Rome.

The contributions of the book are organized into six parts. Those grouped under "Material Culture and Its Impact on Social Configuration" are intended to show how archaeologists are rethinking the physical objects that have been, or are being, excavated. Instead of grouping objects into material categories ("architecture," "frescoes," or "silver"), these scholars have undertaken the task of showing how objects can illuminate the society's formation, laws, behavior and habits. Thus, the most Roman of all habits – the daily bath – is shown by Yegül (Chapter 1) to be a complex mixture of input from Greek customs of education and indigenous interests which may have been connected to preventative medicinal procedures (the latter is also explored by Griffith in her essay on religious ritual). The custom develops its own internal stresses which the Romans express in unease over "luxuria" and assaults on female modesty. Yet baths were considered necessary parts of Roman colonies, as Dyson notes for Cosa; and by the end of the Republic, as Hales and Dyson show us, private bath suites were a normal part of every

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aristocratic house (though our evidence for bathing suites in villas comes in the first century CE at Settefinestre and Francolise; see Carandini, 1985a; Cotton, 1979).

Circuses, said to be a vital part of the Roman Imperial world, are explored in their infancy by Zarmakoupi (Chapter 2), along with other structures used for entertainment in the Roman world. The flexibility of the place of entertainment in the Republican world gives way to distinctive buildings, which become one more way for a Roman politician to emblazon his name across Rome and use manubial booty or proceeds from the developing economy. As a result, entertaining Romans became an increasingly important duty of ambitious politicians, whether they lived in Rome, Pompeii or Puteoli.

The development of the aristocratic atrium house is explored by Hales (Chapter 3), who shows how the neighborhood in which it was built, the carefully controlled view offered to the visitor, and the decoration of the rooms all contribute to the deeply held identity of the aristocrat and his public image. Indeed, she argues, the house becomes the stage upon which the elite male plays out his life, and by the end of the Republic, aristocrats increasingly depend on more luxurious surroundings to maintain their political status. We return to the houses of the rich and famous in Becker's essay on villas, where he focuses on the development of the villa form and the role of the villa in the agricultural landscape.

Yet another material manifestation of the making of a Roman's identity is in the building – or marking – of his tomb. Diebner (Chapter 4) takes us on a tour of Republican Italy to explore the various forms of these tombs, highlighting local tastes and trends to show a bewildering variety of form and decoration. But common to all was an inscription naming the individual dead. Tombs of aristocrats are also noted by Edlund-Berry and Davies as an important part of the landscape of Early and Mid-Republican Rome, respectively. Earlier tombs of the Greeks and Lucanians around Paestum allow Gualtieri to explore the changing society of the elite in the fifth and fourth century, as these cultures came in contact with the Romans. And to the north of Rome, Warden uses tombs to discuss the changing nature of elite identity in Etruria, as they, too, come in contact with the Romans. Farther afield, Stone remarks that while the study of tombs is an important component of the study of the indigenous people in North Africa, there is much still to be learned about the chronologies of the tomb types and the people who built them.

Black-gloss pottery, often used as the primary indication of chronology within the strata of a site, is shown by Roth (Chapter 5) to have less stability for the archaeologist than once thought. Archaeologists have long used the groundbreaking work of Lamboglia (1952), which was given an important and systematic overhaul by Morel (1981a). But as new excavations have isolated fabrics and production sites, our knowledge of what was produced where – and the variations that are possible on basic forms outlined by Lamboglia – means that we can have a fuller understanding of the trade patterns, the influences on various local productions, and the "Romanization" of pottery production in the peninsula (for a brief discussion, see also Chapter 22). Roth's work has had a wide impact as archaeologists begin to reassess the pottery evidence in their surveys and excavations, especially when it is used as a chronological determinant, as can be seen in the essay by Fracchia. But his greater point is that the pottery should not only be used as a chronological indicator; it is better studied as a cultural artifact, one that can contribute a great deal to our discussion of the character of "Roman Italy."

This discussion about pottery and what it means in its Roman cultural context is also taken up by Laubenheimer (Chapter 6), for a different class of pottery. Focusing on the wine trade between Italy and Gaul, Laubenheimer notes that these amphoras cannot be thought of as being used in the same way in both places. On the surface, the storage vessels look to be straightforward indications of the adoption of Roman culture, in an area that will soon be labeled "Togate Gaul" for its embrace of Roman ways of life. Yet, as Laubenheimer shows, the culture of wine drinking, and even the use and reuse of amphoras, looks very different in Gaul than in Italy, sounding a warning to archaeologists not to interpret the material culture by itself as a simple indication of "Romanization" (see also Dietler, 2010, who discusses the same issue in relation to Greek culture and southern Gaul).

In Chapter 7, I discuss another chronological indicator in strata, coins. Here, again, a warning is sounded to archaeologists against relying too heavily on coins as a sole indicator of chronology. The case for the impact of the Republican monetary system is assessed through Roman Hispania, where arguments still swirl around the date of the introduction of the denarius, and thus the military and economic impact of Rome on the peninsula – which is noted as well by Rodá.

The weapons of the legionary soldiers – one of the reasons often cited for the successful military expansion of Republican Rome – are surveyed by Goldman (Chapter 8). This period is briefly treated in handbooks on Roman weaponry, but the story of Rome's adaptations of neighboring cultures' forms and technologies and her own innovations show again the complex interaction between Rome and her competitors-turned-allies. The physical forms of the weapons depict changing political forces as well, as the army becomes a professional fighting force by the end of the first century, a formidable tool in the hands of strong leaders, and a contributing factor in the collapse of the Republic. The work of Dobson on Roman camps can be usefully consulted in conjunction with Goldman's essay, and the changing shape of weapons as the Lucanians are confronted with Rome is briefly addressed by Gualtieri.

For the last two chapters in this section, we turn to the bodies of the Romans themselves. Osteological studies are included in only a few final publications of archaeological excavations, but their potential for unlocking many mysteries about lifestyle in the time of the Roman Republic is great. Since so few studies have concentrated on this period, Smith (Chapter 9) needs to range farther than the other authors in the *Companion* to find interpretive parallels to make sense of the Republican bodies that have been studied. In doing so, she can assess physical stress (as shown by diet or trauma) to begin to decide if the coming of the Romans meant any major lifestyle changes to individuals in the east (for a parallel study of Imperial era bodies and malaria, see Gowland and Garnsey, 2010). Smith also appropriately pleads for more attention to the study of bones on the part of archaeologists; Warden notes that preliminary studies of the DNA of Etruscan individuals has already reminded scholars that the arguments concerning the origin of the Etruscans are still open in many minds. The origin of Imperial inhabitants of Rome is currently being studied by strontium isotope analysis (Killgrove, 2010), a method which may be able to be used on populations of an earlier age as well.

Lo Cascio's entry on population and demographic study brings together aspects of several of the chapters on material culture, and points to problems that are addressed in specific regions of Italy (Chapter 10). His analysis of the "high" and "low" estimates of the population in Italy is crucial to understanding the development of cities, towns and

villas, the role that agriculture plays in the economic growth of the peninsula, and the expansion of the number of men who could be called "cives Romani." These numbers have an impact, as can be seen in the chapters by Fracchia, Gualtieri, Suano and Scopacasa, on the idea of identity, Romanization, and the problem of slave labor on latifundia. But they also have an impact on the growth of the city of Rome (as in Davies) and the needs that prompted colonization (as in Dyson).

We move from the social to the landscape in Part II, "Archaeology and the Landscape," where the authors use the physical features of the Roman world to explore how the Romans were formed by, and thereby formed, the landscape. Ammerman (Chapter 11) explores how the inhabitants of Rome largely reshaped the valleys (especially) and the hills to build their city. This view of earliest Rome can only be dimly seen, due to the deep, deep deposits that now overlie this era, and Ammerman cautions us about hewing too closely to the ancient authors' description – or our very modern ideas – about the ancient topography of Rome. His work is complemented and illuminated by the chapters by Jackson and Kosso on architectural building materials; Edlund-Berry and Davies on Early and Middle Republican Rome, respectively; Hodge on aqueducts and water supply; and Laurence on roads and bridges.

The landscape is used in a very different way by archaeologists who work on surveys, as Fracchia (Chapter 12) demonstrates. This form of "excavation," which has become popular especially since the 1980s, is still plagued by problems of interpreting the data obtained by fieldwalking. As a consequence, as Fracchia notes, survey results are not always taken into consideration when it is time to write the history of the Italian Peninsula. The results of surveys do help the archaeologist and ancient historian discuss the impact of Roman colonization and agricultural practices and legislation. However, to be fully understood the survey results must be used in conjunction with excavation of sites. Gualtieri and Suano and Scopacasa explicitly argue that survey results are evidence for comprehending the cultures of the Italian Peninsula.

Chapter 13 on agriculture and the environment by Goodchild is directly connected to the evidence found in surveys. Goodchild casts her net wider than surveys, using ancient authors, annual rainfall, man-made irrigation and drainage systems, botanical data, evidence of processing centers and animal bones to make her argument. By so doing, she can reflect on Late Republican agrarian "crises" and the development of large-scale agriculture worked primarily by slaves or tenants. These problems are touched on by Becker, in his discussion on the development of villas.

Dobson's Chapter 14 on the development of the legionary camp is an admirable example of how an archaeologist must wrestle with the interpretation of both the physical evidence and the ancient authors to understand the political and societal changes occurring in the Republic. Few Republican camps have been identified and fewer still excavated. The best-known camps, circling the city of Numantia, were built and rebuilt in the same spots during successive military campaigns. But Dobson can show the development from the manipular double-consular camp to the cohort-organized single-consular camp, a development that, as noted above, should be read in conjunction with the changes to the weaponry of the army that were outlined by Goldman.

The Romans felt strongly that the landscape held the sacred, while they were also bent on reforming the landscape to make it sacred. Griffith (Chapter 15) first explores how we can reconstruct religious ritual and then discusses how this ritual was informed by or