Conference

OTHERING AND THE OTHER

PERFORMING IDENTITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

July 5-16th 2021

Online

Keynote Speakers:

Carlo Pelloso
(University of Verona)

F.L. Roig Lanzillotta
(University of Groningen)

Louise Revell
(University of Southampton)

Jesús Bermejo Tirado
(University Carlos III de Madrid)

Pilar Diarte Blasco
(University of Alcalá)

Trinidad Nogales Basarrate
(Director of the Museo Nacional de ArteRomano Merida)

**Greg Woolf
(Institute of Classical Studies,University of London)

July 5-8th
Panel 1 - *Constructing the Other in the Roman Empire*

July 12-13th
Panel 2 - *Local Identities in the Roman Empire*

July 14-16th
Panel 3 - *Local Identities in the Roman Empire: Archeological Evidence*

CECH CENTRO DE ESTUDOS CLÁSSICOS E HUMANÍSTICOS DA UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA

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UNIVERSIDADE DE ÉVORA
ESCOLA DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS
DEPARTAMENTO DE LINGUÍSTICA E LITERATURAS

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OTHERING AND THE OTHER

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5-16 JULY, 2021

ONLINE VIA ZOOM

CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

SUMMARY

OTHERING AND THE OTHER
PERFORMING IDENTITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

University of Évora

This conference is organised by BioRom - Rome our Home: (Auto)biographical Tradition and the Shaping of Identity(ies) based at the University of Coimbra
and it will take place at the University of Évora

Following our panel at the previous Celtic Conference (Coimbra, June 2019), this event will focus on Roman narratives about the other. More specifically, it will explore the ways in which narratives of selfhood and the perceptions of others in different intellectual spheres (literary, historical, legal, epigraphic), material cultures (e.g. archaeology, numismatics) and contexts (e.g. urban, non-urban, provincial) were constructed in the Roman Empire. Possible questions addressed in contributions will include (but are not limited to):

☐ *How did the Romans define and describe the 'other'?*

☐ *How did Roman othering impact narratives of the self and self-perception?*

☐ *What were the literary, legal, and material manifestations of regional identity in the Roman Empire?*

BioRom and CHAIA Organising Committee:
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Santiago López Moreda (University of Extremadura)
Timothy Duff (University of Reading)

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS
14.00h (Lisbon Time)

July 5 – Monday
Carlo Pelloso (University of Verona, Italy)
Classical Roman Law: Being Other and Accepting Otherness

July 8 – Thursday
F.L. Roig Lanzillotta (University of Groningen, Netherlands)
The Specular Self: Mirrors and the Self as Other in the Greco-Roman World

July 12 – Monday
Louise Revell (University of Southampton, UK)
Performing Identities in the Rome's Western Provinces

July 14 – Wednesday
Trinidad Nogales Basarrate
(Director of the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano Merida, Spain)
Augusta Emerita: símbolo de la política de Augusto en Lusitania

July 15 – Thursday
Jesús Bermejo Tirado (University Carlos III de Madrid, Spain)
Straight Outta the Farm: The Social Analysis of Peasant Communities in the Roman Provincial World

July 16 – Friday
Pilar Diarte Blasco (University of Alcalá, Spain)
Defining Post-Roman identities in Hispania: controversy between texts and the archaeological record

TBA – This lecture will take place in the next academic year, 2021-2022
Greg Woolf (Institute of Classical Studies, University of London)
The Classical Barbarian. A discontinuous history

July 5th – Tuesday

KEYNOTE LECTURE 1
Carlo Pelloso (University of Verona, Italy)
Classical Roman Law: Being Other and Accepting Otherness

What historically was Roman law in the pre-classical and classical ages? A true 'invention' without precedent in the ancient world, as Schiavone writes in his indispensable book on *Ius*? A masterly synthesis of previous and contemporary experiences, as Monateri suggests in his provocative essay 'Black Gaius'? What was the real contribution of foreign elements - both Greek and Oriental - that helped shape the Roman legal system, and what was the essential and distinguishing traits that allowed Rome and its law not to be imposed by war but to be accepted as a model - even today as the example of China and Latin America show - of order and justice? With the intention of deciphering the 'otherness' and 'uniqueness' of Roman law with respect to ancient, modern and contemporary systems and, at the same time, contextualising Roman law itself in the so-called Antike Rechtsgeschichte, my speech will attempt to answer these fundamental questions.

James McNamara (Universität Potsdam & Università degli Studi di Firenze)
Getting in touch with Rome's roots: self-othering and ethnographic tradition

This paper considers Roman self-othering: instances in ethnographic tradition in which Roman culture is implicitly othered through parallels or contrasts with foreign cultures. A distinction between contemporary and early Rome is often an important element in this dynamic. I take as my examples some notable portrayals of Gaulish culture in Caesar, Livy and Lucan, and consider Tacitus' development of these ideas in the *Germania*, often through suggestive *imitatio* (cf. Thomas 2009). Caesar's account of Gaulish druidism both likens Gaulish customs to Roman culture and insists upon their barbaric otherness. In the fifth book of Livy's history, the Gauls are repeatedly left gazing in wonderment at the piety of the besieged Romans, and the barbarians' gaze melds with contemporary admiration for Rome's past. In Lucan's *Civil War*, the Massilian grove cut down by Caesar evokes atavistic religious qualities. In *Germania*, Tacitus alludes to Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* to liken his account of Germanic religion to Caesar's account of Gaulish religion. In detailed accounts of Suebian rituals, furthermore, his text shows striking similarities to Lucan's depiction of the Massilian grove. These parallels combine with a series of implicit comparisons between Suebian and Roman cult (Timpe 1995).

Recognition of these coexisting parallels helps to understand the deeply ironic texture of the *Germania* (cf. Gruen 2011) as a reflection both on Roman culture and the difficulties of understanding a foreign culture and Rome's own past.

References:

E.Gruen, 2011, 'Tacitus on the Germans' in *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, Princeton.

R.Thomas, 2009, *'The Germania* as literary text' in S.P. Oakley ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus*, Cambridge.

D.Timpe, 1995, 'Die Germania des Tacitus als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle' in *Romano-Germanica*, Stuttgart.

Francesca Modini (University of Warwick, UK)
When in Rome dance as the Romans do: Roman rulers and musical identity

According to Polybius, whose account is reported by Athenaeus, after defeating the Illyrians in 167 BCE the general Lucius Anicius held a triumph in Rome featuring a weird and dissonant musical 'battle' between Greek flute-players and choruses, a performance more similar to a gladiatorial spectacle than to a Greek-style chorus (14.615a-e). Insisting on the source's Greek point of view, scholars have emphasised how Anicius' perverted musical performance must have provoked Polybius' indignation.[1] But Anicius' triumph also indicates how music could contribute to the self-fashioning of Roman rule, especially in relation to the 'other' represented by Greece and its revered musical tradition: as a winner in the East, Anicius wanted to demonstrate that he could Romanise Greek song.

The aim of my paper is precisely to explore music's function within discourses of Roman power, Roman (self-)presentation and relationship with the 'other'. Even if music arguably represented one of the most natural media for the expression of identity throughout the Empire, music's role in imperial dynamics of cultural self-fashioning has so far been mostly ignored.[2] Similarly, apart from the striking case of Nero,[3] Roman rulers' (intense) engagement with music remains understudied.

As a first but significant step towards remedying these gaps, I propose to focus on two case studies: Augustus and Lucius Verus. While mapping the development of the Empire from its establishment to the Antonine period, these examples will allow us to understand how music, and especially the popular and controversial genre of pantomime, came to intertwine with the identity of Roman rulers, their self- presentation and their reception among non-Roman subjects. Combining archeological sources (e.g. the decoration of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias) with

texts illustrating both Greek and Roman reactions, I will discuss how both Augustus and Verus mixed Romanness and 'otherness' in their activity as fans and patrons of pantomime.

Mario Lentano (University of Siena, Italy)
Decolor heres. La pelle scura nell'immaginario della cultura romana

«Una matrona partorisce un bambino di colore e viene accusata di adulterio». Questo tema, ripetutamente proposto agli allievi delle scuole di declamazione, costituisce il punto di partenza per una indagine sulla percezione degli individui dalla pelle scura, generalmente definiti *Aethiopes*, nella cultura romana dell'età imperiale, tra fonti letterarie – satira, romanzo, raccolte di prodigi –, credenze popolari e folcloriche, espressioni proverbiali e riflessione scientifica, con particolare riferimento alle dottrine medico-filosofiche sulla trasmissione dei tratti somatici. Il metodo proposto è quello dell'antropologia del mondo antico e punta a un approccio di tipo "emico", il più possibile vicino alle categorie ermeneutiche e ai modelli cognitivi della cultura studiata.

Decolor heres.

Perceptions of the dark skin in Roman culture.

«A matron gives birth to a coloured child. She is accused of adultery». This topic, repeatedly proposed to the students of Roman declamation schools, is the starting point of an investigation through the perceptions of dark-skinned people – usually called Aethiopes – in Roman imperial culture. The paper takes into consideration literary sources – satire, novel, collections of prodigies –, popular beliefs and folklore, proverbs and ancient scientific theory, in particular doctrines on the transmission of physical resemblance. The methodological framework is inspired by the anthropology of the ancient world and based on an "emic" approach, as close as possible to the hermeneutical categories and the cognitive models of the studied culture.

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[1] See e.g. C. Champion, 'Polybian Barbarology, flute-playing in Arcadia, and fisticuffs at Rome' in N. Miltsios and M. Tamiolaki (eds.), *Polybius and his Legacy*. Berlin. 2018. 35-42.
[2] For an exception concerning the Greek part of the Empire, cf. E. Bowie, 'Choral performances' in D. Konstan and S. Saïd (eds.), *Greeks on Greekness: Viewing the Greek Past under the Roman Empire*. Cambridge. 61- 92.
[3] T. Power, *The Culture of Kitharôidia*. Washington DC. 2010. 3-181.

Emily Hurt (Yale University, USA)
Razed Walls and Captured Gods: Civic Destruction and the Performance of Myths of Integration

At the beginning of the Third Punic War, the Roman Consul Censorinus announces the Roman intention to destroy the city of Carthage. He tells the Carthaginians that they can move inland and create another home, just as their ancestors from Tyre once left the coasts of the Levant to settle in North Africa.

We consider you to be Carthage, he tells them, not this land (Appian Punica, 12.89). Yet, a number of cases in the Roman past, both historical and mythical, indicate that the Romans saw a strong connection between land - both natural topography and civic space- and identity. At the height of expansion, the Romans subjugated numerous cities in numerous ways. This paper argues that a select group of cities, including most famously Carthage, were destroyed using strategies that mimicked an early Roman myth: the destruction of Alba Longa. Further, that the manifestations of this myth speak to the inherent tensions between self and other that came quite early with the rise of Roman hegemony. As the Romans encountered others, they also encountered, or rather were forced to encounter, themselves. Early conflicts with rival cities led to the realization of the role of civic space in forming and sustaining unique cultural identities. This understanding grew in tandem with a Roman *mentalité* that saw Roman identity as intimately connected to cultural memories rooted in the city of Rome. I begin with the myth of Alba Longa and trace the ways in which this narrative both informed and was informed by Roman encounters with the other. I examine the evolution in Roman thinking about Empire and integration through the lens of the destroyed city from the early destructions of the cities of Volsinii and Falerii in the third century BCE to those of Fregellae and Numantia in the second.

Hannah Cornwell (University of Birmingham, UK)
Diplomacy in the Roman Empire: negotiating the other and the other negotiating with Rome

Diplomacy, as a negotiation between distinct communities or groups, is a means for each community to articulate and construct its self-identity in relation to the other (Constantinou 1996; Der Derian 1993). This paper uses the social practice of diplomacy – a practice fundamentally concerned with the negotiation of identities, boundaries, and subjectivities – as a framework for understanding how identity was negotiated within and outside the boundaries of Rome's imperial reach during the early Principate. In part, this is an examination of how and

in what ways Rome presented itself (to itself as well as to other communities) as a political entity, but also it is an exploration of how the 'other' used such interactions to construct its own identity in relation to Rome, to both a Rome and non-Roman audience. This paper will present two main case studies: 1)that of the Jewish embassies to Rome, examined primarily through Philo's account of hisembassy to Gaius (and the constructed narratives of the 'Acta Alexandrinorum' (Musurillo 1961;*Vega Navarrette* 2017); and 2) the negotiations between Rome and Tiridates, the Parthian claimantto the Armenian throne in the reign of Nero (Tac. *Ann.*15.1-32; Cass. Dio 63.1-7). The spacescreated and constructed by diplomacy exchange and negotiation of different parties enabled thenegotiation of identity of civic and political identities in relation to Roman power.

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Marine Glénisson (Sorbonne University, France)
Construction of the "other" and strategies of self-definition in the letters of Seneca, Pliny the Younger and Fronto

Narratives are numerous in ancient letters. Giving the reader the illusion that he witnesses events taking place in the life of his absent correspondent, they contribute to shape the author's *persona* in his letters. The aim of our talk is to study how narratives about the other in the letters of Seneca the Younger, Pliny the Younger and Fronto contribute to strategies of self-definition while discussing the codes and rules of the society the writers and their addresses live in. We will first focus on the construction and variety of the "other" in the letters. To that end, we will observe how each author, through descriptions and judgements, defines social or ethnical categories as different from or opposite to what he himself represents.

We will show how they use pre-existing elements from past literature and concrete details supported by archaeological and epigraphical evidence to build figures that can be inserted in a variety of contexts. Then we will give an overal picture of the "other" in the texts, ranging from provincials (Greeks, Gauls,

Italians) to radical strangers (Getae, Parthians). We will then discuss how these figures inform the *persona* of the writers and their social and personal identity in the letters. For example, the habit of bathing in Baia is seen as opposite to Stoic values of strength and restraint that define Seneca's *persona* in the letters and his relationship to Lucilius. To deepen our reflexion and precise the narrative strategies of Pliny, Seneca and Fronto, we will observe the diverse connotations of otherness depending on the author: Greeks for example can be a symbol of culture or softness. We hence hope to show how the "other", as a subjective and fluid category, is a powerful tool in contexts of communication to build a reflexion on the self and self-identity.

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  E. J. Champlin, "Pliny's other country", in M. Peachin (ed.), *Aspects of Friendship in the Graeco-Roman World: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Heidelberg*, on 10-11 June 2000, Portsmouth, Journal of Roman Archéology, 2001, p. 121-128.
  M. Coccia, "Seneca e i barbari", in *Romanobarbarica* 1980 5, p. 61-87.
  P. Grimal, *Sénèque ou la conscience de l'empire,* Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1978.
  J. Hubaux, "Pline et les Esséniens", in *Bulletin de la classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques/Académie royale de Belgique* 1958 44, p. 475-495.
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Hatin Boumehache Erjali (University of the Basque Country, Spain)
Rethinking the Foreign Women in the Roman Culture

I present in this paper a reconsideration about the image and representation of foreign women in Roman culture. I focus mainly on their projection through the historiography of the Late Roman Republic and the High Empire. This period was essential for the conformation of the Roman identity evoking the collective memory and the *mos maiorum*, an image in idealized and glorious of the past with the aim of legitimizing the present and the new political time represented by the Principate of Augustus.

In the conformation of the identity of the Roman matron, the foreigner plays a fundamental role, who is opposed in certain aspects, thus creating a parallel woman model from whom the Roman matron had to distance herself. But also, in certain scenarios foreigners have certain qualities attributed to Roman matrons. Through authors such as Sallust, Livy, Suetonius or Tacitus, I want to analyze the roles of these women and their historical function, their representation model, and their positive or negative *exemplum*, from the most powerful queens of the East to hostages and slaves.

Denis Álvarez Pérez-Sostoa (University of The Basque Country, Spain)
*Contra mores maiorum: barbarian women prisoners during the Principate and
the High Empire*

Throughout the Republic, the combination of war and diplomacy were two of the main pillars on which Roman expansion through the Mediterranean rested. In both contexts, both prisoners of war and hostages were also used as diplomatic tools. With the transition to the Empire and the existence of enemies at increasingly distant and strange borders, the testimonies of classical authors seem to suggest certain change of patterns. Diplomacy was handed over directly to the emperor or the imperial court, while conflicts in the limes did not provide as many prisoners as in previous stages. As the frontier widened, a whole series of stereotypes emerged among the classical authors. According to our sources, it is noteworthy that for certain peoples, women taken as prisoners or hostages were of greater value than men. Thus, according to Suetonius, under special circumstances, Augustus decided to modify Roman foreign policy in certain moments. In a famous passage from his Life of Augustus, he states that when Augustus saw benefits in this measure, he chose to go ahed with it [Suet. *Aug.* 21.1]. So, if we are to follow Suetonius, for the first time, Rome faced a procedure that was completely alien to traditional customs. Contra mores maiorum, Rome changed the pattern and didn't hesitate to take and demand female prisoners or hostages in those cases where this provided

the greatest profit. In this point, some questions arise. First, are we facing a real change of pattern or Suetonius's statement is pure retoric instead? Second, is this statement an uniquum or can we confront it with similar procedures? And third, could it be one more of those particular examples interpreted from a Roman point of view? In this paper, I will try to answer these questions, although at first sight, this practice served to make a difference between "us/Romans" and "them/the others".

Describing extrange non-Roman habits was an useful way of drawing a line. Still, from Republican times, certain parallels escape this ideal setting although Roman historiography always transformed them into its own benefit.

——— July 7th – Tuesday ———

Selena Ross (Rutgers University, USA)
Non Idem Esse Romani et Graeci: Varro's De Re Rustica and the Integration of the Roman World

In his *De Re Rustica*, Varro discusses the best practices of Roman agriculture, including both crop farming and animal husbandry. In this work as elsewhere, these two aspects of agriculture appear in strict opposition to one another, both literally – as in the competition over land use commemorated in the Polla inscription (CIL 2 638) – and symbolically. Farmers appear throughout the Roman imagination as exempla of old-fashioned Roman morality, from Cincinnatus to Diocletian. Shepherds, although they are central to Rome's origins in such figures as Faustulus and Romulus, present a more complicated image and are often viewed as 'other'. In addition to a reputation for barbarism and brigandage, shepherds are often connected to the Greek world more than the Roman, whether in Magna Graeca or across the Adriatic. While some of this is due to the bucolic tradition of poets such as Theocritus and Vergil, it is also based in actual regional variation. Given the distinct Greek lens applied to Varro's treatment of animal husbandry – most overt in its setting in Epirus – it is logical, as Nelsestuen observes, to see the discussion in a political light, reacting to the political, social, and cultural effects of Roman expansion. Over the past few decades, scholars have explored the complex literary and philosophical dimensions of Varro's *De Re Rustica*, acknowledging its dual purposes as a philosophical dialogue and an agricultural handbook. I argue that through his treatment of cultivators and shepherds Varro provides a model for the integration of different groups within the Roman world in his own time. Varro presents himself, an elite Roman as representative of the Roman state, as capable of responsibly combining the benefits of both Rome and her territories abroad, just as the landowner must combine the benefits of crop farming and animal husbandry.

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Rocío Gordillo Hervás (University Pablo de Olavide, Spain)
El Panhelenion y la construcción de las identidades romanas

The problem of the characterization of Greek identity during the Roman domination is one of the most recurrent issues within the study of the history of Greece in Roman times. In order to provide questions such as "what did it mean to be Greek under the Roman Empire" or "what differentiated a Roman citizen of the empire from a Greek one in the Greek territories" with an exhaustive answer it would be paramount to focus on how the fusion of both identities was actively promoted within the Greek territories by city-elites of the *poleis*. Furthermore, a noticeable evolution of the legends that narrate the origins of the Greek colonies of the eastern part of the empire can be observed during the reign of Hadrian, especially when it comes to the efforts in establishing a connection with the Greek *metropoleis* of Athens, Sparta and Argos. Within this context, a decisive moment is marked by the creation in the 2nd century AD of the Panhellenion, an institution that promotes the fusion of the traditional Greek elements with new Roman precepts such as the cult of the emperor. This paper will focus the re-negotiation of the Greek identity of the city of Philadelphia in Lidia its possible admission to the Panhellenion, by means of the analysis of the numismatic, epigraphic and literary evidence that reinforces the hypothesis of the inclusion of the city in the league.

Serena Connolly (Rutgers University, USA)
Novel gifts: imperial self-fashioning from non-normative bodies

Poros, an Indo-Scythian king of kings, sent to the Roman emperor Augustus a boy with no arms, enormous snakes, a huge tortoise, and an oversized partridge (Strabo 15.1.73, C719). His successor Tiberius was once gifted with an outsized mullet (Sen. *Ep.* 95.42; Suet. *Tib.* 60) and also received a fossil tooth (Phlegon *Mir.* 14) and an unusually long tree trunk (Plin. *NH* 16.200); subsequent emperors received hermaphrodite humans and horses, mothers of multiple births, wheat of extraordinary fertility, and abnormally tall men. Our sources record gifts to emperors of plants, animals, and humans; from these, typologies emerge: they are excessively small or large, unusually fecund or fertile, or undergo some abnormal physical process, and they usually originate in an exotic locale. Our ancient sources have characterized the animate examples among them as monsters and prodigies; among scholars who have studied such accounts (Garland, Healy, Doroszewska, and Beagon), some have approached them as "freaks and curiosities" (Millar 1977 and 1988).

Yet, this paper argues, with careful reading of our sources, it is possible to see that these examples of "otherness", with their non-normative bodies, were received by emperors as objects of scientific novelty. The donors of these gifts understood their intellectual value and sought to benefit from it; emperors, who displayed them publicly, used them to fashion themselves to their peers and subjects as intellectuals who valued the "other"—manifested in this context in examples of physical non-normativity—as objects of scientific interest and inquiry, not sensationalism. The paper concludes that a study of such Roman imperial self-fashioning complements studies of the multiplicity of responses to the "other" in later periods (for example, Daston and Park; Greenblatt) and complicates notions of a gradual linear development of views of "others," from monsters to teratological specimens.

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Giacomo Loi (Johns Hopkins University, USA)
Sardinian, African or Phoenician: Othering Sardinia in Cicero's Pro Scauro

The fragmentary Pro Scauro (54 BCE) was regarded as one of the greatest accomplishments of Cicero (Cic. Ad *Quintum* 3.8.4). The extant paragraphs received attention mainly in relation to the political turmoil in Rome in the 50s (Ghiselli 1969, Grimal 1976, Narducci 2009). Yet, the few fragments allow to identify Cicero's strategy of othering of the Sardinian adversaries, defined as 'Africans' and therefore 'Phoenicians': on the ethical and legal level, untrustworthy.

In this paper I concentrate on three aspects. First, I follow Cicero's suggestion to contrast his conduct with the Sicilians in the *Verrines* against the opponents' failed on-field investigation: his Sicilian inquiry had allowed Cicero to highlight the Sicilians' Trojan origin, and therefore their natural pact of faith with Rome. Instead, in this case, the Trojan legend of Sardinia (Sall. *Historiae* II fr. 2, Paus. X 17,6) is ignored, while the otherness of the Sardinians is underscored.

Secondly, I investigate how Cicero's stereotype of the unfaithful Africans rests on Carthaginian/Phoenician stereotypes. Cicero draws on the stereotype of the piratesque Phoenicians to paint the portrait of the Sardinians as their descendants. I put Cicero's remarks in the broader context of the earliest occurrence of an anti-Phoenician stigma in Greek (the *Odyssey*) and of its earliest Roman reception (early epic, Cato). The orator, while denying the Sardinians an identity of their own, constructs a derivative identity based on a long-standing tradition and enmity.

Thirdly, I will highlight the narrativization of the Phoenician stigma. Cicero's ability to weave a *noir* subplot, like in his *Pro Caelio*, serves the purpose of creating an aura of moral decadence: in this case, he dramatizes the homicide within Bostares of Nora's family, where the names themselves, which confirm the Sardinians as descendants of the Phoenicians, provide a means to establish the dangerous otherness of the islanders.

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Claudia Beltrão (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)
Cicero on Roman and foreign divine images

If the age of Roman conquest is matched by the inclusion of foreign gods into a Roman cultic practice, the intellectual debates of the mid-first century BCE seem to assert the importance of traditional practices and to be a more inward-looking approach to religious matters. Cicero paid close attention to human thought and action. In the last years, he has been increasingly recognised not as a spokesman fighting for the maintenance of a 'traditional' Roman religion, but as an innovative agent in the construction of Roman religion and identity in late Republican Rome. This paper is interested in some of the ways by which Cicero deals with the divine image. If divine images are objects made to be seen, worshipped, pleaded, greeted, kissed, touched and carried in processions, they are also observed and debated in intellectual debates in the late Republic. They have continuous interaction with human beings, dealing with rational and emotional perception, stating the physical presence of the god or goddess, and shaping ideas and beliefs through their materiality. The point will be concentrated in some chapters of Cicero's *De natura deorum* and *De divinatione* in which mentions to divine images other than those of the Greeks and Romans are sparse but rather revealing. Cicero's engagement with provincial and peripherical gods opens up questions and enables us to explore the problem through the tension between Romanness and foreignness, deeping the sense of its complexity. Cicero becomes an invaluable standpoint over a very complex period of the Roman history and a reminder of the difficulty inherent to any attempt to establish comprehensive models or labels.

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——— July 8th – Tuesday ———

KEYNOTE LECTURE 2
F.L. Roig Lanzillotta (University of Groningen)
The Specular Self: Mirrors and the Self as Other in the Greco-Roman World

From Plato's First *Alcibiades* to Pirandello's *Uno, nessuno, centomilla*, through Plutarch, the *Hypostasis of Archons* (NHC II,4) and the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, mirroring or mirrors have always provided individuals with a starting point in their quest for the knowledge of the self. Mirrors appear again at the climactic moment of this quest, since at that time, so the texts claim, individuals see their self, soul, or spirit "reflected as in a mirror", finally getting a grip on the personal core that forms the basis for their identity. My talk intends to revisit and reflect on all these texts in order to ponder a fundamental problem: to what extent does this mirroring actually reflect our self? Isn't this reflection rather an alignment of the self with the Other? And if the Other (or mirrors) reflects *what we are*, can we still call this reflection a self? Isn't the *self* actually the Other?

Alexandre Agnolon (Federal University of Ouro Preto, Brazil)

A construção de uma fronteira: a representação do "outro" e as diferenças entre epodo e sátira em Horácio

O *Ep.* 5 e a *Sat.* 1. 8 de Horácio têm como tema em comum a bruxaria e a presença de Canídia, a principal inimiga do poeta n'*O Livro de Epodos*. Na primeira peça, as bruxas sacrificam um menino a fim de preparar um filtro amoroso; na segunda, as mesmas bruxas são surpreendidas, no meio de um feitiço, pelo deus Priapo que as expulsa com grande alarde. Meu objetivo será discutir não somente a presença da bruxaria representada sob contornos do estrangeiro – do outro portanto – mas compreender sua representação de identidade como critério poético de divisão entre os gêneros do risível em Horácio, a saber: as diferenças entre epodo e sátira. Ora, em outras palavras, busco demonstrar que os lugares-comuns de representação da bruxaria em Horácio se, de um lado, serve para distinguir, em termos de identidade, o romano do bárbaro; de outro lado, poeticamente, em chave teórica, bem entendido, são operantes na medida em que distinguem também um gênero de outro, distinguem o epodo da sátira – nesse último caso, como concebida pelo poeta, em oposição à sátira de modelo Luciliano. Assim, o tema da bruxaria – e suas marcas identitárias – assumem função programática, a distinguir as fronteiras entre o iambo e a sátira.

The construction of a border: the representation of the "other" and the differences between epode and satire in Horace

The Ep. 5 and the Sat. 1. 8 of Horace have in common the witchcraft and the presence of Canidia, the main enemy of the poet in *The Book of Epodes*. In the first poem, the witches sacrifice a boy in order to prepare a love potion; in the second, the same witches are surprised, in the middle of a spell, by the god Priapus who expels them with great fanfare. My objective will be to discuss not only the presence of witchcraft represented under the contours of the foreigner – of the other therefore – but to understand its representation of identity as a poetic criterion of division between the genres of the laughable in Horace, namely the differences between epode and satire. Now, in other words, I try to demonstrate that the commonplace of representation of witchcraft in Horace, on the one hand, serves to distinguish, in terms of identity, the Roman from the barbarian; on the other hand, poetically, in a theoretical key, of course, they are operative insofar as they also distinguish one genre from another, they distinguish the epode of satire – in the latter case, as conceived by the poet, in opposition to the Lucilian model of satire. Thus, the theme of witchcraft – and its identity marks – takes on a programmatic function, distinguishing the boundaries between iambus and satire.

Ralph Moore (Trinity College Dublin, Ireland)
Where Reason Could Not Prevail: Barbarian Othering and Diplomatic Double-Standards in Caesar's Commentarii

Can one negotiate fairly with those who appear not to share one's cultural values of justice, peace, or reason? Can one make an honourable deal with barbarians? In its detailed accounts of war and political manoeuvring against Gallic and Germanic opponents, Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* describes several instances when attempts at diplomacy failed and he was forced to resort to violence as a result of adversaries' tendencies toward inconstancy, treachery, or sheer disrespect for Greco-Roman conventions of international relations. This occurs most prominently in negotiations with the Helvetii and Tigurini (1.7-10), the Germanic warlord Ariovistus (1.37 and 1.51), and the Usipetes and Tenchtheri (4.8-11). As a text designed to exculpate its author from any perception of wrongdoing with regard to standards of *'bellum iustum'*, the *Commentarii's* framing of enemies as acting inimically to attempts at peace-making on the basis of their ethnicity was a useful rhetorical technique. In its seemingly successful appeal to Roman prejudices regarding the peoples of north-western Europe, it may well have served to excuse or obfuscate military actions that might otherwise have attracted opprobrium from commentators. By contrast, Caesar's accounts of the Civil Wars of c.49-45BCE, while nevertheless aimed at justification, could not apply the same stereotyping to Roman opponents and required the observation of stricter standards of diplomatic treatment. This paper will examine the invocation of Othering stereotypes in Caesar's accounts of diplomacy with Gauls and Germani, their differences from descriptions of similar encounters with Roman or other 'civilised' opponents, and place the trope in its broader context within Greek and Latin historiography. In doing so, it should shed light on the construction and reaffirmation of Roman cultural values and ethnic selfhood against groups perceived as others in the context of the upheaval and uncertainty of the Late Republic.

Colin Maccormack (University of Texas at Austin, USA)
Human and Animal Identities in Roman Literature

A recent turn among scholars of Classical literature has been one away from traditional 'Humanist' thinking and towards 'Posthumanism', which resists assumptions of human exceptionalism in favor of opening discourses on non-human entities (e.g. Bianchi, Brill & Holmes 2019; Chiesi & Spiegel 2020). Following this movement, this paper argues that explorations of identity in the ancient world should consider not only distinctions drawn between humans - e.g. ethnicity, religion, gender, age, dis/ability - but how perceptions of animals and animality inform schemas of self, other and 'otherness'. The notion of 'animality', a quality opposed to 'humanity' yet also shared by human and non-human animals, underpins Roman identity constructions.

Both humans and animals were understood in relation to one another through the presence or absence of particular characteristics. Following Aristotelian and Stoic assertions that mankind alone possessed logos, Roman thought tended to contrast speaking, rational humans with 'mute' (mutus) animals (e.g. Seneca De Ira 1.3.6). Lucretius and Horace trace the development of mankind from a primitive, animalistic state *(mutum pecus, more ferarum)* to organized, speaking societies (DRN 5.925-1090, Sat. 1.3.99-106). In this, we can see a realization of a "species grid," wherein beings are granted or denied subjectivity through animalization or humanization (Wolfe & Elmer 2003). Among human subjects, animalizing markers, like mutus (Natoli 2017), set people apart as underdeveloped, uncivilized or divergent from 'humanized' ideals. Conversely, the complete denial of animal rationality, as well as their sharp distinction from humans, did not go unchallenged in Roman literature. However, such efforts largely relied on recognizing or ascribing nominally human characteristics, such as *logos*.

Naturalists, philosophers and intellectuals such as Pliny the Elder, Plutarch and Aelian cited examples of human-like wisdom, compassion and other virtues among animals, while poets often directly compared the experiences and mentalities of animals to those of humans through simile and analogy. Ovid, first in Pythagoras' speech (*Met.* 15.75-478) and again in the *Fasti* (1.317-458), suggests an inherent affinity between human and animal nature.

Particularly compelling explorations of animal subjectivity occur in Oppian's *Halieutica* and Ps.-Oppian's *Cynegetica*, which recast animals as poetic subjects, dramatizing their lives through epic simile and eloquent speeches. Animals present perhaps the most extreme state of otherness in ancient literature, yet one also open to re-examination and renegotiation by its participants. In understanding the construction of identity between humans in Roman contexts, we must also consider the notions of human and humanity themselves, as well as how these formulations could be reinforced, challenged or deconstructed by the animal subject.

Paolo Desideri (University of Florence, Italy)
Dio of Prusa's Γετικά in the context of the ethnographic production of his age

In his *Getica,* probably written at the beginning of the Second Century C.E., the Greek sophist-philosopher Dio dealt with the history and customs of the Dacians, based on the direct experience he had gained of that population when journeying, in the course of his exile, outside the borders of the Roman Empire. The work itself is lost, but some extracts survive in Iordanes' *Getica*: these extracts – as I wrote some years ago – allow us to glean an idea of its contents, in particular as far as the Dacians' customs are concerned. What emerges is the portrayal of a society that had, although far from the Graeco-Roman cultural tradition, had a sound socio-political organization, based on solid values; so much so that it had been able to gain respect from the Macedonians; and had bravely resisted the Romans, at least to a certain extent.

As Von Arnim had guessed, and Momigliano later confirmed, one can assume that Dio's Getica, as an ethnographic work, is a sort of cultural parallel to Tacitus' Germania, which was written more or less in the same period. Setting up a comparison in this field between Dio and Tacitus necessarily calls into question the ethnographic section of the Agricola as well. And the easily recognizable important ideological differences between Tacitus' two 'minor' works help us to become aware of how the points of view of the Greek and the Roman intellectual differ, as regards Trajan's policy towards the 'barbarian' peoples of central Europe.

Francisco Martínez (University of Sevilla, Spain)
Alteridad pirática en Plutarco. La influencia romana en la construcción del autre pirata en los Moralia

La imagen otra del pirata en la antigüedad fue conformándose, en buena medida y fuera esta real o inventada, a través de la visión que aedos, artistas e historiadores legaron a las siguientes generaciones. Su emergencia podemos rastrearla hasta la mitología helena, y desde el propio Homero en adelante se puede observar el fenómeno; sin embargo, será en los textos de los historiadores griegos bajo dominio romano, influenciados por su proverbial aversión al mundo marino y su afán por controlar el *Mare Nostrum*, donde la alteridad pirática acabará conformando su imagen peyorativa que terminará calando en el acervo colectivo y de la que todos somos deudores. En este sentido, Plutarco fue simultáneamente un influyente cronista heleno, ciudadano romano y admirador de Roma, por lo que se erige como la figura paradigmática para el estudio de la imagen del pirata antiguo. Glosó las grandes figuras de uno y otro mundo, al tiempo que dejaba su impronta - alejada del etnocentrismo predominante - permitiéndonos entender también al público al que se dirigía. En sus obras encontramos gran parte de los *topoi* literarios previos sobre el mundo pirático que, en buena medida y debido al influjo romano, serán normalizados y reelaborados en su obra llegando a generar verdaderos estereotipos *autres* sobre la piratería de gran influencia posterior. El de Queronea describe pueblos y lugares eminentemente piráticos, que se valían de técnicas, armamento y embarcaciones características para conseguir botines y riquezas en sus emboscadas y abordajes nocturnos. Sin embargo, como veremos, desde la construcción de su imagen de alteridad y su implantación en la perspectiva romana, estos piratas, además, constituirán toda una suerte de exiliados y apátridas, crueles, ostentosos, juerguistas y borrachos, en definitiva, marineros expertos y sin honor que, navegando desde sus bases de operaciones diseminadas por costas inaccesibles, ponían en jaque al comercio del Mediterráneo y a la propia Roma.

The image other of the pirate in ancient times was shaped, largely and real or invented, through the vision of epic poets, artists and historians bequeathed to the following generations. Its emergence can be traced to Hellenic mythology, and from Homer himself onwards the phenomenon can already be observed. However it will be in the texts of the Greek historians under Roman rule, with its proverbial aversion to the marine world and its eagerness to control the *Mare Nostrum*, where the piratic alterity will end up forming of their pejorative image, which will end up penetrating in the collective thinking and of which we are all debtors. In this sense, Plutarch was simultaneously an influential Hellenic chronicler, Roman citizen, and admirer of Rome, making him the paradigmatic figure for the study of the image of the ancient pirate. He glossed the great figures of both worlds, while leaving his dual imprint -away from the prevailing ethnocentrism- allowing us to also understand the audience he was addressing. In his works we find a large part of the previous literary *topoi* about the pirate world that due to the Roman influence, will be normalized and reworked in their work, leading to generate true autres stereotypes, of great later influence. The one from Queronea describes eminently pirate people and places, who used characteristic techniques, weapons, and ships to obtain booties in their ambushes and night boardings. However, as we will see, from the construction of their image of alterity and their implantation in the Romanized perspective, these pirates, in addition, will constitute a sort of exiled and stateless, cruel, ostentatious, revelers and drunkards, in short, expert and dishonored sailors who, navigating from their bases of operations scattered along inaccessible coasts, endangered the Mediterranean trade and Rome itself.

July 12th – Tuesday

KEYNOTE LECTURE 3
Louise Revell (University of Southampton, UK)
Performing Identities in the Rome's Western Provinces

In the past three decades, identity has formed the basis for new studies of the Roman provinces, investigating shifting ethnic and cultural identities. Less attention has been drawn to the impact of imperialism on other aspects of an individual's identity, such as gender or age identities. In part, this is because the non-elite, the non-adult, and the non-male are frequently viewed as the silent people of the past, leaving little traces of their voices in the textual record, and limited individual presences in the archaeological record. In this paper, I will focus on the peoples of Rome's western provinces and argue that in reconstructing the kinds of lives they lived and the ways in which they formed and maintained their sense of self on a daily basis, we can begin to build a more nuanced and richer picture of the impact of Rome on these societies.

Eelco Glas (University of Groningen, Netherlands)
Jewish Identity and Roman Exemplary Ethics in Philo of Alexandria's In Flaccum and Flavius Josephus' Bellum Judaicum

The way we present our past is never neutral but always manipulated to serve the needs of the present. This is especially apparent in the works of Philo of Alexandria (c. 25 BCE–50 CE) and Flavius Josephus (c. 37–100 CE), who are among the most prominent migrant thinkers of the Roman Mediterranean. In 38 CE Philo was forced to travel as a Jewish envoy to Rome in 38 CE, where he stayed for several years before returning to Alexandria. Several decades later, during the Great Jewish Revolt (66-70 CE), Josephus was defeated by the Romans during the siege of Jotapata after which, according to his own testimony, he predicted Vespasian's rise to imperial power. He settled in Rome shortly after the revolt and wrote 30 books in Greek primarily addressing an audience in his new place of residence.

This paper examines how Philo and Josephus adopt Roman exemplary tradition with the purpose of reshaping Jewish history and traditions, and adapt it to highlight Jewish distinctiveness and exceptionalism. What was the impact of their encounter with Rome on the ways in which these Jewish migrant thinkers present and construct Jewish identity in their writings? And how do they participate in Roman intellectual discourses in achieving their communicative purposes? There exists a considerable body of scholarship that has investigated Josephus' relationships with Rome and his Roman readers from a variety of angles.

More recently, scholars have also drawn attention to the potential importance of Roman intellectual discourses for understanding the themes and purposes of Philo's historical writings. The present contribution approaches this relationship from a new angle by setting up a dialogue between first-century Jewish historiography written in Greek and the functions and structures of contemporary Roman exemplary discourse — the Roman practice of circulating moral stories *(exempla)* from history with the purpose of learning abstract virtues from these stories. It realizes this (1) by pairing two works of contemporary history, Philo's *In Flaccum* and Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*, that are not usually read alongside each other; and (2) by focusing on the rhetorical and moralizing underpinnings the literary representation of character in both works in view of Roman exemplary discourse.

Manolis E. Pagkalosv (University of Groningen, Netherlands)
Athenian Cultural Memory Under Rome: Approaching the Political Discourse, Self-Perception and Mechanisms of Anchoring in Imperial Athens

This paper investigates how the Roman and the Athenian elite anchored Roman power over the *polis* of Athens. Moreover, it explores the ways they articulated and negotiated claims of political power in the local, contested, level. During the Roman Imperial era, Athens was celebrated for its history and culture and was treated as a *libera civitas*. The Roman elite favoured Athens, and the *polis* was a place of many benefactions and a direct focus of certain emperors like Augustus, Nero and Hadrian; naturally, such a relationship was reciprocal. It was both in the interest of the Roman elite to link themselves with a *polis* that held a special status in the Greek world. It was also a way for the local elite to benefit themselves and their *polis* via acquiring the favour of the Romans and, especially, the emperor. More importantly, in this contested space of political power, we can evidence mutual attempts to anchor Roman rule to the established traditions and the political culture of Athens. Such efforts are demonstrated both by the benefactions of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa and the civic response that held clear political connotations. Similar attempts can be evidenced on the foundation of the Temple of Roma and Augustus, the earliest temple of Imperial Cult in Athens, now on the Athenian initiative. Roman narratives of the self and manifestations of local identity are intertwined at the local level – a 'game of meanings' for the local and regional political discourse via processes of self-perception and othering for both parties. This paper argues that the multifaced approach to incorporate Roman rule in the local political discourse and civic identity are the result of the Athenian cultural memory and the civic tradition since as early as the Hellenistic period when the Athenians first lost their autonomy. Thus, it explores the political-ideological foundations of anchoring for the Athenian civic identity and checks them against the contemporary political realities and Roman rule.

Ruben Henrique de Castro (NOVA University Lisbon, CHAM, FCSH)
Self-Perception in the Construction of the Other: Case-Study of Roman portrayal of Viriatus, Arminius and Boudica

When reading the works written by Greek and Latin authors regarding Rome's enemies, one cannot help but notice how much of the construction of the other, of Rome's enemies and neighbours, is dominated by how Romans saw themselves. We are left with a series of writings on people such as Viriatus, Arminius and Boudica, three of the most iconic of Rome's enemies, who have reached our days as national icons, occupying in modern and contemporary collective imagination an in-between position that mixes History and Myth. Through the narratives ancient authors left us of those three characters, we can understand how Romans portrayed themselves, their history, and their civilization. Through the case-study of the portrayals ancient authors give of Viriatus, Arminius and Boudica, we will offer a better understanding of the political, philosophical, and narrative elements transversal in the portraits of those three figures in order to provide a clearer insight on how Roman self-perception is present in the construction of the "other" in the Roman world.

Eleri Cousins (Lancaster University, UK)
Epigraphy, Religion, and Identity on Hadrian's Wall: Exploring Dynamics of Self-Othering on the Romano-British Frontier

This paper explores the role of religious epigraphy in the construction of identity by the military community on the Romano-British frontier, and the ways in which epigraphic language could be harnessed both to express and to enact multifaceted processes of belonging and not-belonging on the edge of empire. The region centred around Hadrian's Wall was a complex zone of cultural interaction, with auxiliary soldiers, local peoples, and communities on both sides of the Wall all coming together in the creation of a frontier society. One of the more powerful methods through which the inhabitants of this border region shaped individual and group identities was religious activity, and in particular religious epigraphy.

Inscriptions, by their very nature public monuments, serve not merely as a form of self-expression, but specifically as a statement to be viewed by *others*. Epigraphic statements of ethnic, civic, or military identity, particularly when joined to the veneration of deities associated with ethnic or tribal homelands, are therefore not neutral or straightforwardly descriptive; rather, they are deliberate self-fashionings and self-conscious statements of belonging — and conversely also of exclusion. In particular, statements of identity by sub-communities within the military can walk a precarious line between conforming to the institutions of the Roman army and the Roman empire, and functioning as mechanisms for self-othering and self-differentiation from the broader military community, both socially and religious

epigraphy of this region, we can shed light on the underlying forces of community-formation and social identity that were tugging at auxiliary soldiers and the way they perceived their position on the edges of the Roman world.

Eleni Bozia (University of Florida, USA)
Romanized Gauls and Hellenized Syrians with Roman Citizenship:
Redefining "the other"

The political landscape of the High Empire is multiethnic and culturally polyvalent. So the question that very reasonably arises is whether there is a sense of autochthony, Romanness, and alterity and how that might look like. Aelius Aristides argues for global citizenry under the Roman Empire: "Neither the sea nor any distance on land shuts a man out from citizenship. Asia and Europe are in this respect not separate. Everything lies open to everybody; and no one fit for office or responsibility is an alien." *(To Rome 60)*. Similarly, Rutilius Namatianus praises Romans for *"[making] from distinct and separate nations a single fatherland (Red. 1.63-66)*. And Favorinus redefines exile, making the case for paideutic origins and cultural belonging: "That a fatherland is not the country in which we ourselves were born is clear from the following: many people, though born in one place, regard another land as their fatherland." (*De ex.* 10.1) In this paper, I suggest a different appreciation of nativeness and otherness and argue for a redefined Hellenism and Romanness, a *lieu littéraire* that infiltrated the Empire thus procuring a reimagined sense of society and the self. More specifically, I start with Ovid's appreciation of foreigners and his exilic travails that I then counteract with Claudius' edict surviving in the Lyon tablets about admitting Gauls to the Roman Senate. Politically the stage may seem set, and the concept of "us and the others" well established. However, the lines are then blurred, and ethnic boundaries are transcended, when Lucian of Samosata claims Greekness, Favorinus the Gaul argues for both his Greekness and Romanness, and Aulus Gellius praises the latter as a premier Latinist. At the time of the High empire, the authorial elite begins to reconsider the locality of homeland as well as established modalities of nativeness and otherness. Therefore, I contend that Greekness and Latinity eclipse geographical borders and create a *lieu littéraire* — a world of cultural eclecticism and ethnic plurality where alterity is continuously reappreciated.

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Martina Gatto (University of Rome "Tor Vergata", Italy)
Un legislatore greco nell'Epitome di Pompeo Trogo: il "Licurgo" di Giustino

Questo intervento si propone di esplorare la percezione dell'"altro" nella storiografia latina, analizzando un passaggio su Licurgo di Sparta tratto dall'*Epitome di Pompeo Trogo*. L'obiettivo principale è quello di esaminare come uno scrittore latino definisca e descriva un antico legislatore della tradizione greca, e come Licurgo possa essere rilevante per i lettori romani durante l'età imperiale. Nell'*Epitome* redatta da Giustino a partire dall'opera storica di Pompeo Trogo sono fornite alcune coordinate fondamentali su Licurgo e sulla sua costituzione. Nella versione epitomata del terzo libro di Trogo, infatti, l'autore fornisce uno schizzo biografico sul legislatore e un riassunto generale relativo alle tradizionali leggi spartane, accennando, ad esempio, alla spartizione egualitaria delle terre, ai costumi frugali, o al divieto della coniazione della moneta d'oro e d'argento. Attraverso l'analisi dell'esposizione di Giustino, si possono rilevare alcuni elementi che questo testo ha in comune con Plutarco e con altre fonti greche. A questo proposito, è importante tenere a mente che la *Vita di Licurgo* plutarchea – l'opera biografica principale a disposizione su questa figura – è un testo posteriore rispetto alle Historiae di Trogo, dal momento che questo storico fu presumibilmente attivo nel corso dell'età augustea. Un riesame del testo di Giustino può dunque aiutarci a chiarire quali tradizioni sul kosmos di Sparta l'autore imperiale aveva intenzionalmente selezionato e incluso nella sua *Epitome*. Il gusto per l'aneddoto e per i contenuti moraleggianti è probabilmente uno dei motivi per cui Giustino conserva, nel compendio del III libro, non soltanto le norme principali di Sparta, ma anche i dettagli biografici su Licurgo: il testo è dunque una spia significativa dell'interesse nei confronti del legislatore greco come *exemplum* morale in età imperiale, tanto nel periodo in cui è attivo Trogo, quanto nella fase in cui Giustino ha redatto il suo compendio.

A Greek Lawgiver in the Epitome of Pompeius Trogus: Justin's account of Lycurgus

This paper aims to explore the perception of the "other" in Latin historiography, analyzing a passage on a Greek lawgiver, Lycurgus of Sparta, in Justin's *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus*. The purpose is to examine how a Latin writer defines and describes an ancient lawgiver from the Greek tradition, and how Lycurgus can be relevant for the Roman readers during the Imperial Age.

In his *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus*, Justin summarizes, in fact, some crucial information on Lycurgus and his constitution. In the account from the third book, the author provides a biographical sketch on the lawgiver and a summary of the traditional Spartan laws (such as frugal customs, land distribution, the prohibition of gold and silver coins). A closer look at Justin's exposition reveals some elements that this text has in common with Plutarch and other Greek sources. Since Trogus was presumably active during the Augustan age, it is also important to remark that Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus* is a later text than the Historiae of Trogus. A re-examination of Justin's text might, therefore, help us to clarify which traditions about Sparta's *kosmos* the imperial author had selected and included in his Epitome. The taste for anecdotes and moralizing contents is probably one of the reasons why Justin preserves, in the summary of the third book, not only the laws of Sparta but also biographical details on Lycurgus. Thus, this account testifies an interest in the Greek lawgiver as a moral *exemplum* in the imperial age, appropriate for both Trogus' and Justin's period.

July 13th – Tuesday

Ketevan Nadareishvili and Tamar Cheishvili
(Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia)
The Roman Contexts of Perceiving the Other –
Receptions of the Geopolitical and Cultural Identity of the Ancient Kartvelian People

Starting from the first century BC alongside with the growing of Rome's interest toward the Caucasian region, the discussion over the geopolitical and cultural identities of the Kartvelian ethnoses becomes increasingly accentuated. The issues of the Kartvelian tribes' geopolitical orientation acquire a special attention during Rome's three especially sharp confrontations with the East: a) the Mithridatic wars; b) The Roman-Parthian military conflict in AD 35; c) The complicated relationship between Parasmanes II of Iberia and Rome in the second century. The paper studies as to what extent the change of the Kartvelian ethnoses' political vector (their pro- or anti-Roman orientation) predetermines the evaluation by the Romans of their geopolitical identity, on the one hand, and defining their xenostereotypes, on the other (e.g. The Iberians fighting against the Partians are represented by Tacitus (*Ann.* 6.34) by stereotypical characteristics of the Northern Barbarians). The issues of the Karvelian tribes' cultural identity (material culture, ethnic traits, customs) as perceived by the Romans are studied as well. The differential approach towards a cultural development of the above tribes - perceiving some of them as savages and others – more or less civilized, is generally characteristic for the writers of the Roman period. At the same

time the frequent accentuation by Romans of various cultural links existing between these people and their own/western mythological memory, first and foremost the Argonauts' myth, is especially noteworthy regarding the construction of this concrete model of the Other.

The outcomes of the paper will suggest important insights concerning the research of the geopolitical and cultural identities of the Kartvelian people, as well as the studies of the Other – the creation of the xenostereotypes and through them, indirectly, establishing the autostereotypes of the Roman self.

Pavle Pavlović (Singidunum University of Belgrade, Serbia)
Barbarian 'Other' and Sidonius' 'language of paradox'

It is already noticed that in casting the Visigothic King Theodoric II as a successor of Roman greatness, Apolinarius Sidonius in his epistles hardly offers a unified view the barbarian Other. Even though he tends to praise Theoderic's civilized Roman manners, he still occasionally touches upon his continuing 'barbarian' practices, such as penchant for looting and gluttony. Historians has so far analyzed s this ambiguity of Theoderic's portrayal exclusively i as an expression of political communication with the Roman audience. However, no scholar has so far attempted to analyze the way in which Sidonius, as a poet, conceptualizes that ambiguity by building on the previous rhetorical tradition and employing the language of paradox. By using Cleanth Brooks' concept of 'language of paradox', we explore those rhetorical devices with which Sidonius articulates a need to refute the negative portrait of the barbarian Other. Our thesis is that Sidonius' surprise that the stereotype is disproven reflects his internal conflict about the barbarian Other and his own Roman identity.

Filomena Giannotti (University of Siena, Italy)
News from a mundus senescens: Romans, Visigoths and Saxons in a letter by Sidonius Apollinaris (viii 6)

Sidonius Apollinaris is a key figure of 5th century A.D. Roman Gaul. The poems and the nine books of letters he wrote, beyond their literary value, are an important historical source for this critical but fascinating period, with the cultural clash between Romans and Barbarians. This paper will focus the attention on a letter dating back to 477/478 and addressed to Namatius, a Gallo-Roman aristocrat who had a large estate near the *Santones* (today Saintes) but lived in *Novempopulana* (Oléron island). After the collapse of the Roman Empire and the downfall of Sidonius' hometown, *Augostonemetum* (today Clermont-Ferrand), under the Visigoths, Sidonius recognizes that they were a *victor populus* (VIII 6, 16) *but alienus* (VIII 2, 2). The crucial point of this letter is that Namatius was appointed as a naval officer by the Visigothic King

Euric to guard the Atlantic coast against the Saxon pirates. So, while expressing his own concern about Namatius, Sidonius presents the first description, as far as is known, of the Saxons (but their barbarity and cruelty might reflect - in an implicit way, without mentioning them directly – the other barbarian people, the Visigoths). For Sidonius, intellectual activity was a way to defend *Romanitas* and avoid, or at least delay, the loss of his beloved Latin world. The letter to Namatius, in spite of its vertiginous feeling of the end of the world (VIII 6, 3 *mundi iam senescentis*), focuses in particular on the intellectual reaction to the end of Roman rule, by describing the famous Gallo-Roman orator Nicetius to provide Namatius with a model, by stressing the importance of the Classical studies, and by suggesting that Namatius should alternate work with hunt (hunting was a material and not literary manifestation of aristocratic identity in Roman Gaul). But above all it is essential that, imitating Sidonius' extremely refined style, Namatius' Latin language is not damaged by rust (VIII 6, 18 *robigo* is a metaphor of the linguistic decadence because of the contact with the others).

Christopher Lillington Martin (Coventry University, UK)
The 'New Comic' othering of women by Procopius: the case of Ἰωαννίνα (Ioannína / Joannina) et al

How did Procopius define and describe the 'other'? Ioannina is mentioned by just one literary source: Procopius, in his *Anekdota*. Procopius' account of the Ioannína episode is relatively brief (270 words in Greek). His 'New Comic' othering of Ioannína is important because he seems to use her as a foil for his othering of at least two of the four major protagonists, of mid-sixth century Constantinople, with whom his *Anekdota* is primarily concerned (Theodora, Antonina, Belisarius and Justinian). I shall demonstrate that Procopius is more concerned with the othering of two protagonists in particular: Theodora and Antonina. I shall show how their and Belisarius' characters are put at stake, as Procopius comments on deeds regarding Ioannína: his at Antonina's instigation, reacting to the Empress Theodora's intrigues to manipulate Ioannína. However, in a slightly less than fully misogynistic way, Procopius lays the final blame for Ioannína's fate at the feet of Belisarius, her father. I shall evaluate how Procopius characterises Ioannina as a foil for his othering of his other protagonists. This will include consideration of her relations with the Empresses' grandson. Before dealing with Ioannina's year and place of birth, and legalities, I shall consider modern scholarship on ancient women, and epigraphic and etymological evidence, to conclude on Procopius' reception of New Comedy and his method to other Ioannína *et al*.

Aleksander Paradziński (University of Warsaw, Poland)
The other to sustain othering: The case of Tribigild, an 'ethnic officer'

Roman military policies of instrumentalisation of ethnicity are often understood within the theoretical framework of the 'ethnic soldier'. This term was initially conceptualised by Cynthia Enloe to describe practices of creating, shaping and maintaining ethnic identities of military units seen as beneficial by the colonial empires employing them. In my paper I would like to explore an aspect of such a way of othering and ethnicisation of soldiers in Roman service – an 'ethnic officer'. This particular mental framework drawing a connection between retaining or imparting 'ethnic' traits of certain military units thanks to their commanders and policies stemming from such an assertion can be discerned in the 19th century Russian Empire, 10th century Byzantine Empire and 1st-2nd century Roman Empire. I am going to focus on a case that I believe illustrates such a way of thinking applied in the 4th century Roman Empire: Tribigild, a Roman commander of Gothic background, who rebelled against the imperial authorities in 399. It appears that he was commissioned to command a unit of soldiers he had no previous association with except for the ethnic identity that was perceived by Romans as one and the same. Tribigild's example suggests that Roman Empire was ready to reify the ethnic identity of some of its officers to retain martial characteristics associated with specific identity of soldiers they were to command. Such characterisation could be then made use of in propaganda against 'barbarians' if they turned upon Rome, which consequently echoed in the literary sources. However, the instrumentalisation of ethnicity could be employed by 'barbarians' themselves. Tribigild successfully used his function of an 'ethnic officer' to mobilise support for his own political aims.

Rodrigo Gomes (University of Coimbra, Portugal)
*Perspetivas romano-bizantinas sobre os exércitos estrangeiros nos tratados militares da
Antiguidade Tardia (sécs. IV a VII)*

A etnografia da Antiguidade Tardia encontra-se dividida em dois grupos de obras distintos: a patrística e os escritos seculares produzidos por autores cristãos e não cristãos, que incorporam elementos dos modelos etnográficos greco-romanos e vários *topoi* de autores clássicos (caso de Heródoto, Tácito, Amiano Marcelino). Por sua vez, os textos que nos apresentam informações mais detalhadas sobre os costumes militares dos povos estrangeiros são as narrativas históricas (a *Getica* de Jordanes, a *História das Guerras* de Procópio e a *História* de Teofilacto Simocata) e a tratadística militar. É precisamente neste último género literário que conseguimos encontrar várias descrições relativas ao equipamento, táticas e organização militar dos exércitos de alguns dos povos que, no período em apreço, invadiram ou fixaram-se no *limes*

do Império Romano do Ocidente e do Oriente (*E.g.* Persas, Hérulos, Hunos, Ávaros, Eslavos, Francos, Lombardos). De igual modo, os tratadistas militares incluíram nas suas obras alguns dos hábitos militares dos povos conquistados, considerados pertinentes para a instrução dos generais e soldados imperiais. O objetivo desta comunicação passa por analisar pormenorizadamente as passagens dos manuais de guerra deste período (sobretudo na *Epitoma rei Militaris* de Vegécio, no *Stratēgikón* atribuído ao imperador Maurício e na *De Militaria Scientia* de um autor anónimo) que descrevem os exércitos de cada *ethnē* (oriundos do *Barbaricum* e do Oriente) que enfrentaram os Romanos e Bizantinos. Da mesma maneira, serão explicitados os mecanismos empregues para representar o inimigo, assim como as soluções apresentadas nestas obras para terminar o conflito. Com o intuito de identificar os *topoi* utilizados nestes excertos, assim como as influências literárias de outros escritos coevos (sobretudo de narrativas históricas e de relatórios de embaixadas), serão ainda consultados uma miríade de estudos relativos a esta temática (de Gilbert Dagron, Lukasz Rózycki, Gioacchino Strano, Anthony Kaldellis, Yannis Stouraitis e outros).

Roman-Byzantine perspectives on foreign armies in the military treatises of Late Antiquity (4th to 7th centuries)

The ethnography of Late Antiquity is divided into two distinct groups: the patristic and the secular writings produced by Christian and non-Christian authors, which incorporate elements of the Greco-Roman ethnographic models, and several *topoi* from the classic authors (Herodotus, Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus). The texts that provide us a more detailed information about military customs of foreign peoples are the historical narratives (Jordanes' *Getica*, Procopius' *History of Wars* and Theofilacto Simocata's History) and the military treatises. It is precisely in this latter literary genre that we can find various descriptions relating to the equipment, tactics and military organization of the armies of some of the peoples who, during the contemplated period, invaded or settled within the *limes* of the Western and Eastern Roman Empires (*E.g.* Persians, Heruli, Huns, Avars, Slavs, Franks, Lombards). In the same way, the military treatises included some of the military habits of the conquered peoples, useful for the instruction of imperial generals and soldiers. The purpose of this talk is to analyse in detail the passages of war manuals from this period (Vegetius' *Epitoma rei Militaris*, Maurice's *Stratēgikón* and the Anonymous' *De Militaria Scientia*) that describe the armies of each *ethnē* (from *Barbaricum* and the Orient) that faced the Romans and Byzantines. In the same way, the mechanisms used to represent the enemy will be explained, as well as the solutions presented in these works to end the conflict. In order to identify the *topoi* used in these passages, as well as the literary influences of other contemporary writings (mainly historical narratives and embassy reports), we will use a myriad of studies related to this theme (by Gilbert Dagron, Lukasz Rózycki, Gioacchino Strano, Anthony Kaldellis, Yannis Stouraitis and others).

──────── **July 14th – Tuesday** ────────

KEYNOTE LECTURE 4
Trinidad Nogales Basarrate
(Director of the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano Merida, Spain)
Augusta Emerita: símbolo de la política de Augusto en Lusitania

El final del proceso de conquista de Hispania por Augusto estuvo determinado por la fundación de una nueva colonia, *Augusta Emerita*, un homenaje del *Princeps* a las victorias contra cántabros y astures, detonante del control de Roma de la Península Ibérica. Como se ha dicho en reiteradas ocasiones, la nueva fundación del 25 a.C. fue la más augustea de las tres capitales provinciales de *Hispania*. Su creación *ex novo* por colonos itálicos determinó la fisonomía de esta nueva urbe, donde se incorporan los nuevos esquemas de la política augustea en las provincias occidentales. En *Augusta Emerita* se sintetizan, simbólicamente, los conceptos de guerra, triunfo y paz. Esta futura capital de *Lusitania* se convirtió en modelo urbano en el occidente de la Península Ibérica.

Augusta Emerita: symbol of Augustus' policy in Lusitania

The end of the process of conquest of Hispania by Augustus was determined by the foundation of a new colony, *Augusta Emerita*, a tribute of the *Princeps* to the victories against Cantabrians and Asturians, detonator of Rome's control of the Iberian Peninsula. As has been repeatedly stated, the new foundation of 25 B.C. was the most Augustan of the three provincial capitals of Hispania. Its creation *ex novo* by Italic colonists determined the physiognomy of this new city, where the new schemes of Augustan politics in the Western provinces were incorporated. In *Augusta Emerita* the concepts of war, triumph and peace were symbolically synthesized. This future capital of *Lusitania* became an urban model in the west of the Iberian Peninsula.

Francisco Machuca Prieto (University of Malaga, Spain)
Identities Constructs among the Phoenicians in Roman Hispania: The Role of Past and Tradition

Traditionally, Spanish historiography has tended to consider the victory of Scipio over the Carthaginians in 206 BCE the end of the deep and long Phoenician presence in Iberia. The result of this interpretation, with exceptions, is a view of the Phoenician past as a slowly changing history truncated suddenly by Rome.

struggles over territory, sovereignty and cultural identity, but the archaeological and literary evidences points to a reality different than that underlying much of modern narratives of opposition. Usually, those struggles have been conceptualized as Roman versus local identities, but not as a generational choice involving old and new practices. In the case of Phoenician communities, the survival of cultural elements rooted in traditions prior to the arrival of Rome certainly does not indicate an active and hostile resistance to Roman customs. On the contrary, this continuity is seen as a renovation, a way of giving free rein to integration without renouncing the particularities. This phenomenon of "symbolic ethnicity" could be linked to the need for legitimation of the local elites, immersed in a complex game of identitary oppositions and aggregations that held the ideological structures of the rather accommodating *imperium romanum* concerning the integration of the conquered peoples. In the Late Republic and High Empire placing monuments, zoomorphic representations and cult images on coins was a common way of defining local identities in such ways. Some provincial communities, like the Phoenicians of Hispania, did so by drawing on the positive symbols associated with their ancestors in Mediterranean tradition.

Mónica Rolo (University of Lisbon, UNIARQ)
The Orpheus' Mirror – Death and Identities through the looking glass

In the 1950's film *Orphée* (Jean Cocteau), dedicated to a variation of the homonymous classical myth, Heurtebise tells Orpheus: "Mirrors are the doors through which Death comes and goes. Look at yourself in a mirror all your life and you'll see death at work"[4]. Like our image reflected on a mirror, also the archaeological record reflects an unrepeatable image of past societies, molded by time, space, and internal and external dynamics. In this sense, the treatment of death is, as life itself, an intrinsically social process and funerary practices are a symbolic statement of individual and social identities. Assuming that burial contexts and funerary treatment are, by excellence, expressions of self-representation and social belonging, we propose a crossing analysis of the funerary evidences known for the rural territory of West *Lusitania*, in order to gain insight into the communities that have lived in this area. Through the study of variables such as ritual practices, burial contexts and the material culture associated, including epigraphy, we propose to focus on identity manifestations crystallized in funerary record. Analyzing a large chronological frame – since the first contacts with Roman contingents until the collapse of the Empire – it stands out that the relation between Romans and the 'Others' has given shape to 'hybrid' societies, as rich as complex, and that the process of 'othering' is non linear in what concerns to archaeological record.

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[4] http://dobbscinemablog.blogspot.com/2010/06/orpheus-mirrors.html

As part of a dialectical process, in some cases more challenging, in other more peaceful, 'Romanness' and indigenous identity traits are, therefore, images reflected by the same looking glass. Through the study of funerary evidences from Late Iron Age until Late Antiquity, it is possible to get a closer look to identities expressions and their shaping process. Thus being, phenomena of continuity/ resilience, acculturation and rupture in this provincial context are unveiled, and the idea of 'glocalization', as applicable in this area of Hispania as in any other part of the Roman Empire, is reinforced.

Irene Salinero-Sánchez (Universidad de Alcalá, Spain)
Las identidades desde una perspectiva arqueológica. El sur de la Península. Ibérica como objeto de estudio en el tránsito del mundo clásico al medieval

El estudio del mundo funerario proporciona informaciones de gran utilidad para conocer las poblaciones del pasado, modos de vida e inclusivamente las realidades socioeconómicas. La comunicación que aquí se presenta se centra el mundo funerario, concretamente en el estudio de conjuntos excavados en el sur de la Península Ibérica con unas secuencias de ocupación que oscilan desde el siglo V hasta el VII d.C. Se abordará el estudio a partir de la cultura material hallada en estos contextos, pero sin olvidar otros aspectos importantes para comprender los propios espacios sacros y su implantación en el espacio. Los grupos poblacionales que habitaron el sur de la Península Ibérica durante la cronología en estúdio tenían un sustrato hispanorromano bastante fuerte, y se aprecian evidencias de interacción cultural y económica con otros grupos y poderes, véase el Reino Visigodo de Toledo o el Imperio Romano Oriental. A partir de la cultura material hallada en estos contextos podemos ver los modos de vida de estas personas que habitaron esta región. Sin olvidarnos y como se ha hecho referencia en líneas anteriores, entra también en escena el estudio e implantación de la necrópolis. La posible elección de un determinado lugar se debe a una serie de implicaciones culturales y religiosas; la reocupación de antíguos espacios como por ejemplo las villae romanas, u otras estructuras domésticas. Todo ello se estudiará a nivel paisajísticos para comprender mejor el entorno. La falta de estúdios de carácter antropológico no permite determinar otros aspectos que completarían el análisis de los grupos, rangos de edad, causas de la muerte, lazos de parentesco. Aunque nos dispongamos de estudios de estas características, sí que podemos realizar estimativas de densidad poblacional, e incluso desmitificar que el medio rural era pobre y que solo se implantaban grupos pequeños.

The identities from the archaeological perspective. The south of Iberian Peninsula as a case study in the transition from the classical to medieval world

The study of the funerary world provides us with important information to know the populations of the past, ways of life and socio-economic realities. The present talk focuses on the funerary world, specifically in the study of excavated contexts from the south of Iberian Peninsula with occupational context from the 5th to 7th century A.D. The study will be approached from the material culture found in these contexts, without forgetting other important aspects to understand the sacred spaces and their implantation in the space. The groups that inhabited the south of the Iberian Peninsula during the study chronology had a strong hispanoroman identity. It can also be identified evidences of cultural and economic interaction with other groups and powers, with the Visigothic Kingdom of Toledo or the Eastern Roman Empire. From the material culture found in these contexts we can see the lifestyles of the people that inhabited this region. Without forgetting, and as referred in previously, the implantation of the necropolis will also be studied. The possible election of a certain place is connected with a series of religious and cultural implications; the reoccupation of previous spaces, such as roman villae, or other domestic structures. Everything, plus the landscape studies, enables a better comprehension of the environment. The lack of anthropological studies doesn't allow us to know other aspect that would complete the analysis of the groups, ages, causes of death, kinship ties. Although we have studies of this characteristics, with estimates we can determine the population density, or even demystify that the rural sphere was poor and that was only settled by small communities.

Carlos Cáceres-Puerto (University of Edinburgh, UK)
Romanitas' from scratch. Material culture as a means of acculturation in Colonia Augusta Emerita

The Augustean propaganda played a crucial role in the minting of the Roman mind, especially in the case of the foundation of *Augusta Emerita* in 25 BC (Dio, *Roman History*, LIV, 25, 5), almost in a way to perform its rightful place within the Roman *Orbis*. Instead of portraying the lack of indigenous past of the colony, they reshaped the iconographic discourse enhancing the local deities and related themselves to them, as Augustus, Venus and the *Aeneid*, which strikingly compares to the coinage series of *Emerita*. The iconographical themes are the tangible evidence that *Augusta Emerita* descends from Augustus himself, and off him, from the Divine (Burnett *et alii*, 1992). This phenomenon also involved importing, and imitating, the Roman models related to fine wares, oils lamps, and glass vessels. Therefore, if it is not possible to understand the *pars urbana* without the rural component in the Roman sphere, and especially in the provinces (Cáceres-Puerto, 2019: 135), it is compulsory to understand the funerary evidence in order to comprehend the process of assimilation of new cultural horizons.

Through a thorough analysis of 2.255 funerary objects, belonging to 1.015 inhumations/cremations from archaeological excavations in Mérida between 1991 and 2011, I intend to establish a clear pattern in the distribution of the funerary areas around the Roman colony. I will focus this approach to the comprehended time among the last quarter of the 1st century BC, and the end of the Tiberian era, to compare it with the iconography of the mint of *Augusta Emerita*, to have a different perspective of the acculturation process in the Lusitanian capital and its surroundings.

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KEYNOTE LECTURE 5
Jesús Bermejo Tirado (University Carlos III de Madrid, Spain)
Straight Outta the Farm: The Social Analysis of Peasant Communities in the Roman Provincial World

The study of Roman rural world has been traditionally marked by *villa*-focused approaches. These sites have been largely interpreted in the light of a large and well-know literary tradition (from Cato to Palladium, from Vitruvius to the Elder Pliny). However, the development of different archaeological perspectives (landscape archaeology, preventive archaeology, and so on) has changed radically our current knowledge on the social and economic articulation of rural territories in different provincial areas of the Roman world. The excavation and record of several forms of rural habitats, individual farms, aggregated sites, and other kind of agricultural features, have revealed an entire new horizon of research on the archaeological characterization of the Roman peasantry (farmers, smallholders, rural workers, etc.).

Despite the advances produced in the last decades on the archaeology of these peasant or non-elite rural sectors of the Roman world, there are still a lack in the study of the social history of these communities (for recent approaches see Kron 2008, 2017; Shaw 2013). Differently from the case of *villae*, there are not specific literary tradition in classical sources discussing these communities in an explicit or direct way. But this does not imply that we cannot find indirect information -hidden transcripts- of these communities from different kinds of textual and archaeological evidence. This paper will introduce different sources (archaeological, iconographical, textual) as a way for approaching the social characterization of peasant communities in the Roman provincial areas. We will sample some case studies from Roman Spain, Greece and North Africa to illustrate our proposal.

André Carneiro (University of Évora, Portugal)
Mónica Rolo (University of Lisbon, UNIARQ)
Ana Martins (University of Évora, Portugal)
In the others we see ourselves: questioning identities and change in rural Lusitania. Considerations from a case study in Horta da Torre Roman villa (Fronteira)

In Horta da Torre Roman *villa* (Fronteira, Portugal), ongoing excavations since 2012 have revealed a major double-apsed room with a stibadium, belonging to a major villa. The space has probably been used as a *triclinium aestivalis*, where an elaborated decorative programme and sophisticated architectural solutions show the opulence displayed by the owner. During the Vth century BC, the area was carefully abandoned, but further occupation(s) left archaeological evidences. The construction of a perishable

structure documents the precarious presence of people and animals (fauna recollected) in the once sophisticated room.

These evidences reflect new patterns of daily activities that strongly contrast with the previous occupation. Contextual analysis and stratigraphic evidences of ceramics and faunal remains allows us to interpret dramatic changes in economic strategies and cultural backgrounds.

Questioning these evidences, we can search for patterns of change in neighbouring *villae* and rural sites in Lusitania, trying to characterize the agents in the territory. In this perspective, it is important to question how these major shifts occurred, their causes and the protagonists in the ground.

Frederico Vieira (University of Alcalá, Spain)
Adapting to new times and realities: The evolution of the settlement dynamics in the Guadiana river between the I A.D.-VIII A. D.

The present talk aims to characterize the cultural identity of the populations that inhabited the Guadiana river contact zone between Portugal and Spain during the roman times and Late Antiquity. By using a wide chronological barrier (I A.D.-VIII A.D.) it will be possible to analyze how the settlement patterns change through time, reflecting the adaptation of the local population to the socioeconomic realities inherent to the historic evolution. Through an architectonical characterization, as well as an analysis of the spacial relation of the archaeological realities, the evolution of the social and cultural identity of the communities, from Roman to Arab periods, will be analyzed. As we will see, the territory used as case study doesn't has the traditional settlement solutions normally associated with areas of the roman and late antique geopolitical sphere, nonetheless it belongs to a territory considered highly Romanized and from the beginning of the Roman administration its communities identified themselves as Roman. Using these concepts, we will also debate what we can consider as "Romanized" territories and the resultant identitary expressions developed by rural communities.

Helena Gozalbes García (University of Granada, Spain)
Noé Conejo Delgado (University of Sevilla, Spain)
La identidad comunitaria en la moneda provincial acuñada en Liberalitas Ebora Ivlia (Évora, Portugal)

El objetivo de la presente investigación es analizar el fenómeno de proyección identitaria de las iconologías adoptadas en las monedas provinciales acuñadas por la ceca de *Liberalitas Ebora Ivlia* (Évora, Portugal). Nuestro trabajo parte del análisis de los iconos monetarios, los cuales muestran las características identitarias que definen las comunidades que se identificaron con ellos; máxime si tenemos en cuenta que los

elementos principales de la moneda provincial fueron seleccionados por las autoridades de cada núcleo emisor. Por este motivo, para poder lograr este objetivo, creemos que es fundamental tener en consideración los planteamientos teórico-metodológicos principales de los estudios numismáticos, iconológicos e histórico-identitarios. Así pues, en la línea de las investigaciones puramente numismáticas hemos decidido analizar algunos elementos relativos a las propias monedas cuya iconología va a ser objeto de estudio, como son los volúmenes de emisión, los valores relativos a estas series, la presencia de contramarcas, etc. Del mismo modo también creemos necesario valorar los elementos relacionados con la propia iconología, analizando para ello el origen de la imagen, los distintos significados que esta pudiera tener (generales y, en el caso de que los hubiera, locales), el diseño iconográfico de la misma y su apariencia final. Además, nuestra investigación se centra en el análisis de los elementos histórico-identitarios de la propia *Liberalitas Ebora Ivlia*, para lo cual consideraremos las características culturales y jurídico-políticas de la misma y valoraremos también el contexto de fabricación de sus monedas (posibilidad de que los iconos estudiados se adoptasen en otras producciones hispanas, variedad de iconologías seleccionadas en el resto de las cecas del territorio, etc.).

Community identity in the provincial coinage minted by Liberalitas Ebora Ivlia (Évora, Portugal)

The aim of this research is to analyze the phenomenon of identity projection of the iconologies adopted in the provincial monetary pieces coined by the mint of *Liberalitas Ebora Ivlia* (Évora, Portugal). Our study is based on the analysis of the monetary icons, which show the identity characteristics that define the communities that identified with them; especially if we consider that the main elements of the provincial coinage were selected by the authorities of each issuing cities. Therefore, in order to achieve the proposed objectives, we believe that it is essential to take into account the main theoretical-methodological approaches of numismatic, iconological and historical-identity studies. So that, in the line of numismatic researches, we have decided to analyze some elements related to the coins whose iconology is under study. Among these aspects are the emission volumes, the values related to these series, the presence of countermarks, etc. In the same way we also think it necessary to study the elements related to the iconology. Therefore, we will analyze the origin of the image, the different meanings that it could have (general and, if any, local), the iconographic design of the image and its final appearance. In addition, our research focuses on the analysis of the historical-identity elements of the *Liberalitas Ebora Ivlia,* for which we will examine the cultural and legal-political characteristics of this city and also study the manufacturing context of its provincial coins (possibility that the icons studied could have been adopted in other Hispanic productions, variety of selected iconologies in the rest of the territory's mints, etc.).

Patricia Argüelles Álvarez (University of Salamanca, Spain)
Diego Piay Augusto (University of Salamanca, Spain)
Aspectos de identidad en las villas romanas de Asturias

Quizá uno de los mejores exponentes de romanidad en el territorio asturiano lo es la cultura material, y más en particular las villas romanas diseminadas por todo el territorio del antiguo "*Conventus Asturicensis transmontani*". El análisis de villas y en particular de sus pars urbana permite conocer las particularidades locales de la élite astur-romana de los ss. III-V. La marginalidad del territorio a estudiar dentro del contexto imperial ha dividido a los especialistas en relación al punto de romanización de las tribus astures. A pesar del desarrollo de una investigación hasta la fecha precaria en cuanto al estudio de las *villae* se refiere, han podido documentarse con cierta seguridad una treintena de villae algunas de las cuales presentan evidencias de pinturas murales, mosaicos y balneae. El emplazamiento de estos característicos asentamientos en ejes viarios y el flujo comercial documentado en la región, permiten no solo corroborar un profundo proceso de romanización, sino las particularidades de la "condición" romana de este pueblo. Peculiaridades basadas en una fusión de la autoctonidad propia de la marginalidad geográfica dada por la *Iuga Asturum* junto a flujos post-conquista que consolidan el arraigo de la imitación e importación de grandes centros como *Tricio, Emerita Agusta* o la propia Pompeya. Todo ello creó una identidad única de fusión del mundo romano y la tradición de las tribus astures prerromanas como los *Luggones* o los Pesicos puesta de manifiesto en las villas asturianas, arquitectónicamente más sencillas que otras zonas hispanas, pero de las más notables del norte peninsular.

Identity aspects in the Roman villas of Asturias

Perhaps one of the best examples of romanity in the Asturian territory is the material culture, and more especifically the Roman villages scattered throughout the territory of the "*Conventus Asturicensis transmontani*". The analysis of the *villae* and in particular of their urban space allows knowing the local peculiarities of the Asturian elite of the centuries III-V. The marginality of the territory to be studied within the imperial context has divided the specialists in relation to the Romanization point of the Asturian tribes. Despite the development of a precarious investigation as far as the study of the villae is concerned, around thirty *villae* have been able to be documented with some certainty, some of which present evidence of wall paintings, mosaics and *balneae*. The location of these characteristic settlements on road axes and the documented commercial activity in the region, allow not only to corroborate a deep romanization process, but also the peculiarities of the Roman "condition" of this region. Peculiarities based on a fusion of the autochthony typical of the geographic marginality given by the *Iuga Asturum* together with post-conquest flows that consolidate the imitation and importation of

large centers such as *Tricio, Emerita Agusta* or Pompeii itself. All this created a unique identity of fusion of the Roman world and the tradition of the pre-Roman Asturian tribes such as the *Luggones* or the Pesicos revealed in the Asturian villas, architecturally simpler than other Hispanic areas, but some of the most relevant in the northern peninsular.

─────── **July 16th – Tuesday** ───────

KEYNOTE LECTURE 6
Pilar Diarte Blasco (University of Alcalá, Spain)
Defining Post-Roman identities in Hispania: controversy between texts and the archaeological record

In recent years, the study of the identities of the societies of the past has increased considerably, in an effort to deepen the knowledge of customs and cultural and socio-political characteristics, as well as the perception that peoples have of themselves. The possibility of using the archaeological record for this analysis is explored in this article, which analyzes the process of the arrival of 'barbarians' between the 5th - 8th centuries AD and their resultant interaction with the local populations in both town and country. The end of 6th century, in fact, marked the dominance of one of the new peoples settled in the peninsula, namely the Visigoths, who had previously shared power in a fragmented peninsula with Suevi, Vandals, Alans, as well as Byzantines. The theoretical questions concern the link between these incomers and the Roman substrate; the evidence or not of the existing identities; and the degree to which different patterns of settlement and social organization are evident in the landscape. How we understand these changes and the relationship between texts and the archaeological record of this period are key to this study.

Keywords: Iberian Peninsula, Visigoths, Suevi, Byzantines, Identities

Aura Piccioni (Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, Germany)
Gods and Emperors in Bronze: Roman Raetia and the Establishment of a Collective Identity

In the last decades, the analysis of the bronzes along the Rhine and Danube Limes has culminated in a major research project (2011) on the evidence from the provinces of Lower Germany, Upper Germany and Raetia (s. Gebrochener Glanz 2014; Kemkes 2017); however, the research about Raetia was interrupted, making it necessary to resume the work. My new PostDoc-Project, which is being developed during the biennium 2019-2021 at the Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt and funded by the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, continues the research about Raetia. The bronze fragments are very interesting pieces of evidence, since they belonged to high-quality statues, which were a distinctive trait of Roman identity.

In fact, they depicted, in Raetia, (Celto-)Roman gods, perhaps governors, but especially emperors, becoming a typical Roman provincial expression (cf. Howgego, Heuchert, Burnett 2005). They principally stood in the Roman fora of the province (cf. Töpfer 2011; Witschel 2016), as well as inside or at the entrance of temples (cf. Cavalieri 2007). The presence of emperors' statues in Roman forts along the Raetian Limes makes it possible to understand them as a tangible image of the head of the State. Around such statues in military contexts converged entire armies, for instance in order to swear a loyalty oath every year (Kemkes 2009). They appear, then, instrumental in the process of establishing a local identity, at the height of the implementation of an ambivalent policy of integration of other peoples and of distinction of Roman customs from previous traditions (s. Piccioni c.d.s.), in both cases, of urban public and private, as well as military contexts.

The bronze statues constituted, then, an "implementation" of the Roman identity in Raetia, both along the Limes and in the cities: the statue itself became the ideal embodiment of the emperor and the expression of an "Identifikationsgefühl" of the military community, while other statues – such as those of the gods – embellished diverse (public and private) spaces, conferring them a special aspect, not to be found elsewhere in Roman (or not Roman) world.

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Mauro Puddu (Director of the Archaeological site of Nuraghe Seruci, Sardinia)
Being Orient in the Centre: memory and deconstruction of Peasants as Others in Roman-Period Sardinia

Identity is an omnipresent word today all over Europe and beyond, despite it is rarely defined. As it is often use in a monolithically self-inclusive way, identity-discourses necessarily imply a counterpart that is left out of this group, those who are other from the identity being narrated, the others. However, an identity discourse is rarely spoken, and the concept of identity very rarely defined. Archaeology has the potential to contribute decisively to this debate showing how the literally constructed monolithic identities and corresponding otherness can be deconstructed through a thorough interpretation of material culture intended within a triangular relationship with community practice, past/memory, and agency. Over 2000 years ago, the communities of Sardinia were object of power relationships that resulted in specifically uniform images of the island forged in the centre of the Empire and convenient to its official narrative. Throughout the analysis of specific archaeological contexts from Roman-period Sardinia, this paper invites the audience to discuss a methodology to return the concept of identity to its dynamic and non-exclusive nature, made of decisions seeking connections rather than separations, impacting with it not only our understanding of the past, but also the identity-debate in the present.

Tiziana D'Angelo (University of Nottingham, UK)
Achilles in the Roman East: Myth, Gender and Identity in the Tomb of the Three Brothers at Palmyra

The Tomb of the Three Brothers at Palmyra, built in the mid-second century AD, is an exceptional monument that sheds light on the blending of cultures in the city after Roman occupation. Its painted decoration, combining portraits of Palmyrene men, women and children with Greek mythological scenes, challenges the stability of Greco-Roman and Syrian as binary categories and produces new expressions of Syrian culture. While the portraits reflect local funerary rituals, the adoption of Greek myth in the decoration of the main funerary chamber introduces new layers of identity. Achilles disguised as a girl on Skyros and the abduction of Ganymede by Zeus have been interpreted as commemorations of the heroic virtue and apotheosis of the deceased. Yet, the two tales also centre on the notions of boyhood/manhood, gender identity and sexual maturation. The cross-dressing of Achilles and the rape of young Ganymede defy the integrity of gender categories, echoing practices of sacred eunuchism, prostitution and transgendered dressing associated with the cult of the Syrian Goddess Atargatis.

This cult was attested at Palmyra and its rituals seem to have involved youths and young men. Lucian of Samosata highlights how these practices were used by Greek sophists in the Roman Empire to 'other' the Syrians as androgynous sexual deviants lacking full masculinity. A comparison with Roman paintings and sarcophagi featuring the myth of Achilles on Skyros and the increasing popularity of androgynous mythological figures in funerary and domestic art in Roman Syria allow me to reconsider the Palmyrene paintings from a multi-cultural rather than Greco-Roman perspective. Through the analysis of literary sources, archaeological evidence and visual culture, this paper discusses how the decoration of the Tomb of the Three Brothers may have alluded to male age-group or initiation rituals and commemorated a notion of masculinity that challenged Roman imperial culture.

Sheanna Murray (La Sapienza University of Rome, Italy)
Architecture and cultural identity in Roman Thessaloniki

A city's architecture is an important indicator for its development and also reflects the cultural identity of its society as a whole. Thessaloniki, which remained a vibrant urban centre from the time of its founding by Cassander and throughout the imperial period, went through several building phases through the centuries. These architectural changes reflect the changing needs of the local population caused mainly due to the cultural interaction with the immigrant population, particularly the large communities of Romans that had settled in the city. However, changes in architecture not only reflect the influence by the Romans but also indicate the need of the local inhabitants to adapt to a foreign culture while maintaining their own identity.

In this paper, I attempt to analyse the impact that Roman rule had on the cultural identity of Thessaloniki by reviewing the various building phases, the changing forms of architecture and the introduction of new architectural forms. The discussion of this paper will be centred on the ways in which the changing architectural landscape of Roman Thessaloniki reflects changes not only in the collective self-perception of the city's residents but also the collective self-identity they portrayed to the rest of the empire. The period in focus will be from the early 2nd c. CE, when the first major architectural changes appeared under the empire, until the 4th c. CE, when the final building phase under the empire was commissioned by the emperor Galerius.