

The Impact of Empire on Roman Landscapes

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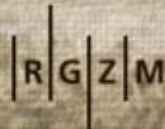
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Panel 1: ROMAN LANDSCAPES – METHODOLOGY

Günther Schörner

From Etruscan to Roman? Changing landscapes in Northern *Etruria*

Although nearly all regions of the Roman Empire were targeted by landscape archaeological studies Italy is still the best researched country with regard to the Republican and Imperial countryside and thus most suitable to investigate the question how landscapes ‘became Roman’. In the talk the region of Northern *Etruria* will be taken as an example and based on results from my own fieldwork the following topics will be discussed:

- the re-organisation of landownership by centuriation and its material consequences
- the intensification of land use by new production techniques etc.
- the integration into an empire-wide exchange system of goods
- the changes of life-styles of the rural population

It will be shown that that ‘becoming Roman’ of landscapes is not a single operation but a long-term process and that it produced – even in a regional perspective – not a uniform solution but resulted in the co-existence of different kinds of landscapes.

Günther Schörner studied Classical Archaeology, Ancient History, Prehistory, Early Christian Archaeology and Art History at Erlangen (Germany). From 1993 till 2010 he worked at the University of Jena (Germany) at the Institute of Classics. Since 2011 he holds the chair of Roman Archaeology at the University Vienna (Austria). His research has a focus on the study of Roman rural landscapes (see <https://rrl.univie.ac.at>). He carried out fieldwork in Austria, Germany, Italy, Jordan, Romania and Turkey.

Abigail Walker

The Landscape and Nature of the Cyclops in Campanian Wall-Painting

Landscape in Campanian wall-painting has often been incorporated into grand narratives of chronology, Augustan pastoral propaganda, and the social hierarchies of domestic decoration. My paper will instead look through the lens of mythology – specifically that of the Cyclops, Polyphemus – to consider some more distinct implications, uses and interpretations of painted landscapes in the first century BC/AD. Landscape, in the tradition of Polyphemus, not only possesses the power to represent more than just idyllic scenery, but also asks questions about the concept of representation itself: issues surrounding *ars* and *natura*, the interaction between literary and visual arts, and its potential for ambiguity. At the turn from Republic to Empire, Augustus made great use of the representation and manipulation of landscape in his rural, idyllic, propaganda. Landscape's potential was very publicly acknowledged and figures such as Polyphemus show us that its representation was far more complex than a purely idealising agenda.

Abigail Walker is a PhD student in Classics at King's College London. Her research focuses on landscape and myth in Campanian wall-painting. Abigail graduated with a MA in Classics from KCL in 2017. She was a Student Ambassador on the KCL 'Modern Classicisms' project (modernclassicisms.com) and curated the 2018 Annual Association for Art History Conference Festival.

Christopher Chinn

Empire and Italian Landscape in Statius' *Silvae*

The Italian landscape in Roman poetry is largely a literary construct. Yet social and physical realities may obtrude upon this aestheticized space. In *Eclogue* 1, Vergil famously overwrites the Greek pastoral landscape with the physical details of Italy and the political situation of his own time. Horace's Sabine farm is both an aestheticized locus of poetic inspiration based upon Greek models and a piece of real estate procured through imperial patronage. This paper examines Statius' appropriations of Horatian and Vergilian landscapes in *Silvae* 4.3, a description of the *via Domitiana*, and *Silvae* 4.5, a lyric poem in praise of Septimius Severus. I examine (1) how *Silv.* 4.3 connects Vergil's pastoral Golden Age with the Roman history in *Aeneid* 6; (2) how Statius in *Silv.* 4.5 occupies Horace's rural persona to establish a satisfactorily Roman identity for the successful African immigrant Severus.

Christopher Chinn studied Classics at Reed College and the University of Washington. After his dissertation in 2002 ("Statius and the Discourse of Ekphrasis") he now works at the Department of Classics at Pomona College. His research has a focus on the study of Augustan and Imperial Roman Poetry, Greek and Roman Epic Poetry, Art and Text in the Ancient World and Ecocriticism.

Panel 2: MAPPING THE ROMAN WORLD

Nikolas Hächler

»Post hos nostra terra est.« Mapping the Late Roman Ecumene with the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*

The analysis of the remarkable and as yet seldom studied geographical treatise *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, written by an anonymous composer between 346-361, reveals intriguing insights into its author's notion of the spatial extension and landscape of the Late Roman Empire as well as its political, economic and cultural composition. By depicting Roman provinces and their cities with their individual strengths and weaknesses in an abbreviated literary form, the writer sketches the outline of a heterogeneous realm which is, however, united by commercial ties, common traits of Romanitas and its public institutions; therefore, it becomes clearly distinguishable from barbarian tribes or foreign kingdoms beyond its borders. The characterisation of the thus literarily mapped Imperium Romanum allows us to grasp impacts of Empire within and across the Late Roman Ecumene.

Nikolas Hächler studied History, Philosophy and Political Science at the University of Zurich. After his dissertation ("Kontinuität und Wandel des Senatorenstandes, Leiden, Boston 2019), he now works as a visiting scholar at the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek studies at the University of Vienna. His research focuses on the study of the social and economic history of the Roman Empire, cultural anthropology, Roman epigraphics, prosopography and historical network analysis.

Daniëlle Sloomjes

Political and religious boundaries with and beyond Late Roman dioceses

Late Roman dioceses represented units both within the imperial and ecclesiastical administrative structures. Even though historical scholarship for a long time assumed that the church took over the dioceses as a territorial convenient unit for its own purposes, it has now become clear that the church indeed employed the same terminology, but geographically speaking there was little overlap between imperial and ecclesiastical dioceses. Whereas imperial administrative dioceses were formed by clustering several provinces, church dioceses were a combination of several baptismal churches within a province. This paper analyzes the way in which boundaries functioned both within the imperial and ecclesiastical dioceses. It aims to demonstrate that there was a clear difference between the awareness and perception of the imperial dioceses and the church dioceses which can be connected to the experiences and needs of the individuals living within these boundaries.

Daniëlle Sloomjes works at the Institute for Historical, Literary and Culture Studies at the Radboud University Nijmegen (Dissertation 2006 “The Governor and his Subjects in the Later Roman Empire”). She specializes in the field of the Late Antiquity with a particular focus on late antique administrative structures, early Christianity, and crowd behavior and control in Rome and Constantinople.

Rémi Auvertin, Xavier Deru

From the Celtic Territories to Roman Cities, the ABG-GIS

After the Gallic wars, integration of Celtic and Germanic tribes inside the new borders of the Empire means territorialization: *civitates* and (maybe) *pagi* reshape the political space. Although the phenomenon is well studied globally, little is known about the precise evolution of the territorial entities. In this paper, we would like to propose new ways to map ancient territories, combining an old method, the regressive approach, with the potential of the Geographic Information System. The survey is based on the GIS “Atlas des provinces romaines de Belgique et de Germanie, ABG”, which includes databases of Celtic coins; medieval places, dioceses and *pagi*; roman *vici*, sanctuaries, milestones and so on. The comparison of all these data, derived from archaeology, cartularies and “pouillés”, allows us a better assessment of the transformations of territories during late Iron Age, Roman Empire and Middle Ages, between Seine and Rhine.

Rémi Auvertin is postdoc at the University of Lille and studies Roman domestic architecture in Northern Gaul as well as the continuity of roman small towns between late antiquity and early Middle Ages (dissertation 2018, “Habiter dans les agglomérations du nord de la Gaule (I-IIIe s). Analyse architecturale de la maison romaine”).

Xavier Deru is lecturer in Provincial Roman Archaeology at the University of Lille and works on ceramology, economy of Northern Gaul and spatial analysis of archaeological data (dissertation 1995, “La céramique belge dans le Nord de la Gaule. Caractérisation, chronologie, phénomènes culturels et économiques”).

Silke Diederich

Empire and Landscape in the Tabula Peutingeriana

The Tabula Peutingeriana, a late antique world map transmitted as a medieval copy, represents an oikumene controlled by an all-encompassing Roman route network, along which a prolific quantity of cities, towns, villages, and mansiones aligns, a civilized world neatly measured and ordered. Within the framework of this concept, purpose and function of landscape features, such as rivers and mountains are far from being clear. As these physical-geographical features often seem to be placed rather imprecisely on this map, at times even arbitrarily, some scholars have been led to presume that they figured as hardly more than decorative ornaments. At second glance, however, they often turn out to contain a meaning, following what one may call 'semantics of landscape', consistent with the map's overall programme of representing geographical, as well as political and ideological, space. The hypothesis of this paper will be that the message conveyed by landscape elements of the Tabula Peutingeriana is not so much that of the Roman empire conquering and subduing nature, but of its ruling in accordance with, and in fulfillment of, Nature's own plans and laws.

Silke Diederich works at the University of Cologne at the department of Classics. She habilitated in 2005 (title: "Römische Agrarhandbücher zwischen Fachwissenschaft, Literatur und Ideologie") at the University of Trier. Her research focuses on the history of science, education and mentalities in antiquity as well as in middle ages.

Panel 3: PERFORMING LANDSCAPES

Fernando Lozano Gómez, Elena Muñiz Grijalvo

Imperial cult processions and landscape in Greek cities of the Roman Empire: the case of the Demosthenia of Enoanda

The influence of Rome significantly changed the relationship between cities and their territories. Among other social and political processes, the Roman Empire altered the religious configuration of the countryside. The introduction of the imperial cult—an essentially urban phenomenon—was central in this rearrangement, as it resulted in the revival of certain rural sanctuaries and the practice of rites that structured the territory. This study focuses on one of those rites: processions associated with the imperial cult in the Greek East. These new processions altered the sacred topography of the cities, which, in a way, was redefined by the processional circuit. Our aim is to investigate how the landscape became also part of the new sacred topography: in some cases, the landscape took pride of place as the principal or secondary feature of these processions; in others, the rural world was present in the urban centre through its participation in the rites held in the cities.

Elena Muñiz Grijalvo is professor of Ancient History at Pablo de Olavide University (Seville) and director of a Master's programme in Religious Sciences. At present, she is leading a research project on processions in Roman times. Her lines of research include also the Isiac cults in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and religious change in the Greek cities of the Roman Empire.

Fernando Lozano Gómez is a professor of Ancient History at Seville University. His research focuses on the study of Roman religion during the Empire and, specifically, on the imperial cult, as well as having been involved in reception studies.

Wolfgang Spickermann

Local tradition and reformation of (sacral) space: border sanctuaries as visible symbols of a territorial order in Roman Gaul and Germany

‘Border sanctuaries’ can mark and document a new territorial order as well as a traditional ‘religious landscape’ (Spickermann 2003). Situated at the very periphery of different communities, these cult areas were used as local centers by the rural society for cultural, economic, and sometimes even legal purposes, but most of all for common cult. One can find these border sanctuaries in ancient Arcadia in Classical and Hellenistic times and in large parts of the later Roman Empire, esp. at the periphery like the Gallic and German provinces. Here, many of such ‘border sanctuaries’ appear to have been erected or systematically expanded after 70 AD. The transformation of world relations in the context of a reformation of (sacral) space, the competitive extension of the cult places by different communities, and the creating of new areas of resonance (after Hartmut Rosa) by the architecture as well as the cult places themselves will be the central focus of this paper. That public cults played a significant role in rural areas and might be important in establishing horizontal relationships is obvious when looking at the expansion of central cult complexes at the periphery. In the inner parts and the midwest of Gaul many such complexes have been discovered. They represent urban like centers, the majority of which were destroyed in the third century and not rebuilt. Until now, these cult centers were often falsely classified and referred to in literature as *conciliabula*, simple market places with public buildings but without a related settlement (Jacques 1991). In the region of the two Germanic provinces one finds such cult centers more abundantly in the Tungri territory, in parts of eastern Gaul, in the former Treveran regions and on the Donon (Spickermann 2003 and 2008). A particularly important example is the large Treveric sanctuary on the Martberg close to Pommern/Moselle. This was cut off from the former tribal territory and finally ended up as part of Germania Superior. Did this location remain a religious center of the former tribe with annual ceremonies for all Treveri or did it form the regional hub of the henceforth separated eastern territory? This could in turn also apply to the subtribe of the Sunuci in Kornelimünster (Spickermann 2007). So, border-sanctuaries can be a symbol of an ancient tribal tradition, but aside from the pre-Roman traditions of the Gallic tribal communities, these sanctuaries also marked and demonstrated the new territorial order. These cult districts in the form of local centers in peripheral areas of the civitates obviously served rural society as traditional gathering spots for cultural, economic and perhaps even legal needs. The investigation aims at determining how the new political, territorial and religious order were established or reflected in political and ritual practices performed here.

Wolfgang Spickermann is professor of ancient history at Graz. He habilitated in 2002 (title „Germania Superior. Religionsgeschichte des römischen Germanien“). His research focuses on religion in antiquity, especially in the germanic provinces and epigraphy.

Anne Gangloff

Paysages et otium au début du Haut-Empire

La notion d'*otium*, qui se fixe au I^{er} s. ap. J.-C., désigne la tranquillité de l'existence privée, rendue possible par un détachement – temporaire – des activités politiques, et tournée vers les activités culturelles. Cet idéal aristocratique est étroitement associé à la notion de contemplation, mais aussi à celle de villégiature, et l'on peut donc supposer que l'élite sociale romaine considérait les paysages des villas rurales ou maritimes, où elle pouvait se détacher provisoirement des agitations de la vie politique romaine, comme un élément de l'*otium*. Cette communication propose de vérifier cette hypothèse, en analysant les rapports entre les paysages et l'*otium* dans les sources littéraires (notamment chez Virgile, Sénèque et Pline le Jeune) et picturales au début du Haut-Empire. Seront étudiées, d'une part, les descriptions des cadres paysagés de l'*otium* dans les sources littéraires: quels sont les éléments du paysage mis en exergue, sont-ils naturels ou bien artificiels? quelles émotions, quels sentiments provoquaient-ils? On examinera, d'autre part, les peintures de paysages qui décoraient de riches propriétés romaines comme la villa de Livie à Prima Porta, la villa d'Agrippa Postumus à Boscotrecase, et les « paysages à villas »¹: la représentation des paysages peints correspond-elle aux paysages qui composaient le cadre de l'*otium* dans les textes? Existait-il des types de paysages propres à l'*otium* romain au I^{er} s.?

Anne Gangloff started her habilitation in 2016 (title „Histoire culturelle et politique de l'Empire romain”). Her research has a focus on the study of cultural history, the Roman orient, imperial Hellenism, identities, social and intellectual history of the cultural elite as well as history and anthropology of political thought.

¹ Selon l'expression de M. Croisille, *Paysages dans la peinture romaine. Aux origines d'un genre pictural*, Paris, 2010.

Elena Köstner

Outside the Cities, Inside a Last Will: narrations about the self, the other, and their relationship to landscape

It is no exaggeration to say that property and its transfer can be regarded as one of the most important issues of a Roman testament. In this paper, I focus on property outside the cities and how these estates were described in last wills: what narrative characteristics are attributed to them in our diverse source material? Especially contrasting literary and papyrological sources seems appropriate for identifying characteristics which were used to describe landscape mentioned in last wills. In this context, the current study also takes a closer look at aspects of testamentary transfer and partition and asks how Roman landscape outside the cities was shaped through testamentary property transfer and partition.

After studying History, German Philology and Pre- and Protohistoric Archaeology at the Universities of Bayreuth and Regensburg, Elena Köstner started with her PhD-thesis supervised by Prof. Dr. Peter Herz (2006–2009) combining archaeological with historical methods to analyse the intercultural relations between Romans and Celts in the civitas Treverorum in the first centuries B.C. and A.D. (published 2011). Since October 2012 she is working as a lecturer and postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Ancient History at the University of Regensburg.

Francesco Bono

***Adluvionum natura est, ut semper incerta possessio sit.* Picturing and regulating alluvial lands in Nov Theod. 20**

Natural phenomena have always deeply affected human life. The Roman Empire with its different kind of landscapes shows the necessity to settle the relationship between man and natural landscape. One of the tasks that was faced by the Romans was to adjust the individual right of property with environmental changes very frequent in alluvial lands and swamps, for instance in Egypt. In this paper I will examine 'Theodosius' constitution (Nov. Theod 20), in which the emperor decided how a man acquired the soil added to his field by a river and how to handle border changes caused by the diversion of the natural course of the rivers.

Francesco Bono is postdoc researcher at University of Pavia (Department of Law) and is member of the staff of ERC project Redhis (P.I. Prof. Dario Mantovani). In 2012 he defended his PhD thesis on the *Collatio legum mosaicarum atque romanarum*. His main research interests lie in Roman Law, in particular in the Late Antiquity and in the Justinian's age. His studies focus on the connection between the imperial legislation and the literature of the Roman jurists. Secondary interests include the European legal history and the history of historiography (Guizot; Gibbon).

Panel 4A: SYMBOLS AND MARKERS OF ROMAN LANDSCAPES

Filippo Carlà-Uhink

The Road System and the Construction of Roman Italy

It is well known that Roman roads represented a central element in the “production of territorial space” (Laurence), as well as in landscaping in the Roman Empire: they connected places, reshaped the landscape and visualized, also through the milestones, the interconnectedness created within the *imperium*. This paper will argue, though, that during the Roman Republic Roman roads produced territorial space at an additional level: in the 3rd and 2nd century BCE they contributed to the definition of the centrality of Rome and of Italy as a clearly defined region, core of the *imperium* and well distinguished from the provinces. I will show how the construction of roads influenced the ways in which space was constructed and perceived within the Italic peninsula and how this, in the sense of a geography of perception, contributed to the development of the Roman *Raumordnung*.

Filippo Carlà-Uhink is Professor for Ancient History at the University of Potsdam. After his studies in Turin and Udine, where he completed his PhD, he worked at the Universities of Heidelberg, Mainz, Exeter, and at the University of Education of Heidelberg. The construction and perception of space in the Roman world is one of his main research areas; in this field he authored the monograph *The “Birth” of Italy: The Institutionalization of Italy as a Region, 3rd-1st BCE* (Berlin/Boston 2017), which was submitted as Habilitationsschrift at the University of Dresden in 2015.

Sergio España-Chamorro

Engaging landscapes, connecting provinces. Milestones and the construction of Hispania at the beginning of the Empire

At the time of Augustus, the reconfiguration of the administrative system of Hispania started a new plan for interconnectivity. Due to the foundation of Emerita Augusta (Mérida) in Lusitania, the former regional system was rebuilt to implement a new provincial system of communication. The new border between the Hispania Citerior and the Baetica made it necessary to reorganise the administration of roads in a new province of Baetica and to create a new conception of administrative unity. The new spaces incorporated to Hispania Citerior had the necessity of an implemented system of highways to connect the new cities founded by Augustus after the Cantabrian Wars. The impact of the reorganisation of the provincial system of the Hispanic provinces can be traced through road epigraphy. Republican milestones have been only documented in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula. However, the opening of new roads and the creation of the new provinces brought the epigraphic habit of road epigraphy to other areas. Through a careful analysis of the Julio-Claudian milestones, the administrative policy in the rural areas of these lands can be traced.

Sergio España-Chamorro is a postdoctoral fellow at the Institut Ausonius at the Université de Bordeaux-Montaigne. His research engages epigraphy and landscape archaeology, specifically the study of *termini* and milestones and their impact on the construction of ancient landscapes. In particular, he focuses on the study of Roman colonialism and their impact in the administration of landscapes.

Camilla Campedelli

The impact of Roman streets and milestones on the landscape of the Iberian Peninsula

Streets and milestones are one of the most evident features of the Roman landscape. This paper will be based mainly on the results of the edition of *CIL* XVII/1,1 (*Miliaria provinciarum Hispanarum*). In particular, two aspects will be taken into account, namely: 1. The impact of streets on the varied landscape of the Iberian Peninsula. Specifically, cases will be examined in which road constructions have been adapted to the landscape. Conversely, cases will be shown in which the landscape has been modified to build roads. 2. The impact on landscape of the monumentalization of roads through milestones bridges and arches and its evolution from the Republican era to the late Empire.

Camilla Campedelli is a Department member at the Berlin Academy of Sciences (CIL). She earned her PhD in Ancient History in Zurich in 2012 (title, “L’amministrazione municipale delle strade romane in Italia”). She is the author - together with Manfred G. Schmidt of the CIL volume *CIL* XVII/1,1: *Miliaria provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris*, ed. MANFRED G. SCHMIDT et CAMILLA CAMPEDELLI *schedis usi quas condiderat Lucien Villars*, Berlin/Boston 2015. Her research focuses on Roman epigraphy, milestones, municipal administration, Greek and Roman magic.

Sabine Lefebvre

**Les concentrations de miliaires, une reception particuliere de l'autorite imperiale.
L'exemple des voies de Lusitane**

Dans tout l'empire, alors que les princes se succèdent parfois très rapidement au cours du III^e siècle mais aussi au IV^e, leurs noms et leurs titulatures sont particulièrement présents dans les espaces ruraux des cités, en figurant sur les milliaires. Alors que les voies ne sont pas forcément refaites sous chaque règne, on constate cependant qu'à certains emplacements –carrefours, ponts ...-, un grand nombre de milliaires, souvent proches dans le temps, sont placés et proposés au regard des voyageurs. Quel intérêt y-a-t-il à une telle concentration? Et comment expliquer que dans certains de ces milliaires, la titulature du prince ne soit pas au nominatif mais au datif, prenant alors la forme d'un hommage rendu au détenteur du pouvoir? Cette pratique, connue en Orient, l'est aussi dans l'extrême Occident, dans la province de Lusitanie. Reflétant l'impact des changements au sommet de l'Etat, elle est la manifestation d'un déplacement du centre des villes aux zones rurales où les grandes familles possédaient villas et grands domaines.

Sabine Lefebvre is professor for Roman history at the university of Bourgogne. She earned her Ph.D. in 1994 (title, „Optimus princeps, optimus praeses, optimus ciuis. Les hommages publics en Bétique, Lusitanie et Maurétanie Tingitane“) and habilitated in 2006 (title „Patronus prouvinciae. L'identité provinciale dans son contexte politique et social“). Her research focuses on the Roman occident, imperial epigraphy, provincial societies, political and social identities, municipal roads and monumenta.

Panel 4B: SYMBOLS AND MARKERS OF ROMAN LANDSCAPES

Eli Weaverdyck

Forts and rural economic landscapes on the northern frontier

When the Roman Empire stationed thousands of troops in bases along the northern frontiers, it created both a demand for agricultural surplus and a string of centers that concentrated population, wealth, and access to imperial power networks. To understand the impact of the military cordon it is necessary to examine how the rural population related to the newly constructed forts and *canabae*. If, as Ingold suggests, the landscape emerges from the relationship between an agent and their surroundings, the Empire also changed the perceptual side of the landscape through the introduction of immigrants and economic structures. Using quantitative, GIS based location analysis of rural settlements and comparative, multivariate modelling techniques, this paper illuminates changing perceptions of environmental affordances and economic strategies in two frontier regions: the lower Rhine and the Lower Danube. Specifically, I focus on agricultural intensification, small-scale marketing, and the role of auxiliary forts in local market systems.

Eli Weaverdyck is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Freiburg. He works on the ERC funded project, “Beyond the Silk Road: Economic Development, Frontier Zones and Inter-Imperiality in the Afro-Eurasian World Region, 300 BCE to 300 CE.” He earned his PhD in Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology from the University of California, Berkeley in 2016 with a dissertation entitled “Isolation or Integration: A Spatial Analytical Approach to the Local Impact of the Roman Army on the Northern Frontier”.

Saskia Kerschbaum

Aqueducts in Roman Asia Minor: The First and Foremost Symbol of Romanization?

Since the great historian Edward Gibbons aqueducts are thought to be the first and foremost symbol for Roman imperialism, power and supremacy, cultural bodies and „devices useful for promoting a certain Roman style of life in urban centres, whose élites aspired to be „Roman.“ (B.D. Shaw 1991) At first glance, ancient sources like Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus or the *curator aquarum* Frontin seem to confirm these assumptions. On the other hand we know of late antique praises like the *Antiochikos*, written by Libanios, where the water supply plays an important role as civic, not imperial or Roman, achievement. This paper wants to answer the following questions: Did the ancient sources understand aqueducts as a symbol for a Roman lifestyle and domination, built and financed by the emperors and governors as expression of their rule and power? To answer these questions, the focus will be on three specific fields of research. At first, the cultural code of the aqueducts will be discussed: What kind of symbolic language do the aqueducts transport and can this language be connected to a specific Roman sphere of thought, more precisely to the language of Romanisation? Second, the financing of the aqueducts: Who paid for this kind of unrentable, expensive infrastructure especially in Asia Minor? And third: Did the long distance aqueducts have any influence on the general perception of civic territory in crossing over municipal boundaries? As result, this paper wants to argue that aqueducts were seen as a civic performance, used by the cities of imperial Asia Minor for a demonstration of cultural superiority and a high standard of living.

Saskia Kerschbaum is working as Wissenschaftliche Referentin at the Commission for Ancient History and Epigraphy in Munich. She wrote her PhD thesis about the diffusion of aqueducts by means of the inscriptions in Roman Asia Minor under the supervision of Prof. Schuler (DAI) and Prof. Zimmermann (LMU). At the moment she is planning a habilitation project about the relationship between coinage and power in understanding coins as a means of legitimizing and especially communicating political power. Her main interests are Greek inscriptions and coinage in Asia Minor.

Jeremia Pelgrom

Reconsidering the Impact of Early Roman Expansion on Italian Rural Landscapes

Roman expansion in Italy is often assumed to have led to a radical reorganization of the indigenous landscape. The creation of geometrically ordered rural territories which were parceled up regularly and distributed amongst colonists is generally believed to have had an enormous impact on indigenous communities not accustomed to such a form of landscape organization, fundamentally changing their cultural practices, socio-economic structures, and even their cosmologies. These impressively well-organized landscapes, moreover, expressed the exceptional power of a society based on the principles of discipline, order, and frugality. This paper evaluates the validity of the view which holds Rome responsible for the transformation of the mid- Republican Italian countryside through the practice of colonization and land division. As I will argue, this view is hardly supported by the literary and archaeological sources, but is more likely rooted in a belief that a particular type of socio-economic organization, based on the principles of private property and civic order, is naturally stronger than others.

Jeremia Pelgrom is assistant professor at the department of History of the University of Groningen. His research focuses on Roman Republican colonialism and imperialism, Roman rural history and Hellenistic Italy. He has written a PhD-thesis titled “Colonial Landscapes. Demography, Settlement Organization and Impact of Colonies founded by Rome” (Leiden, 2012) and continued his research on early Roman colonisation in the context of the “Early Roman Colonisation project” (funded by the Netherlands Research Council, 2012-2018)

Panel 5: QUALITIES OF ROMAN LANDSCAPES

Del A. Maticic

***Barathrum cernatur*: Hercules, Cacus, and the Poetics of Drains in Aeneid 8 and Propertius 4.9**

The Hercules and Cacus episodes in *Aeneid* 8.184-267 and Propertius 4.9 invite readers to compare Hercules' interventions in the Roman landscape to Augustan waterworks. I argue that Vergil's characterization of Cacus' cave as a *barathrum* (8.245) and the monster's death as drainage (259-261) recall comic references to the *Cloaca Maxima* (e.g. Plaut. *Circul.* 124; *Rud.* 570), and Agrippa's celebrated renovations of it (cf. Pliny *HN* 36.104-5). Propertius' landscape is flooded (4.9.3-6), and Hercules' thirst after the fight leads him to exhaust a nearby fountain despite the objections of the priestesses of *Bona Dea*, evoking, I suggest, accounts of the construction and naming of the *Aqua Virgo* (cf. Fron. *De Aque.* 1.10). In both poems, connections between landscapes and thirsting mouths (in, for example, Propertius' wordplay on *Palatia* (3), *palato* (21), *Velabra* (5), and *labra* (64)) efface distinctions between bodies of water, drinkers, and builders, problematizing Augustus' transformation of hydrological space.

Del Maticic is a doctoral candidate in Classics at NYU. His current research focuses on Roman literature and cultural history, with special interests in ancient and modern materialism and poetics, poetic engagements with space and geography, and dialogues between poetry and philosophy. His dissertation, *The Production of Kosmos: Raw Materials, Raw Materiality, and the Poetics of Chaos in Early Imperial Latin Literature*, seeks to develop a theory of Latin cosmopoetics that explains how Latin authors draw parallels between the poetic and the physical by focusing especially on the movements and transformations of raw materials and raw materiality.

Isabel Köster

Making and Unmaking Roman Landscapes in Cicero and Caesar

This paper explores strategies for rhetorically marking a landscape as Roman or non-Roman in three late Republican texts. At Cicero *Verr.* 2.4 106–113 the description of the sanctuary of Ceres at Henna and its surrounding area uses mythological references to stress its place in the Roman cultural consciousness. At *Prov. cons.* 29–35 Cicero suggests that Caesar’s freshly conquered territories in Gaul are inhabited by hostile people, but that the landscape itself is amenable to being part of the Roman world. Finally, I use David Nye’s concept of the antilandscapes to show how Caesar’s description of Germany in *BG* 6 fashions a territory where both the landscape and the inhabitants are hostile to Romans. These examples, I argue, deemphasize the human role in making space Roman. Instead, a landscape is either a natural part of the Roman world or never will be.

Isabel Köster received her PhD from Harvard University and is currently an assistant professor of classics at the University of Colorado Boulder. Her research and teaching interests center on Roman republican and early imperial history and literature with a focus on religion and rhetoric. Past publications include an article on temple robbery in Livy and a study of mythology and invective in Cicero’s *Against Piso*.

Michael Teichmann

Locus optimus: Roman Rural Settlement in Southern Coastal Latium

The present paper applies quantitative analyses to improve our understanding of Roman settlement patterns in southern coastal Latium. Records for more than 5000 archaeological sites were gathered in a Geographic Information System. One of the central research questions concerns the interdependence of landscape types (such as alluvial plain, coastline, volcanic hill or limestone mountain) and factors, which were decisive for the choice of the best spots. Descriptive site location analysis was conducted for different site types in respect to cultural and environmental parameters with a potential influence on the choice of site locations. These factors comprise variables derived from the elevation model such as altitude, slope or exposition, background geology, soils, the cost-distance to resources as well as cost-distances to elements of the cultural landscapes such as roads, sanctuaries and towns. A comparison was undertaken for different site types in the same „micro-region“ as well as for the same site type in different environmental settings. In a next step the patterns observed for the study area were compared with results of further published quantitative studies on Latium and Campania to identify similarities and differences. Additional analyses concerned site density distribution and intervisibility. The former analyses the spatial distribution of different site types in the study area, identifying centers of activity. The latter assesses the role of visibility for important elements of the cultural landscape such as villas, sanctuaries and towns. Visibility may have been of relevance for aspects of social representation and a visual dominance of the landscape.

Michael Teichmann studied Classical Archaeology at Vienna and Rome and Landscape Archaeology at Birmingham. His PhD project on Man and Landscape in southern coastal Latium was conducted within the framework of the Interdisciplinary Graduate School „Human Development in Landscapes“ at the University of Kiel. Recent research conducted at Bonn focused on Roman Settlement Patterns in southern Latium. Further experiences comprise Visiting Fellowships at Fayetteville (Arkansas) and Vienna as well as employment at the German Archaeological Institute at Rome and Berlin.