

"The Roman Republic in the Long Fourth Century"

Princeton University: May 16-18, 2019

Abstracts and Participant Bios

Cornell, Timothy. "Timaeus and the Romans"

In the course of his long life (96 years according to one source) the Sicilian historian Timaeus of Tauromenium witnessed the most dramatic changes in the geopolitical structure of the Mediterranean world since the end of the Bronze Age: the decline of the Greek city-states, the conquests of Alexander the Great, the struggles of the Successors and the formation of the Hellenistic monarchies, the rise of Rome, and the outbreak of the first war between Rome and Carthage. His Histories in 38 books were centred on Sicily, but also covered Italy, Spain, the western Mediterranean islands, Gaul, and North Africa, and broke new ground in making the history of the 'barbarian' West known to the Greek world. Although his works are no longer extant, and survive only in fragments (quotations in later texts), his influence was pervasive. Timaeus was the first to carry out research on the Romans and their history, and to attempt to grasp their impact on the changing world of his time.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that Timaeus wrote about the Romans twice, first in his general History, which covered the western Mediterranean from the earliest times to the death of Agathocles (289 BC) in thirty-eight books, and then again in a separate account of the wars between Pyrrhus and the Romans. It can be argued that in the former work Rome appeared in passing as one of the non-Greek communities of Italy, but that in the later monograph the city occupied centre stage. We know that it dealt with the origins of Rome, and probably gave a more detailed account of Roman history and culture. It was probably also in this work that Timaeus put forward his startling view that Rome had been founded in the same year as Carthage (814/3 BC), and continued the narrative from Pyrrhus' defeat to the outbreak of the First Punic War in 264. It seems likely that that these features were prompted by a realisation of the importance of Rome as a new world power on a level with Carthage, and that the rivalry between them would determine the fate of Sicily and the West.

This paper will examine Timaeus' view of Rome and its importance (seeking to reaffirm the position of Jacoby and Momigliano against recent criticisms and qualifications), and will assess his influence on later generations, which (it will be argued) was far greater than is normally supposed.

Timothy Cornell is Professor Emeritus of Ancient History at the University of Manchester and the current President of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. He is the author of *The Beginnings of Rome* (1995) and General Editor of *The Fragments of the Roman Historians* (2013).

Davies, Penelope. “On Architecture’s Agency in Fourth Century Rome”

At the heart of the construction of history lies the question of periodization: the imposition of a chronological matrix on broad swaths of past time. In her study of the Roman Republican period, Harriet Flower outlines the challenges in selecting criteria for periodization, themselves exacerbated for the fifth and fourth centuries BCE by a poverty of documentary sources. For these years she offers two time-map alternatives, one dominated by the ‘clash of the orders,’ the other moving from a transitional period of ca. 509–494 to a proto-Republic, ending with the decemviri and the publication of the Twelve Tables in 451/0, followed by a first Republic yielding in 367/6 to a second that concludes in 300 with the lex Ogulnia (or with the Lex Hortensia of 287). Flower’s approach rests on political and legal criteria; yet regardless of the criteria scholars employ, most find a break at the end of the fourth century. But recognizing the artificiality of time maps, imposed from a chronological distance, we are still left to question whether contemporaneous Romans might have sensed a new era dawning.

This paper explores the concepts of object agency and object-scapes to support a hypothesis that, by the end of the Republic if not earlier, Romans did register a change of era at the end of the fourth century. In recent years, archaeology as a discipline has turned increasing attention to the question of agency, defined simply as what things or humans do. To foreground object agency is to recognize not only that objects shape people, but that humans are shaped both consciously and unconsciously by interactions with objects. Moreover, objects can constitute new social contexts, universes of their own to which people need to adapt. Taken en masse, they make up what Miguel John Versluys and others term object-scapes: repertoires of material culture, defined by material and stylistic characteristics, available at certain sites in certain periods. Object agency has played a powerful if unacknowledged role in Roman architectural history at least since William MacDonald’s 1982 study of the poetics of form; still, the mass of historical data for the Roman period has made archaeology as a broader discipline focus intensively on human agency. This focus merits challenging, especially for the early Republic, when monuments were the principal purveyors of information with an inevitable impact on contemporaneous thinking regarding politics.

Penelope Davies is Professor in the Department of Art & Art History at the University of Texas at Austin. Specializing in the architectural history of ancient Rome, she is the author of *Death and the Emperor* (2000) and *Architecture and Politics in Republican Rome* (2017). Her current book project is entitled *Ancient Lives of Roman Buildings*.

de Angelis, Francesco. “Rome and the Visual Cultures of Central Italy: For an Aesthetic History of the Fourth Century”

The artistic landscape of fourth-century Rome is notoriously elusive. Since the pioneering exhibition on Roma medio-republicana took place in 1973, the available evidence has not changed substantially. As a consequence, despite important advancements in scholarship—from refinements in chronology and artisanal topography to the adoption of increasingly sophisticated approaches and the formulation of new historical questions—our knowledge of artifacts and monuments of that period is still characterized by fragmentation and isolation. In this respect, Rome stands in strong contrast to many coeval centers in Latium, Etruria, and Campania, both large and small, which have yielded series of objects belonging to specific genres and production classes (such as engraved mirrors and *cistae*, relief sarcophagi, portrait busts, votive images, red-figure vases, funerary wall paintings, etc.) that allow us to get a more articulated sense of the connecting fabric of images, styles, contexts, workshop traditions, and viewing habits that constituted the visual cultures of the inhabitants of those centers.

This contrast is all the more glaring given that in many instances “local” productions show clear signs of a relationship with Rome. These links have been acknowledged and discussed in depth, both individually and in general surveys, by scholars attempting to reconstruct the artistic and cultural history of mid-Republican Rome. Yet, the network of visual relationships in which Rome participated has seldom been thematized as such in a comprehensive perspective and going beyond its function as a convenient tool to remedy the gaps in our evidence. This talk will use selected examples to argue that, by interrogating the nature of this network itself and by analyzing more closely its defining features and dynamics, we may avoid one-sided characterizations of Rome’s visual culture that either teleologically emphasize its growing hegemony as an artistic center, or radically deny the relevance of any attempt to assess the specificity of its role within the context of central Italy. At the core, this project aims to complicate notions of artistic identity and achieve an anthropologically dense understanding of the aesthetic history of the fourth century.

Francesco de Angelis is Professor of Classical Art and Archaeology at Columbia University. He has published extensively on the diffusion, appropriation, and reconfiguration of state imagery in the Roman world. Since 2014, he has led excavations at the UNESCO World Heritage site of Hadrian’s Villa in Tivoli.

Elliott, Jackie. "Person and Perspective: Cato's *Origines* and Earlier Traditions of Self-Representation and -Commemoration at Rome"

This paper begins from the proposal that Cato's presentation of his person in the *Origines*, as implied particularly by his inclusion of his speeches in that work, was extraordinary in ways that have only very partial models in earlier historiography, Greek or Roman. My aim is thus to explore whether indigenous Roman practices of self-representation and self-commemoration, including in epigraphy and in the use of the ancestor mask, can be construed as offering meaningful and instructive analogies to Cato's strategies of self-representation in the work. Cato was, after all, demonstrably committed to determined self-inscription not only in indigenous Roman ethics, as he liked to portray them, but, in tandem with that, in indigenous Roman cultural practices, against the ever increasingly Hellenising trends of his day. Cato's use of the Latin language for a genre for which Greek was still in his day the conventional medium is a ready witness to the idea that the *Origines* too represented for its author an arena for such self-inscription.

Cato's interest in epigraphy is attested by his preservation in the *Origines* of one of the earliest inscriptions on record, the dedication by a group of Latin peoples at the sacred grove of Diana at Aricia (Priscian, GLK 2.129, 2.337 = FRHist 5. M. Porcius Cato F 36a-b). The extant remains of Cato's works do not allow us to document an explicit preoccupation on his part with ancestor masks, but such a preoccupation can readily be documented in the case of the later "new men" who modelled their self-conception and self-presentation on him (Flower 1996: 16–23 on Sallust's Marius; *ibid.* 150–7 on Cicero). My argument connects the dramatic qualities and the vividness of the surviving fragments of Cato's speeches as preserved from within the context of the *Origines* with the dramatic use of the funeral mask to conjure up the presence and the authority of ancestors as engaged spectators of and even interlocutors in the contemporary world they visited. Relevant features of the record of the *Origines* include the fragment of the *Contra Galbam* retailed at Gellius, NA 13.25.15 (FRHist 5. M. Porcius Cato F 104) and the ubiquitous presence of first and second persons in Cato's speeches, including as cited from the *Origines*, that again makes the element of dramatic performance palpable. The question of how individual identity is articulated in relation to collective identity across the different media under discussion is at the heart of this inquiry.

Jackie Elliott is Associate Professor and the current Chair of the Department of Classics at the University of Colorado, Boulder. Author of *Ennius and the Architecture of the Annales* (2013) and a specialist in the interrelationship of Rome's early epic and historiographical traditions, she is now working on Cato's *Origines*.

de Haas, Tymon. "Rural Transformations in the Long 4th Century: The Ecological Impact of Demographic and Agricultural expansion"

This paper explores the impact of demographic and socio-economic developments in the long fourth century on the rural landscapes of central Italy. Archaeological evidence suggests that the (later) 4th century BC witnessed several important developments: first, a major increase in rural settlement numbers throughout Italy; second, the foundation, growth and/or monumentalization of nucleated and urban settlements; and third, the development of various large-scale infrastructural projects by Rome.

Together, these developments had significant economic ramifications: they must have required a considerable increase in agricultural production, an intensification of the exploitation of woodlands and other natural resources, and massive labour inputs. We may assume that these ramifications in turn had a profound impact on the landscapes of central Italy. But how profound was this impact, in terms of pressure on arable farmland and natural resources? What was the ecological impact of the changes in the landscape in the longer run? And how sustained was the intensified exploitation of the central Italian landscape?

To explore these issues, this paper starts out with a review of the archaeological evidence for urbanization and rural settlement change in the fourth century, and a (cautious) exploration of the implications in terms of population growth. It will then evaluate changing patterns of rural settlement and land use on the basis of: first, archaeological field surveys; second, the evidence for large-scale agricultural infrastructure (centuriations); and third, (scarce) ecological evidence. It is argued that these sources suggest both an intensification of agricultural production in previously settled areas and an expansion into previously marginal landscape zones, which seems to reflect the conscious targeting of specific niches to enable demographic and economic expansion. I conclude with an evaluation of the question whether we may consider the transformation of the landscape, particularly of such hotspots, as part of sustainable exploitation strategies or rather, as I argue, as part of this key initial phase of Roman expansion.

Tymon de Haas is Assistant Professor of Classical and Mediterranean Archaeology at the Faculty of Archaeology of Leiden University. He is co-director of the Pontine Region Project. Recent publications include *The Economic Integration of Roman Italy* (2017), co-edited with Gijs Tol.

Killgrove, Kristina. “Bioarchaeology of Republican Italy”

The scientific analysis of human skeletons from archaeological sites is a relatively new line of evidence informing our understanding of the human past. Coming out of American processual archaeology, bioarchaeology traces its modern beginnings to the 1970s and to a focus on people, not just pots. This method of investigation, however, did not become widely applied to classical Italy until the waning years of the 20th century, when thousands of burials were uncovered in construction projects in modern Rome in advance of the Grande Giubileo of 2000. These inhumations suddenly provided dozens of bioarchaeologists with important palaeodemographic work that could be done: assessing the people’s age-at-death, sex, stature, and health status. While the number of skeletons in storerooms around Rome is well into the five-digit range, the majority of them date to the Imperial period. From the few hundred that have been thoroughly studied and published, we have found that some people were immigrants to Rome, that foodways were incredibly varied, and that interpersonal violence was far less of a problem than were osteoarthritis and cavities.

In trying to replicate this methodological success with the earlier Republican time period, though, there are two major issues. First, cremation was generally more popular than inhumation, which limits the amount of research that can be done on a skeleton. And second, compared to Imperial remains, the number of Republican skeletons is minuscule. For example, to date, the published Republican data from Rome come from 14 sites and total just over 100 individuals, about 15% of which are cremations. Using databases like FASTI Online and IsoArch.eu, it is possible to find excavations elsewhere in Italy and in the provinces with a handful of Republican burials. Still, the total number of published skeletons is far lower than expected for this time period, even after taking typical taphonomic issues into account.

Therefore, in this paper, I will explicate the information gleaned over the last two decades from human remains in ancient Italy, focusing first on Imperial Rome as the most well-published of the times and locations, but then pushing that methodological model backwards, outlining what can be done on the Republican remains that exist today and that will surely be found eventually. As bioarchaeology can provide information on ancient foodways, migration and slavery, plagues, violence, and biological relationships, the techniques of this field can and should be applied to inhumations and cremations from the Republican era in order to fully understand lifeways in the long fourth century and beyond.

Kristina Killgrove is a bioarchaeologist based at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. Her research focuses on the analysis of human skeletal remains from Italy. An award-winning science writer, Killgrove writes a regular column about archaeology for *Forbes*, and her popular science book on Roman bioarchaeology will debut in late 2019.

Lomas, Kathryn. “Coinages in 4th Century Southeast Italy: Strategies for Representing Cultural Identity between Greek, Roman and Italian”

The 4th century was a period in which cultural and ethnic identities were in a state of flux throughout the Italian peninsula. Southern Italy was subject to pressures from both Greek aggression in the south and Roman expansion in the north. Southeast Italy is an area of complex cultural and ethnic contacts in which a variety of local cultures came into increasing intense contact with two globalised cultures – Greek and Roman. In the later 4th and early 3rd centuries, the northern part of the region was drawn into the orbit of Rome, as its military interests and networks of contacts developed in Apulia. This interaction profoundly shaped the development of the region and there is little doubt that the local elites were reshaping and vigorously promoting their own status, power relations and cultural identities.

This paper aims to examine cultural identities through the medium of local coinages. Coinage in areas such as ancient Italy is conventionally regarded as a Greek technology, and therefore as an unproblematic borrowing from the Greek world. However, coinage is also a clear projection of state identity, reflecting the ambitions and cultural identities of the elite of the issuing state. This paper argues that if examined in the context of the wider patterns of epigraphic and cultural development, local coinages are a powerful assertion of local identities. This is particularly significant for the development of the region in the 4th century, when major changes in local and regional identities and power structures appear to be, at least in part, a response to new influences, and pressures, on the local communities as a result of Roman expansion into the north of the region, and Greek aggression in the south. They demonstrate the extent to which Italy-wide changes which affected both Rome and other Italian communities shaped new expressions of ethnic and cultural identity.

Kathryn Lomas is an Honorary Research Fellow and part-time teacher in Classics and Ancient History at the University of Durham. She is the author of *Rome and the Western Greeks, 338 BC – AD 200* (1993) and *The Rise of Rome: From the Iron Age to the Punic Wars* (2018). Currently in preparation are an edited volume of collected papers on Magna Graecia and a monograph on Italy and Rome in the age of Cicero.

Noreña, Carlos. "Legislation, Sovereignty, and Territoriality in the Early Roman Republic"

This paper explores the nexus between public law and state formation in the early Roman Republic. It attempts to delineate the interrelationships in the period c. 350-264 BCE between (i) legislative activity, (ii) the conferral of Roman citizenship (or partial citizenship) outside of Rome, (iii) the incidence of warfare, and (iv) the expansion of Roman power in the Italian peninsula. Discussion is based on the fifty or so recorded statutes from this period, with a focus on declarations of war, grants of citizenship, and the regulation of the institutions and decision-making protocols of the Roman state. I argue—tentatively, in light of the fragile basis upon which these statutes can be reconstructed—that we can trace back to this period the roots of what will come to characterize the relationship between law and imperialism in the late Republic, when a privileged citizen body at the metropolitan core of an expanding Mediterranean empire benefited from a particular political configuration to advance its own, material interests. The broad coincidence between imperial expansion in Italy and plebeian successes in Rome during the “long 4th century” suggests that an analogous dynamic was in operation during this earlier period, too. What I hope to highlight here is the specific role that statutory law might have played in this convergence, and the ways in which, in principle, *leges* and *plebiscita*, which expressed and formalized the authoritative and collective decisions of an evolving citizen body, could have catalyzed a particular distribution of social power that conduced to the territorial extension of “Roman” power. In order to set this argument in a comparative context, the paper also considers, very schematically, the distributional politics of two other law-making, imperialist, citizen-based Republics, classical Athens and early-modern Venice. This broader historical frame will help to specify the ways in which early-Republican Rome was typical and distinctive in the use of law as an instrument of empire.

Carlos Noreña is Associate Professor of History at the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West* (2011); editor of *A Cultural History of Western Empires in Antiquity* (2018); and co-editor of *From Document to History: Epigraphic Insights into the Graeco-Roman World* (2019). His project exploring the intersection of law and imperialism in Republican Rome is in its early stages.

Palombi, Domenico. “No Longer Archaic, Not Yet Hellenistic: Urbanism in Transition”

The complexity of the urbanization and cultural picture of central Italy in the 4th century B.C.E., prevents tracing a coherent and homogeneous profile of the development of urban forms, functions, and meanings during the period of transition between the archaic city and the triumph of Hellenistic urban culture. Rome remains the only case in which literary sources allow us to reconstruct a historical profile capable of offering an interpretative context - in formal and ideological terms - to the material evidence revealed by archaeology and historical topography. However, it is evident that the urban dynamics that characterized the *Urbs* in the 4th century B.C.E., involved the neighboring regions which were directly affected by the political, economic, and cultural strategies that determined the progressive affirmation of Rome over the Latins, the Etruscans, and other Italic cultural groups.

In this phenomenon, the communities of *Latium vetus* - already participants in the urban experience from the beginning of the archaic age - played a decisive role in expressing a variety of architectural and urban solutions, especially conditioned by the heterogeneity of the geography of the settlements. The Latin experience, however, is scarcely considered in studies on Italic urbanism - much less than Magna Graecia and Etruria - because of the quantity and quality of the available documentation, the difficulty of its coherent historical reading, and the overwhelming presence of Rome, considered its cultural model and its political promoter.

This paper aims to illustrate the transformations that took place in the urban centers of *Latium vetus* during the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.E., the chronological period that includes the last, turbulent decades of the political autonomy of the cities of Latium and that sees, after the dissolution of the Latin League, the constitutional redefinition of the subjected communities and their inclusion in the political, military and economic dynamics of Rome. At the same time, the paper proposes to evaluate the role of Latin urban culture in the process of Roman expansion in *Latium adiectum* and in the wider colonial phenomenon: this shows extensive territorial reorganization and newly founded urban centers which are hardly "Roman" and more related to or derived from the urban Latin tradition (for settlement principles, spatial organization, use of materials and construction techniques). The communities of ancient Latium, in fact, must have had a primary role in the process of conquest and "Romanization" of the Peninsula, a process that because of its dynamics, its manifestations, and its outcomes, would be more correctly defined as "Latinization."

Domenico Palombi is Associate Professor of Classical Archaeology in the Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità of the Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia at the Sapienza – Università di Roma. A specialist in the urban history of the city of Rome and of Latium Vetus, he is the author of *Tra Palatino ed Esquilino* (1997) and *I Fori Prima dei Fori* (2016). The first volume of a study of the archaeological area of the so-called "Villa dei Gordiani" is in press. Recent publications have also focused on the history of Roman archaeology.

Roselaar, Saskia. “The Spoils of War? Changes in Patterns of Land Tenure in the Fourth and Third Centuries BC”

This paper will focus on changes in patterns of land tenure in the fourth century BC, with an outlook into the third century. Due to the nature of the evidence, we are best informed about land tenure in the area of Italy under Rome’s control. In this area, the most important change was the introduction of a more systematic scheme of land distribution after the Latin War. The Roman state often took land as spoils of war from defeated enemies, which became the property of the Roman state and was known as the *ager publicus populi Romani*, ‘public land of the Roman people’. The first substantial amount of *ager publicus* was taken from Veii in 396; some of this was distributed to Roman citizens. However, the distribution of land apparently caused tension both within the Roman state, as well as between Rome and its allies, since no more colonies were founded until the late fourth century.

It seems that from the Latin War onwards the process of distributing land became more structured. As James Tan has argued, this ensured that the Romans collected the maximum possible amount of tax and recruited the maximum number of soldiers for the Roman army. An essential part of this system were Latin colonies, which included both Roman citizens and allies, and held a special status which elevated them over other Italian allies. However, as Tan points out, many exceptions existed within the system, not least the question of what to do with the remaining *ager publicus*.

Changes in land tenure in the fourth century also impacted the areas of Italy not under Roman control. Some developments seem to have occurred in many parts of the peninsula. Settlement in the fourth and third centuries was mostly in hill forts and isolated farmsteads – many of which had only recently been erected, since the formation of hills fort settlements started between the sixth and fourth centuries – but many of these disappeared in the course of the fourth and third centuries. In the fourth century, the function of hill forts as central places was partially taken over by rural sanctuaries, which appeared from the late fourth century onwards. At the same time, we see an increase in trade by Italians to areas outside the peninsula, especially in the East. In some areas, larger farms producing for commercial purposes appear in the fourth century as well.

All this indicates that the fourth century was a crucial period in the history of Italy, as it saw important changes in the scale Roman dominance over the peninsula, as well as in the scale of commercial production and trade. How these developments are related will be one of the main questions of this paper.

Saskia Roselaar has worked as a Newton International Fellow at the University of Manchester and as a Nottingham Advanced Research Fellow. She is the author of *Public Land in the Roman Republic* (2010), recipient of the James Henry Breasted Prize and the Premio Speciale della Corte Costituzionale della Repubblica Italiana. Her current projects tackle the relationship between economic activity and cultural integration and the economic and social aspects of Roman citizenship.

Rosenstein, Nathan. “Creating a Roman Army: From Warbands to Legions”

This paper contends that by the mid-fourth century Rome’s leaders had realized that the military challenges facing the Republic would require a substantial increase in the materials resources available to support Roman warfare. Data from the *fasti triumphales* indicate that some campaigns were taking substantially longer to complete than had been the case previously. Hence they had required a correspondingly greater investment in the food and other necessities that sustained Rome’s armies in the field. This finding suggests that access to the wealth of Campania and of many of Rome’s other defeated allies in the wake of the Latin revolt was a principal goal of the *patres* in imposing *civitas sine suffragio* upon them rather than an increase in the pool of available recruits for the legions, as is commonly believed. This conclusion emerges from the fact that for many years Campanian soldiers did not serve in the legions but rather in separate contingents like Rome’s other allies. Military service was not the primary *munus* that citizens without the vote bore. It was instead their annual payment of *tributum*. The Republic’s ability to draw consistently on a greatly increased revenue base to fund its armies’ *stipendium* made it possible to sustain the long series of Samnite and other wars over the next half-century, wars that typically would not have returned enough in spoils to the treasury to repay the cost of waging them.

Nate Rosenstein is Professor Emeritus at the Ohio State University. He is the author or co-editor of five books, most recently *Rome and the Mediterranean 290 – 146 BC* (2012). He is currently co-editor of *The Oxford History of the Roman World*.

Scheidel, Walter. “Building Up Slavery in Ancient Italy and the African Savanna”

We do not know how Rome became a “slave society” – a society in which slavery pervaded economic and social relations and made a critical contribution to elite income and status: in short, a society that in the absence of slavery would have been fundamentally and perhaps unrecognizably different. We would expect much of this build-up to have occurred during a (trans)formative period that was centered on the fourth century BCE. The ancient sources, such as they are, give us a strong sense that enslavement in war played a major role in this process. In world historical terms, this makes the Roman-Italian experience an outlier: other large-scale slave systems, most notably those of the colonized Americas, relied on market-based supply mechanisms that effectively outsourced enslavement to military elements on a different continent. Even ancient Greece seems to have shifted from collective enslavement of local populations to commercially mediated imports from non-Greek peripheries. Conversely, societies that more commonly procured slaves directly through capture did not normally attain the size of the Roman-Italian system. The closest analogues can be found among much later polities of the Sudan, in the African savanna belt. The Sokoto Caliphate, rapidly established by jihadists at the beginning of the nineteenth century in what is now northern Nigeria, is by far the most prominent case. This imperial formation appears to have encompassed several million slaves, many of whom worked on elite-owned agricultural estates. Capture in interstate and civil war and in systematic slave raids was the principal source of slaves. In my paper, I seek to contextualize the formative stages of Roman slavery by comparing them to the expansion and characteristics of Sokoto slavery. This exercise is meant to serve multiple purposes: to get a better sense of what a war-based slave system looked like; to weigh similarities and differences; and, most importantly, to explore ways in which the Sokoto case might provide inspiration for our engagement with early Roman slavery. We will never “know” how slavery developed in Italy during the period under review: the best we can hope for is to broaden our imagination by identifying comparanda that are useful to “think with.” I hope to show that this is the case here. Moreover, this particular comparison helps us diversify the study of ancient slavery through inclusion of historical information from outside of the standard classical+colonial repertoire.

Walter Scheidel is the Dickason Professor in the Humanities, Professor of Classics and History, and a Kennedy-Grossman Fellow in Human Biology at Stanford University. His work ranges from ancient social and economic history and premodern historical demography to the comparative and transdisciplinary world history of inequality, labor regimes, state formation, and human welfare.

Smith, Christopher. "Becoming Political: A Mid-Republican Quandary"

Two potential watershed moments have been identified in the politics of the middle Republic; the Licinian-Sextian legislation of 367 BC, and the late fourth century reforms of Appius Claudius Caecus. Both have been challenged. The annalistic account of the former contain what appear to be anachronisms and inaccuracies, which has given rise to substantial scepticism. This has made it difficult to assess with confidence the nature of the reform and specifically what kind of innovations the laws reflect. Similarly, Michel Humm's long and radical interpretation of Appius Claudius Caecus' intellectual revolution at Rome has not convinced all his readers.

Part of the problem arises from the direction from which one approaches the evidence. Those who look backwards from the late Republic are tempted to see retrojection, and to downplay the early capacity for sophisticated political thought. Those who look from the early history of Rome forwards are perhaps more tempted to allow for development. The obvious danger of teleology lurks here.

In this paper I will seek to argue for the second position on the basis of two distinct but hopefully interlinked themes:

The development of Roman law

The transformation of the relationship with the Latins.

At the same time, I will argue that there were strong ideological reasons in the later Republic for identifying the fourth century as a critical moment of change, and I will endeavour to make a distinction between developing notions of the political at Rome over time.

Christopher Smith is Professor of Ancient History at the University of St Andrews and former director of the British School in Rome. He is currently working on a project related to the early kings of Rome and editing two volumes on Mid-Republican Rome and Latium.

Tan, James. “The Long Shadow of *Tributum*”

There should be little doubt that *tributum* and *stipendium* were indeed instituted in 406, and this institution of military pay ought to be remembered as a critical moment in the creation of the Middle Republic and in the so-called Conflict of the Orders. The usual objection that the system could not predate coinage fails to appreciate the way in which the system was woven into the pre-existing networks of economic exchange in the local rural economy, but this feature also makes clear just how much military pay relied on the cooperation and management of the *tribuni aerarii*. By forcing people to engage in the paying of *tributum* each year, the reform empowered the (plebeian) *tribuni aerarii* who ran the system, who dominated their local micro-economies, and who exerted such influence within the tribes. This paper will therefore argue three main points. The first point is that the *tributum-stipendium* system was created in 406, partly as a way of retaining manpower in a context of Sicilian mercenary wars. The second point is that *tributum* was designed as a locally-based system of moving money from *assidui* to *milites* without any fixed medium of exchange; everything was managed through personal interactions between *assidui* and *tribuni aerarii* who were already tightly bound in economic relationships. The third point is that, once this policy of paying troops was adopted, the political domination of the patricians was doomed. There was simply no way to mobilise the capital and manage the payments without elite plebeian participation. These *tribuni aerarii* decided how each *assiduus* paid *tributum*, how each soldier was funded, and perhaps even how the tribes were mobilised for the levy. The control they enjoyed over war-making and public finance made it impossible to deny their claims to political equality.

James Tan is Lecturer in Ancient History and Classics at the University of Sydney. He is the author of *Power and Public Finance at Rome (264 – 49 BCE)* and is working on a new book on the *Tribuni Aerarii*.

Wright, Parrish and Nicola Terrenato. "Italian Descent in Mid-Republican Roman Magistrates: The Flipside of the Conquest."

The record for the magistrates of the Mid-Republic is one of the few contemporary sources whose reliability is not in serious question. It therefore offers us a valuable insight into who was in power at a crucial time for the transition of Rome from city-state to territorial empire. It has been recognized at least since Münzer that a number of family names that figure in the lists were not originally from Rome, and came instead from other Italian communities. The paper attempts to take systematic stock of this important phenomenon by means of an analysis of the origins of all the known consular families of the time. Building on the Digital Prosopography of the Roman Republic, combined with the work done by the likes of Farney, Hölkeskamp, Torelli and others, it is possible to track the emergence, persistence and long-term trajectory of each *gens*. The ability of elite families to join the highest echelons of Roman politics from various parts of Italy can be seen as a key process that characterizes the early phases of Roman expansion. The quantity of new consular families arguably represents a measure of power-sharing arrangements that were put in place vis-à-vis other Italians, potentially illuminating diplomatic interactions that have often been underestimated. In short, an important flipside of this great historical transition can be revealed, emphasizing the role played by Italian elites in the Mid-Republican conquest.

Parrish Wright is a PhD candidate in the Interdepartmental Program in Greek and Roman History at the University of Michigan and an assistant supervisor at the Gabii Project. Her dissertation focuses on the political uses of foundation stories in southern and central Italy from the archaic period to the Roman conquest. She is the 2019-20 recipient of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation Rome Prize (AAR).

Nicola Terrenato is the Esther B. Van Deman Collegiate Professor of Roman Studies at the University of Michigan. He directs the Gabii Project and the Sant'Omobono Project. He has published extensively on mid-Republican archaeology, early Rome and Roman imperialism. His book *The Early Roman Expansion into Italy: Elite Negotiation and Family Agendas* will be published next month.

Yarrow, Liv. “The Strangeness of Rome’s Early Heavy Bronze”

In the period following the Pyrrhic War and prior to the First Punic War Rome issued large cast bronze discs that functioned as money and fulfill most of the modern definitions of ‘coinage’. To the best of our present knowledge, this specific type of monetary object, commonly called *aes grave*, is without direct regional precedent. Burnett long ago suggested that these objects should be considered a blending of the Hellenistic tradition of coinage familiar to the Romans from interactions with Magna Grecia and the use of *aes rude* and *aes formatum* (shaped and unshaped cast bronze, sometimes bearing a design) as monetary instruments by non-Greek peoples of Italy and surrounding regions. This explanation has been generally accepted as not only plausible, but likely. There remains, however, a puzzle of why develop this peculiar hybrid monetary instrument in this particular historical moment. Recent archaeological analysis by Molinari and Jaia has connected their creation with the fortification of defenses along the Tyrrhenian sea board and Bernard has contextualized the socio-cultural factors influencing Rome’s early forays into coin production, demonstrating the limits of purely economic explanations. This recent scholarship only further highlights the unusual character of these first ‘coins’ produced by Romans at Rome in contrast with earlier issues struck in the name of the Romans, likely at Naples, but certainly in the Campanian region. These early issues have exceptionally complex and clearly indicated denominational systems, something that is not a feature of any earlier Italic or regional coinages, with the possible exception of the near contemporary oval series of unconfirmed origin (perhaps Volsinii, perhaps an unidentified Umbrian community). The denomination system is also closely tied to the issue of weight standard. Is it possible to reconstruct target weights for these objects in a meaningful way? And what does (non-)conformity to a standard indicate? The iconography of the *aes grave* intersects somewhat better with pre-existing Italic numismatic patterns, but is also deeply complex. To what extent should the selected images be read as markers of Roman ‘identity’ in this period? Our understanding of *aes grave* has been particularly hampered to date by a lack of metallurgical data or an up-to-date survey of hoard and find data. This has repercussions for the study of the whole of Italic cast bronze coinage as Roman evidence has traditionally been used as the benchmark for its study, especially the comparison of perceived weight standards as a means of dating. Even our reconstruction of the relative chronology of the earliest issues—RRC 14 (Janus-Mercury Series), 18 (Apollo-Apollo Series), and 19 (Dioscurus-Apollo Series)—is in large part based on the assumption that the Roman Currency Bars, so-called *aes signatum*, an earlier phenomenon and the interpretation of our hoard evidence on the basis of that assumption.

Liv Yarrow is Associate Professor of Classics at Brooklyn College, CUNY. A specialist in Roman and Hellenistic historiography and numismatics, she is the author of *Historiography at the End of the Republic* (2006) and co-editor with Christopher Smith of *Polybius, Imperialism, and Cultural Politics* (2012). *Roman Republic to 49 BCE: Using Coins as Sources* will be out in 2020.

ORGANIZERS

Seth Bernard is Assistant Professor of Classics at the University of Toronto. He is the author of *Building Mid-Republican Rome* (2018) and is the co-director of archaeological excavations on the Hellenistic acropolis of Populonia. He is currently working on a new project on economic development and Roman imperialism in Italy from c. 500 – 200 BCE.

Lisa Mignone is a Margo Tytus Visiting Fellow at the University of Cincinnati and Research Affiliate at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World. A specialist in the residential and sacred topography of Republican Rome, she is the author of *The Republican Aventine and Rome's Social Order* (2016) and co-editor of *Studi e Scavi sull'Aventino 2003-2015* (2018). Her current book project is entitled *Rome's Juno: Religious Imperialism and Self-Preservation*.

Dan-el Padilla Peralta is Assistant Professor of Classics at Princeton University. His research applies social-scientific and comparative methods to the religious history of the Roman Republic and Empire. He co-edited *Rome, Empire of Plunder* (2017) and is the author of *Divine Institutions: Religion and State Formation in Mid-Republican Rome* (forthcoming 2020). His current projects include a co-authored book on 338 BC (with Denis Feeney).

SESSION PRESIDERS

Caroline Cheung is Assistant Professor of Classics at Princeton University. Her research relies on material and textual evidence to study the socio-economic history of non-elites under Roman rule, with particular attention to agriculture and craft production. She has participated in the Pompeii Artifact Life History Project, the Cosa Excavations, and the Contrada Agnese Project in Morgantina. Her current book project studies the dolium.

Denis Feeney is Giger Professor of Latin and Professor of Classics at Princeton University. He has published broadly on Latin literature and Roman culture, including especially Roman religion and time. Author most recently of *Beyond Greek: The Beginnings of Latin Literature* (2016), he is currently laying the groundwork (with Dan-el Padilla Peralta) for a book on 338 BC.

Harriet Flower is Andrew Fleming West Professor of Classics at Princeton University. Her research focuses on the interrelated topics of spectacle and memory in Roman culture. In recent years, she has overseen the second edition of *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic* (2014) and published *Roman Republics* (2010) and *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden* (2017).

John Hopkins is Assistant Professor of Art History at New York University. His work traces cultural and societal shifts in early Rome and the Mediterranean through examination of artistic, architectural, and archaeological remains. He is author of *The Genesis of Roman Architecture* (2016) and is currently at work on a new book project, *The Connected World of Early Roman Art*.