CRISIS!

The identification, analysis, and commemoration of crises in the ancient world

Masterclass: Programme and Abstracts

February 5, 2015 – 09:00-17:30
Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, Room 123
Oude Boteringestraat 38, Groningen

08.30 – 09.00   Registration and Coffee

09.00 – 09.15   Welcome by Lidewijde de Jong and Introduction by Monika Trümper

Session 1, Chair: Raf Praet

09.15 – 09.45   Sjoukje Kamphorst: *Crisis Management in the Hellenistic City: Honours for Foreign Judges as an Instrument of Resilience*
Response by Marijn Visscher

09.45 – 10.15   Maurits de Leeuw: *Thucydides' Definition of Civil War*
Response by Aitor Blanco-Pérez

10.15 – 10.45   Gina Alajmo: *Promotion of Local Sanctuaries as Expression of an Identity Crisis? Studies on Local Sanctuaries in Imperial Asia Minor*
Response by Amy Porter

10.45 – 11.15   Coffee break

Session 2, Chair: Sjoukje Kamphorst

11.15 – 11.45   Janet Powell: *Crisis*
Response by Renske Janssen

11.45 – 12. 15   Sam van Dijk: *Does networking matter? A case study on Athanasius' fight against Arianism*
Response by Erik Timmerman

12.15 – 12.45   Amy Porter: *Beyond the 'Goddess of the Hunt'. Finding 'Artemis' at Times of War: War Dedications and War Epiphanies in Attika*
Response by Tjark Blokzijl

12.45 – 13.45   Lunch

Session 3, Chair: Tjark Blokzijl

13.45 – 14.15   Raf Praet: *Lingua Latina Perennis? The Decline of Latin from an Antiquarian Perspective*
Response by Janet Powell

14.15 – 14.45   Renske Janssen *The Limits of Power: Crisis and Localism in Diocletian's Great Persecution*
Response by Sam van Dijk

14.45 – 15.15   Aitor Blanco-Pérez: *'All-Ruling Rome, Let Your Power Never Vanish!' Epigraphic Habit, Imperial Context, and 3rd Century Crisis in South-West Asia Minor*
Response by Sjoukje Kamphorst

15.15 – 15.45   Coffee break

Session 4, Chair: Amy Porter

15.45 – 16.15   Tjark Blokzijl: *Monumental Architecture and Socio-Political Change in Early Complex Polities: Roman Italy after the Social War*
Response by Gina Alajmo

16.15 – 16.45   Erik Timmerman: *Agri Deserti: Agricultural crisis in the later Roman Empire? (3rd – 5th century)*
Response by Maurits de Leeuw

16.45 – 17.15   Marijn Visscher: *Crisis and Resolution: Hegesianax and Antiochus' acts of kingship*
Response by Raf Praet

17.15   Closing words by Monika Trümper

18.30   **Dinner**

1. Sjoukje Kamphorst

<u>Crisis Management in the Hellenistic City: Honours for Foreign Judges as an Instrument of Resilience</u>

καὶ περὶ το[ύ]των ἀπέστηλαν ἀμεῖν δικαστά[ς],
[…]

15 οἵτινες παραγενό-
μενοι καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅλα τῶν πραγμάτων δι-
εφθαρμένα {ν}, τᾶν τε κτησίων καὶ τῶν ποτ' ἀλλάλος
συναλλαγμάτων πάντων ἐν ταραχᾶι τε καὶ διχοστασί-
αι τᾶι μεγίσται κειμένων, [κτλ.]

And on account of these things, they sent us judges, […] who came to help and to deal with the whole of the situation, ruined as it was, that of the properties as well as that of all the private contracts, laying in the greatest disorder and dissension, (etc.)

I.Creticae I.xix.3

This inscribed decree from the small town of Malla, Crete, records public honours for judges who had come from the nearby cities of Knossos and Lyttos in the late second century BCE. While such decrees are quite common in the early Hellenistic period, this particular document draws attention through its fairly dramatic account of the crisis that the judges encountered in Malla. Scholarship has rightly moved away from considering the Hellenistic period as the time of the Greek city's general 'decline', 'fall' or 'collapse', but cities did indeed continue to face difficulties for which they had to find new solutions. If the situation was especially dire, as in Malla, help was even sought outside the city borders. In this case, probably due to corruption and general mistrust of the popular courts, private legal cases had not been tried for a while. This had led to a situation of disarray in the entire city, and judges had to be invited from outside of the city to solve the issue. This distinctly Hellenistic practice of inviting judges from abroad is now known as the institution of 'foreign judges'.

Modern scholarship emphasizes the importance of new civic institutions like this one for the continued degree of autonomy that the Greek city enjoyed in the Hellenistic era, reflected by the enormous rise in epigraphic material connected to such institutions. This increase in the production of inscriptions furthermore suggests that the broadcasting of – in this specific case – the aid provided by foreign judges was a vital part of the institution as a whole. The central question of this paper is, then, how the publication of honorific decrees for foreign judges contributed to the process of solving the crises some cities were facing and, ultimately, to the continued importance of the city as a political unit.

Treating inscriptions as media rather than merely as historical documents, this paper will attempt to shed light on their agency in the broader questions of globalization and networking in the Hellenistic era. I aim to do so by analysing the role of inscriptions related to this specific institution as instruments of communication within the city as well as between cities.

After finishing a BA in Classics, Sjoukje Kamphorst specialized in epigraphy and Hellenistic history in the Research MA CMRS at the University of Groningen, from which she graduated last summer. Since then, she has been working on a PhD proposal on Hellenistic epigraphy, which focuses on the role of inscriptions as a medium of globalization. The paper she gives today is a chapter extracted from her MA thesis, elaborated with insights gained during the writing of this proposal.

2. Maurits de Leeuw

Thucydides's definition of civil war

My research, in most general terms, focusses on the position of Thucydides's *Histories* in the historiographical tradition. Within this broad scope I select specific case studies as subjects of close study. 'Crisis' is a particularly suitable theme for a study of Thucydides's work in the light of the historiographical tradition. The *Histories* contains many situations we could label as instances of crisis, ranging from the plague in Athens as a natural disaster to the material and psychological breakdown in Athens after the Sicilian expedition. In my paper at the CRASIS Annual Meeting and Master Class on crisis, I will focus on one specific passage: the description of *stasis*, civil war, on Corcyra in chapters 3.82-4. This passage, I will argue, forms a crucial point for the conception of civil war in antiquity. On the one hand, it reflects traditional descriptions of civil war in earlier Greek literature; on the other, several authors writing after Thucydides have modelled descriptions of civil wars on this description.[1] By focusing on this passage, I hope to show how Thucydides has created a defining description of civil war.

My paper consists of three parts: in the first, I will examine how the passage of civil war on Corcyra relates to earlier and contemporary descriptions of civil war in Greek literature; in the second I will look at other passages of crisis in Thucydides's work and the last part will consist of an analysis of some passages in classical literature after Thucydides that use Thucydides's description of civil war on Corcyra as a model. For the first part, I will largely follow Loraux's analysis of Thucydides's sources for this passage, to which I will add a comparison with Herodotus on civil war and political change, as Loraux has not taken Herodotus into consideration extensively in her article. Second, I will compare the Corcyra passage to other passages on crisis in Thucydides's work to see what elements they share. I will show that the Corcyra passage, as many others, is characterized by a universalizing presentation of what is, in fact, a single, unique event. Lastly, I will analyze some passages from works of later authors who have used Thucydides's description of *stasis* as a model. I will examine which aspects of Thucydides's description these authors take over and on which point their descriptions differ from Thucydides's. I will show how other authors writing history understood and applied Thucydides's description of a specific civil war as a more general analysis and definition of *stasis*.

Maurits de Leeuw is currently studying classics at Corpus Christi College in Oxford for a Master of Studies in Greek and/or Latin Languages and Literature (a one year Master's program). Greek historiography (mainly Herodotus and Thucydides) and its reception in antiquity and in the renaissance is my main area of specialization.

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[1] N. Loraux (2009) 'Thucydides and Sedition Among Words' in: J. S. Rusten *Thucydides: Oxford Readings in Classical Studies.* Oxford.

3. Gina Alajmo, PhD Student (FU Berlin)

Promotion of local sanctuaries as expression of an identity crisis?
Studies on local sanctuaries in imperial Asia Minor

The gradual integration of Asia Minor into the Roman Empire (from around 133 BC to 30 BC) led to changes of the existing administrative system as well as the religious landscape of Asia Minor. The imperial Period gave rise to the emergence of new cities and mixed colonies which resulted in social transformation. These changes led to innovations in many areas but also forced alterations in the existing system. Poleis which were previously of local importance within their region were now integrated in provinces and had to find their own position within these and the global empire.

The introduction and establishment of the imperial cult in Asia Minor resulted in the appearance of new temples, but also existing sacred sites still persisted and even gained new importance. In the region of Caria local sanctuaries seemed to experience a revival during the 2nd century AD, especially if they had a long tradition and were dedicated to the god who held the patronage of the city they belonged to. The sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos in Labraunda and Zeus Lepsynos in Euromos can be reffered to as examples for this development. Winfried Held acknowledges no coincidence in the renewed heyday of the sanctuaries, but clarifies: one can perceive the attempt to bring the peculiarities of its own culture and history within the Roman Empire to the expression, so to speak, as a result of an identity crisis.[2]

The disappearance of political independence and sometimes also the importance of cities apparently increased the tendency to define the rank within the Empire by the mythical past. Therefore the hypothesis that a revival of a sanctuary assists to overcome an identity crisis is possible. Even if the theory is conceivable, the question arises whether other motives did play a larger role in the revival of the sanctuaries. What factors influenced the increasing importance of a sanctuary at this time and how can this be verified archaeologically? It must also be investigated to what extent the sanctuaries with renewed heyday belonged to cities, whose citizens were thought to be in an identity crisis through integration into the Roman Empire.

The presentation shall discuss the development of local sanctuaries in this time of change in the region Caria in comparison with the region Pisidia by using selected examples. This examination is part of my PhD thesis which focusses on the development and the transformation of local sanctuaries in Asia Minor after the inclusion of the regions in the Roman Empire (from about 133 BC to 30 BC) and during the imperial period (from the end of the 1st century BC - 4th century AD). The results will show whether the hypothesis of the promotion of local sanctuaries as expression of an identity crisis is detectable.

Gina Alajmo is a PhD student at Freie Universität Berlin. The topic of her thesis is: "Local sanctuaries in imperial Asia Minor; Studies on form and function of local sanctuaries in the Greek East of the Roman Empire". She is a fellow of the Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation, which funds her PhD-project.

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[2] W. Held, Gergakome. Ein ‚altehrwürdiges' Heiligtum im kaiserzeitlichen Karien, IstForsch 49 (Tübingen 2008) 176.

4. Janet Powell

Xenophon's Poroi : response to crisis in fourth-century BC Attica

In 355 BC, responding to the crisis in which Athens found herself after the Social War, Xenophon wrote a short text known as the Poroi, or Ways and Means.

Athens had lost most of her allies and her financial reserves were badly depleted. A string of legal measures to improve the revenue from various taxes had been enacted over the immediately preceding years, but what was remarkable about Xenophon's approach was that he proposed a more widely integrated solution. In particular he argued that the poverty of the Athenian demos led directly to Athens' poor relations with other states, as the Athenians looked to those states for tribute in order to feed her impoverished citizens. Consequently he proposed various strategies intended to regenerate trade and industry – principally the Attic silver mines – in order to generate income for the demos from within the state's own natural mineral resources and through the entrepreneurism of her citizens and resident metics. This way Athens could avoid the need for unpopular 'tribute' from her allies. Xenophon also suggested the encouragement of non-Athenian traders and entrepreneurs through the building of facilities for merchants which would attract greater commercial activity and suggested that the offer of various privileges and honours might be an inducement to benefactors and traders. Ultimately he expected that his schemes would enable Athens to live at peace with other states, producing more splendid religious festivals and attracting philosophers, poets, merchants and craftsmen who would enrich her culture and her coffers.

There was undoubtedly an immediate financial and geopolitical crisis, but some scholars have identified the Poroi as an indicator of longer term social and internal political decline. In particular Xenophon's proposed extension of honours beyond traditional elite recipients in order to reward profit-driven commercial activity has been invoked as a response to decline, whilst the effect on society of the occasional awarding of honours to traders which did take place in the later fourth century has been described in as 'corrosive.'

This paper will contextualise Xenophon's proposals within the immediate crisis and discuss Xenophon's broad response, which embraced plans for cultic and economic revival and the regeneration of the built environment, many of which took shape in the succeeding decades. It will then discuss the Athenian use of honours before and after he wrote in order to assess whether judgements about decline can be substantiated. Xenophon's response to crisis was based on an analysis its underlying causes and I will argue that whilst robust responses to crisis should of neccessity take account of underlying trends, in this instance Xenophon's immediate responses to crisis cannot be conflated with longer term decline. Continuous, rather than crisis-led, approaches to the supply of resources had been enmeshed within the political structure for some time and offering limited honours in return for usefulness to society regardless of status did not reflect a sense of Athenian decline or risk promoting social degeneration. Rather it sits entirely within both the city's evolving traditions and Xenophon's earlier thinking.

Janet Powell is a PhD student at Birkbeck College, University of London, researching Xenophon's Poroi, a short text written in 355 BC, as Athens faced a critical post-war economic crisis and an uneasy political stalemate with her some-time allies.

5. Sam van Dijk

Does networking matter? A case study on Athanasius' fight against Arianism.

Somewhere between 318 and 320 CE a movement arose in Egypt under the leadership of Arius, an ascetic and charismatic priest of Alexandria.[3] The difference with the Orthodox Church was mainly on the conception of the Holy Trinity. Arius wanted to stress the humanity of Christ, while the orthodox view was that the Father and the Son were equally God and had both preexisted for eternity.[4] The current emperor, Constantine the Great, tried to resolve this religious crisis by calling together the first ecumenical council, which took place in Nicaea in 325 CE.

The outcome of the council was clear; Arianism (called after Arius) was to be seen as a heretic movement. However, the council did not solve the problem, since the Arians simply ignored the outcome of the council and maintained that the other orthodox view was heresy.[5] So when Athanasius became the bishop of Alexandria in 328 CE, he became the Christian leader of a religiously torn province. Athanasius was a fierce supporter of the orthodox view, which made his career having many ups and downs. Being exiled multiple times, but also being reinstated as bishop as many times, Athanasius had a big influence on the debate and the final victory of the orthodox view.[6]

What I want to do in this essay is to look not so much to the theological debate and the scholastic arguments, but to the question how Athanasius reacted to this religious crisis: How was he able to communicate his message and can his network and his use of contacts all over the empire have been a determining factor in the victory of the orthodox view? In other words, with the help of a case-study on Athanasius I want to explore if a person's network can help him in his quest to resolve a crisis. In order to answer this question I will, with the help of his letters[7] and a few of his other writings, perform a social network analysis on an ego-network around Athanasius in order to see with whom he had contact and how he communicated his view on Christianity. This will, in the end, lead to an answer to the question to what degree Athanasius used his network to react on and cope with the religious crisis caused by the schism between the orthodox church and Arianism.

Sam van Dijk is a student in the research master CMRS (Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies) at the RUG. Within this he specializes on socio-political and cultural aspects of the Roman Empire (especially the imperial times) with social network theory as the main methodology.

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[3] Khaled Anatolios, *Athanasius*, (London: Routledge, 2004), 6-7.

[4] Timothy E. Gregory, *A History of Byzantium*, *second edition*, (John Wiley and Sons, 2010), 58-59.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Khaled Anatolios, *Athanasius*, 11-33.

[7] Athanasius, Archibald Robertson (translator), Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (eds.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, Vol. 4, Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1892., Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, obtained at http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2806.htm.

6. Amy Porter

Beyond the 'Goddess of the Hunt'
Finding 'Artemis' at Times of War: War Dedications and War Epiphanies in Attika

Every aspect of Greek (and Roman) society was governed by their gods and their wills, for example you would ask Demeter for a better harvest at times of crop failure and dedicate to Poseidon when an earthquake happened, they were essential in the running of day-to-day life. Artemis' role during wars was essential to it becoming a success. The well-known documented wars, the Peloponnesian War and the Persian Wars (provided respectively by Herodotus and Thucydides), have often been identified by the role of the men waging war.

As a location which is regularly engaged in wars, Athens acts as the perfect basis for analysing the dedications and epiphanies in war-time, due to the fact that Athens on innumerable occasions took part in other regions' wars as well as its own (although this is also supported by the evidence from Sparta and elsewhere with a primary focus on the Classical period evidence).

Artemis shall be examined in conjunction with the epiphanies during war (notably of Themistokles) and the temple inventories of Brauron and the Athenian Brauronia especially. As such, to overcome crisis Artemis acted as the sign for whether the men should or should not fight during a war, in terms of the timing of epiphanies and their characterisation. The temple inventories (listing the dedications) show the importance of dedications to be protected by Athens during the Peloponnesian War.

This paper aims to broaden the characterisation of Artemis and as such will provide a gateway to analysing her varying role in Greek society, especially as she may be seen to some extent as a 'war goddess'.

Amy Porter is a Research Master's student at VU University Amsterdam studying Classics and Ancient Civilisations with a specialisation in Mediterranean Archaeology. Her main focus is on Ancient Greek religion in the Classical period and her thesis will centre on the wild aspect of Artemis in Ancient Arcadia in the Peloponnese depending on their location.

7. Raf Praet

Lingua Latina Perennis? – The decline of Latin from an antiquarian perspective

Late antiquity saw a revived interest in antiquarian writing. Yet this antiquarian interest in the distant past remains an elusive phenomenon. I consider antiquarianism in late antiquity to be a textual strategy in which people revert to the past as a distant mirror. This mirror projects the moral, political and cosmic values congenial to Rome as a universal ideal onto the present. The goal of antiquarianism is to revive and keep alive this ideal.

The notion of the distance between the projected ideal of Rome and the present reality is essential to the antiquarian attitude. Antiquarian authors describe a world which is not present in their daily life. Therefore the subject matter of antiquarianism comprises mainly elements which are perceived to be in danger of extinction at the time the antiquarian performs his research.

The question is whether this sense of imminent loss can be linked to specific policies of the imperial and post-imperial government in abolishing certain cultural practices. The comparison between endangered cultural phenomena on the one hand and the scope of antiquarian research on the other hand can test this hypothesis.

This method can swiftly yield results when applied to a part of material culture and ancient ritual, as, for instance, the decline of gladiatorial games. Yet I want to apply this method to a far more complex phenomenon: the use of Latin in the eastern Roman empire of the 6th century AD.

The 6th century saw, indeed, a gradual decline of Latin until its replacement by Greek as the official language of the empire, by the emperor Heraclius in 620 AD. At the same time, however, we perceive an intensified interest in the Latin language as such. Authors as John of Lydia and Priscian are involved with research on the Latin language throughout their antiquarian and grammatical works. The grammarian Priscian, for instance, composed his monumental Institutiones Grammaticae in the midst of the crisis of Latin in Constantinople. Next to their general interest in the language, these authors also explicitly bewail the loss of the Latin language in contemporary practice.

In this paper, these passages on the loss of the Latin language in Priscian and John of Lydia will serve a double purpose. First these passages will elucidate the antiquarian rhetoric of coping with perceived cultural decline. By means of a rhetorical analysis I want to ascertain which function these passages have in the construction of the cultural profile of the antiquarian as opposed to contemporary competitors within bureaucratic and educational networks.

Second, I compare this antiquarian rhetoric with papyrological sources to ascertain whether the rhetoric is grounded in the reality of the education and rhetorical production of the 6th century east. For instance, the papyrological evidence suggests a surge in Latin learning in the east, following the juridical projects of Justinian. This comparison can bring to light the contradictions in the story of the crisis of Latin in the 6th century east.

Raf Praet studied classics at the university of Ghent (2007-2011). After working as a research assistant at the 'Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams' (DBBE) in Ghent (2011-2013), he started his PhD within the project 'Finding the Present in the Distant Past: The Cultural Meaning of Antiquarianism in Late Antiquity', under the supervision of Dr Jan Willem Drijvers and Prof Dr Peter Van Nuffelen. The project is the fruit of a collaboration between the universities of Groningen and Ghent.

The Limits of Power: Crisis and Localism in Diocletian's Great Persecution

The Roman state has generally been regarded as being remarkably tolerant of the 'foreign' religions it housed within its borders. After all, most cults could be adapted or otherwise incorporated in the traditional Roman religious system with relative ease. Yet, as we well know, this generally easy coexistence was a far cry from the turbulent relationship the Roman state had with a number of religiously-oriented minority groups, the best known of which are the early Christian and the Jewish communities of the empire.

To call the relationship between these monotheistic groups and the Roman state 'turbulent', however, is not to say that there existed a consistent policy implemented by the Roman government to suppress these groups. On the contrary, periods of political and legal conflict often alternated with extended periods of peace. The question remains, however, what constituted the difference between those times. Why did the Roman state seek to take action against certain religious groups at certain times, while refraining from such measures, or even taking more positive action, at other points in time?

This paper will use the persecutions of Christians under the emperor Diocletian as an example to demonstrate that at least part of the solution to this question may be found in the Roman state's attempts to deal with crisis. Diocletian's measures against Christians, it will be argued, may be seen as a part of a wider attempt to restore order after the exceedingly turbulent third century C.E., in which the Roman Empire had come to the brink of collapse. Diocletian's religious policy, of which his measures against the Christians were a part, was formulated to deal with problems that were so extensive that reorganisation in the economic and political sphere alone were deemed insufficient.

In addition, Diocletian's measures may serve as an example for the way in which the local and central imperial government could interact in times of crisis: a crisis (or the desire to prevent one) on a provincial, or even more local, scale could lead to measures taken by the central government, whereas an empire-wide crisis, such as in the time of Diocletian, could result in orders or laws being passed on to the provincial administration. Due to the nature of the Roman legal system, however, and especially the nature of provincial government, a crisis was more often than not re-evaluated when it transcended a single level of government, which sometimes resulted in policy being adjusted, or even ignored. In the case of Diocletian's measures against the Christians, we find that his laws were only truly enacted in particular parts of the empire, whereas other provincial officials chose to adjust these new orders to their own insights. This shows that not only the assessment of a crisis, but also the responses to it could differ significantly within the Roman empire.

Renske Janssen is a Research Master student in Classics and Ancient Civilizations at Leiden University, specialising in Classics. She recently attended the University of Cambridge for an Erasmus+ exchange to prepare for her Master's thesis, which will focus on Roman law and religion in the late Republic and Empire.

9. Aitor Blanco-Pérez

"All-Ruling Rome, Let Your Power Never Vanish!"
Epigraphic Habit, Imperial Context, and 3rd Century Crisis in South-Western Asia Minor

The progressive decrease and transformation of the local epigraphic habits remain one of the open questions concerning the transition between the High and Late Roman Empires. An attempt to provide a general answer to such a complex issue goes beyond the aims of my D.Phil. thesis, which studies the civic life and diplomatic relations of south-western Asia Minor during the 3rd century AD in the light of the sizeable amount of inscriptions available. The very nature of epigraphic evidence indeed prevents the provision of a unifying explanation if one takes into consideration regional particularities and the multiple factors that may have concurred. Despite those difficulties, the analysis of local circumstances within their respective imperial context/s has the potential to contribute to a better understanding of inscriptions and both their continuities and changes.

The paper that I propose for this meeting intends to take this type of approach and will be focused on three main sections. The first one tries to show that inscriptions from Asia Minor dating to the 250's do not reflect the episodes of terror and struggle denounced by the Christian sources (e.g. Pionios' martyrdom) as a result of Trajan Decius' edict. Instead, they rather follow traditional patterns of an epigraphic habit and practice that selected what parts of the exchange between local and imperial institutions ought to be memorialised. When the number of not only epigraphic but also numismatic testimonies is, nevertheless, assessed, it becomes clear that both the quantity and quality of the surviving material is not similar to the early 3rd century. How, then, can we explain both continuity and change in this regard? In order to answer this and other related questions, I will particularly deal in the last part of this section with the evidence from Aphrodisias, which was centre of an important administrative reorganization following the creation of the new province of Phrygia and Caria.

In the second section of the paper, I want to review the critical situation of the Roman power in the second half of the 3rd century and its effects on the cities and villages studied in my thesis. Those territories had previously witnessed the frequent passage of courts and soldiers from the Severan period to Trajan Decius' death. Provision of tyrones, supplementa and annonae was endured and carved in stone but the toil of those expenses contributed to the confinement of foreign wars to the borders of the Empire. This distance from heavy armed struggles disappeared in the 260's with the arrival of Sassanian and Gothic raids in western and eastern Asia Minor. I will argue that the impact of such an unprecedented level of vulnerability proved almost lethal to the maintenance of a model that had sustained civic life, diplomatic vitality and epigraphic production. I will equally show that the extremely limited amount of inscriptions dating that this decade corroborates the difficulties experienced by population who also saw the end of their local bronze coinage.

The final section will be devoted to the study of the particular circumstances of southern Anatolia which still enabled cities in Pisidia, and, especially, Side and Perge in Pamphylia to record epigraphically the competitive activity of their civic institutions.

There are few periods in the History of the Ancient World as attached to the concept of crisis as the 3rd century AD. In this general context, the local Epigraphy of south-western Asia Minor might provide us with certain tools and evidence to challenge established assumptions and declining preconceived dogmas.

Following an honours degree in Classical Philology at the University of Salamanca and UCL (2005-10), Aitor Blanco-Pérez went on to read for a Master in Greek and Roman History at the University of Oxford. Now, he is in the last year of his doctoral studies in which he analyses the epigraphic evidence of Asia Minor in the 3rd century AD. Aitor's interests mainly lie in the study of the Roman Empire from a regional perspective using local testimonies.

10. Tjark Blokzijl

<u>Monumental Architecture and Socio-Political Change in Early Complex Polities:
Roman Italy after the Social War</u>

Roman historians describe the period between the Social War (91-87 BC) and the Augustan settlement (27 BC-AD 14) as a rather dark chapter in the history of the Italian peninsula.[8] It is a grim story of civil wars, proscriptions, random executions, sacking and burning of whole cities and what we today consider genocide of specific ethnic groups. Trusting these literary sources this timespan can be clearly marked as an era of socio-political crisis. However, the end of the Social War marked the beginning of an unprecedented period of building projects which changed cities and towns into, what archaeologists and historians nowadays call, monumentalized urban landscapes. This period of diligent building activity continued in the last decades of the Republic and throughout the Augustan (27 BC-AD 14) and Julio-Claudian period (14-68 AD). How can this discrepancy between these different types of sources be explained? With on the one hand literary sources that speak of social upheaval, destruction and loss of life, which can be categorised as crisis. On the other hand archaeological data reveal unparalleled monumentalization and embellishment of cities and towns, which can be interpreted as an increase in prosperity and wealth.

In this paper I shall try to provide an answer to the above described discrepancy, although I will focus mainly on the phenomenon of monumentalization. In an endeavour to explain this increase in building activities, most scholars emphasize the euergetic and reciprocal nature of Graeco-Roman society.[9] Religious feasts, dinners, distributions, theatre shows and especially the construction of public buildings were all generously donated by rich benefactors. These different forms of munificence constituted the social and political fabric of civic life in towns and cities throughout the Roman empire. However, in my opinion, it does not provide a sufficient explanation for the very function monumental buildings served within the ideological framework of an urban elite operating during trying times of changing polity in which social and political dynamics and relations were renegotiated. Furthermore, a close examination of the ideology behind these building schemes suggests that they cannot solely be attributed to reciprocity or an increase in wealth, but could also be seen as responses in canalizing a phenomenon we today call 'national trauma'. Considering the above, the main question I would like to address in this paper is: why were architectural media preferred by Roman urban elites participating in complex constellations during times of significant socio-political crisis?

Several archaeologists and anthropologists state that architecture in early complex societies was used by their elites as an important medium in the visualisation and communication of certain ideologies and values.[10] The conceptual framework used by these scholars was strongly influenced by a new scientific approach known as cognitive archaeology or cognitive-processual archaeology.[11] This methodology studies for instance, the symbolic of material culture. In this paper I will try to show how architecture was used by the local elites to communicate ideology, identity and memory in the cities of Italy. In doing so I will use the principles outlined by this cognitive archaeological approach.

Tjark Blokzijl (1979), PhD at the University of Groningen, has studied History in Groningen with a specialization in Ancient History and Roman Archaeology. He is currently teaching history at the RSG Lingecollege (high school) in Tiel. He received a PhD-scholarship from NWO (The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research) in 2012. His studies concentrate on socio-political change in Roman Italy during the Late Republic and Augustan settlement.

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[8] For instance; Velleius Paterculus, Florus, Appian and Cassius Dio.
[9] See especially; Veyne (1976) and Lendon (2005; 1st print 1997).
[10] e.g. M.E. Smith (2011), (2012), A.T. Smith (2003), Feinman and Marcus (1998), DeMarrais et al. (1996) and Trigger (1990), (2007; 1st print 2003).
[11] Renfrew (1994), (2004) and (2013).

11. Erik Timmerman

Agri deserti: Agricultural crisis in the later Roman Empire? (3rd – 5th century)

For a long time, scholars described the history of the later Roman Empire in terms of 'decline and fall'. Traditionally, much importance has been attached to a supposed, empire-wide economic deterioration that started with the crisis of the third century and eventually contributed to the demise of the Roman Empire in the West in 476. A central element of this larger economic deterioration was an agricultural crisis of general rural impoverishment and decline in the quantity of cultivated land. It was believed that huge areas of farmland had been abandoned during this period. This view of agricultural crisis has become deeply ingrained in historiography through the authoritative works of Michael Rostovtzeff and A.H.M. Jones. In 1964, the latter wrote: "That the area of land under cultivation shrank considerably cannot be doubted".[12] This statement was, in the context of the evidence that was available in this period, not so bold. The documentary sources abound with references to so-called agri deserti, agricultural areas subject to taxation from which it was no longer possible to collect the tax. The causes for the abandonment of these lands were thought to have been heavy taxation and a shortage of manpower, both of which made it unprofitable to work certain (marginal) lands. These lands therefore fell out of cultivation and as a result the total agricultural productivity of the later Roman Empire was thought to have declined. The many references to agri deserti were thus taken as sound evidence of a widespread agricultural crisis.

Since the 1970s and 1980s archaeological studies have provided new evidence against which the documentary sources can be tested. Studies from Northern Africa, Greece, and the near East have suggested continued prosperity, or even growth in these regions. Most scholars have therefore revised their image of the later Roman countryside. Instead of viewing the period as a time of widespread crisis and decline, it is now believed more appropriate to describe the changes of the period in terms of continuity or transformation. But does this mean that there was no crisis at all? The archaeological evidence clearly shows a significant decline in the number of rural settlements in Western Europe. Should we interpret this as evidence of a decline in total agricultural productivity? Or should we, instead, view it as a transformation, with the smaller rural settlements being absorbed by the larger ones, without seriously affecting the total agricultural productivity? In my paper I will attempt to answer these questions and explain how we can best interpret the changes that occurred in the countryside of the later Roman Empire.

After completing a bachelor's degree in history, Erik Timmerman is currently following the Research Master, Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies, which he hopes to complete in July. Erik is primarily interested in the socio-economic history of the Roman Empire and intends to write his master's thesis about the economic development of the Rhine region.

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[12] A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1964, 812.

12. Marijn Visscher

Crisis and Resolution: Hegesianax and Antiochus' acts of kingship

In 198 BC Antiochus marched his army west as part of an expansionist war to incorporate mainland Greece to the Seleucid Empire. A century after Seleucus I's ill-fated Macedonian campaign, Antiochus III was the first Seleucid king to set foot on mainland Greece. He aimed to connect lands that had not been united since the reign of Alexander the Great. His plans destabilised the balance of power between the Hellenistic kingdoms and, inevitably, led to conflict and war. In addition, Antiochus' west-ward expansionist plans made him cross paths with the Romans, which ultimately resulted in the biggest crisis for the Seleucid Empire since its founding: the treaty of Apamea in 188 BC and the loss of Asia Minor.

Throughout his campaigns, Antiochus sought to mitigate these crises through performative acts of kingship. I argue that many of these acts were directed by Hegesianax of Alexandria Troas, an ambassador, writer and friend of Antiochus. His importance at the Seleucid court is indicated by the role he played as ambassador to the Romans throughout the Roman-Macedonian wars.

I argue that Hegesianax constructed a narrative of empire, similar to Megasthenes' Indika or Patrokles' Periplus of the Caspian Sea. This narrative created Seleucid space and time and scripted Antiochus' actions. Although the work of Hegesianax is almost completely lost, I argue that we see reflections of his work in the Antiochus' acts of kingship. My aim for this workshop is to explore three key performance moments during the campaign: Antiochus' visit to Ilium, the (re-)foundation of Lysimacheia and the royal wedding at Euboea.

The first act was Antiochus' visit to Ilium and sacrifice to Athena. This act is part of a long tradition of marking the transition from Asia to Europe (or vice versa). A second important moment was the restoration of Lysimacheia. Lysimacheia was in various ways a key point in Antiochus' expansionist plans. There was much more at stake for Antiochus than the conquest of a strategic point: in order to for the city to become the seat of kingship for his son, Antiochus presented himself as the new founder of the city. The third act focussed on stability and the grounding of Empire and took place in Euboea were the king married a local girl and renamed her 'Euboea'. Euboea was the first conquest of Antiochus that was not based on hereditary claims. This warranted an extraordinary performance of conquest and appropriation.

All these moments stress the stability and continuity of Seleucid power and underscore their aim to include mainland Greece in the Seleucid imperial discourse. In this way, the Seleucids tried to counter the crisis that arose from a destabilizing war.

Marijn Visscher is a 3rd year PhD student at Durham University. In her project she argues that the literature of the Seleucid Empire, the main competitor of Ptolemaic Egypt in military and cultural terms, is crucial for our understanding of Hellenistic literature in general. She discusses texts of Seleucid authors such as Megasthenes and Euphorion; Seleucid Babylonian literature; and Ptolemaic authors who engage with Seleucid literature, such as Eratosthenes and Callimachus. Marijn's research aims to reunite these fragments, with the aim of understanding better the nature of Seleucid literature and its interaction with Ptolemaic literary production.