ROMANS AND BARBARIANS BEYOND THE FRONTIERS

Archaeology, Ideology and Identities in the North

AN OFFPRINT FROM

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ARCHAEOLOGY, IDEOLOGY AND IDENTITIES IN THE NORTH

Edited by

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Front cover: Section of one of the two 'Hoby cups', Greek-inspired Roman silver cups (early first century AD) found in a 'princely grave' in Hoby (Denmark), and now on display in the National Museum of Denmark, in Copenhagen. Nationalmuseet, Digital Collections.

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Of Barbarians and Boundaries: The Making and Remaking of Transcultural Discourse

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Prologue: The Sordid and the Sown

After the catastrophic reversal of military fortunes in the Teutoburg Forest (*clades Variana*) in A.D. 9, the Roman emperor Augustus and his immediate successors were forced to accept that their plans for annexing Germanic lands between the rivers Rhine and Elbe could not be realised. Under circumstances not of their choosing, Roman leaders chose to permanently situate part of the empire's northern frontier along the Rhine. This did not, however, inaugurate a period of enviable autonomy for the peoples of 'free Germania'. On the contrary, if the latter ever did develop a desire for establishing peaceful relations with their state-bound neighbours this would have required overcoming strong attitudes of cultural disdain, and an enduring Roman interest in harassing an extreme cultural Other that could not be conquered, improved, or removed.

The notion that Roman authorities will mainly have been interested in maintaining diplomatic ties with trans-frontier communities in order to create a buffer zone against Germanic groups further afield has long been entertained (Luttwak 1976; Hedeager 1978, 1987; Feuer 2016: 102). Yet, distribution patterns of 'Roman' imports in Germania convincingly show how regular contacts were maintained with Nordic and eastern groups situated well beyond a *vorlimes* zone approximately 200 km deep (Grane 2007a). Indeed, the nature and scarcity of archaeological evidence inside this zone (Galestin 1995; Hiddink 1999; Erdrich 2001) strongly suggests that trans-frontier communities existed in a kind of liminal state – politically, economically, and ideologically – and this will have increased their vulnerability. This reality seems substantiated by a score of historical sources that report on recurring violence between Rome and various trans-Rhenian groups (e.g. Bructeri, Chatti, Chauci, Cherusci, Frisii, and Marsi). If this can be accepted, then the idea that Roman authorities actively encouraged free trade across the frontier (Whittaker 2006: 243), or allowed trans-Rhenian labourers or would-be soldiers to freely pursue economic opportunities inside the empire, requires reconsideration as well. It was never the physical presence of a state border that caused significant disruptions to the lived experience of people across the Rhine; rather, ideological boundaries had been drawn in such a way by Roman provincials as to naturalise and legitimise violent imposition directed towards 'barbarians' living outside their 'civilised' state. For close to two centuries after the formation of the Rhine frontier, the main mode of operation deployed against trans-Rhenian barbarians seems to have been harassment and enslavement.

While slavery in the NW provinces has not received much attention from archaeologists (Webster 2008; 2010), Roman interest in the practice definitely did not end with Caesar selling off what may have been close to a million Gauls on Mediterranean markets. Apart from historical references that suggest an enduring interest in earning profits from enslavement on the frontier,[1] finds of metal restraints convincingly show that slavery had become a common enough phenomenon (Thompson 1993). Most of these objects have been recovered in military, urban and villa contexts, suggesting a route into slavery that started with capture by the military, subsequent sale in urban markets, and eventual labour on villa estates (Roymans and Zandstra 2011). Distribution patterns also allow arguing how slaves

were predominantly brought into the NW provinces from Germanic *barbaricum*. There is a clear prevalence of metal restraints in the North, with next to no finds in Central and Mediterranean Gaul. This suggests that the reality of slavery may have been quite different for these regions. Forced servitude may largely have been experienced as 'natural' in the South because it was a long-established and thoroughly institutionalised social reality. Even though the legal status of slaves everywhere was one of commodified property, many such individuals where socially well integrated, especially if they were educated or highly skilled. In the North, by contrast, this imposed reality never seemed to have been naturalised successfully. There, forced servitude may generally have been perceived as intolerable by exploited groups and individuals, and therefore frequently challenged. Many slaves likely originated from nearby cross-border communities, and, unless they were transported to far-off markets, would have remained enslaved in close proximity to their homeland. Resistance, escape attempts, and physical confinement will have been common aspects of slavery in Belgic Gaul and the Germanic provinces.

The exploitation of trans-frontier labour sources undoubtedly contributed greatly to the early development of the NW provinces. However, this also meant that substantial numbers of uncivilised others were living amongst the most prolific producers of barbarian discourse in the Roman West. This discourse was expressed through official as well as less formal but equally visible forms of media. Examples of this are the well-known Jupiter or Jupiter-Giant Pillars that have a unique distribution in the Rhineland (Woolf 2001). These have been interpreted as symbolic expressions of Roman civilisation triumphing over Germanic barbarity. Comparable, though less official in terms of their executors, are first- and second-century A.D. tombstones of ethnic cavalrymen that use the 'horseman and trampled foe' (*Reitertyp*) motif, and which also have a unique distribution in the Rhineland (Mackintosh 1986). These, and less common depictions of captive barbarians, leave little doubt as to the message being transmitted. Provincials could also personally witness the violence done to trans-Rhenian captives by attending combat games.

However, the inhabitants of the Germanic frontier were not simply exposed to barbarian discourse broadcast through official monuments, road-side tombstones, or staged events; rather, they were actively engaged in its reproduction through local lived experience. For many provincials, the autonomous and self-reliant family formed the foundation of civilised society. The formation of villa landscapes across N Gaul and the Middle Rhineland not only speaks to post-conquest socio-economic integration, it is a material manifestation of an ideological outlook that centralised the cultural importance of the autonomous family. Notions of family life, self-reliance, prosperity, and perpetuity had long been idealised throughout the

social strata in Rome, even if expressed differentially (Joshel 1992). Yet, such ideals were not uniquely Roman, and they also arose among Late Iron Age communities in parts of France (Haselgrove 2007; McCartney 2012) and Spain (González-Ruibal 2005). A comparable value system developed in the Lower Rhineland during the Late Iron Age and Early Roman period. This is shown by the historical trend whereby unenclosed and single-generation shifting farmsteads situated near communally held agricultural fields were replaced by enclosed settlements of permanent multi-generational farmsteads situated on private property (Gerritsen 2003). The ideological centrality of the family was also directly broadcast through tombstone imagery (Chmielewski 2002), and through the numerous dedications to deities like the popular *matronae* whose localised worship consistently focused on health, fertility, and prosperity (Derks 1998; Garman 2008). The realisation of such family-centric lifeways shaped perceptions of, and attitudes towards, barbarian populations across the frontier for close to two centuries. If being civilised entailed this strong preoccupation with family autonomy, prosperity, and perpetuity, then being barbarian will have been perceived entirely in contrasting terms.[2] Yet, paradoxically, the ideal lifeways pursued by the inhabitants of the northern provinces relied on the barbarian's very presence. In this way, then, the enslaved barbarian in all his untamable belligerence stands symbolic for this existential negotiation of dread and desire among Roman provincials.

Under such extreme conditions, acts of cultural boundary-crossing will have been quite idiosyncratic. Yet, archaeologists who study culture-historical situations of this kind might forget how boundary-crossing is as human as boundary-making. Indeed, people have an innate capacity for relating to other individuals and their cultures, for maintaining multiple identities and loyalties, and navigating different systems of meaning (Gille and Riain 2002: 277). They diverge in the ways this is contextually valued and realised, in conflictual and harmonious ways. Nonetheless, social-scientists commonly view collective boundary-making (e.g. tribalism, ethno-centrism, nationalism) as somehow more normative, and boundary-crossing (e.g. cosmopolitanism) as more irregular, or rejectable even as unrealisable utopianism. It is this last observation that informs my contribution to this volume on Roman-barbarian dynamics. The aim I have set myself is not to tease out further ways in which ideological boundaries were created by the inhabitants of the Rhine frontier. Rather, starting from the notion that boundary-making is as 'normal' as boundary-crossing, I want to focus more broadly on long-term historical dynamics between the Mediterranean South and barbarian North that prefigured the formation of the Roman Rhine frontier where ideological discourse stressed radical cultural difference. This can show how Roman provincials, when they crafted their ideology-based

imaginaries in order to emphasise radical cultural difference, were working hard to remake transcultural formations to which countless groups and individuals widely dispersed in time and space, and with diverse socio-cultural backgrounds, had contributed.

Introduction: Apollonian Transcultural Discourse

A general perception must have prevailed in the ancient Mediterranean world that the two centuries leading up to the formation of the Roman Empire were exceptional for the pervasiveness of violence, economic malaise, and social anxiety. Indeed, it is difficult to find historical accounts of the period that do not mention one or more of the countless military engagements between the Romans and their adversaries, or describe the bitter consequences of defeat in warfare. With the annihilation of Carthaginian power in 146 B.C., Rome had become the most powerful city-state in the Western Mediterranean, and over the course of the following century its leaders eagerly consolidated their dominance through further military, political, and economic imposition. In the last decades of the Republic, territorial expansion was closely linked to internal power struggles, and when Octavian finally triumphed at Actium (31 B.C.) the Roman senate decided to symbolically highlight the event by closing the doors to the temple of Janus (Dio *Roman History* 51.20.4); closed only in times of peace, in the history of Rome this was a rare and momentous occasion indeed.

The establishment of Roman supremacy involved decades of violence, destruction, dispossession, and enslavement. In addition to near continuous warfare, large-scale unregulated economic expansion based primarily on the exploitation of human (slave) labour had also increasingly placed extreme concentrations of wealth in the hands of the few at the expense of the many. Roman political leaders undoubtedly realised that such 'collateral damage' of empire-building had to be mitigated, if only in perception. To accomplish this, the production of political discourse expanded substantially in a variety of media in order to communicate how the fortunes of empire were intimately linked to those of its capital and the imperial family. In public perception, Rome had become the centre of a world in which peace and prosperity could only be enjoyed under her just and legitimate rule. As shown by mortuary inscriptions (Joshel 1992) and literary sources (e.g. John *Revelations* 18.1), this was a message repeated by many who made their fortunes in commerce and industry under the favourable conditions of the *pax romana*.

One important way in which this ideal of a Roman peace was expressed was by means of a Golden Age imaginary. Ever since Octavian symbolically returned power to the Roman Senate (27 B.C.), the notion that his rule inaugurated a new age of peace and prosperity became increasingly central to official discourse (cf. Virgil *Eclogues* 4; Ovid *Transformations* 1). By this time, a kind of deteriorationist

imaginary of a lost Golden Age had already long been entertained by Greco-Roman literati – Hesiod (*Works and Days* 109) is perhaps the earliest available example (*c.* 700 B.C.) – and such attitudes will have resounded strongly among those living through the troubled times of the Late Republic. This long-ago stage of human existence had been watched over by Titans, while their Olympian offspring ruled over the subsequent periods of increased strife and suffering.[3] In the pre-Olympian era, people lived in innocence, harmony, and abundance, untouched by stark discrepancies in development and wealth. Remnants of this Golden Age were imagined to survive in those parts of the world where Mediterranean civilisation, and those it had corrupted, had not yet penetrated. These fabled lands, like the Hesperides, Elysium, and Hyperborea, were predominantly situated in distant northern lands. The Roman *Saturnalia* and Greek *Kronia* were annual festivals organised in remembrance of this mytho-historical period of peace and plenty. It seems, then, that the Augustan message which linked Roman imperial rule to a renewed Golden Age would have been understood well enough among the general public of the Greco-Roman world.

While quite a few well-known mythical figures appear in these historical imaginaries, Apollo almost certainly takes pride of place. In Rome, the earliest worship of Apollo was established *c.* 430 B.C. during a time of plague; this initial focus is easily understood because the god had long been associated with disease and healing. Yet, subsequent interest seems to have increased primarily due to his patronage of the 'oracular arts'. The Roman obsession with prophecy was well-established by the time Hannibal entered the Italic peninsula,[4] and his defeat of Roman forces at Canae (216 B.C.) prompted eager acceptance of advice dispensed by an Apollonian oracle.[5] Not healing, then, but a desire for prophetic knowledge and military victory was the reason for the increased veneration of Apollo and his closest relations (Livy *History of Rome* 25.12). The presence of these figures in political discourse only increased during the troubled decades of the Late Republic, culminating in the propaganda war between Octavian as Apollo (western restraint and just rule) and Anthony as Dionysus (eastern hedonism and tyranny).[6] The outcome of the decisive battle at Actium was of course attributed to the intervention of Apollo.

Then, in 17 B.C., Augustus organised Secular Games (*ludi saeculares*), festivities not held for over a hundred years that marked the beginning of a new Roman Age (*saeculum*). The ceremonies lasted for several days, and honoured an interesting and unorthodox line-up of deities (Lipka 2009: 150): the Moirai (three fates), Jupiter, Eileithyia (goddess of childbirth), Juno, Terra Mater, and lastly, Apollo and Diana. A hymn composed by Horace (*carmen saeculare*) was commissioned by Augustus for the festivities, and this work specifically singled out Apollo

and his sister (Graf 2009: 127). Many of the ceremonies took place at the Apollonian temple on the Palatine Hill, which held statues of the Titaness Leto and her twins. When Augustus was granted the title *pontifex maximus* for life in 12 B.C., the Sibylline Books of oracular knowledge were moved to this very temple where they would remain for centuries. Certainly, Apollo's association with oracular divination was strong in the ancient world, but was this the main reason for his popularity among political elites who wanted their victories, or a renewed Golden Age, foretold? What else could have encouraged these symbolic choices under the historical conditions of the early principate? In all likelihood, the prolific deployment of Apollo in Augustan political discourse was far more strategic than might be supposed (Miller 2009). Augustus was a shrewd political leader, and the motivation for his exploitation of Apollo is suggested by contemporary events. Interestingly, also in 12 B.C., an inaugural annual meeting of Gallic tribal leaders took place in Lugdunum (Lyon, France) where the Altar of the Three Gauls was consecrated in dedication to Dea Roma and Augustus. The event not only served the important political goal of uniting the numerous Gallic nations, it initiated the imperial cult in the West at a time when Augustus prolifically linked his political persona to Apollo (Fishwick 1987).[7]

Notably, the period was characterised by a heightened preoccupation with the Celto-Germanic North. This primarily concerned the consolidation of Roman power in Gaul and its organisation into a Roman province, but it also involved the important effort of forming a militarised zone in the Rhineland in preparation for the future conquest of Germanic territories.[8] That the ritual ceremonies of the Secular Games were specifically aimed at securing sacred favour for the Roman people and its legions (Thomas 2011: 54) seems to fit such preoccupations. Moreover, Augustus may have taken to heart Caesar's observation that only sun and moon were worshipped among the Germans (Caesar *Gallic Wars* 6.21), and this may have further strengthened this emphasis on Apollo (sun) and Diana (moon) in a political discourse intended to motivate citizens and soldiers alike, and rally support for the emperor's Germanic Campaigns.

To consider as feasible such strategic deployment of mytho-historical symbolism by Roman leadership at an international level we would have to accept that Augustus could rely on the comprehension of the general public in Rome and the wider Mediterranean World, and, more controversially, that it would be understood by the inhabitants of the recently pacified barbarian periphery and those participating in future conquests of the Germanic North. Yet, is it at all realistic to think that associating Apollo with a new Roman Age could be understood by populations so widely dispersed and culturally diverse? What I aim to explore here is what may usefully be termed 'Apollonian discourse': a transcultural formation

of mytho-historical constructs, elements of which were negotiated by widely distributed groups and individuals as understandings permitted, interests encouraged, or circumstances demanded. In contrast to (post-colonial) 'nativist' understandings of syncretic formations (Blag and Millett 1990; Metzler *et al.* 1995; Webster 1997; Woolf 1998; Roymans 2009), or 'complexity' perspectives that deploy hybridity concepts (Van Dommelen 1998; Terrenato 1998; Webster 2001), some formations are better understood as transcultural precisely because they are primarily and enduringly the product of cross-cultural sharing through international networks of interaction. Such an assumption is partly based on the realisation that globalising processes always produce 'shared systems of symbols and knowledge [that] circulate globally' (Gille and Riain 2002: 274). There is reason to think that such a discourse indeed maintained long-term religio-political importance and socio-economic relevance at an international level for centuries before and during Rome's Golden Age.

This notion of transcultural formations manifesting extensively and enduringly might strike Roman archaeologists working within post-colonial or hybridity frameworks as problematic. But why would this be so? Is it because they have (appropriately) privileged contextual approaches in recent decades, or because they find it difficult to accept that such a thing could occur in the absence of modern levels of communication and connectivity? Might disciplinary attitudes and practices play a role in this? Perhaps acceptance of this idea of symbolic imaginaries forming transculturally in the distant past does not require adoption of yet more bold (or revival of old) theory. Maybe closer reflection on disciplinary challenges and shortcomings can go a long way towards acceptance.

The characteristic focus of our discipline on material culture has always shaped a problematic relationship with other forms of evidence, like literary sources or representational media, which are uncritically relied on, selectively cherry-picked, or altogether ignored. How best to incorporate perspectives and knowledge from other disciplines also remains a key point of debate in our field. While those working in heritage management continue to find it unrewarding to engage in theoretical and cross-disciplinary pursuits, their theoretically-inclined academic colleagues too commonly circulate their complex ideas in splendid isolation, within echo chambers of their own making. Furthermore, the compartmentalisation of archaeological activity (e.g. academia-heritage divide, necessary reliance on specialists, restrictive focus on material categories, heritage interests halting at national borders) encourages treatment of cultural formations as unique and coherent rather than dynamically and relationally constituted. If past culture-history archaeologists were preoccupied with meta-histories of cultural formation, the equally constrained focus of nativists has precluded treating

historical subjects as relational entities, from understanding the local vis-à-vis an ever-present global. The disciplinary obsession with 'identity' has also long encouraged attention for cultural distinction over cross-cultural sharing, and this is a situation not likely to change considering the place of identity politics and reifying multiculturalist discourse in the contemporary world. Even recent hybridity theories contribute to this trend when their proponents perceive a mixing of elements from coherent and bounded cultural formations, or when their endeavours remain limited to the description of 'unique' local mixtures without relating these to phenomena manifesting at larger spatio-temporal scales, or allowing for universals in human cognition and behaviour.

The lived experiences and outlooks of modern state-bound archaeologists have also unavoidably encouraged greater affinity with the archaeology of ancient civilisations over that of their barbarian neighbours, despite our best equalising efforts. A nefarious primitivisation of 'non-civilised' peoples, by both ancient and modern scholars, has long encouraged a neglect of the primitive Other as an equal participant in, and contributor to, historical events and processes. This can be seen, for example, in the way any kind of non-utilitarian (i.e. poorly understood) behaviour is at risk of being relegated to the ritual sphere, or in the way cultural developments in barbarian Europe are assumed to have taken place in relative isolation from the civilised South (apparently despite the best efforts of 'uniquely entrepreneurial' Mediterranean traders), until military conquest radically changed local conditions.

As highlighted by bridging perspectives (e.g. Post-Processual or Symmetrical Archaeology), interpretive innovation has also long been hampered by a disciplinary to-and-fro between theoretical orientations broadly characterised as either materialist (economic and environmental realities and social relations of power shape human lives) or idealist (perceptions and understandings of the world shape human lives), a division that has engendered a number of troublesome dichotomies (e.g. object-subject, structure-agency, empiricism-rationality, positivism-interpretivism) that impede archaeological interpretation of complex socio-historical dynamics. Notwithstanding the welcome realignment of the archaeological focus by post-processualists, and their efforts in trying to merge culture-history idealism with processualist materialism, they seem to have had little impact on correcting the dominance of conflict theories that neglect universal human interest in negotiation and accommodation, or the prevalence of social dynamic models that preference 'elites' as essential movers of socio-cultural transformation. While archaeologists have long been able to show how an infinite variety of people, goods, and ideas have spread across vast distances throughout human history, materialist reconstructions of elite-run socio-economic systems remain firmly at the centre of archaeological interpretations.

In essence, the questions asked at both sides of the idealism-materialism divide centre on how best to approach human motivation. In this light, it is undeniable that values beyond those aimed at securing the basic necessities of life have long motivated human action and interaction (Erchak 1992: 6; Ortner 2005: 33; González-Ruibal 2012). To imagine something larger-than-life, something beyond the physical realities of lived experience, this has motivated humans since at least the Late Paleolithic cognitive revolution (Klein 1995). Shared imaginaries have long allowed people to interpret and understand worldly phenomena, to maintain social cohesion, and facilitate relations between those with distinct cultural backgrounds. Greater symmetry between materialist and idealist perspectives will only bear fruit if it continues to encourage attending to issues of human motivation, to the role of values, ideals, and imaginaries that facilitate the intra- and inter-societal relations that people seek to maintain in order to meet the universal challenges of a material existence.

With these issues in mind, we may consider the following questions: what kind of imaginaries motivated people to cross boundaries and connect with those perceived as culturally different? If periods of intense cross-cultural engagements waxed and waned over the historical long-term – otherwise known as 'moments of (de-) globalisation' – what could encourage widespread and long-lasting relevance of such imaginaries? In what social contexts were they produced, who contributed, and to what end? And, how may we best approach such questions theoretically? Before I explore Apollonian discourse in greater detail, I will elaborate on a theoretical framework that can guide such an endeavour.

Theoretical Considerations

I begin by considering the concept of the 'middle ground' as formulated by White (1991) who examined early modern cross-cultural engagements in the North American Great Lakes region. Middle-ground contexts are characterised by a lack of overriding imposition by a single political power, when social actors are relatively free to negotiate cultural difference by making concessions and seizing opportunities, leading to complex cultural formations. Such hybridising negotiations occur while the middle-ground endures, before it becomes enveloped by the administrative structures and institutions of colonial governments. Malkin (2011: 45) uses the concept for the period of early Greek interactions with Italic communities, when the colonial encounter was relatively non-threatening to its participants. Woolf (2009; 2011), in his study of cross-cultural engagements in Late Iron Age and Early Roman Gaul, envisions the middle-ground as a sphere of co-habitation where colonial entanglements led to unforeseen and undisciplined transformations. In Gaul as well, negotiation and accommodation took place in barely-governed contexts where locals and outsiders were

free to communicate, translate, and produce new knowledge in order to synchronise discrepant values and worldviews.

While the middle-ground concept is both pertinent and useful, it could be argued that archaeologists probably prefer (early-)colonial situations because these are fruitful contexts for studying cross-cultural dynamics (Van Dommelen 1998; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Cooper 2005; Dietler 2010). Yet, non-imposed cross-cultural negotiation will have been the norm outside situations where colonial dynamics shaped hybrid formations, and we may readily expect this to have happened along well-trodden trade routes, at regional markets or sanctuaries, or in the backstreets of cosmopolitan centres where oversight and control were slight and official discourse far less influential in shaping public perceptions. Notably, such middle-ground contexts are primarily populated by agents other than those educated and politically empowered elites that have long been treated as the primary promoters and beneficiaries of syncretic constructs.

Such an extension of the middle-ground is very much in line with current understandings of cultural formation processes. Hybridity is now generally accepted as a universal condition, while notions of cultural purity have been treated as imaginary at least since Anderson (1983). That hybridity as an analytical concept loses all its explanatory potential is only a problem if such potential is recognised in the first place. Concepts like Romanisation and syncretism, or others like creolisation (Webster 2001) and globalisation (Hingley 2005; Pitts and Versluys 2015) that have come forward in the literature more recently, have little explanatory power. By themselves such concepts do not clarify human motivation or socio-cultural dynamics; rather, they draw attention to previously neglected issues, and (should) assist in answering clearly formulated research questions (Stek 2014: 32). But how might we best deal with the complexities that result from cultural hybridisation, while avoiding the pitfall of limiting the archaeological endeavour to merely describing local articulations of cross-cultural sharing? Is it feasible to approach heterogeneous and dynamically constituted cultural formations in a theoretically informed way, one that also allows for cross-contextual analysis?

One useful approach to hybridity distinguishes between two different forms (Werbner 1997: 2001). What may be called *organic* (unintentional) hybridity involves the routinized contextualisation of foreign elements in mostly unreflexive ways. Cultural adoption of this sort poses little threat to the social order of the borrower. By contrast, *aesthetic* (intentional) hybridity refers to those situations where outside cultural forms are consciously employed by social actors in order to create and emphasise their distinction from other members of the society. For Maran (2012: 62), the main distinguishing feature is the consciousness of the agents involved in cultural mixing and the way such behaviours pose challenges to the existing social order. Yet,

it should be stressed that social disruption is not generally caused by the foreignness of materials or behaviours (contrary to the claims of much ideological discourse) but by the effects of diacritical competition itself, which could just as well deploy local resources.[9]

Such approaches to hybridity consider the level of reflexivity and empowerment of borrowing agents, and the way this manifests through intentional social engagements or (unintentional) everyday behaviours. This brings to mind the well-known distinction made by de Certeau (1986) between the strategies of empowered culture 'producers' and the tactics of disempowered culture 'consumers'. For de Certeau, cultural innovation is driven by the strategic exploitation of cultural resources by empowered elites, while the tactical improvisations of disempowered commoners are far more opportunistic and structurally circumscribed. Such ideas on class-based differences in reflexivity and empowerment have long encouraged scholarly use of 'emulation' as a dominant social dynamic. Indeed, in the archaeological literature, disempowered sub-elites are commonly treated as flawed imitators of elite culture, and its spread through lower strata in terms of degradation or banalization (cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 173). Of course, one further assumption is that non-elites inherently desire to imitate elite lifestyles, and are eager to adopt the values and behaviours of their social superiors, economic circumstances permitting. Bourgeois preoccupations have shaped archaeological interpretations since the discipline's formative years, yet calls for critical reflexivity may still go unheeded (cf. Kolen 2009: 221).

The successful exercise of political power certainly relies on the effective management of expressions of cultural uniformity and coherence (Mazzarella 2004: 354), and this has always been one of the main preoccupations of state-bound political elites. Yet, archaeological preoccupation with these 'managerial elites' grossly ignores how similar notions of uniformity and coherence are also maintained by subordinate groups in more complex ways than can be explained by mystification or emulation alone. Systems of distinction are never successfully imposed by empowered elites because these are rarely accepted by subordinate masses without negotiation, or even outright resistance. Sociologists like Bourdieu (1984) have shown how valuations are based in situated perceptual schemes that structure everyday life. Values and ideals are always articulated through discourses of naturalisation and justification vis-à-vis other such constructs that are variably perceived as compatible. The negation of other systems, which manifests itself chiefly as an aversion to different lifestyles, is one of the strongest forces of social distinction. Moreover, because socially situated ideologies and practices are continuously subverted against, they require constant affirmation. This is how a cultural repertoire is formed, through social discourses of reinforcement and negation.

Although individuals and communities throughout the social strata take part in such processes, it is certainly true that 'legitimate culture', in terms of Bourdieu, has higher archaeological visibility due to the investments of empowered elites. Sub-elites, by contrast, are commonly forced to use the dominant cultural repertoire – its language, symbols, and modes of behaviour – in order to articulate themselves (Pitts and Versluys 2015: 15). However, such engagement should not be understood as sub-elites 'buying into' elite perspectives, because, for any social agent, the Other's constructs are always recontextualised to provide a better fit with local logics. Just as the adoption of Roman elements in local contexts does not constitute 'becoming Roman', the emulation of elite behaviour does not simply mean 'becoming elite'. While Roman archaeologists have been willing to reimagine the horizontal dynamics of cultural hybridisation, they have been far less open to do the same for the vertical dynamics of social hybridisation.

The discourses through which cultural identities are constructed, and stereotypes perpetuated, aid a multitude of stakeholders with different socio-economic backgrounds and varying levels of understanding, awareness, and empowerment. Throughout the social strata, aspects of identity are continuously adapted in order to make former impervious boundaries negotiable and to allow for the incorporation of new cultural forms. In other words, people from various backgrounds situationally emphasise or negate cultural compatibility in their cross-cultural engagements. Cultural otherness is always a relative notion, such that a shift in perspective can cause an affirmation of similarity rather than the accentuation of difference. For all kinds of social actors, changing socio-historical conditions encourage new forms of self-perception, such that one's own culture may become understood as hybrid instead of distinct or essential (Mak *et al.* 2012: 174). Indeed, hybrid identities only exist when subjects identify themselves as such, and these are only historically meaningful if they have a social effect (Friedman 2007: 120). Local understandings of cultural hybridity may be expected to rise under globalising conditions, and, because globalisation is certainly not a uniquely modern phenomenon, favourable attitudes towards cultural mixing are not uniquely modern either.

Past periods of increased globalisation set in motion people with different socio-cultural backgrounds who maintained a wide variety of values, outlooks, and attitudes towards cultural difference. Bronze Age exchange networks spanned vast distances and moved people, goods, and ideas along routes that connected the Atlantic with the Pontic, the Baltic with the Adriatic. 'Dark Age' collapses of trade networks or political formations could never undo centuries of knowledge accumulation, and, after a relatively brief period of contraction, Phoenician and Greek colonialism, followed by Hellenistic imperialism, once more stimulated circulation through expanding 'global' networks. This continued in Roman imperial times when Rome became 'the new facilitator of this interconnected environment' (Isayev 2015: 136), and an even greater variety of people moved through well-established and newly formed networks that interconnected the Mediterranean world, the Roman provinces, and their barbarian peripheries. Metropolitan and provincial elites contributed to the reproduction of a cultural package that was coherent and recognisable for many, but a potential for incoherence was inherently present due to local idiosyncratic articulations. Sub-cultures also formed within communities of craftsmen and traders who moved through social networks linking the many urban centres of the empire. Soldiers likewise formed a sub-culture whose members shared in Latin literacy for predominantly pragmatic reasons, and adopted values and behaviours in accordance with socially embedded logics. All such groups and individuals contributed to the making and remaking of (trans)cultural formations in wide-ranging ways.

Cosmopolitan Theory

If it can be accepted that a wide variety of agents contributed to the constitution of (trans)cultural formations in complex ways through intra- and inter-societal networks of interaction, how can archaeologists identify the contributions of people who maintain distinct outlooks and dispositions? How might we approach this in a theoretically informed and methodical way? Here I draw insights from a body of literature concerned with Cosmopolitan Theory (Vertovec and Cohen 2002; Beck and Sznaider 2006; Delanty 2006; Nowicka and Rovisco 2009; Brown and Held 2010). Romanists occasionally use the term cosmopolitan to describe the outlooks and behaviours of individuals and groups who participated in colonial and other extra-local endeavours throughout a vast but interconnected empire. For most, a cosmopolitan is an individual who easily moves between cultures, someone who builds knowledge of different languages and cultural practices through personal experience. Understood in this way, cosmopolitan dispositions are readily ascribed to empowered individuals like diplomats, administrators, and military officers who were in the best position to become globally linked and adopt worldly outlooks. In line with common perceptions of social distinction, less empowered and less mobile groups may then be assumed to either imperfectly attempt to imitate their social superiors, or withdraw into ignorant xenophobic parochialism.

This is a rather narrow understanding of what it means to be cosmopolitan. For one, it is entirely reasonable to suggest that to be human is to be cosmopolitan, and, that 'being a non-cosmopolitan requires unrelenting vigilance' (Fardon 2008: 250), a perspective very much in line with recent approaches to cultural hybridity. Cosmopolitanism may be understood as a discourse of global inclusion, and anthropological work on the subject has revealed substantial

diversity in attitudes, abilities, and behaviours subsumed by the concept. Cosmopolitanisation, in turn, refers to those processes that encourage a transformation of subjective consciousness, worldview, and everyday attitudes as a result of globalising processes. In other words, it is an *internal globalisation*, such that the global increasingly becomes part of everyday local awareness, experience, identity, and discourse through which the world is understood and engaged (Arthurs 2003: 580).

Globalising conditions encourage the formation of a shared, yet unevenly experienced, cosmopolitan consciousness that depends minimally on a readiness to engage cultural difference. 'Being cosmopolitan', then, signifies a readiness to negotiate otherness, but this universally takes place at various levels of frequency, intensity, and appreciation. This means that stark oppositions like global-local, cosmopolitan-parochial, or inclusive-exclusive do not hold. Instead, it is necessary to think about *degrees of inclusiveness or openness*, such that the level of oppositional engagement with cultural others is highly variable and always situational.

Outward-looking, open-minded, and self-reflexive are adjectives commonly used to describe cosmopolitan outlooks. In stark contrast to these, adjectives like inward-looking, close-minded, or non-critical are then easily associated with parochialism. Yet, it would be a mistake to assume that increased self-reflexivity naturally coincides with openness and tolerance for cultural diversity. Introspection may equally result in ethnocentrism or xenophobism. Nor should parochialism be confused with cultural inertia because it can also motivate cultural regenerative programs (Prasad 2006: 252). It is furthermore not necessary to leave a locality in order to increase cultural openness; this can be achieved locally as well, by welcoming the world (Sichone 2008: 321). Increased engagement with the global through travel and trade do not make people necessarily more reflexive or inclusive, then, just more knowledgeable of a larger world. International networks or urban centres are commonly quite heterogeneous in make-up, but this does not make their inhabitants equally tolerant of outsiders.

The role of empowerment in shaping attitudes towards cross-cultural engagement is commonly noted in the literature. The presence or absence of choice shapes the ways people engage otherness to a significant degree. A useful distinction can be made, then, between a universal 'capacity' to think and behave in cosmopolitan ways, and the situated 'ability' to negotiate cultural difference. Capacity signifies inherent human competence to engage otherness, while ability speaks to the level of empowerment that shapes attitudes and behaviours towards outsiders. Yet, the presence or absence of choice does not necessarily make a person either cosmopolitan or parochial. Disempowered individuals whose lives are predominantly shaped by the fulfilment of basic needs may also develop understandings of the world, and the skills to engage it, as complex as those

of empowered global entrepreneurs (Werbner 2008: 18). What we are dealing with is not the absence or presence of cosmopolitanism, but what form this takes.

Another common assumption holds that cosmopolitans are unable to commit or belong to a single culture. In its mildest form this is perceived as a loosening of ties to locality, while at its most extreme it is disparagingly perceived as rootlessness. Yet, cosmopolitanising processes are always rooted in spatio-temporal and social realities, such that the global predominantly enters the local through established pathways, allowing negotiation of otherness through the securities offered by familiar contexts, relations, and practices (Parry 2008: 330). The role of kinship in the formation of transnational spaces is commonly noted. Indeed, much of the ethnographic literature deals with migrant and transnational communities, and the way kin-relations afford or constrain extra-local endeavours (Stivens 2008: 91). Families and local communities commonly recognise the benefits of having some of their members becoming more cosmopolitan and serving as cultural mediators (Abu-Rabia 2008: 160). Such individuals typically fill social niches as liminal intermediaries that no longer represent a cultural norm. But, for all who are affected, social networks facilitate engagement of cultural difference in structured and familiar ways.

Despite past socio-historical complexities and modern interpretive challenges, Cosmopolitan Theory provides insights that can illuminate issues of cultural sharing for archaeologists. More specifically, it allows for approaching the motivational orientation of groups and individuals who engage in cross-cultural relations. While 'being cosmopolitan' cannot be reduced to attitudes and behaviours that are always coherent or unchanging, the potential range of cosmopolitan attitudes and behaviours certainly is not beyond comprehension in terms of basic human motivation. This is shown by the organising scheme below (Figure 2.1) which presents four ideal-type forms of cosmopolitanism that might be associated with different 'social personae' – scholars (reflexive), artists (aesthetic), political leaders (diacritical), and migrant workers (practical) – who engage and contribute to (trans)cultural formations in distinct ways.

While this four-fold division is inspired by insights drawn from the ethnographically-grounded literature on cosmopolitanism, it is substantiated by social psychological and anthropological work on 'values' (Douglas 1970, 1982, 1999; Kearney 1984; Schwartz 1994, 2006, 2012; Graeber 2001; González-Ruibal 2012; Greenfield 2009, 2014).[10] This varied scholarship encourages a recognition that all social engagements are motivated by a limited set of structurally related human values. Using such a framework makes it possible to analyse how historically situated human ecologies might be expected to shape the motivations of groups and individuals despite cultural preferences in value instantiation. In other words, it permits analysing human

AESTHETIC	**REFLEXIVE**
disembedded individualism	inclusive collectivism
embedded individualism	exclusive collectivism
DIACRITICAL	**PRACTICAL**

Figure 2.1. Four ideal-type forms of cosmopolitanism vis-à-vis structurally related value orientations (Source: Author).

motivation cross-culturally, and, for Roman archaeologists in particular, allows for nuancing the many problematic dichotomies (e.g. Roman-barbarian, elite-subordinate, state-non-state, civilised-primitive) that have reduced their interpretative dexterity. However, it should be stressed that schemes like this risk pigeonholing our subjects and their dispositions too rigidly if interpretations ignore the dynamic and relational constitution of personal and collective outlooks and ideals. A universal framework like this should primarily serve as a heuristic device, then, for thinking about the motivational orientation of cosmopolitan actors, as well as the situated constitution of their worldviews, in a systematic and theoretically-informed way (cf. Dietler 2001: 75).

Reflexive Cosmopolitanism

Reflexive cosmopolitanism is characterised by a desire to engage the world *reflexively* and *discursively*, in 'rational' or spiritual ways. On such terms, it primarily relates to inquisitive, tolerant, and self-reflexive attitudes, but rather limited participation in on-the-ground cross-cultural interactions of the kind experienced by say empowered sojourners or disempowered migrants. For reflexive cosmopolitans, non-belonging often supersedes belonging, with ironic self-distantiation being a central aspect. It is a cosmopolitanism typically projected as universal, moral, and inclusive, and promoted by those engaged in aspirational projects that extend across cultural boundaries. This does not mean that reflexivity entirely negates cultural situatedness or prevents ethnocentric thinking. It is only in relatively recent times, for example, that reflexive anthropologists working on the peripheries of the 'developed' world have become aware of their monologic tendencies. Nonetheless, while the level of critical reflexivity varies, it remains a central aspect that characterises this form of cosmopolitanism.

Many of the philosophically-inclined literati of the ancient world seem to fall in this category. Theirs was an intellectual endeavour of writing books based on information drawn predominantly from other books. Such works contained little information that was of practical use in governing a city-state or empire. Then and now, the practical value of much academic work – for influencing policy decisions, or improving people's everyday existence by addressing social and economic issues – was and remains often quite limited. Indeed, reflexive cosmopolitans 'share a tendency to talk about cultures in ways that dislocate them from their social and political contexts' (Fardon 2008: 255), with aspirational projects informed by ideals and abstractions that are generally beyond practical implementation. On the other hand, despite the reflexive cosmopolitan's typical low level of political empowerment, their ideas do have the potential to cause great harm when co-opted by political leaders. One need only think of Aristotle's intellectual musings on the natural inferiority of barbarians (Heath 2008), and how such works inspired political figures and legitimised conquest and exploitation.

Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism

Aesthetic cosmopolitans typically view the world *aesthetically* and seek to experience it affectively through selective engagement with, and consumption of, otherness. This is different from the universalist perspectives of reflexive cosmopolitans, then, because the appreciation of (and concern for) the cultural Other is more specific than general. In other words, for aesthetic cosmopolitans, some cultural formations have greater aesthetic appeal (and hence emotional importance) than others. Much like diacritical cosmopolitans, aesthetic cosmopolitans tend to essentialise certain groups that are primarily appreciated for the supposed coherence of their exotic otherness. The strongest and most enduring characterisations of 'noble savages', and other romantic constructs of extreme cultural difference, are created by aesthetic cosmopolitans. On the other hand, they do tend to display higher degrees of self-distantiation and self-reflection compared to diacritical cosmopolitans.

This form of appreciation for otherness generally features importantly in the alternative lifestyles of romantic artists and intellectuals.[11] Like reflexive philosophers, aesthetic cosmopolitans are not typically driven by political or materialist motivations, yet they are generally quite driven to seek out exotic locales and produce aesthetic representations of the Other. Often displaying a readiness to stretch ties to the homeland, 'diasporic artists and intellectuals create new, original cosmopolitan bridging-worlds of art, music and literature' (Werbner 2008: 55). For such individuals, empowerment is not primarily to be understood in material terms, then, but as an openness to new experiences and willingness to experiment with cultural forms. Yet, this does not necessarily mean that aesthetic cosmopolitans maintain entirely post-materialist dispositions. In fact, selective consumption is a key aspect of their cross-cultural

engagements, especially when this enhances affective experiences.

Diacritical Cosmopolitanism

The main distinguishing aspect of diacritical cosmopolitanism is that it is motivated by a desire for *achievement* and *differentiation*; in other words, the same assertive dispositions that drive the desire for influence and distinction in the home-community, also drive engagements with cultural others. Indeed, cultural difference is often deliberately constructed by diacritical cosmopolitans 'as a resource for seeking access to power, wealth, special rights, and privilege' (Forte 1998: 93). This is the kind of cosmopolitanism that characterises the conspicuous lifestyles of elites past and present.[12] One can think here of members of an executive class with the desires and skills to succeed in a wide variety of cultural settings (Werbner 2008: 50). It also includes the perspectives and attitudes of expatriates and career professionals who work abroad and then have the option of returning home to a community of origin where the fruits of extra-local engagements are transformed into socio-economic status. On the other hand, while increased knowledge of the world can be quite valuable as social capital, such assets can also become a liability in contexts of increased antagonism.

Due to material and political empowerment, diacritical cosmopolitans maintain high levels of influence over cross-cultural engagements. These are typically shaped by depoliticising multiculturalist attitudes that essentialise the cultural Other. It is a comfortable form of cosmopolitanism, then, involving the temporary and superficial experience of otherness that requires no critical self-reflection, suspension of cultural ties, or recognition of power inequalities, but primarily serves to invigorate the social Self. Such selective and sanitised consumption of cultural difference does little to increase cultural openness or empathetic attitudes.

Notably, high levels of empowerment may actually decrease the importance of cultural affiliation, but not due to increased self-reflection or feelings of universal benevolence. Rather, when self-advancement, social distinction, and personal achievement are central concerns, cultural affiliation may no longer be viewed in essentialist terms, and cultural loyalty no longer as unconditional. Instead, these become appreciated for the benefits they provide to self-advancement projects. Culture becomes treated as a resource, to be strategically deployed in the pursuit of self-interested goals. When empowered engagements with otherness encourage such loosening of cultural ties, this may be perceived disparagingly in terms of cultural contamination by other members of the community. In reality, however, such weakened ties of cultural loyalty do not result from cross-cultural engagements or 'exposure to foreignness', but from the diacritical attitudes and behaviours that encourage the strategic pursuits of such engagements. Yet, in the end, the diacritical cosmopolitan's characteristic desire for distinction does require firmer social embeddedness than the moral and affective pursuits of reflexive and aesthetic cosmopolitans.

Practical Cosmopolitanism

Practical cosmopolitanism, is characterised by *pragmatic dispositions* and a need (rather than a desire) to engage the world beyond limits of comfort and familiarity. Also described as 'demotic' or 'vernacular' in the literature (Werbner 1999; Werbner 2006: 496), this form of cosmopolitanism concerns a muted willingness to engage cultural difference for largely pragmatic reasons. It is a predominantly involuntary form of cosmopolitanism, or, in terms of de Certeau, more tactical than strategic. Cross-cultural engagement with otherness primarily occurs out of need, with growing awareness of the world gained through necessary and improvised engagements.

Historically, this has been the most common form of cosmopolitanism, one still experienced by a wide variety of disempowered people who are forced to engage the extra-local out of necessity (Hall 2008: 347). Tolerance is extended to specific cultural others under particular circumstances, and commonly on a temporary basis only. Aesthetic appreciation or moral inclusivity of the Other are not a significant part of the lived experience of practical cosmopolitans. Opportunities, such as learning a new language or adopting new social behaviours, are pursued for their practical benefits.

When new behaviours are adopted, these rarely cause significant change to existing value orientations. The tactical negotiation of cultural difference demands no disloyalty to the home community, abandonment of cultural values, or even critical self-reflection. For immigrant and diasporic communities, group solidarity may actually increase in the host society. When this happens, chauvinistic outlooks and loyalty to cultural traditions tend to supersede openness towards diversity. For immigrants and exiles especially, the host society usually represents home-plus-economic security or home-plus-safety, with gains and achievements closely guarded through cultural encapsulation.[13] Indeed, more often than not, keywords such as exclusiveness, essentialism, uniformity, and marginality best describe the lived experience and outlooks of such groups.[14]

Becoming cosmopolitan, then, does not automatically imply becoming culturally different, and cosmopolitanisation does not necessarily cause significant structural change within local social systems. Yet, notably, it is often precisely in the demotic worlds of working-class cosmopolitans that new cultural formations, like creolised languages, are created (Werbner 2008: 55). Disempowered groups and individuals may have little choice but to engage the global when it imposes itself on local contexts, but they nonetheless remain active participants in such cross-cultural entanglements.

The socio-economic background of individuals, the level of understanding and empowerment, and the historical circumstances of cross-cultural engagement, these together shape attitudes toward cultural difference. The high appreciation of foreign cuisines in the social performances of diacritical cosmopolitans, the romantic characterisations of 'noble savages' produced by aesthetic cosmopolitans, or the ideal societies aspired to by reflexive cosmopolitans, these arise under relatively safe and chosen conditions. All three may charge the practical cosmopolitan for lacking in cultural openness rather than recognising historical complexities, socio-economic dynamics, and the crucial role of empowerment (material as much as psychological).

Cosmopolitan Theory allows approaching the multifarious contributions to transcultural formations made by groups and individuals with distinct understandings, outlooks, and interests who relate differently to the same phenomena. Where the (reflexive) philosopher or social-activist playwright might be interested in mytho-histories for crafting moralistic analogies, for the (diacritical) politician such constructs provide an opportunity to motivate communities to action or legitimise their claims to do so. This again will be quite different for the (aesthetic) poet, sculptor, or musician, whose engagements with such imaginaries are primarily driven by affective considerations. While recognising the efforts of the most numerous (practical) cosmopolitan agents remains a formidable challenge, they nonetheless contributed to the complex cultural formations that today draw scholarly interest. With these theoretical considerations in mind, I will now return to an exploration of Apollonian discourse, focusing on some of its constitutive elements, the identity and background of various contributors, and aspects of reproduction and transformation.

Exploring Apollonian Transcultural Discourse

The art and literature of the ancient Mediterranean is replete with mixtures of the factual and the fantastical. Apollonian discourse projects a shared imaginary of a fantastical northern realm where one-eyed prospectors battle gold-guarding griffins and poplar trees shed amber tears. From this land of natural plenty, Herakles brought sacred olive branches to Olympia where the well-known international games commenced. Also situated in the hyperborean North were the gardens of the Hesperides, where Herakles searched for Hera's golden apples of immortality. To achieve this, the heroic half-god had to recruit the assistance of Atlas, the Titan who instructed mankind in the art of astronomy and who guarded the northern world-axis around which the constellations turned. It was one of the Graeae of the North who, through the cunning use of an apple from the Hesperides, instigated the famous Judgment of Paris, the outcome of which was the direct cause of the Trojan War. The three demon-maidens known as the gorgons also lived in the far North, with Medusa being the best-known and most widely represented. Asclepios, patron of medical arts and son of Apollo, was killed by Zeus for using Medusa's blood to revive the dead, a forbidden skill. In yet another narrative, a gorgon-maiden fathered by Apollo is slain by Zeus during the Titanomachy, a death foretold to be a precondition of his Olympian rule.

The high occurrence of references to these narratives in art and literature shows how the inhabitants of temperate Europe long featured strongly in the ancient Mediterranean imagination (Ahl 1982; Krebs 2011). The details of such imaginaries hint at what inspired them. For example, there is reason to think that the names of Medusa's immortal sisters, as well as the three 'old hags' known as the Graeae, suggest knowledge of Baltic coastal regions.[15] The idea of an everlasting day in Hyperborea, furthermore, signals awareness of the extended day-time of subarctic summers. That northern peoples were imagined to enjoy toil-free lives might best be understood as referencing knowledge of less complex (hunter-gatherer) lifeways believed to be the norm for the non-civilised North. That such groups enjoyed longer lives, free of disease and conflict, will have been appealing notions for inhabitants of densely populated and closely interconnected Mediterranean communities where health and security risks were endemic. Ancient observers keenly emphasised stark differences in living conditions when they found evidence for it. Yet, when we consider the apparently high level of ignorance about temperate Europe and its peoples in later sources, how is it that we find these hints of real-world knowledge in these earliest recorded imaginaries?

Historians and archaeologists have long emphasised the 'Dark Age' separation between Bronze Age and Iron Age cultural formations. Where this concerns the Archaic Greek religious system, for example, few have been willing to argue for linear developments from the Bronze Age onwards. At best, scholars see a diffuse interweaving of old, new, and borrowed elements. Yet, the historical continuation of Bronze Age formations into post-Mycenaean times may have been more substantial than recognised. In fact, symbolic expressions in a variety of media point to a cosmological imaginary and cultic focus that was prevalent throughout Bronze Age Europe, of which elements became associated with Apollo as sun-god and Artemis as moon-goddess in the Mediterranean World (Ahl 1982: 390; Becker 2012; Ionescu and Dumitrache 2012; Morner and Lind 2013). In Greece, such associations may have been established at their earliest in LBA–EIA Dorian religion, in which the worship of Apollo was central (Graf 2009: 138).[16]

It is worth emphasising here that mobility and communication do not always leave material traces, while it is near impossible to stop ideas from spreading, no matter how calamitous political or economic crises may have been. Moreover, symbolism does not have the same limitations as language and writing, such that it is far more effective in

facilitating the universal desire of people to relate to others, within and across cultural boundaries. This is shown by Wells (2012), for example, who considers transformations in 'visuality' and worldview among West-Central European communities of the Bronze and Iron Age. Wells argues for the importance of long-term intercultural relations that did not simply centre on the Mediterranean but extended in all directions. Such connectivity facilitated the formation of 'a common pool of shared ideas and themes' to be used by groups widely distributed through time and space (Wells 2012: 214). Middle-ground constructs of the greatest transcultural appeal, those based in metaphoric symbolism, will have survived temporary periods of political rupture and reconfiguration, and this made it possible for the earliest Greek literati to record and embellish what will have been an extensive body of knowledge passed on by generations of traveling merchants, singing bards, and star-gazing priests.

Notably, knowledge dissemination seems to have been exactly what motivated some of Apollo's most famous followers. Historical sources provide numerous references to individuals, real and legendary, variously identified as astronomers, healers, musicians, poets, philosophers, priests, prophets, or sorcerers, who all in some way can be linked to Apollo.[17] From this evidence, some have argued for a long-lasting tradition of wandering shamans or 'medicine-men' (*iatromanti*) who travelled widely to disseminate knowledge, offer political council, improve social conditions, or otherwise alleviate human suffering in the Age of Iron (Ogden 2002: 9; Graf 2009: 48; Tolley 2009: 94; Eidonow 2014: 80). That mystic knowledge had long spread south from barbarian lands seems to have been common knowledge in the Greco-Roman world (Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 1.1), and, in the first century B.C., Diodorus Siculus could report that relations between Apollo's Hyperboreans and the Greeks had been friendly and long-lasting, with people and gifts moving both ways (*Library of History* 2.47.1–6). Of course, that important northern influences beyond 'invasions' and 'migrations' may have been instrumental in the formation of Mediterranean culture will be difficult to incorporate into Helleno- and Romano-centric perspectives, or for those preferring southern civilisational (Egypt and the Levant) over northern barbarian connections (cf. Bernal 1987; Ciholas 2003; Graf 2009).

It is perhaps no surprise that it was Apollo who became so closely associated with Greek colonisation (eighth–seventh centuries B.C.). From literary, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence it seems that no Greek colony was founded without consultation of an Apollonian oracle (Shachar 2008). This association is already present in Homer who identifies Apollo as the foremost patron of Troy, the primordial mother-city situated on the narrow strait that separates Europe from Asia, the Black Sea from the Aegean.[18] An important practical reason for seeking out sacred council was that founding colonies was a hazardous business. It required gathering information on potential sites and how best to proceed with colonial endeavours, politically, logistically, or otherwise, and this need seems to have been addressed by specialists who offered council at Apollo's sanctuaries. These centres of learning had also long been heavily involved in astronomical science (Graf 2009: 140; Liritzis and Castro 2013), providing priests and farmers alike with crucial calendrical knowledge, and shaping the itineraries of various mobile groups that maintained relations with northern barbarians (Bilić 2012). All were reliant on the knowledge gathered and distributed through Apollo's sanctuaries.

The sources also provide information about another important route of cultural interaction through which northern peoples, and knowledge of the North, reached the South. In the fifth century B.C., Herodotus reported that it was the Hyperboreans who had brought the cult of Apollo and Artemis to Delos, and annually sent maidens-under-guard carrying straw-wrapped gifts to the island. The route taken by these pilgrims was apparently known, and led from Hyperborea through Scythia to the Adriatic, and then onwards to Greece. It is highly likely that these gifts wrapped in straw were shipments of amber from the Baltic for which there had long been high demand in the Mediterranean (Bouzek 2007).[19] Although Baltic amber had been distributed beyond its area of natural occurrence since at least the Neolithic, what can be called a sustained exchange system of riverine trade came into existence during the Early Bronze Age, with exchanges taking place for centuries thereafter (Wells 1984).[20] These transcontinental routes along which amber moved, between North Sea and Baltic sources on the one hand and Mediterranean consumers on the other, were never permanently operational. Indeed, disturbances at any point along their trajectory could cause end-to-end disruption. The exploitation of amber sources, mechanisms of distribution, routes of transmission, and contexts of use changed according to fluctuations in socio-cultural significance, and political and economic stability. Yet, despite such dynamics, amber continued to be distributed south for centuries.[21] That knowledge of northern amber-producing regions became entwined with Apollonian discourse is suggested by references to amber in narratives that feature Apollo or his nearest relations.[22] Surely, a number of well-known Greek Archaic myths communicate the penetration of northern trade routes by adventurous merchant explorers, with the amber trade an important context in which contributions were made to Apollonian discourse.

Historiographic traditions (i.e. shared modes of scholarly practice) may hide discrepancies in the attitudes and outlooks maintained by ancient observers, or the dominant discourses of their times. This can be shown by comparing two historical sources that discuss knowledge of amber. First, the investigative historian Herodotus relates how amber sources were located in the far North (*Histories*

3.115). In this he was correct, such that his informers had not failed him. But about an amber river called *Eridanos* Herodotus suspected that Greek poets were responsible for providing it with a name. This not only shows how he learned about the northern sources of amber without actually having travelled there (i.e. he never learned the river's local name) but that 'poets' disseminated information about far-off places and assigned names to geographic features. Historians like Herodotus used this to supplement what they learned from other sources. This generally seems to have been how knowledge about the world was collected and recorded by Greco-Roman ethnographers. Centuries later, Pliny the Elder, disciplined Roman officer and keen observer of natural phenomena, complained about the falsehoods of his Greek sources (most of them poets) when surveying the available knowledge of amber. Yet, in his day, the Roman frontier was situated so far North that knowledge of trans-Rhenian and trans-Danubian sources of amber will have been readily at hand (Alonso-Núñez 1988; Grane 2007b). It seems to have been academic tradition to consult information spread across a wide variety of literary sources, but as an experienced Roman soldier there really would not have been any need for Pliny to rely on a poet's 'monstrous ignorance of geography' (Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 37). Moreover, if knowledge of northern lands had for centuries primarily been disseminated by 'poets' (i.e. bards, healers, priests, and philosophers), in Pliny's time this role had increasingly been taken over by those with quite different outlooks and agendas.

Changing Dynamics

Herodotus and Pliny lived in very different worlds. In Roman times, dynamics between northern and Mediterranean societies had long been dramatically different from those of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, with poets, medicine-men, and amber-traders no longer monopolising the constitution of Apollonian discourse. The forced penetration of northern lands and the pursuit of its resources by southern 'entrepreneurs' became a central theme in a variety of media. In fact, Herodotus himself already alluded to important differences in relations with northern peoples between the Bronze Age and his own time (fifth century B.C.). In mentioning the Hyperborean maidens and their connection to the ancient amber trade he comments thus:

> But when those whom they sent never returned, they took it amiss that they should be condemned always to be sending people and not getting them back, and so they carry the offerings, wrapped in straw, to their borders, and tell their neighbours to send them on from their own country to the next. (Herodotus Histories 4.33).[23]

The fact that the amber-maidens never returned home from their pilgrimage to Delos is a detail that relates to a prominent theme in Apollonian discourse, which gradually took centre stage; namely, the desire of Mediterranean gods and heroes for persons, creatures, and objects associated with Apollo and his closest relations. The Delian origin-story of Apollo and Artemis relates how the northern Titaness Leto was 'conquered' by Olympian Zeus, a narrative that likely dates to the Greek Archaic period. Bringing Leto to Greece and having two important deities with northern connections be born on the Greek island of Delos undoubtedly served to legitimise Greek hegemony over the North. Other Apollonian narratives are equally suggestive of Greek interests and perceptions. We can think here of Apollo's offspring and companions killed or mistreated, or whose possessions are taken, by Zeus and Herakles.[24] Comparable are those narratives describing the daring deeds of the Argonauts and Perseus, or the behaviour of hunters like Orion, Aktaion or Tityos who are punished for their offenses against Artemis.[25]

Representations of strife between Zeus and Apollo belong to this same thematic repertoire (Ahl 1982: 384). A struggle-scene between Zeus-as-eagle and Apollo-as-dolphin, for example, is present on coins issued (*c.* 500–300 B.C.) by Pontic trading-ports like Istrus and Olbia.[26] This possibly constitutes a regional expression of a broader theme of changing power dynamics, whereby the civilised (Olympian) South increasingly imposed its will and desire over the barbarian (Titan) North. Interestingly, some of the emissions of Olbia depict Medusa, and it is tempting to imagine how she may have symbolised the northern regions that were so important to a port-city situated on the southern terminus of the Dnieper trade route. Some of the eagle-dolphin emissions from Istrus, in turn, depict what appear to be the twin brothers Castor and Polydeuces.[27] That the Dioscuri were commonly viewed as patrons of sailors suggests their appeal for the members of this port-city. Located on the Pontic terminus of a trade route going west along the Danube River, it controlled the most convenient point of access for East Mediterranean traders to major north-flowing rivers like the Vistula, Oder, Elbe, and Rhine. Whatever importance the Dioscuri held for this community, they long continued to depict the twin deities on their coins, well into the Roman period. Intriguingly, it is for the Roman period that we know of a comparable pair of twin deities (Alcis) worshipped among the Lugii (Tacitus *Germany* 43), a tribal confederation that controlled a section of the Amber Road between the Oder and Vistula. This tentative connection between the merchants of a Pontic port-city and northern trading communities urges closer consideration of barbarian perspectives.

Barbarian Perspectives

Nativist approaches that arose in critique of diffusionist and acculturative perspectives have in turn neglected transcultural formations. When these do receive attention, the interpretive focus tends to remain on local meaning

rather than translocal constitution and relevance (cf. Arnold and Counts 2010: 13). Yet, if it can be accepted that a transcultural repertoire of mytho-historical constructs was widely understood and contributed to by various groups, then serious consideration must also be given to the motivations of those Celto-Germanic barbarians unilaterally reported on by Greco-Roman sources. The use of symbolic representations, for example, should not simply be understood in terms of cultural diffusion or imitation (e.g. Hellenisation or Romanisation), or local contextualisation of radically foreign elements (e.g. syncretism); rather, a widely-used symbolic repertoire enduringly facilitated the maintenance of cross-cultural relations within international networks of interaction. This allowed for the communication of such things as ideology, cosmology, affiliation, and commemoration in ways that will have been comprehensible to disparate groups. The constitution of cultural formations always involved the entanglement of local and non-local knowledge and material culture within ever-shifting networks of interaction and exchange. A desire for effective participation in such networks required that people carefully consider nonlocal forms in ways that allowed for the reproduction of the local *and* the global.

Yet, the interpretation of Celto-Germanic symbolism has been de-prioritised by archaeologists because it is deemed inaccessible to modern interpretation, with corroboration by Greco-Roman sources considered highly problematic. This pessimism is erroneously rooted in the perception that the symbolic systems of distinct cultural spheres somehow formed independently, despite centuries of interactions and exchanges. It is precisely the persistent use of self-other dualities (e.g. civilised-barbarian, Roman-native, coloniser-colonised) which has discouraged looking for non-dualistic forms of cross-cultural linkages and formations (Cooper 2005: 47). Since at least the Bronze Age, people, goods, and ideas enduringly circulated across the European continent and beyond, such that the cross-cultural interactions that increased due to Greek colonisation and Roman state expansion cannot really be understood in terms of a meeting of extreme cultural others. If it can be accepted that the mytho-historical constructs of these proximate cultural systems were formed through enduring cross-cultural exchanges, then Greco-Roman examples can facilitate interpretation of those of their northern neighbours, and also without having to presume dubious linkages to some primordial (e.g. Indo-European) heritage.

The name of the above-mentioned tribal confederation, the Lugii, is suggestive. Toponymic and epigraphic references to lugh/lug/lugos of pre-Roman and Early Roman date are widely distributed (Häussler 2008: 31). Lugdunum (hillfort of Lug), the location of the Augustan Altar of the Three Gauls, is a prominent example of this. Symbolic associations are multiple and diverse but a strong case can be made for lugh/lug/lugos to have been associated with Apollo (Sergent 1995). Yet, this particular non-Mediterranean incarnation of Apollo was merely one of many known to historians (Aldhouse-Green 1986). One other example is Apollo Belenus who was widely venerated by groups like the Veneti who controlled parts of the East Alpine trade routes during the LIA period. Notably, the ancient sources seem to suggest that Veneti traders inhabited both ends of an important trade route linking the Baltic (Vistula estuary) with the Adriatic (with Aquileia as primary trade centre). Were groups like the Lugii and the Veneti exploiting Apollo's northern lands and broadcasting a sacred right to do so?

Whatever the intentions of pre-Roman dedicants and their relationship with Apollo, his worship seems to have changed significantly in Roman times. Possibly, this may largely have been by design. Just as centuries earlier Greeks sought to extend their hegemony over the North by manipulation of Apollonian discourse, so the Romans seemed to have pursued their goals by limiting Apollo's worldly influence in the Celto-Germanic North. Instead, Mercury was put forward as the international deity of choice with a primary symbolic focus on commerce. This process of politically-motivated *interpretatio romana* began early with Caesar and continued throughout the Early Roman period when Apollo's sages and soothsayers were widely persecuted (Grant 1970: 19; Creighton 1995: 296); a case of 'death by Mercury' for Apollo's most dedicated followers thanks to the Romans. After Caesarian and Augustan conquests, and especially after abandonment of plans to conquer Germania, Apollo primarily remained known (politically sanitised) as the god of healing in the Roman West.

Numismatic evidence offers further clues as to why, in pre-Roman times, widely dispersed communities chose to contribute to Apollonian discourse. The first coins struck during the latter part of the third century B.C. among Celto-Germanic groups of northern France and southern Germany are believed to have been inspired by Greek models (Scheers 1977; Haselgrove 1999; Nick 2009). However, this phenomenon should not be understood as uninformed mimicry, nor its initial occurrence as mere historical happenstance. The first generation of Celtic coins was partly based on those gained as payment for service in the Macedonian armies of Philip and his son Alexander the Great. That Apollo occurs on their coins is to be expected since both men strategically associated themselves with this deity.[28] Moreover, Apollo also features centrally in the historical circumstances that brought Celto-Germanic warriors into Macedonian service. I consider it likely that these warriors fought as mercenaries for Philip in the Third Sacred War (356–346 B.C.) that pitted a religious alliance of central Greek tribes led by Thebes (Delphic Amphictyonic League) against a Phocian confederacy which had seized control of Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi (Buckler 1989).

Rather than following well-rehearsed arguments about barbarian interest in mercenary service, we should consider

what specific interest these northerners had in this particular conflict. At the time, Apollo's oracular sanctuary was internationally renowned for the counselling it provided to colonial founders, city legislators, political strategists, and many other individuals seeking guidance and knowledge. All three Sacred Wars were fought over the control of this important centre of sacred learning and council. It was generally recognised that Thebes was exploiting its influence over the league to advance its own political agenda, and Phocian efforts received support from important cities like Sparta and Athens. In preparation for the expected conflict with the religious alliance, Phocis used the Delphic treasury to pay for its military efforts. In *c.* 354 B.C., a request for assistance made by the Theban alliance was answered by Philip. Portraying himself as a champion of Apollo, the Macedonian king had his men enter battle wearing (Apollo's) laurel crowns, and, after having emerged victoriously, had the surviving Phocian troops drowned as retribution for their sacrilegious act. A ritual death by aquatic immersion seems rather out of place here. However, ritual deposition in aquatic contexts was quite common among the barbarians of NW Europe, as attested by countless lake and river finds, 'bog-bodies', and literary references. Because Philip was finally able to impose a settlement after a decade of conflict with barbarian assistance, he may have acted rather intelligently by responding to the demands of those who had made his victory possible. In gratitude for his devout services to the Delphic sanctuary, the Macedonian king gained membership in the Greek Amphictyonic League. It is commonly supposed that barbarian mercenaries will have had no stake in these historical events apart from the material rewards promised to those who could deliver a military victory.

Other influential models for early Celto-Germanic emissions were the coins struck at the Greek colony of Massalia (Marseille, France). These inspired the iconography of the third century coins of the Gallic Tectosages. This community maintained strong economic relations with Greek trading colonies primarily because of its control of the Garonne River which connected Atlantic and Mediterranean trade circuits. Since the foundation of Massalia (*c.* 600 B.C.), relations between Greek colonists and Gallic groups facilitated the co-constitution of cultural formations, including mytho-histories and associated symbolic constructs. It was through socio-economic relations and political alliances that contributions to the Apollonian discourse were made. Like so many Greek colonies before her, the founding of this Phocaean outpost had involved oracular guidance, and both Apollo and Artemis feature as central figures in the city's foundation narrative (Strabo *Geography* IV 1.4). Apollo also appears on the characteristic emissions of both Massalia and the Tectosages.

It is worth considering the motivation of these particular Gauls for participating in the famous sack of the Delphian

sanctuary (279 B.C.) barely a generation after the Third Sacred War. It is quite possible that warriors of this community had participated in the struggles over its control a generation earlier. This time, Gallic warriors stood on the losing side, but survivors did return home with the sanctuary's treasury. Victorious Greeks seem to have been keen to show how divine intervention had turned the tables on these invaders; annual games, the *Soteria* (deliverance), were instituted by the Amphictyonic League to commemorate this important victory. While Gallic warriors had proven indispensable allies for the Macedonians, mere decades later they were demoted to vanquished barbarians by the victorious Greeks.

Conflicts of this kind encouraged expansion of a barbarian discourse that became increasingly palpable in various media. While Herodotus (*c.* 484–425 B.C.) might be forgiven for his entertaining yet ignorant descriptions of distant lands and peoples, much of the later ethnographic literature shows an increase in uninformed stereotyping and wilful misrepresentation because it was produced during periods of increased antagonism (Webster 1996; 2007). Familiar derogatory commentary can be found in Strabo (*c.* 64 B.C.–A.D. 24), for example, for whom the causes of barbarian calamities were straightforward; he predictably lists overpopulation and internal strife (Strabo *Geography* 4.1.13). The barbarian's fertility and bellicosity, their natural lust for wealth and wandering, these became common topoi in Greco-Roman literature (cf. Livy *History* 5.34). Such observations were made by individuals who were couching political and economic conflict in terms of radical cultural difference. The deployment of essentialising characterisations of the Other by those competing over economic resources or political dominance was as common in the past as it is today, and modern scholars have rightly become critical of this. Yet, at the same time, the interpretation of fifth, fourth, and third century B.C. cross-cultural relations continues to be informed by Greco-Roman observations penned down centuries later that habitually overstate the cultural importance of warfare and mobility among barbarian groups in well-rehearsed terms (Drinkwater 1983: 9; Pare 1991: 183; Cunliffe 1997: 68; Kristiansen 1998: 314). The motivations of disparate Iron Age groups for participating in known historical events, and their contributions to important historical developments, are still rarely considered. Ancient barbarian discourse and modern primitivism have jointly hindered serious consideration of Celto-Germanic agency and the transcultural constitution of widely distributed mytho-historical imaginaries.

Yet, even Strabo himself offers clues that allow treating his interpretations more critically. He reports how the Delphic treasury was deposited in a lake where a cache was maintained to which many individuals added from their personal share. Strabo interprets this depositional practice as an attempt by the barbarians to placate a deity

from whom they had stolen. Yet, he well knew that such ritual deposition of precious metals in aquatic contexts was not incidental; the same text mentions this as a common Gallic practice. Clearly, the barbarian's crude desire for wealth was trumped by other concerns then, and there is no reason to suppose that historical factors like socio-economic duress, or 'barbarian dispositions', provoked a cross-continental expedition straight to Delphi. Could it not also be the case, then, that religio-political motivations brought Gallic warriors to Apollo's most famous sanctuary, an internationally recognised centre of sacred wisdom and authority (Ciholas 2003: 14)?

In fact, this international identity of Delphi contrasts sharply with sanctuaries more readily identified as Greek (e.g. Olympia). The Delphian sanctuary had a long history, and its continued survival had always been made possible by international efforts (i.e. donations for maintenance and reconstruction). Intriguingly, Pausanias notes how it was 'the Hyperboreans' (not Greeks) who successfully defended their sanctuary at Delphi from being pillaged by Gallic barbarians (*Description of Greece* 1.4.4). Equally suggestive of Delphi's unique identity is the fact that during the fifth century B.C. Greco-Persian Wars the sanctuary sided with the invaders. Rather than treating Delphi as resolutely Greek in identity and allegiance, then, its role in international affairs seems to have been based on a significant degree of autonomy and authority. Of course, this was exactly what encouraged attempts at controlling Delphi, and wars were repeatedly fought over the sanctuary. Yet, no nation or city-state ever managed to control it permanently, until the Roman conquest.

For centuries before the Roman calamity, various Mediterranean communities seemed to have recognised Delphi as the centre of the world (Plato *Republic* IV),

a notion symbolically represented by the navel-stone (*omphalos*) kept in the sanctuary. It is possible that a four-spoke 'wheel' with centre pellet motif (Figure 2.2, symbol 1) shown on coins that also depict Apollo were broadcasting this *axis mundi* idea (Guénon 1995: 45).[29] It is intriguing, then, that this design was used by the Tectosages on their coins. Should we interpret this in terms of uninformed emulation of Greek symbolism, or should we instead grant these Gauls more agency and awareness of international affairs? Is it possible that barbarians were broadcasting a claim vis-à-vis this idea of Delphi being the centre of the world? Was the expedition to Delphi, and the translocation of Apollo's treasury to Tolosa, part of a larger effort aimed at resituating a contested site of international importance to Gaul itself? If we likewise interpret later Augustan efforts to have involved a purposeful translocation of the Apollonian oracular cult to Rome (thereby making Rome the centre of the world), this may well have been one recognisable way in which religio-political pre-eminence could be communicated in international politics.[30]

It is possible to expand this exploration of transcultural imaginaries further and consider numismatic symbolism not directly associated with these Macedonian and Massalian emissions. A series attributed to the Parisii (northern France) dates to the later second century and early first century B.C. These show a stylised head of a horned Apollo on one side, while the reverse depicts a 'cast net' over a stylised horse with a cluster of pellets between its legs (Figure 2.2, symbol 2). If we suppose that this group knowingly contributed to Apollonian discourse, then it is worth exploring the meaning of some of the symbols present on these coins. It is likely that many of the pellet-cluster and pellet-line configurations depicted on coins represent star constellations. While the interpretation of
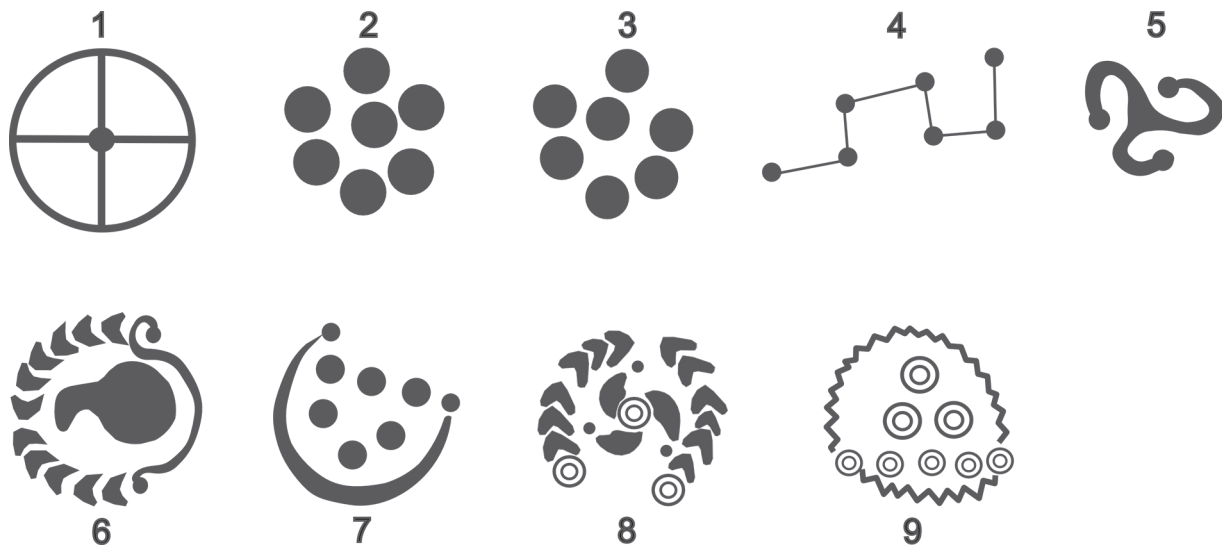

Figure 2.2. Coin symbolism mentioned in the text (not to scale) (Source: Author).

ancient symbolism is certainly not without its challenges, archaeological and historical evidence for astronomical observation in prehistoric Europe urges consideration of astral references on coins. The pellet configuration on the coin of the Parisii, for example, quite resembles a grouping of pellets (Figure 2.2, symbol 3) depicted on the (in)famous Bronze Age Nebra Disk which is believed to represent the Pleiades constellation (Meller 2002).[31] The pellet-line symbols of the so-called 'puppet rider' coins minted by Pannonian groups, in turn, strongly resemble the seven-star constellation *Ursa Major* (Figure 2.2, symbol 4). This is one of the foremost constellations of the northern hemisphere, and references to it can be found in the earliest written sources, like Hesiod and Homer.[32] These emissions also depict a *triskelion* under the horse (Figure 2.2, symbol 5), a symbol widely depicted in antiquity and commonly assumed to represent rotational movement. In line with the main astronomical reference made by these coins, the *triskelion* likely represents the circumpolar movement of *Ursa Major*. This is also suggested by the fact that this constellation was known as *Helike* (turning) in Greece, no doubt because it appears to revolve around the polar axis, uniquely remaining visible throughout the year.

To see how astral symbolism may link to Apollonian discourse we can consider the so-called 'rainbow cup' (*regenbogenschüssel*) coins minted by the Vindelici (Schulze-Forster 2005, 162) who occupied one of the largest LIA trading centres north of the Alps (at Manching). Similar coins were also minted somewhat later by the Chatti and the Batavi (Roymans and Aarts 2009). Struck during the second and first centuries B.C., these emissions all used similar designs: on one side a laurel wreath (sometimes with torc) surrounds a bird's head or triskelion (Figure 2.2, symbols 6 and 8); on the other side a torc or serrated ring surrounds multiple pellets or concentric circles (Figure 2.2, symbols 7 and 9) that may have symbolised certain constellations.[33] Rather than assuming uninformed mimicry by the Batavi and Chatti of earlier Vindelici emissions, I consider it likely that a well-known symbolic discourse was shared and contributed to by all three groups. If the *triskelion* represents circumpolar movement, then the laurel wreath as a symbol of Apollo might represent Hyperborea, or, as a symbol of victory, conquest of his northern realm. If we interpret the bird as an eagle, then this could be another reference to the struggle theme mentioned above, which Pontic communities symbolised with the eagle-dolphin motif. Torcs, furthermore, are abundantly present on Celtic coins, and not rarely in combination with the 'rider and trampled foe' motif. Assuming such neck rings symbolised sacred servitude or profane enslavement (Taylor 2010: 39),[34] it is intriguing to have one encircle a pellet-cluster.

The appeal of this line of analysis is that the central theme in the mythological narratives surrounding figures like Callisto (a nymph of Artemis pursued by Zeus),

the Hesperides (Oceanids guarding Hera's apples in the hyperborean gardens sought out by Herakles),[35] the Pleiades (Oceanids in the entourage of Artemis pursued by the mortal hunter Orion),[36] or Daphne (Apollo's love interest symbolised by a laurel wreath), all concern women being pursued by men.[37] Further, all these coins seem to symbolically reference the hyperborean North. This may suggest that coin symbolism was used to communicate narratives of interest to those whose livelihood involved the exploitation of an important resource of Apollo's northern realm, not unlike the Lugii and Veneti. The penetration of Apollo's northern realm and the pursuit of its inhabitants likely became a symbolic imaginary relevant to those involved in the exploitation of a North European catchment zone where slaves were sourced (Arnold 1988). In the LIA, these slave-trading groups were supplying the demand of an expanding state that maintained the largest slave system the world had ever known (Webster 2010; Scheidel 2011).[38] If this proposition is correct, it poignantly illustrates one significant way in which some Celto-Germanic groups contributed to the long-term shift in power dynamics between the barbarian North and Mediterranean South.[39] Moreover, the interconnectivity and interdependence that was strengthened by long-distance relations of this kind ensured that the Augustan deployment of Apollonian discourse would be well-understood by those who were ideologically prepared to assist the emperor in his Germanic Wars, and predestined to serve as Rome's guardians of the Rhine frontier.

Conclusion

It will not be difficult to challenge what will always be tentative interpretations of ancient symbolic meaning. It could be supposed that any misgivings held by (scientific) archaeologists for tackling past meaning-making is due to 'higher-than-average' interpretive uncertainty. Yet, disciplinary habits and attitudes seem to have been more influential in encouraging a reluctance for interpreting Celto-Germanic symbolic meaning specifically, and for shaping the problematic ways in which Roman-barbarian dynamics have been approached more generally. I have drawn attention to strong and enduring focus of archaeologists on materialist over idealist aspects (i.e. values, ideals, and imaginaries), as well as the privileging of elite-centric conflict theories in interpretations of past social dynamics. Disciplinary compartmentalisation, furthermore, has diminished interest for dialectic processes, while the primitivising tendencies of modern state-bound archaeologists have also encouraged a neglect of barbarian contributions to historical events and processes. The use of problematic dichotomies extends beyond this civilisation-barbarity dualism, however, in that the materialism-idealism divide has long produced all kinds of binary constructs that inhibit our understanding of complex socio-cultural dynamics. This is not to say

that archaeologists should ignore the very common human tendency to conceptualise worldly phenomena in dualistic terms (e.g. self–other, nature–culture); rather, analytical concepts, binary or otherwise, always require critical evaluation in order to assess their pertinence to archaeological questions.

In the prologue of this chapter, I emphasised how archaeologists studying non-physical aspects of the Roman Rhine frontier have mainly focused on the politics and economics of frontier maintenance. There has been far less interest for the values, ideals, and imaginaries that shaped the attitudes of provincials towards the barbarian Other. I use this particular context of extreme cultural othering as a springboard for investigating long-term historical dynamics between the Mediterranean South and the barbarian North. The motivation for taking this approach stems in the notion that all human collectives de-emphasise, more or less radically, cultural commonalities, economic dependencies, or shared histories in order to create boundaries between Self and Other. Such practices are, of course, a universal aspect of community formation, and, on the Rhine frontier, barbarian discourse served the constitution of provincial society. Of course, we should never uncritically draw the same radical distinctions as our historical subjects because all cultural formations are always dynamically and relationally constituted despite claims of cultural uniformity, coherence, and endurance. My aim was to show how the inhabitants of the NW provinces had to work hard to remake pre-existing (trans)cultural formations to which numerous groups and individuals had contributed over the course of centuries.

Yet, it must be remembered that the recognition of distinct (trans)cultural formations (e.g. Apollonian discourse) is primarily an analytical move because no such formations were ever enduringly stable or completely coherent to anyone who contributed. At the same time, however, full comprehension is never required for participation in (trans)cultural projects, and the exploration of Apollonian discourse has highlighted the contributions of various groups and individuals. To be sure, the widespread and enduring relevance of some formations will have heightened their attraction for political elites, but this should not lead archaeologists to ignore the contributions of a wide diversity of socio-cultural agents who maintained distinct outlooks and interests.

Archaeologists often implicitly incorporate 'subjective' ideas about past attitudes and behaviours into their interpretations. Our own sympathetic capacities allow us to imagine that soldiers, slaves or merchants perceived and engaged the world differently, even if it remains quite difficult to demonstrate this through the 'objective' analysis of past behaviours. To better understand the values and outlooks of a wider variety of situated social actors, requires articulating a theoretical framework that allows approaching culture-historical particularities with reference to universal human

tendencies. I have proposed taking a motivational approach that is informed by social psychological and anthropological work on basic human values, in combination with insights drawn from Cosmopolitan Theory and globalisation ethnographies. This allows formulating a scheme of structurally related cosmopolitan orientations (reflexive, aesthetic, diacritical, and practical) with which to understand human motivation in cross-cultural engagements. Such a framework cannot be used to 'prove' anything with a high degree of certainty; rather, it is intended as a heuristic device that allows for exploring complex socio-historical dynamics, and addressing the shortcomings of perspectives (e.g. acculturation) and habits (e.g. the use of simple dichotomies) that have hampered archaeological interpretation.

I end this contribution by again noting Pliny the Elder's agitation over the role of poets in disseminating knowledge of Baltic amber. His attitude may be compared to that of Lucian of Samosata, an Assyrian satirist and rhetorician who wrote a century after Pliny. Lucian claimed to have gone searching for Apollo's singing swans and amber-shedding poplars along the *Eridanos* (Po) river in northern Italy (Lucian *Amber or The Swans*). Tongue-in-cheek, the satirist confessed his disappointment in discovering how the knowledge of poets proved incorrect. Lucian was of course ridiculing the fanciful tales produced in another era, no doubt expecting that few of his readers would have believed such things. Indeed, he notes how local boatmen could not believe some of the stories crafted by outsiders like Lucian. To be sure, 'scientific progress' or personal development could have made Pliny, Lucian, or his boatmen better informed about amber compared to the 'poets' of old. However, for all these individuals, it will have been the case that their level of understanding was intimately tied to personal motivation and lived experience. Taking a motivational approach urges consideration of discrepant interests and agendas, attitudes and understandings, and values and outlooks maintained by people who negotiated worldly phenomena in ways both particular (in terms of personal, social, and cultural peculiarities) *and* universal (in terms of basic cognitive functioning).

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Acknowledgements

Postmodern' course who further stimulated my thinking on barbarian discourse.

Notes

1 From Tacitus, we learn how the Frisians were 'allowed' to sell their women and children into slavery as an alternative to the harsh demands set by a Roman military commander (Tacitus *Annals* IV, 72–3). This was given as the main impetus for the Frisian revolt of A.D. 28. Comparable is a situation described by Ammianus Marcellinus (XXXI), who narrates how Gothic groups were fleeing from Huns and requested entry into the Roman Empire. While Roman approval was initially considered a blessing, it soon became clear that local commanders had no scruples about abusing the Goth's dependence on Roman goodwill by exchanging dog meat for slaves. Such attitudes towards and treatment of barbarians appear to have been common for centuries.

2 For many ancient ethnographers, the main social principle recognised for barbarians was that of individual aggrandisement within tribal contexts. Germanic society was perceived as a meritocracy where honours, rights and privileges were mostly recognised within particular communities rather than across society, and these were only accumulated during a life-time, and lost if not maintained by direct descendants or community members. The lives and prospects of the multitude were shaped by the whims of the rise and fall of individual leaders and their nearest relations.

3 The primal god Ouranus was conceived by the primordial goddess Gaia. Together, they brought forth twelve Titan children, including Kronos who overthrew his father's rule with the help of his own mother and subsequently ruled with his sister/wife Rhea. Together they brought forth Demeter, Hades, Hera, Hestia, and Poseidon, but Kronos, like his father fearful of being supplanted, consumed them all. After having given birth to Zeus, Rhea tricked her brother/husband into swallowing a stone wrapped in a blanket (the *omphalos* stone housed in Apollo's Delphian sanctuary) rather than her newborn son, thereby ensuring his survival. Zeus eventually managed to disgorge his siblings from his father's body, and their rebellion known as the Titanomachy commenced. Together they overcame Kronos and his Titan siblings and ruled as the Olympian gods. The mythological references made throughout this study have been sourced from the online Theoi mythology database located at http://www.theoi.com/ (accessed online in 2015).

4 Several oracular nymphs (Carmenae) were worshipped by the Romans. One of these prophetic divinities was Carmenta/ Carmentis who was worshipped at her temple below the Capitoline hill. Festivals (*Carmentalia*) were also organised in her honour. She was believed to be the mother of the Greek 'pelasgian' Evander (by Mercury) who left Arcadia to found a colony (Pallantium) on the Tiber at the foot of the Palatine Hill. Of Carmenta, it is told that she adapted the Greek language and crafted a Latin alphabet spread by her son, together with Greek law and religion. It is unclear if Evander's mother may be identified with a Cimmerian Sybil, a prophetic priestess by the same name, who presided over an Apollonian oracular shrine at Cimmerium near Lake Avernus (Cumae) in Italy.

5 Greek rituals were to be adopted in honour of Diana (Artemis) and Latona (Leto), Apollo's sister and mother, and this led to the establishment of annual festivities known as the Apollonian Games (*ludi apollinares*).

6 For a political struggle occurring on an international stage, it is significant that these political leaders associated themselves with two deities who were imported to the Mediterranean region where they subsequently gained widespread popularity. The historical manifestation of Apollo as a distinct divine entity has never been convincingly associated with a particular community or cultural group. Mytho-historical references predominantly link Apollo to northern lands, modern historians have preferred an eastern (Levant) or southern (Egypt) origin. For Dionysus, ancient and modern scholars alike have argued for an eastern origin. Interestingly, both deities resided at the sanctuary of Delphi at alternating parts of the year; Apollo resided in the far North during the Greek fall and winter months, when Dionysus occupied Delphi. That Apollo was the only god whose name never changed upon incorporation into the Roman pantheon is suggestive of his international importance (see discussion below).

7 Around the time of the altar's consecration, golden coins depicting Apollo and Diana were struck at Lugdunum in commemoration of Octavian's victory over Anthony at Actium and Agrippa's defeat of Pompey at Naulochos (Fullerton 1990: 26).

8 In 39–38 B.C., Agrippa (close friend to Augustus and second in command) served as governor of Gaul, and settled the Ubii on the Rhine (present-day Cologne) and required they supply troops to auxiliary units. Between 31–28 B.C., war was waged against several rebellious tribes, and, in 27 B.C., Augustus travelled to Gaul to organise a first census and lead the administrative organisation of the Gallic province. More military actions were undertaken in 25 B.C. against local groups, resulting in the pacification of Alpine tribes. With the end of the Cantabrian Wars in the Iberian Peninsula (19 B.C.), Roman attention was fully directed towards Gaul. Agrippa served a second term as governor of Gaul in 20–19 B.C., and legionary troops were brought north towards the Rhine in preparation for Augustus' Germanic Campaigns. In 16 B.C., a legion under command of Marcus Lollius was defeated (*clades Lolliana*) by trans-Rhenian groups, which encouraged Augustus to prioritise Germania. That same year, Augustus returned to Gaul accompanied by Tiberius (governor in 16–15 B.C.) and Drusus. This time, the tribes of the northern Alpine regions were subdued, and roman power extended to the upper reaches of the Danube. A military zone was created within the Rhineland and the first of several Germanic Campaigns were led by the emperor's adoptive-son Drusus (governor 13–12 B.C.). Around this time, the official imperial horse guard (*Germani corporis custodes*) was formed, but it is highly likely that Octavian had made use of a Germanic bodyguard since at least 42 B.C., when he inherited these from Caesar, the first Roman general to cross the Rhine into Germania.

9 This is shown by Dietler (2001), for example, who distinguishes between different forms of feasting behaviour – empowering, patron-role and diacritical – among Hallstatt and La Tène communities where wine and drinking wares were

consumed in different ways, in a variety of contexts, and with various social consequences.

10   The four ideal-types of cosmopolitanism broadly align with *four universal value domains* that are part of the structural continuum of basic human values proposed by Schwartz. One of the main dynamics recognised in his scheme is the individualism-collectivism opposition, which is further sub-divided by level of individual embeddedness and group openness. The four structurally related quadrants thus recognised by Schwartz are: *self-transcendence* (inclusive collectivism), *openness to change* (disembedded individualism), *self-enhancement* (embedded individualism), and *conservation* (exclusive collectivism). These, in turn, align with four forms of cosmopolitanism. I elaborate on this association between basic human values and forms of cosmopolitanism in a forthcoming study.

11   Consider the poet Virgil (70–19 B.C.), writer of the *Aeneid*, a Roman national epic. Reportedly a timid and reserved young man of non-noble birth, Virgil grew up in Cisalpine Gaul during the Roman Civil wars of the second triumvirate. Compared to his contemporary Livy, morality for Virgil was not a straightforward issue but fraught with difficulties, uncertainties and compromises. Also unlike the conservative Livy, Virgil very much appreciated beauty and passion while deploring the dehumanising effects of war and the suffering of friend and foe. He never seemed wholly convinced that individuals like Aeneas should so readily sacrifice their happiness and lives to the needs of the state, or whether a Roman civilisational project was at all achievable.

12   This is where I would situate Rome's 'wondering generals' (Woolf 2011: 80), those empowered elites like Caesar, Scipio, and Cassius Dio who certainly seemed enchanted by the strangeness of newly discovered lands filled with exotic goods, animals, and peoples. Yet, for all, the primary motivation was the prestige to be gained in the home community from foreign endeavours.

13   For the 'home-plus' notion, see Theroux (1986) as referenced in Hannerz (1996: 104).

14   In terms of empowerment, it will be tempting to primarily group economically marginalised groups under this heading, but equally important (yet, too easily ignored by archaeologists) is the role of physical security and psychological well-being. Consider, for example, the literary contributions of the conservative historian Livy (64/59 B.C.–A.D. 17). His historical work is infused with thoughts on morality (good and evil) and social order, and this betrays a heightened concern for social conformity and security. The political and military conflicts of the second triumvirate years prevented Livy from accomplishing many of the noble pursuits expected from male adolescents at the time. Having developed into a proud Roman 'nationalist' who eagerly expounded on Roman values (e.g. piety, honour, liberty, law-and-order, public good, temperance) and achievements, economic duress will not have been an important factor in the early formation of this scholar.

15   Medusa's sisters were named Stheno and Euryale. While the meaning of the latter's name ('wide briny sea') remains open to challenge, if correct, might suggest knowledge of northern coastal regions. Medusa as storm-demon may then similarly embody northern weather conditions. Likewise, the swan-bodied Graeae – Deino ('the terrible'), Enyo ('the warlike'), and Persis ('the destroyer') – whom Perseus pursued in the far North, may then also be associated with stormy northern waters. Apollo's singing swans also symbolised the far North.

16   Dorian origins were linked to a founding leader Doros, son of Apollo and Phthia. Associations were also made between these Apollo-worshipping Dorians and the pre-Hellenic Pelasgians, the 'original' inhabitants of Greece. The latter were believed to have spoken a barbarian language with a northern (Thracian) origin and were counted among the allies of Troy, Apollo's favourite city.

17   Examples of such figures are Abaris of Hyperborea (British Isles?), Anacharsis, Aristeus of Proconnesus, Bakis (various), Empedocles of Acragas, Epimenides, Hermotimus of Clazomenae, Melampus, Pythagoras, Thaletas of Sparta, and Zalmoxis. Some of the details provided for these individuals include high mobility, council-giving and conflict mediation, learning and science, legal and political reform, healing and social welfare, prophecy and soothsaying, music and poetry, dreaming, incubation and out-of-body experience, asceticism and temperance, and foreign habits, appearance, and origins (e.g. Galatia, Hyperboria, Thrace, Scythia).

18   For centuries, communities throughout the Mediterranean and beyond claimed a Trojan descent (Derks 1998; Kearns 2002; Roymans 2009). Historians tend to interpret such claims in terms of a desire by various elites for establishing ties to (superior) Greek culture or Roman power. However, for the Roman period in particular, it may equally well reflect a desire among conquered populations to transcend contemporary power inequalities by rejecting the coloniser's characterisation of the colonised as barbarian. By invoking a Trojan descent, Gallic and other northerners may have been referencing a shared 'pre-Roman' heritage, or a mytho-historical time when power relations were far more balanced.

19   Thales of Miletus commented around 600 B.C. that amber, when rubbed, attracts bits of straw due to its electrostatic properties. Pliny notes how in Syria amber is called *harpax*, which he translates to 'snatcher', because it attracts straw, leaves and fabric (Pliny *Natural History* 37, 11). Being translucent petrified tree resin, amber was used to craft ornaments, while it was also burned for its aromatic fragrance.

20   Baltic Amber reached Mediterranean communities initially via a western route from Jutland (Denmark) along Elbe, Weser, or Rhine to southern Germany, and then following the Saône-Rhône river route to south-eastern France (Angelini and Bellintani 2005; Czebreszuk 2003: 2007). A central route through the Alpine region to N Italy seems to have opened up during the first half of the second millennium B.C. Soon after, amber objects appear in Aegean contexts of early Mycenaean date (Maran 2013: 148). An eastern route was maintained during the LBA or EIA, which followed the Vistula and then either crossed the Carpathian basin to the Danube or followed the Dniester to the Black Sea. Amber appears in Thrace (Bulgaria) at the earliest towards the end of the LBA (Ivanova and Kuleff 2009). An East Alpine and Adriatic route seems to have opened up much later than the western route that used the Rhône corridor. Not all amber routes had a north–south orientation. The earliest amber objects encountered in the Aegean originate from the Early

and Middle Bronze Age Wessex culture of southern England (Maran 2013: 148). These are the amber spacer plates that are only found in wealthy funerary contexts in three areas – the southern English Wessex culture, the Central European Tumulus culture, and Greek Peloponnese Early Mycenaean culture. It is tempting to envision a west–east trade route that connects these regions. It is assumed that tin moved along these same routes from Cornwall, Devon, and Brittany along one of the major French river routes to the SE and the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy, and then onwards to the Greek Mycenean world. The earliest exploited tin source, however, may have been that of the central European Erzgebirge, from where tin was distributed to the North and South along the amber routes.

21 In the LIA and EROM period, amber was still brought south to the Danube, from where it was transported to Italy by groups like the Vindelici (i.e. Veneti) who monopolised E Alpine trade routes during this time (Pliny *Natural History* 37, 43). The Romans founded the fort and settlement of Aquileia around 180 B.C., in part to protect and control the Venetic trade in amber. Despite the formation of the Danubian frontier, the role of Aquileia as importer of raw and exporter of worked amber continued until *c.* A.D. 180 when frequent wars with trans-Danube groups finally cut-off the Alpine supply routes. By this time, another important centre for the amber trade had already arisen on the Rhine frontier, where workshops in Cologne operated from the second to the fourth century A.D. (Veldman 2003: 34).

22 Apollo's son Phaeton crashed his father's sun chariot when hit by Zeus' lightning bolt. Phaeton's sisters, the Heliades, transformed into poplar trees and cried sorrowful tears of amber (Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.4.1). Celts purportedly believed amber to be the tears cried by Apollo who Zeus banished to the North as punishment for having provided his son Asclepius with powers of resurrection. The northern pilgrimage to Delos may have symbolised the wanderings of Leto who was forbidden by Hera to go into labour. To this end, Hera kept Eileithyia, the Titan goddess of childbirth, from assisting Leto. Eileithyia was able to assist only because Hera was distracted by a necklace of amber (Motz 1997: 141).

23 A similar description is given by Pausanias at a much later date (*Description of Greece* 1. 31. 2).

24 Several of the Herculean labours – Apples of the Hesperides (located in the far North), Cerynitian Hind (sacred to Artemis), and Erymanthian Boar (sacred to Artemis and Apollo) – are relevant, while Herakles also stole Apollo's Delphic tripod. Some of the individuals fathered by Apollo who are killed include a gorgon maiden, Asklepios, Skylla, Amphiaraus, Linus, and Troilus.

25 Perseus famously sought out and fought the Gorgon sisters. Orion pursued the hyperborean nymph Oupis and was killed by Artemis, Aktaion was killed by Eos (a Titaness sibling of Apollo and Artemis) because he desired Artemis as well. Tityos, in turn, was killed by Apollo and Artemis for attempting to violate their mother Leto.

26 See Leypunskaya (1994) on Olbia and its history. A dedication to Apollo Boreas was found in Olbia. The city was situated on the Dnieper River, which was known as the Borysthenis.

This also was the name given to one of three muse-daughters of Apollo. Coins show Borysthenis with beard and horned-head. Apart from the beard, Apollo is often depicted with horned head and likely was also associated with this important trading river.

27 The symbolic significance of these coins has produced a range of interpretations (Hind 1994; Saslaw and Murdin 2005), but they have not been treated as elements in a broader Apollonian discourse. The myth of Leda's seduction by Zeus in the guise of a swan is relevant here. According to Homer and others, Leda was queen of Lacedaemon (Sparta) where no cult was more important than Apollo's. The same can be claimed for the city of Troy, to which Leda's daughter Helen eloped with Paris. Interestingly, Zeus seemed to have tricked Leda by approaching her in the form of a swan which needed rescuing from an eagle's attack. No doubt, it is suggested here that Leda will have gladly offered assistance to Apollo's bird. Leda's union with Zeus produced the twin brothers Castor and Polydeuces.

28 In Egypt, Alexander was venerated as son of Ra (the sun God), while in Greece Alexander he was portrayed as the son of Zeus. Egyptian Greeks worshipped Zeus-Ammon who is often depicted with ram's horns, while Philip minted coins with his son Alexander resembling Apollo with ram's horns.

29 Dionysius the Younger, unpopular fourth century B.C. ruler of Syracuse (Sicily), minted coins with this very four-spoke 'wheel' and center pellet motif that also depicted Artemis and Apollo's dolphin. In the fervent war of representation between Sicilian rulers, and under the influence of Platonic philosophers, Dionysius declared himself son of Apollo (Plutarch *Moralia* 338b) and named his own son Apollocrates.

30 If this can be accepted, then we may look for expressions of such *axis mundi* discourse elsewhere. Among Germanic groups this may have found expression in terms of a cosmic pillar or World Tree (e.g. Irminsul among the Saxons, Donar's Oak among the Chatti, Yggdrasill among the Norse). St. Boniface, the apostle to the Germans, supposedly felled the sacred tree of the Chatti in A.D. 723. Is it possible that this Germanic group participated in international *axis mundi* discourse by claiming to control a world centre as well? While no clear references to such a discourse survive for the Early Roman period, as far as I am aware, it is possible to argue for the existence of a Roman counter-claim. It is tempting to interpret the well-known Jupiter Pillars (Woolf 2001) that have a unique distribution in the Roman Rhineland and are decorated with a bark-like motif (!) as material manifestations of such a claim directed at those trans-Rhenian groups (including the Chatti) who had successfully resisted Roman conquest.

31 While a reference to Pleiades is plausible for a seven-pellet configuration on the Parisii coin, this is less certain when this same coin shows a different number of pellets in a similar configuration. However, the association is especially suggestive for those coins where the centre pellet of the 'rosette' is shown slightly off-centre, like on the Nebra disk.

32 Polaris, the main navigational star in the northern hemisphere, is part of *Ursa Minor*, a constellation positioned directly over the polar axis.

33 For triquetrum coins, pellet counts may vary. The seven-star constellation of Pleiades may again be referenced,

or, alternately, *Orion* (eight prominent stars) is another possibility.

34   Young men among the Chatti wore iron neck rings, generally considered a mark of disgrace, until they killed a foe (Tacitus *Germany* 31).

35   Perhaps the Batavi were establishing links to a mythical northern land where immortality-giving golden apples could be found. Was this the reason why the Pillars of Hercules were situated on the Frisian North Sea coast in this period (Tacitus *Germany* 34)? Hercules Magusanus is considered one of the most important deities worshipped by the Batavi, and, as suggested by Toorians (2003), the etymological meaning of Magusanus may be 'old lad', a young man who grows older but never ages. Their worldly fortunes, however, were more closely linked to a special skill-set that would draw the interest of Roman generals and shape their future trajectory of becoming imperial guards and auxiliary soldiers.

36   The Pleiades were among the children of the Titan Atlas, and were in the entourage of Artemis. The Pleiades, along with their sisters the Hesperides and other Titans, were considered Oceanids who ruled over the outer ocean and its waterways (as opposed to the inner Mediterranean). When the Pleiades besieged Zeus for deliverance from Orion, he transformed the sisters into birds and placed them in the heavens. When Orion turned his advances towards Artemis, her brother Apollo intervened and killed Orion. The Orion constellation is situated in the heavens near the Pleiades.

37   Another hunt narrative concerns Perseus and the gorgon Medusa. Medusa and her two Gorgon sisters, swan-shaped daughters of the primordial sea god Phorcys, lived in the far North near the garden of the Hesperides (Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 795).

38   A study of the Pre-Roman and Roman slave trade in NW Europe will be presented in a forthcoming study.

39   The important role of the slave trade for early-colonial states, both modern (Klein 2001; Curto 2004; Kusimba 2004; Gustafsson 2005) and ancient (Nash-Briggs 2002; Fentress 2011; Wilson 2012), is increasingly recognised.

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