

(Not) all roads lead to Rome

Interdisciplinary approaches to mobility in the Ancient World

Edited by

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Access Archaeology





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also concerned with humanistic historiography in Latin: in fact, he has studied the work of Alfonso de Palencia, of whose *Quarta Decas* he is working on a new critical edition. He is also involved in studies related to medical literature in Latin, a topic in which he worked on *De regimine et via itineris* by Adamus Cremonensis and *De Euboicis aquis* by Petrus de Ebulo.

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Preface

Arnau Lario Devesa

Joan Campmany Jiménez

Marc Marzo Pallàs

Oriol Morillas Samaniego

During the 11th and 12th of April 2022, the Faculty of Geography and History of the University of Barcelona hosted the Annual Meeting of Postgraduates in Ancient History, an event that left the United Kingdom for the first time in decades. During those two days, twenty-two panelists from all over Europe, from the Caucasus to the British isles, presented their personal research in what became a highly engaging and enthusiastic academic environment. The present book is the end result of that fruitful exchange of approaches to the same broad subject: mobility in the Ancient world.

We are not the first to assess this issue at all; many have been the ones that have been interested in one or more subjects regarding the movement of people, goods and ideas. However, fewer have been the attempts at approaching mobility as a single case study, seeing it as a multifocal phenomenon that can be seen from many different angles and interpreted in even more ways. Similarly, in a highly-compartmentalized discipline such as History, we have gone for allowing chronologically diverse interventions, always within the broad category of “Ancient History”, so that arbitrary limits (always reliant on specific dates and often overlapping in different geographical areas) do not prevent us from seeing the “big picture” of this phenomenon. Thus, the variety displayed in this edited volume can help the reader find new approaches and interpretations on old problems from young and promising scholars with much to say.

However well-intentioned we can be, no event of such calibre can take place without institutional support. We would like to thank the chair of the Department of History and Archaeology, Dr. Jaume Dantí i Riu, for his predisposition at helping us at any time and his explicit support to this project.

Our gratitude reaches a little higher, as we cannot overlook the economic support of the Research Committee of the Faculty of Geography and History, where the event took place. We thank Dean Ricardo Piqueras Céspedes, and especially Dr. Jaume Buxeda i Garrigós, Vice-Dean of Research, who delivered an inaugural speech on the first day of the congress.

If one university authority deserves a special commendation, that is the Vice-Rector for Students and Participation, Dr. Marta Ferrer Garcia, who did the impossible to find funds with which to make the event possible, especially regarding the subsidisation of flights and accommodation of foreign speakers. Her participation on this volume in the form of a prologue is a clear example of her commitment and enthusiastic support for this venture, for which we are eternally grateful.

Speakers and institutions are not the only ones that have played a role in the success of this event, let

alone in the edition of this volume. The organisation, for the first time, of an event of this size, with the add-on of this edited volume, has put the Organising Committee under a lot of pressure, but we are proud of the end result, and hope we have made this a pleasant experience for speakers and authors alike. Special thanks must go to Elisenda Ventura Jariod, completely alien to our discipline, who has been of great help, as our website would not exist without her, and promotional posters, social media posts and the programme would not be as visually attractive as they are.

We sincerely hope this experience has been fruitful to everyone, from speakers (and authors) to the same organisers, and we are sure that this publication will only be the first one in a very long and fruitful academic career. We will follow your *cursus honorum* with keen interest, and we will be happy to see you again very soon.

To all of you, *moltes gràcies*.

Prologue

Marta Ferrer Garcia¹

In April 2022 I had the honour of opening the Annual Meeting of Postgraduates in Ancient History (AMPAH), the scientific conference organized by and for students of master's degrees in the history and archaeology of the Ancient World. That edition was a two-day event at the University of Barcelona's Faculty of Geography and History, attended by some two dozen young researchers who shared their findings on the highly topical subject "Mobility and socioeconomic dynamics".

AMPAH has always provided a valuable opportunity for students to gain knowledge and skills by setting up an event, but 2022 was especially important for three reasons. To begin with an obvious one, for the first time in its almost 20 years of history the conference was held outside the UK and the University of Barcelona had the privilege of hosting what turned out to be such a successful event, thanks to conference organisers Joan Campmany Jiménez, Arnau Lario Devesa, Marc Marzo Pallàs, Oriol Morillas Samaniego and Elisenda Ventura Jarrod, together with the UB's Department of History and Archaeology.

Second, after two years of restricted mobility caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, AMPAH 2022 marked a happy return to the face-to-face interaction and busy professional and social networking that are so welcome in these events. Third, the conference stood out for the extraordinary quality of its papers. Indeed, their excellence led the conference chairs to publish an extended version of the conference proceedings in the present volume, which brings together a number of new chapters that were not originally intended for publication.

The monograph (*Not all roads lead to Rome: Interdisciplinary approaches to mobility in the Ancient World*), consists of five broad thematic blocks that provide an authoritative analysis of mobility in Antiquity in all its facets. The Oxford English Dictionary defines mobility as "the ability to move or to be moved", but also as "the capacity for change"; in turn, the chapters in the monograph include studies not only about migration and human mobility but about social mobility, moving identities and cultural-religious interactions, political trends and practices, and the trade and movement of goods.

The authors in the monograph tackle a wide range of everyday issues, from commerce and maritime transport to religious cult or female mobility in military environments. Like the pieces in a jigsaw puzzle, each chapter fits in to create a credible image of life in the Ancient World. Most importantly, the finished picture helps us to understand the world we live in now.

Today, mobility is a fact of life. Thanks to technology, people and goods travel the world at incredible speeds. News and information flies through the Internet and social networks. The economies and financial flows of different nations become interdependent. Thousands of people travel all over the globe searching for work and a better life. Cultural influences impact people from every continent. We describe our reality with terms like 'globalised world' and 'globalization', and the Covid-19 pandemic has become the proof that this is so. Truly, anything that happens in the remotest corner of our planet can affect the rest of humanity.

In this context, migration, identity, cultural interaction, international politics and global trade are critical issues that our society faces every day and that, too often, result in serious conflict and unrest.

¹ Vice-Rector for Students and Participation from the Universitat de Barcelona.

Analysing these different fronts over the course of history may provide us with the tools and resources to grasp complex issues and respond in the best possible way. In short, we cannot understand where we came from and where we are now without appreciating how mobility shapes the world.

Because human mobility is a natural and inevitable phenomenon, our research into past events will clearly strengthen our understanding of current ones. And if we work out how, it may even help us to avoid repeating the mistakes and iniquities of history, and to foster a culture of informed citizenship and critical thinking.

Introduction

Arnau Lario Devesa

Joan Campmany Jiménez

Marc Marzo Pallàs

Oriol Morillas Samaniego

As the quote that inaugurates that volume implies (you are warmly invited to revisit it if you must), change is omnipresent, and nothing really stays completely still. History as a discipline is the recording of change, and movement, the main subject of this volume, is inevitably tied to it. As one of the main catalysers of change in past and present (and surely also in the future), mobility has been present in almost every study on almost any subject, as armies move, religions expand, trends arise, messages travel and goods go back and forth across seas, rivers and roads designed to make this traffic possible. However, movement as a subject study of its own is seldom present in academic works, as it can easily blend in with more concrete (or pleasantly generic) issues, more relevant and easily delimitable, such as trade or war. Mobility in antiquity has always been a subject of study in a way. But it was studied indirectly, in the form of migrations and trade.

Migrations and their effects were of crucial interest to early archaeologists. Before the introduction of robust absolute dating methods, diffusion and migrations were the standard explanations for most changes in the material record. Diffusion often was assumed to be the result either of migratory processes or of movement of ideas across neighbouring peoples. An example would be Iberian megalithism, originally assumed to be the result of a diffusionary process (Lillios, 2020). Famously, the early work of Childe (1925, 1939) reflected an emphasis in such processes, in line with the wider historical-cultural paradigm (Thomas, 1982). Ironically therefore, mobility in itself was at the core of archaeological theory from the start. Yet at the same time, the focus on migration and diffusion obscured more nuanced approaches to mobility. Trade and exchange of products for example were not given much importance within the diffusionist paradigm (Oka and Kusimba, 2008). Similarly, the movement of individuals across the landscape and within societies was mostly outside scholarly interest.

The reaction to this paradigm, that is, processual archaeology, included strong criticisms of diffusionist ideas (Rowe, 1966). The new paradigm instead emphasised cultural evolution within societies, as they adapted to their changing environment (Binford, 1965, p. 205). As part of this, and together with improved methodologies allowing for sound dating of archaeological remains, an “indigenist” turn took place (Lillios, 2020), and migration lost its position as one of the main driver of change in societies.

In the aftermath of the breakdown of the historical cultural paradigm, there was in contrast an increasing interest in exchange and distribution of goods. This came as anthropological theory influenced archaeological thinking. In the case of trade, the works of Malinowski and Polanyi (Malinowski, 1922; Polanyi, 1944) emphasised the social embeddedness of trade and exchange (Oka and Kusimba, 2008). For classical Antiquity, the work of Finley (1973) contributed to the creation of a paradigm where trade was mostly small scale and in luxury goods for the consumption of the elites. Later work would revise this paradigm in light of growing evidence of large scale bulk trade and interconnectedness in ancient

economies (Hopkins, 1978; Garnsey, Hopkins and Whittaker, 1983; Scheidel, Morris and Saller, 2007; Temin, 2013), but the exchange of goods became of central interest to classical archaeologists as a result.

The mobility of individuals has become reemphasised also by theoretical turns. Postmodern archaeology in particular emphasises the experience of individuals in the past (Fahlander, 2012) more than others before it. The subject has sparked scholarly interest during the last decades (Moatti, 2006; Cabana, Clark, 2011; Eckhardt *et al.*, 2010; Cameron, 2013; Isayev, 2017; Revilla, 2021). With the advent of postcolonialism, studies on movement, whatever the specific subject, have been enriched with the study not only of the moving individual (often a member of a dominating culture) but also on local receiving populations (van Dommelen, 2012). The consequences of mobility (e.g. racism, xenophobia, religious conflicts) have also been studied of late (Isaac, 2004; Gruen, 2011; Marco, Pina, Remesal, 2019). Thus, mobility has recently become a popular subject of study, from many diverse perspectives.

Methodologically, Ancient literature is helpful only in the few particular cases in which a more personal approach is applied (e.g. the letters of Pliny the Younger or the “anthropological” remarks of Caesar or Posidonius). This is because real examples of local communities are used, whereas reports of regional or Mediterranean-wide trends by classical authors such as Herodotus or Polybius are more unreliable. This void has been filled in the last decades by the development of DNA and isotope analysis, which together have irrevocably pushed away that century-old approach, allowing us to actually see large-scale population changes.

Possibly the most famous example is the identification of a mass migration in Bronze-age Eastern and central Europe, which researchers tied to the Yamnaya people and the spread of Indo-European languages (Allentoft *et al.*, 2015; Haak *et al.*, 2015; See also discussion in Klejn *et al.*, 2018). Whether the changes seen in the DNA record are always result of large migrations, as is often assumed, is another thing entirely, and there is often difficulties reconciling genetic evidence with archaeological remains (Callaway, 2018). Another novel technique that has played a role in once again emphasising the movement of people in antiquity is the analysis of Strontium isotopes (Alexander Bentley, 2006). This technique can be used also to trace artefacts, foodstuffs and animals, but has mostly been employed in human remains (Slovak and Paytan, 2012). This technique can be used to identify individuals who grew up far from the place they were buried in. An example for the use of this technique for Roman-era remains is the late-Roman burial ground of Lankills School, in Winchester, England, where a number of individuals from the Hungarian basin and the southern Mediterranean were identified (Evans, Stoodley and Chenery, 2006; Eckardt *et al.*, 2009). Interestingly, it was found in this case that archaeological objects and other elements that had been interpreted as signifiers of ethnicity or origin not always matched the actual provenance of these individuals, meaning other factors like personal preferences affected grave goods. Unlike DNA, which is a record of broader descent, Isotopes highlight the mobility of individuals, rather than peoples.

Other more archaeological approaches to migration are of course relevant. Studies of the diet can help identify different communities living alongside each other. An example is *Berenike*, where up to three different groups have been identified by their food consumption habits: Nilotic settlers, nomads from the surrounding area, and even foreign individuals theorised to be of Indian origin (Cappers, 2006; Sidebotham, Hense and Nouwens, 2008). Roman soldiers in Britain have also been showed to have enjoyed a diet different from their contemporaneous Britons (Eckardt *et al.*, 2009).

Regarding mobility of individuals across space, GIS and other computational approaches have become widespread. These allow archaeologists to better understand how terrain shaped movement across it. There are many possible and popular approaches. The most common is probably least cost analysis, which can in turn also be applied to catchment analysis, another widely used tool. These allow to model the time required to move across the landscape in different ways. Mobility within settlements can also

be studied, with tools such as space syntax (Benech, 2007).

Now regarding areas of study, the ancient Mediterranean has proven to be a remarkable setting for studies of ancient migrations. The study of Roman colonization and the changes it brought with it in particular have been influenced by such frameworks (Webster and Cooper, 1997; Terrenato, 2005). Regarding individuals involved in migration, several avenues of inquiry are explored: the reception of mobile individuals, identity formation for these individuals and their descendants, the motivations for mobility, and the different relations of different classes (elites, infamous professionals, workers, soldiers ...) towards mobility are some examples. Epigraphy in particular holds the most potential for the study of these, although of course written sources and archaeological material can complement it (Revilla, 2021). More broadly, the main to explore regarding migration are the reasons to migrate, and the consequences of migration for origin societies, host societies, and migrants (Van Dommelen, 2014).

In such a densely urbanised Ancient Mediterranean, most of the attention has been put into cities, especially for the study of economy, as the former are seen, in a modernising way, as centres of opportunity. In Hispania, for instance, geographical mobility and urbanisation are often assumed to go hand in hand, as both Italics and Iberians moved to the new purely Roman cities, the former from the Italian peninsula and the latter from their *oppida* uphill. In a city, movement can be studied from wheel tracks and written descriptions, but space itself and how it is arranged are a silent but key player in that matter (Lawrence, Newsome, 2011). In essence, an urban centre is nothing more than a collection of constructions, private and public, connected by a dense network of streets and squares that allow for it to be traversed and its buildings accessed (MacDonald, 1986).

This situation makes granting, limiting or outright denying access to certain areas essential for determining social status, economic pre-eminence and political power in spaces where ample physical separation was not possible. For instance, one of the most prestigious and lavishly decorated areas of Rome, the Imperial *fora*, for that matter the one of Augustus, was adjacent to one of the Urbs' most infamous and poor neighbourhood, the Subura. At first glance, the obvious conclusion would be that Augustus wanted the centre of its power close to the popular masses, or that its placement in that area was meant to give more prestige to the neighbourhood, but the former was instead separated by a high and thick wall from the latter. This shows that a clear and conscious distinction in status and prestige was intended by limiting the access from the Subura, while the other three accesses openly gave way to other spaces of power, such as the *forum* of Caesar. However, there are ways of seeing movement at a more restricted area and from an experience-centered perspective. One example (of many other possible cases) is the study of accessibility within a certain building (for instance, a temple) by analysing the layout of its rooms, the material culture excavated there and the reading of parallels cited by Ancient authors (Gasparini *et al.*, 2020). Using this multifocal approach, one can better understand personal experiences and how the ability to limit movement within buildings imbued with a high symbolic relevance can have social and political implications.

Goods and services are the backbone of any developed economy, and in a globalised Ancient Mediterranean world, especially during the Roman period, almost no product was too far to be imported and consumed. Economic interconnectivity of the Roman Empire is precisely the main focus of the *Centro para el Estudio de la Interdependencia Provincial en la Antigüedad Clásica* (CEIPAC), a research group linked to the University of Barcelona, the institution that hosted the AMPAH 2022. One of the results of the collaboration between the Humanities (History and Archeology), Physics and Mathematics was developed throughout the EPNet project (Remesal, Pérez 2022; Remesal, Pérez, Lario, 2022), the results of which have allowed them to know the different production systems of the amphoric industry (Coto-Sarmiento *et al.*, 2018; Moros 2021), as well as the various food distribution routes (For *Britannia*, see Carreras, 2000; For *Hispania*, see Moros, 2021; Palacín, Pérez, Revilla, 2022; For *Aquitania*, see Palacín,

in press; For *Mauretania Tingitana*, see Pons, Pérez, 2018; For *Raetia*, see Bermúdez, 2021; For a general methodological overview, see Rubio-Campillo *et al.*, 2018a; 2018b).

The construction of the following networks elaborated with data from the CEIPAC database reveals visually some of the hypotheses with the greatest impact developed within the EPNet project. Thanks to the new data science in the Humanities, it is possible to generate the necessary datasets to capture the economic dynamics of the Roman Empire from a multiscale perspective, beyond specific case studies (eg Brughman, Wilson 2022).

It goes without saying that mobility has also implications for identity formation, and for discussions on Romanisation. By moving, identities are called into question, as social memory and connections do not suffice to “identify” oneself. Identity and status could be shown by oaths, signatures, status items, tokens, written documents, physical descriptions and *professiones* (declarations) (Moatti, 2006). Where written sources are available, there tends to be no question about the occurrence and magnitude of migrations. The currently dominant post-colonial archaeological paradigm focuses, as the post-processual one already did, on people, with the genuine *addendum* of giving especial attention to subjugate groups and communities and their cultural experience of mobility as secondary players of History. For this reason, mobility, and more specifically cultural mobility, is seen as central to human societies (Greenblatt, 2010). When working with the Greco-Roman period and cultural sphere of influence, the most effective source of information for studying common people (or general trends in an area) is epigraphy. It is pleasantly abundant and refreshingly varied in gender, age and social station, and can shed light on particular and collective identities, but rarely on circumstances. Unfortunately, the circumstances and motivation of someone’s decision (or obligation) of leaving their home region are of utmost importance, and thus, the scholar is left with many unanswered questions, as identity, status, occupation and age could influence and be influenced by mobility (Revilla, 2021).

But as this brief review of the history of the study of movement and the relevant methodologies, there is value in placing emphasis in mobility in general. It makes it possible to explore liminal situations, and surpass the stasis of written sources and the archaeological site. More emphasis in movement in the past has been key to the progress of our understanding of antiquity. This is why the editors of this volume think that, regardless of the mere tag of “mobility”, many issues can be effectively tackled using this approach, and the results of the individual researches that you are about to read are the manifest proof of that.

The contributions to this volume have been arranged according to their broad theme with the aim of approaching mobility from the highest amount of perspectives. From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity, and from the Levant to the Iberian Peninsula, the editors intend to give the reader a diachronic and supra-regional overview of a subject as multifocal and diverse as mobility, where many aforementioned issues are expertly elaborated on.

Once the introductory chapter, written by the editors, ends, the first section, dedicated to **human mobility**, begins. Hatin Boumehache Erjali and Borja Vertedor Ballesteros (“*Female mobility in Diplomatic and Military Practice during the Roman Expansion in the West (III-II BC)*”) analyse the different roles adopted by women as a consequence of their forced mobility either as hostages, captives, prisoners, prostitutes or as spoils of war; or their role as intermediaries in the political-diplomatic ritual. This brief albeit interesting section is closed by Teifion Gambold (“*Understanding Late Antique Mobility and “Migrants” in Modern Thought*”), who points out some of the ways in which our thoughts on Late Antique human mobility, the interconnectivity of the pre-Roman and Roman Ages, and the impact of this on the Late Roman world could change in the future, critically assessing the reality of migration in the context of the Roman Rhine frontier.

Social mobility is the next category, placed in a section that features human interactions (and conflict)

from many angles. The layout of Ancient Egyptian workers' settlements and its social implications is assessed by Laura Hernando Folch ("*Archaeological and spatial analysis of the Egyptian city of Lahun (Middle Kingdom, Fayum)*"), who uses two case studies (Lahun and Wah-Sut) to illustrate how the population is subordinated to the through urbanistic distribution: they are settled in restricted and homogenous areas, without communal spaces, reducing and homogeneous areas, thus reducing the individuality and socialisation of their inhabitants. Chenqing An ("*The game of land: authority and adversary from a Ptolemaic land survey (PHAUN. IV 70)*") does a skilful dissection of the Edfu Land Survey and the Edfu Donation Text in order to enrich the picture of interplay between the Ptolemaic State and Egyptian local elites from the economic perspective. A more crude and personal setting is established by Carina Mkrtchiyan ("*Power and Control: Understanding Prostitution in Ancient Times*"), who, in reconstructing these individuals and systems, shows the reader how culture, law, and human behavioural economics come together. In this manner, one can better understand how ancient prostitution was a complex phenomenon that continues to challenge our understandings of morality, culture, and institutions. Last but not least, Antonio Romano ("*Mobility at the crossroads: careers and progression during the transition from Domitian to Trajan*") explores the link between social mobility, as the meaning of some patricians' and equestrians' status advance, and memory during the transition from Domitian to Trajan through a specific analysis of epigraphical and literary documents.

The third section is dedicated to **cultural and religious mobility**, an issue only partially studied, especially in cases such as Eastern religions such as Christianity or Mithraism, but that leaves many areas unexplored. Zeren Deniz Ataçoçuğu goes beyond those classical subjects in her chapter ("*Travelling Mythologies: the Movement of the Divine Throughout the Mediterranean and Beyond*"), where, by analysing three case studies, she identifies what role these shared mythologies, and affiliations with the divine figures they belonged to, may have played in the socio-political dynamics of the Mediterranean during this time period. Anita Malagrìno ("*The cult of Arsinoe II Philadelphus. The «international» success of a Greek-Egyptian goddess*") studies the relatively rare case of divinisation of a Greek female ruler, Arsinoe II Philadelphus, and the extraordinary spread of her cult, which reached as far as the coasts of southern Italy. The last two chapters refer to Late Antiquity, a period for nothing less religiously dynamic. Mathijs Clement ("*Fashioning a glocal belonging. Place in the commemorative epigrams of Gregory of Nazianzus & Ausonius of Bordeaux*") shows the reader how Christianity altered the processes of formation of identities, especially for Christian pilgrims and "wanderers" such as Ausonius of Bordeaux, who carefully constructed an identity that was both locally anchored and globally connected. Following a similar trend, Víctor Gómez Guinovart ("*La dispersión del culto martirial de santos locales por el territorio de Hispania entre los siglos IV-VI*") puts an especial emphasis not only how martyrial installations occurred and transfigured the urban world, but also on how these cults moved into the countryside, thus breaking the religious tradition inherited from the classical world.

The next section is dedicated to **political mobility**, and how societies establish relations of superiority or dependency within themselves and with the "other". Agata Otranto ("*Whistles, applause and politicians' welcoming of the Italic people: non-verbal expressions of the crowd in the Late Roman Republic*") analyses the non-verbal expression of the people in non-institutional contexts in places such as the arrival of Roman politicians in Italic communities, as throughout the works of Cicero it is possible to perceive the will of the people and their "expression". Staying with the issue of rhetoric, Antonio Avilio ("*Rhetoric and mobility: an innovative vision of mobility in the post Diocletian era*") assesses its role as a tool for the mobility of many intellectuals that, all over the Empire, welcomed, visited, and celebrated proconsuls, officials and especially emperors. Thus, he examines how rhetoric, in all of its manifestations, can help us consider ancient Mediterranean mobility in an innovative way. The last two chapters examine the power of Christian leaders in the last centuries of the Western Roman Empire. Davide Vago ("*Changes in late-antique Gaul: Gregory of Tours as an exceptional witness of social, economic and political mobility*") provides

interesting insight on how much Gaul, that was the most romanised region, changed in the fifth century and how did local politics and economy adapt to the new Empire-wide internal and external troubles. Àngel Rodríguez García (“*Bishop correspondence in 5th century Gaul. Leadership in times of crisis*”) delves deeper into the matter by assessing the nature and frequency of the written interactions between urban bishops, who became during the third and fourth centuries AD the main political and religious figures in the ever depopulating Late Antique cities.

Trade and mobility of goods is the last issue to be tackled. Despite being a classic approach towards mobility, the study of regional and inter-regional trade is key for understanding cultural and economic ties between otherwise distant communities. Alejandro Garés Molero and Guiomar Pulido González (“*The Journey of a Ceramic Shape: Trading Black-figured Amphorae to Iberia*”) characterise the available sample of Attic pottery by identifying the series and workshops represented, thus fixing production dates and other relevant commercial features. Secondly, they explore the vase-trading process, establishing points of arrival and possible distribution routes. Andrea Collado Padilla (“*Marmora and commerce: the case of the mortars in public spaces of Baetulo*”) shows how mortars and pestles can provide information not only about the site of the discovery and the activities that took place there, but it also contributes to the knowledge of the socioeconomic panorama of the Roman city and the commercial dynamics in this period. Amphorae are the protagonists of the next two chapters. Oriol Morillas Samaniego (“*Greek amphoric epigraphy and Mediterranean trade through the study of Rhodian amphora stamps in the CEIPAC database*”) analyses the trade routes of wine and the mobility of amphorae from the growing Greek amphora epigraphy database of the CEIPAC (Center for the Study of Provincial Interdependence in Classical Antiquity) in order to generate studies on mobility and socioeconomical integration in the Mediterranean. Carlos Palacín Copado (“*Amphora typology and commercial mobility. Thoughts on the Tarraconensis case*”) goes further and presents us the application of the aforementioned methodology to a particular case study: the transport of wine from NE Spain to *Gallia, Britannia* and the *Germaniae*. Finally, Antoni Nieva i Paguina (“*The regulation of maritime transport in the Edict on Maximum Prices, a major cause of its failure*”) shows that the dispositions of Chapter XXXV of the Edict on Prices of Diocletian, regulating maritime trade, played an important role in making inoperative the whole legislation, as it displays an absence of correlation between the distance and the fixed transport price.

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