

Identifying links between amphorae workshops through morphometric similarity within the Roman Empire [☆]

Maria Coto-Sarmiento^{a,*}, Xavier Rubio-Campillo^b, José Remesal^c

^a*Barcelona Supercomputing Center (BSC), Barcelona, Spain*

^b*University of Edinburgh, UK*

^c*CEIPAC, University of Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain*

Abstract

The aim of this study is to analyse social learning patterns within amphorae production among workshops in the Roman Empire. Cultural Evolution is applied to understand the effect that this production might have on the evolution of social learning of potters.

This analysis can be developed by the fact that we detect differences in the amphorae production through time and space that they might explain this dynamic of change. However, different debates revolve around how individuals or groups acquired and transmitted technical skills. In addition, this challenge is combined with the problem of detecting different modes of transmission in the archaeological record. In archaeology, several studies have analysed these processes focused on the handmade production techniques of pottery. In our case, we want to discover if these processes could be similar with a more standardized production.

Our main case study has been focused to understand the production dynamics of olive oil amphorae located in *Baetica* province (currently Andalusia) during the Roman Empire (1st-3rd century AD). In particular, multivariate statistical methods have been applied to distinguish assemblages among different kinds of amphora shapes that it could serve to detect different patterns in the production techniques among workshops. Specifically, we want to identify if

*Corresponding author

Email address: `maria.coto@bsc.es` (Maria Coto-Sarmiento)

these changes might have been influenced by cultural reasons or other cultural constraints.

The analysis explores how cultural evolution provides a strong baseline for the interpretation of the cultural pattern. Finally, the results suggest that different factors as spatial distance can influence in the production processes.

Keywords: Cultural Evolution, Roman Empire, amphorae production, social learning

1. Introduction

Material culture allows to understand a part of the mechanism of the human behavior (Richerson and Boyd, 2005; Schillinger et al., 2016a). We can observe cultural patterns through material culture which can explain how the culture evolves (Richerson and Boyd, 2005). This mechanism can be analysed by the study of variability on material culture which can help us detect social learning patterns as, for example, how to teach and make an amphora. In archaeology, the detection of these patterns in the archaeological records could also explain whether these changes are produced by cultural reasons which varying over time and space (Basalla, 1988). As a result, different information is shared by social learning generating an accumulation of knowledge which is transmitted from generation to generation in different conditions of context and content. (Eerkens and Lipo, 2005; Neff, 1992; Henrich and McElreath, 2003; Boyd et al., 2011). In any case, the mode of learning transmission along with several external conditions might affect directly or indirectly the pattern of manufacturing of the artefacts. Moreover the detection of these patterns can result more significant in large-scale pottery productions when this production is increasing to satisfy the demand of more complex societies, as the case of Roman Empire. This huge of production allow us to detect some morphometrical variations to understand a part of the economic dynamic of Empire.

This paper explores the changes in the production processes during the Roman Empire. In particular, our study is focused on understanding the pottery-

making techniques by analysing large-scale amphorae production in a specific area. In this case, an evolutionary framework (Mesoudi, 2015; Shennan, 2008a) is used for studying the implication and the impact that this production might involve on the evolution of social learning processes. Within evolutionary perspective, social learning is analysed to understand the production mechanisms in amphorae. Specifically, the aim of this study is understanding how the amphorae production were organized and whether it is possible to identify amphorae made in different workshops. Our main hypothesis concerns about understanding the modes of transmission of pottery-making techniques and how these techniques could have been transmitted in time and space.

Following a large number of authors (Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman, 1981; Hosfield, 2009), pottery production can be learned on different modes of cultural transmission depending on the level of production in the communities. Vertical transmission is a mode of transmission when the teaching of the production is done from master to disciple while in horizontal transmission individuals teach pottery techniques to other individuals within the same level and those workers spread the knowledge to their community (Epstein, 1998)

In material culture, artefact variation may be also affected by geographical distance (Björklund et al., 2010; Shennan et al., 2015; Van Strien et al., 2015) where material culture is more similar in closer populations who interacted each other whereas in other cases the correlation between both seems not visible due to different factors (Hart, 2012).

However, different debates revolve around how individuals or groups acquired and transmitted technical skills (Bowser and Patton, 2008; Mesoudi and O'Brien, 2008). In addition, this challenge is combined with the difficulty of detecting the different modes of transmission in the archaeological record (Roux, 2015). In the case of archaeology, several studies have analysed this process focused on the production of handmade pottery (Steele, James et al., 2010) or with stylistic variations (Neiman, 1995; Shennan and Wilkinson, 2001). Specifically our work pretends to inquire whether learning processes could be similar with a more standardized and massive production (Gandon et al., 2014), focused on

the case of pottery production in the Roman Empire. In this work we have ex-
55 plored the transmission of these processes associated with amphorae production
through a combination of empirical analysis and multivariate statistics.

The paper can be sketched as follows. The next section introduces the
case study and existing hypotheses, the third section will illustrate about the
methods that we have applied to analyse our case study, the next section will
60 deal about the results; and finally we highlight with a discussion about our
results.

2. The amphoric production in Roman Baetica

Our case study examines the variation of the amphorae production located
in *Baetica* province (currently Andalusia, south Spain). During the Roman Em-
65 pire, a large-scale infrastructure of amphorae production was developed around
this area to supply the provinces of the Roman Empire, with a huge impact
during the supplying of the Roman army in places such as Britain (Funari,
2005; Carreras Monfort, 1998) or Germania (Remesal, 1986).

For this reason, this ancient province became in an important support for the
70 production and distribution of olive oil to the rest of the Empire from Ist to IIIrd
centuries (Chic, 2005; Berni, 1998; Remesal, 1998). *Baetica* had also a strong
connection through rivers that allowed developing an important trade network
mostly around the Mediterranean (García Vargas, 2010). As result of this in-
crease in size, more than 90 pottery workshops were currently located along the
75 Guadalquivir river and its tributaries. The majority of amphorae produced in
this area belong to *Dressel 20* divided into different typologies, according with
different authors (Berni, 2008; Martin-Kilcher, 1994). This amphora type was
used mostly to transport olive oil for around 300 years in order to satisfy the
demand within Roman Empire (Remesal, 1977). In particular, olive oil was a
80 significant product frequently related in different aspect of the roman daily life
such as consumption, lighting and hygiene (Mattingly, D.J., 1988).

The importance of this commerce is also showed by the fact that Dressel 20

amphorae production was identified with different marks about its provenance although the meaning of the actors in this process seems not clear (Rubio-
85 Campillo et al., fourthcoming). Thus, amphorae production was a particular example of production strategy that experimented few changes around three centuries. In any case, our main question will be related to understand how the amphorae workshops were organized in *Baetica* area and the transmission of the production techniques by potters. Thereby, our hypothesis revolves around
90 technological knowledge could have been vertically transmitted where production techniques are learned from master to apprentice and thus continuously. When vertical transmission predominates in this process over horizontal transmission then amphorae made in nearby workshops might share more similar traits than amphorae made from farthest workshops. Otherwise if horizontal
95 transmission is the main transmission in this process the social learning of these techniques would be transmitted by workers. Then there would not be differences among workshops on the production. In our case, we can detect measurable differences among this type of amphorae correlated with the spatial distance.

100 3. Material and methods

We collected a dataset of 470 amphorae from 5 different workshops excavated in order to identify the social learning process that took place in the case study. The workshops were located in Malpica (Palma del Río, Córdoba), Cerro del Belén (Palma del Río, Córdoba)(hereafter, Belén) (Díaz Trujillo, 1992),
105 Parlamento (Sevilla) (García Vargas, 2000), Villaseca (Córdoba)(García Vargas and Morena, fourthcoming) and Las Delicias (Écija, Sevilla) (Fernández et al., 2001; Mauné et al., 2014) (see map 1).

We created a dataset where were selected 413 amphorae related to the selected chronology, approximately 80-100 samples of each pottery workshops.
110 The choice of these workshops corresponded to several reasons. Firstly, the workshops were selected from different spaces in order to analyse the production

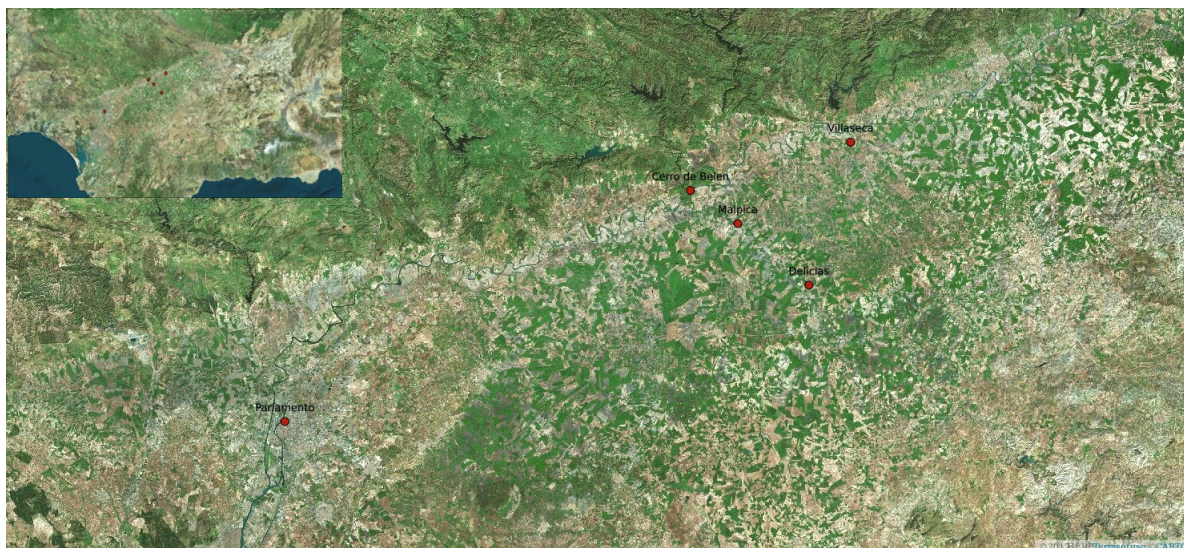


Figure 1: Dressel 20 workshops were mostly distributed along the rivers Guadalquivir and Genil. Location of the five workshops analysed in this area.

patterns depending on the distance of each workshop. Secondly, the extended chronology of these workshops serves as proxy to examine changes on the variation shape. In our case, the type Dressel 20 did not experiment especially visible changes on the production pattern during almost three centuries (Berni and García Vargas, 2016). Finally, the workshops selected had been excavated in extension and provided a large number of materials.

Eight different measurements were taken for each amphorae sample of the 5 workshops studied. The measurements were focused on the rim sherds whose fragments were the most preserved on the archaeological sample. In the case of pottery attributes, rim sherds and the curvature of handles work as useful indicators of variability (Berni, 2008). The measurements were divided into exterior diameter, inside diameter, rim height, rim width, shape width, rim inside height, other rim width and protruding rim, as the Fig 2 indicates. The method required a large sample size and for this reason the test was focused on rim sherds. Other significant parts such as handles and bases were found in lesser quantities thus compromising the applicability of the method due to

small sample size.

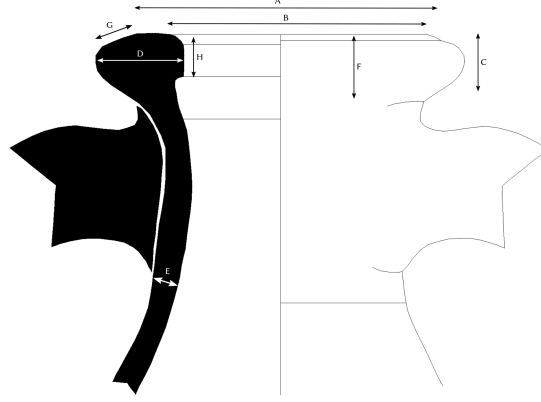


Figure 2: Example of the 8 measurements taken for the sample in order to provide morphometric data. A: External diameter. B: Inside diameter. C: Rim height. D: Rim width. E: Shape width. F: Rim inside height. G: Rim width 2. H: Protruding rim

In our study, we have selected five variants according to three centuries
 (Dressel C: I-II; Dressel D: II; Dressel E: III). Without important variations in
 three centuries, the chronology responds to a relative dating obtained by the
 classification identified on amphora shapes in different studies defined by defined
 by P. Berni (Berni, 2008) and Martin Kilcher (Martin-Kilcher, 1994). All of the
 variants selected were found in excavations from the workshops studied in order
 to avoid some material which can contaminate the sample. For the proposal of
 this study, the rest of variants were not taken into account from our study by
 not having enough material for the analysis.

3.1. Principal Component Analysis

The sample selected were analysed using statistical method such as Principal
 Component Analysis and Discriminant Analysis to explore these metrical
 differences on the rim sherds. We used Principal Component Analysis (PCA)
 to simplify the large number of variables in our dataset. This method allows
 to capture the most of variation from our dataset and create a reduced number

of new variables without losing relevant information (Jolliffe, 2002; Shennan,
145 2008b). Moreover the new set of variables contain all the data information
expressed as the result of the most variance from the original variables. This
method is commonly used in archaeology for the study of the variation of mate-
rial culture (Li et al., 2014; Schillinger et al., 2016b). In order to apply a degree
of uniformity, we created a training dataset of 210 samples. In our study, PCA
150 allowed to capture the most variation of the measurement and retained into first
two principal components.

3.2. Discriminant Linear Analysis

The variability of the first two Principal Components was used to cluster
our dataset using Linear Discriminant Analysis (LDA). LDA will be conducted
155 to find significant differences among workshops by the combination among vari-
ables obtained for the first principal components. LDA identifies which variables
allow to distinguish each group and how many variables are necessary to achieve
the best combination as possible. Thus, LDA is used to explore a better sepa-
rate training dataset from the results of the most relevant principal components.
160 In our dataset, the first principal components produced by the amphora mea-
surements are grouped into each workshop groups and are separated to obtain
a better discrimination among groups. We also generate a Confusion Matrix
(CM) to be able of quantifying the degree of confusion and compare the in-
dex of similarity among workshops. CM calculated the probability of success
and error of the results. It generates a matrix where higher value is the re-
165 sult of an incorrect classification. As example, this method has been commonly
used to detect differences in artefact production (Charlton et al., 2012; Thorpe
et al., 1984), and particularly for a similar study about pottery production in
Tarraconense (Aguilera, 1998)

3.3. Spatial Distance

The morphometric distance generated with the results of DA will be com-
pared with the spatial distance to prove if it exists a correlation between each

other. Euclidean distance will be used to measure the distance among workshops. We propose that workshops with a minor result of morphometric distance
175 would be closer in spatial distance.

4. Results

The morphometric variation was analysed in amphorae production to quantify the technical differences on the pattern production among workshops. The analysis of PCA produces a set of values for each variable observed. Variables
180 show how much variability exist in the dataset grouped by each principal components. The results, indicated in the Table 1, show the most differences were focused on the protruding rim.

Variables	PC1	PC2	PC3	PC4	PC5	PC6	PC7	PC8
Exterior diameter		-0.195			0.281	-0.217	0.369	0.829
Inside diameter			0.105	-0.414	0.838		-0.257	-0.202
Rim height			-0.143	-0.425	-0.242	-0.744	-0.424	
Rim width		-0.524	0.136			-0.342	0.582	-0.497
Shape width		-0.170	-0.920	0.253	0.232			
Rim inside		0.156	-0.299	-0.750	-0.240	0.345	0.377	
Rim width 2		-0.789		-0.113	-0.219	0.393	-0.369	0.139
Protruding rim	0.989							

Table 1: Result of the 8 principal components. Most variability was concentrated in the measurement protruding rim.

The patterns observed in the first two Principal Components were plotted to visualize the degree of variation by isolation among workshops. The results
185 suggested that amphorae from closer workshops tend to be more similar than amphorae made in furthest workshops. In particular, the Fig 3 illustrates how the four closest workshops show variation on PC1 (i.e. Belén, Las Delicias, Villaseca and Malpica) while Parlamento displays a distinctive pattern than the rest of workshops on PC2 values.

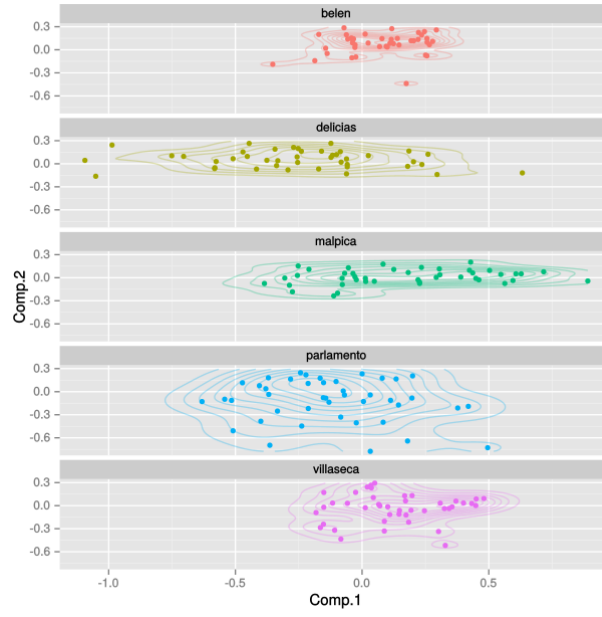


Figure 3: First and Second Principal Components for the amphorae measurement dataset from the 5 workshops analysed

	PC1	PC2
Standard Dev	0.3480758	0.1873301
Proportion	0.5747347	0.1664696
Cumulative	0.5747347	0.7412043

Table 2: Result values from the first two principal components

Discriminant Analysis was used to analyse the results obtained from PCA. A training dataset used in PCA was analysed assuming the workshops as 5 groups ("belen", "delicias", "malpica", "parlamento" and "villaseca") For the analysis, a total of 93 were correctly classified while 113 were incorrectly classified, as shown the Fig 4. The results showed a similarity in three groups (Belén, Malpica and Villaseca) while two groups depicted a different pattern (Las Delicias and Parlamento). This could be caused by the geographical proximity, being Parlamento and Las Delicias both workshops with the distance more farther than rest of workshops.

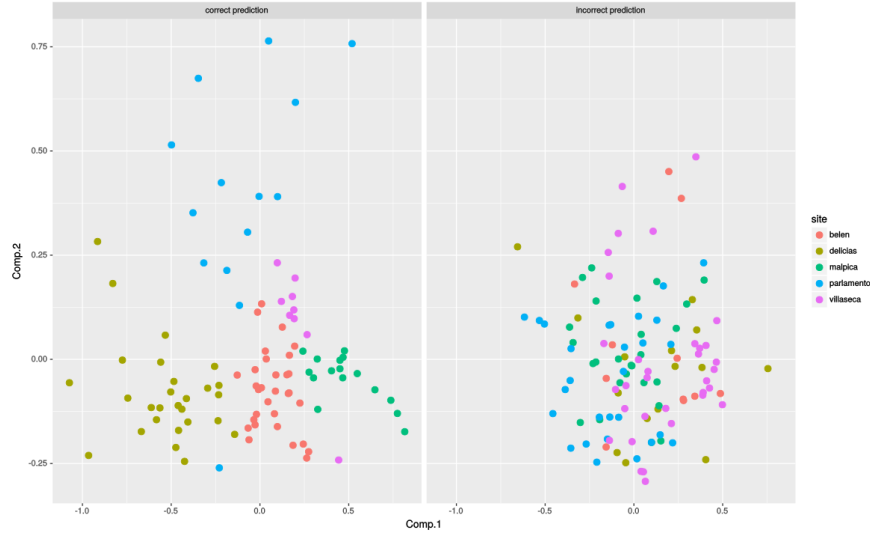


Figure 4: Plot with the correct and incorrect predictions result of Discriminant Analysis

The results of Confusion Matrix proved that workshops with a minor spatial distance such as Malpica and Belén had more troubles of being distinguished due to the similarity in the results obtained (see Table 3). Classification test with the whole dataset gave an accuracy percentage of 50.61%. Applying this to a training dataset reduced the accuracy to 46.19%. Therefore, spatial distance could be inversely correlated with making techniques processes of amphorae in the case of *Baetica* area.

	Belén	Delicias	Malpica	Parlamento	Villaseca
Belén	31	6	12	11	13
Delicias	2	27	6	13	1
Malpica	6	4	16	2	13
Parlamento	3	2	3	14	6
Villaseca	0	3	5	2	9

Table 3: Confusion Matrix with rows pointing out the workshops analysed. The sample analysed gave an accuracy percentage of 46.19 %. Results of P.Value <0.01.

4.1. Distance

We analysed the correlation between morphometric and spatial distance by performing with Mantel test among all the workshops. [maria: meter bib de Mantel](#)

210 . Mantel test is a statistical method used to evaluate the impact between cultural distance among objects over geographical distance when these distances can not be independent from each other. This has been used in archaeology to test pottery [maria: citarr](#)

In our case, we calculated the spatial distance generated by the Euclidean
215 distance between each site and the distance among amphora measurements, calculated using the Confusion Matrix. The workshops were chosen with different distance in order to prove the correlation between spatial distance and variability of the amphora production techniques. Mantel test indicated ((see Table ??) that closer workshops tend to be more similar than the rest (rm=
220 0.3841; p= 0.025 with 199 permutations). The results of the analysis shows that morphometric distance of the amphorae are strongly correlated with the spatial distance of workshops. When geographic distance is low, as the example of Belén and Malpica, the morphometric distance seems more similar whereas when distance is higher, as Parlamento, the morphometric distance displays differences with the rest of workshops. Thus, the results suggest that the variability
225 on the making-techniques processes might depend on the spatial distance.

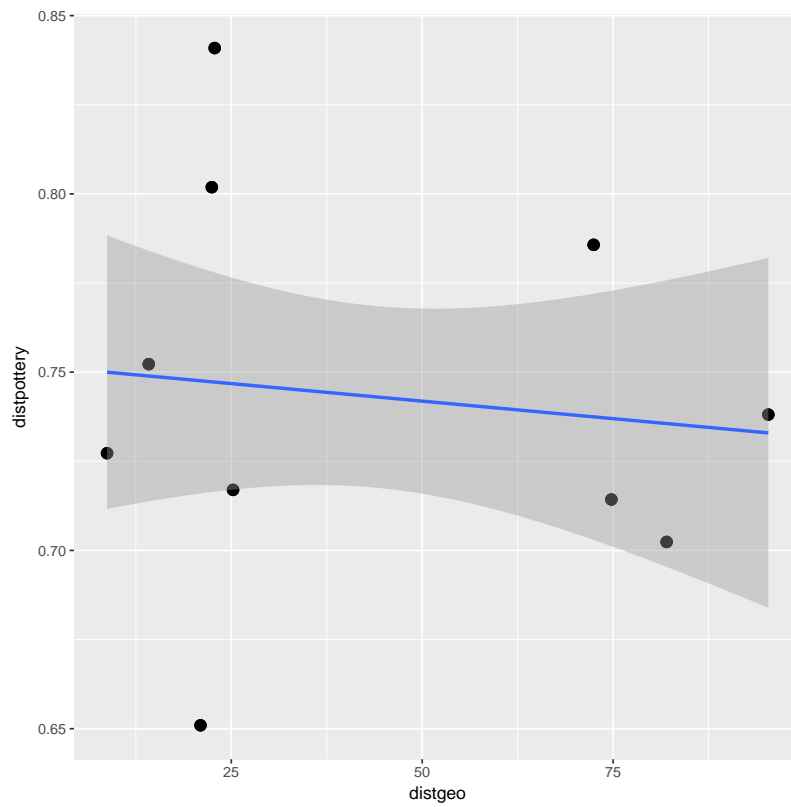


Figure 5: Plot with the results of the comparison between morphometric distance (distpottery) and spatial distance (distgeo) in km

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Differences on the making techniques processes among workshops show a variability correlated with spatial distance. The analysed morphometric traits suggest that the similarity between amphorae decrease with the spatial distance between the workshops where they were produced. As a result, amphorae made in nearby workshops with a minor spatial distance share more traits than amphorae made in pottery workshops furthest. In other words, the variability on the making techniques processes in nearby workshops was more difficult to differentiate. In our case, Malpica and Belén workshops where the geographical proximity is the closest shared more traits in comparison with other workshops (Parlamento and Las Delicias). Thus the probability of interaction between workshops is increasing when the proximity is closest while this likelihood decreases when the possibility of interaction is low.

We have observed than rivers courses could have affected in the transmission factors. In the case of the commerce, rivers and its tributaries played an important role for the transport of goods. The huge demand within Roman Empire and the good conditions for the loading and unloading of products (Bevan, 2014) might have influenced the mode of transmission due to the continuous contact between workshops.

The results suggest also that vertical transmission could be the main cultural mechanism to explain the variability between workshops. The different morphological traits among workshops seem proper of a low contact between potters from others workshops. The evidence confirms therefore that these pottery techniques were transmitted with high fidelity and only with few changes during three centuries. It would mean that the disciples could have remained the making techniques processes in the workshops where they were trained. By contrast, horizontal transmission doesn't seem to be the most probable process. The continuous contact between potters from different places had generated a more homogeneity in the technical practises. Workshops were sharing the same production techniques. As a result, it would generate a social network where

potters with the same social learning level worked in different workshops at
 the same time. Our result suggest a progressive contact with closer workshops
 instead. Moreover, the fact that isolation by distance is detected suggests a
 260 limited displacement between distant workshops. Thus, vertical transmission
 would be explained with this observed process. However, the diversity of so-
 cial learning processes are clearly complex. In other words, the transmission of
 knowledge between master and disciple did not discard that horizontal transmis-
 sion played an important role in this process as well. It can be a process where
 265 this vertical transmission dominated at first in the same workshops but con-
 sequently this transmission would be affected by workers who exchanged ideas
 or workers moving to other workshops. The combination of empirical analysis
 with the statistical methods have provided a strong baseline for a better under-
 standing of the amphorae production in the Roman Empire. These methods
 270 offer also an alternative complement to other methods as archaeometry for the
 characterization of production sites and places of consumption.

We have identified measurable differences in the techniques by observing and
 we have tested these particularities using multivariate methods. Our analysis
 provides a useful baseline for the exploration of the social learning processes
 275 related with amphora production in the Roman Empire. Hence, the results
 have lightened to understand the link between social learning and archaeological
 evidence in a diversity of scenarios.

6. Acknowledgments

The research was funded by European Research Council Advanced Grant
 280 EPNet (340828). We are grateful to Enrique García Vargas and Simon Car-
 rignon for helpful suggestions and constructive comments on this paper. The
 Museum of Écija (Antonio Fernández Ugalde), Museum of Palma del Río (Reyes
 Lopera and Emilio Navarro), Museum of Córdoba and Museum of Seville for
 kindly allowing us access to their information. Data were collected, performed
 285 and analysed in R version 3.2.4. statistical language and implemented with the

package MASS. Map was done by CARTO. [maria: incluir la url con los datos y el cdigo and citation needed](#)

References

- 290 Aguilera, A., 1998. Análisis multivariable: una nueva vía para la caracterización cerámica. *Pyrenae* 29, 117–134.
- Basalla, G., 1988. The evolution of technology. Cambridge University Press.
- Berni, P., 1998. Las ánforas de aceite de la Bética y su presencia en la Cataluña romana. volume 4. Col .lecció Instrumenta. Universitat de Barcelona.
- 295 Berni, P., 2008. Epigrafía anfórica de la Bética. Nuevas formas de análisis. volume 29. Col .lecció Instrumenta. Universitat de Barcelona.
- Berni, P., García Vargas, E., 2016. Dressel 20 (Guadalquivir Valley) URL: <http://amphorae.icac.cat/amphora/dressel-20-guadalquivir-valley>.
- Bevan, A., 2014. Mediterranean Containerization. *Current Anthropology* 300 55, 387–418. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/info/10.1086/677034>, doi:10.1086/677034.
- Björklund, M., Bergek, S., Ranta, E., Kaitala, V., 2010. The effect of local population dynamics on patterns of isolation by distance. *Ecological Informatics* 5, 167–172.
- 305 Bowser, B.J., Patton, J.Q., 2008. Learning and Transmission of Pottery Style. Women’s Life Histories and Communities of Practice in the Ecuadorian Amazon, in: Cultural transmission and material culture: Breaking down boundaries. The University of Arizona Press, pp. 105–129.
- Boyd, R., Richerson, P.J., Henrich, J., 2011. The cultural niche: Why social learning is essential for human adaptation. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 310 108, 10918–10925.

- Carreras Monfort, C., 1998. Britannia and the imports of Baetican and Lusitanian amphorae. *Journal of Iberian Archaeology* 1, 159–172.
- Cavalli-Sforza, L.L., Feldman, M.W., 1981. Cultural transmission and evolution: a quantitative approach. Princeton University Press.
- Charlton, M.F., Blakelock, E., Martínón-Torres, M., Young, T., 2012. Investigating the production provenance of iron artifacts with multivariate methods. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39, 2280–2293.
- Chic, G., 2005. El comercio de la Bética altoimperial. *Habis* 36, 313–332.
- Díaz Trujillo, O., 1992. Excavación arqueológica de urgencia en el Cerro de Belén: Palma del Río, Córdoba, in: *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía*. Junta de Andalucía, pp. 121–129.
- Eerkens, J., Lipo, C., 2005. Cultural transmission, copying errors, and the generation of variation in material culture and the archaeological record. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 24, 316–334.
- Epstein, S.R., 1998. Craft guilds, apprenticeship, and technological change in preindustrial Europe. *Journal of Economic History* 58, 684–713.
- Fernández, P.S., Muñoz, J.T., Vargas, E.G., de la Vega, S.G.D., 2001. Excavación arqueológica de urgencia en el alfar romano de las Delicias (écija, Sevilla) 1997., in: *Anuario arqueológico de Andalucía 1997*. Junta de Andalucía, pp. 562–575.
- Funari, P., 2005. The Economic history of Roman Britain: olive oil contribution to the debate. *História e economia* 1, 29–46.
- Gandon, E., Roux, V., Coyle, T., 2014. Copying errors of potters from three cultures: predictable directions for a so-called random phenomenon. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 33, 99–107.
- García Vargas, E., 2000. Ánforas romanas producidas en Hispalis: primeras evidencias arqueológicas. *Habis* 31, 235–260.

- García Vargas, E., 2010. Formal Romanisation and the Atlantic Projection of
 340 Amphorae from the Guadalquivir Valley, in: *The Western Roman Atlantic
 Façade: A study of the economy and trade in the Mar Exterior from the
 Republic to the Principate*. archaeopress ed.. Oxford, England. number 2162
 in BAR International Series.
- García Vargas, E., Morena, J.A., fourthcoming. La excavación del alfar de
 345 ánforas Dr. 20 de Villaseca (Córdoba), Casa de Velazquez, Madrid.
- Hart, J.P., 2012. The effects of geographical distances on pottery assemblage
 similarities: a case study from Northern Iroquoia. *Journal of Archaeological
 Science* 39, 128–134.
- Henrich, J., McElreath, R., 2003. The evolution of cultural evolution. *Evo-
 350 lutionary Anthropology: Issues, News, and Reviews* 12, 123–135. URL:
<http://doi.wiley.com/10.1002/evan.10110>, doi:10.1002/evan.10110.
- Hosfield, R., 2009. Modes of transmission and material culture patterns in
 craft skills, in: *Pattern and Process in Cultural Evolution. Origins of Human
 Behavior and Culture*, 2. University of California Press, pp. 45–60.
- 355 Jolliffe, I., 2002. Principal component analysis. Wiley Online Library.
- Li, X.J., Bevan, A., Martínón-Torres, M., Rehren, T., Cao, W., Xia, Y., Zhao,
 K., 2014. Crossbows and imperial craft organisation: the bronze triggers of
 China’s Terracotta Army. *Antiquity* 88, 126–140.
- Martin-Kilcher, S., 1994. Die römischen Amphoren aus Augst und Kaiseraugst:
 360 ein Beitrag zur römischen Handels-und Kulturgeschichte. Römermuseum.
- Mattingly, D.J., 1988. Oil for export? A comparison of Libyan, Spanish and
 Tunisian olive oil production in the Roman Empire. *Journal of Roman Ar-
 chaeology* 1, 33–56.
- Mauné, S., García Vargas, E., Bourgeon, O., Corbeel, S., Carrato, C., García
 365 Dils, S., Bigot, F., Vázquez Paz, J., 2014. L’atelier d’amphores à huile Dr.

20 de Las Delicias à Écija (prov. de Séville, Espagne), SFECAG, Actes du
Congrès de Chartres. pp. 419–444.

Mesoudi, A., 2015. Cultural Evolution: A Review of Theory, Findings and Con-
troversies. *Evolutionary Biology* 43, 481–497. URL: <http://link.springer.com/10.1007/s11692-015-9320-0>, doi:10.1007/s11692-015-9320-0.

Mesoudi, A., O'Brien, M.J., 2008. The cultural transmission of Great Basin
projectile-point technology II: an agent-based computer simulation. *American
Antiquity* 73, 627–644.

Neff, H., 1992. Ceramics and evolution. *Archaeological Method and Theory* 4,
141–193.

Neiman, F.D., 1995. Stylistic variation in evolutionary perspective: inferences
from decorative diversity and interassemblage distance in Illinois Woodland
ceramic assemblages. *American Antiquity* 60, 7–36.

Remesal, J., 1977. La economía oleícola bética: nuevas formas de análisis.
Archivo Español de Arqueología 50, 87–144.

Remesal, J., 1986. La annona militaris y la exportación de aceite bético a
Germania. Editorial Complutense.

Remesal, J., 1998. Baetican olive oil and the Roman economy. *Journal of
Roman Archaeology - Suppl. series* 29, 183–200.

Richerson, P.J., Boyd, R., 2005. Not by genes alone. How culture transformed
Human Evolution. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Roux, V., 2015. Standardization of ceramic assemblages: Transmission mech-
anisms and diffusion of morpho-functional traits across social boundaries.
Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 40, 1–9.

Rubio-Campillo, X., Coto-Sarmiento, M., Remesal, J., forthcoming. Bayesian
analysis and free market trade within the Roman Empire. *Antiquity* .

- Schillinger, K., Mesoudi, A., Lycett, S.J., 2016a. Copying error, evolution, and phylogenetic signal in artifactual traditions: An experimental approach using “model artifacts”. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 70, 23–34.
- 395 Schillinger, K., Mesoudi, A., Lycett, S.J., 2016b. Differences in Manufacturing Traditions and Assemblage-Level Patterns: the Origins of Cultural Differences in Archaeological Data. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 24, 640–658. doi:10.1007/s10816-016-9280-4.
- Shennan, S., 2008a. Evolution in Archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37, 75–91. URL: <http://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.anthro.37.081407.085153>, doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.37.081407.085153.
- 400
- Shennan, S., 2008b. *Quantifying archaeology*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Shennan, S.J., Crema, E.R., Kerig, T., 2015. Isolation-by-distance, homophily, and “core” vs. “package” cultural evolution models in Neolithic Europe. *Evolution and Human Behavior* 36, 103–109.
- 405
- Shennan, S.J., Wilkinson, J.R., 2001. Ceramic Style Change and Neutral Evolution: A Case Study from Neolithic Europe. *American Antiquity* 66, 577–593. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2694174>.
- Steele, James, Glatz, Claudia, Kandler, Anne, 2010. Ceramic diversity, random copying, and tests for selectivity in ceramic production. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 30, 1–11.
- 410
- Thorpe, O.W., Warren, S.E., Nandris, J., 1984. The distribution and provenance of archaeological obsidian in Central and Eastern Europe. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 11, 183–212.
- 415
- Van Strien, M.J., Holderegger, R., Van Heck, H.J., 2015. Isolation-by-distance in landscapes: considerations for landscape genetics. *Heredity* 114, 27–37.