



IDENTITIES IN THE ROMAN WORLD: DISCREPANCY, HETEROGENEITY, HYBRIDITY, AND PLURALITY

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INTRODUCTION: WAYS OF SEEING AND WAYS OF BEING IN THE ROMAN WORLD

The rise of the nation state and the triumph of the great monotheisms have helped shape a modern world in which our identity affiliations are often founded on one or other of these primary cultural bases. Yet the world has not been ever thus, and plural identities and multiple cultural associations have generally been much more common in human societies than singular affiliations.¹ A prime argument of this essay is that this natural tendency toward plural expressions of identity in human society was further amplified in the Roman Empire by the operation of colonial power networks.² This approach produces a different picture and new understanding of Roman provincial societies from the conventional one that focuses predominantly on the degree of Romanness and the elite end of society. In place of an agenda that has prioritized the commonalities and similar cultural practices across this vast empire under the paradigm of Romanization, I argue instead that the study of the heterogeneity and hybridity present in Roman provincial societies offers a complementary and potentially more interesting perspective on the Roman world.

My sub-heading, “Ways of Seeing and Ways of Being,” draws attention to the fact that I suspect many classicists still subconsciously assume that people in antiquity generally perceived their world through the colonizer’s eyes and desired to be Roman to the best of their abilities or means. We have thus been accustomed to giving Roman identity priority, leading us to emphasize a process of “becoming Roman.”³ However, a fundamental point about identity in the past is that such high level group denominators were not necessarily as self-evident or appropriate then as they seem to us today. It is pertinent to question the size, coherence, and ubiquity of a pan-empire group of people who identified themselves as “Romans.” I recall the consternation in a packed room at the first Roman Archaeology Conference in Reading in 1995, when the prehistorian John Barrett had the temerity to ask, “Upon what grounds do we believe something called the Roman Empire actually existed?”⁴ Barrett went on to say, “To regard the Empire as the product of discourse is not to question its existence...what it does is lead us to doubt that the Empire was ever a single reality, a totality whose truth can be reduced to a basic set of organising principles of coercive forces. [...] The Roman Empire as some reified totality is the historian’s construct.”⁵ His point was that the Roman Empire was the product of a range of historical forces interacting across time and space with many different

peoples, whose experience and knowledge of the empire varied enormously. The historical model of the Roman Empire embeds knowledge into a discourse that smooths off the rough edges and idealizes its structures in an essentialist fashion.

Despite the massive erosion of knowledge about the Roman Empire through loss of documentary records and destruction of sites and material culture over time, the reality is that ancient historians today know far more about the history, geography, and functioning of the empire than the average subject would have in antiquity. However, the opposite is true of the *individual* experience of empire, which was highly personal. A similar argument can surely also be extended to the idea of what it meant to be Roman. Modern scholarship has reified its understanding based on a mass of fragmentary information to project an image of average Romans. These are the people we tend to encounter in museum pictorial displays and popular books: dining on couches, walking on mosaic floors, wearing togas or Mediterranean-style stolas, erecting statues to the living, tombstones to the deceased, and dedications to Latinized gods, or being stereotypical soldiers and gladiators. Yet how close were these imagined Romans to the everyday realities of provincial life?

My sense is that there were many types of Roman lived experience. Nor should this be difficult for us to countenance. We live in a postcolonial age, increasingly in polyglot, multicultural, and multi-ethnic communities, practicing a wide array of religions. My home city of Leicester in the UK has a minority white Anglo-Saxon population living alongside large groups of people whose families originated in parts of South or East Asia, in Africa, and in the West Indies, to consider just the major groups. The religious landscape there comprises not only a wide variety of buildings relating to Christian denominations (Catholic, Anglican, non-conformist, Quaker, etc.), but also many temples of Hindus, Sikhs, and Jains, Islamic mosques, and Jewish synagogues.⁶ The experience of and participation in British society varies dramatically for locational and generational reasons. Children in schools readily cross boundaries of race and religion and indulge in common interests and activities, but at home or after school they may speak different languages and participate in activities that closely bond them to distinctive sub-communities (attending Koranic school at the mosque and so on). In some respects, this sort of code switching in twenty-first-century Leicester has more in common with Roman antecedents, in that the Roman period was characterized by enhanced migration and social diversity and plural identities. Insoll explicitly identifies the city of Rome as “an earlier experiment in multiculturalism.”⁷ Although comparative historical studies will always be difficult across ages with radically different sources of information available, the well-established discipline of postcolonial studies can assist classical scholarship by demonstrating a different model of the dynamics of colonialism to that prevailing in Roman studies.⁸

“OMNES ROMANI FACTI SUNT ET OMNES ROMANI DICUNTUR”

Groupness can be constructed in many different ways in human societies, including ethnicity, language, religion, communities (real and imagined), gender, age, and so on.⁹ Ethnicity was weakly evolved in the ancient Mediterranean,¹⁰ with political boundaries even in pre-Roman times often cutting across ethnic or linguistic groupings. This lack of a strong correlation of ethnic identity with political units—such as in Egypt, the Hellenistic Kingdoms, or Italy itself—is often assumed to have fostered the emergence of a cross-provincial “Roman” identity. This idea is strongly evoked by the comment from St. Augustine that provides the sub-title of this section: “Who now knows which nations in the Roman Empire were what, when all have become Romans, and are called Romans?”¹¹ While this might at first glance seem conclusive evidence of a uniform sense of Roman identity, we should be cautious. For one thing, Augustine was writing about the early fifth-century position, when it is indeed logical to assume that pre-Roman ethnic identities had been diluted after many centuries of imperial rule. But we

should be careful how far we retroject the idea of a commonly perceived Roman identity that was more or less ubiquitous across the empire.

In any case, Roman identity was more a matter of law than of culture. Roman citizenship was part of a package of status and privileges that might have facilitated such a development, but its cultural significance is easily exaggerated. In the western provinces, enfranchisement of the Italian peoples, and later elite members of the conquered communities, auxiliary veterans, manumitted slaves of citizens, and even some entire (particularly compliant and merit-worthy) communities added significant numbers to the body of Roman citizens; similar processes operated to a lesser extent in the eastern provinces too. However, before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 CE, Roman citizens remained an influential and privileged minority within the empire's overall population. The Roman citizen body comprised people of radically different status groups—at one extreme aristocratic oligarchs, at the other ex-slaves, along with soldiers, veterans, and families who had enjoyed close relations with the empire, or communities fortunate to live in the favored Italian heartlands. Legal status and tax breaks were important perks of citizen rank, but there were many more factors that divided the ranks of Roman citizens into regional or social groups than there were reasons to promote their Roman identity as uniquely important to them as a monolithic group.

Even with the eventual wide spread of Latinity and Roman citizenship after 212 (and we should remember that Latin was always a language spoken by a tiny minority in the East), centrifugal forces remained as strong as centripetal ones among the polyglot and regionally diverse peoples assimilated within the imperial structures of Rome. Bilingualism was common across the empire, and linguistic mixes and competences were key elements in defining regional and social differences.¹² Groupness was more commonly associated with lower order political units—city states and towns, clans, tribes and petty kingdoms, military units, and so on. There is no evidence that people in the British archipelago thought of themselves as Britons or that the diverse inhabitants of North Africa had a common sense of African identity in opposition to Rome. The Roman sources sometimes referred to provincial populations in these broad terms, but these were surely externally observed groupings, imposed as a shorthand way to characterize peoples encountered by Rome. The territories annexed to Rome were in general a patchwork—racially, linguistically, and culturally. The Germans beyond the Rhine remained a multiplicity of regional peoples; Germania was a Roman construct and to some extent an ideological fiction.¹³ While it is true that enfranchisement as Roman citizens did create a legal identity that over time came to rival local political affiliations, it is striking that Roman provinces were little used as a marker of an individual's identity, notwithstanding Modéran's recent attempt to identify provincial identity as the "troisième patrie."¹⁴ There is little evidence that people badged themselves as say Tripolitani or Byzacenans, to use two African provinces as examples. Where a geographically related identity was expressed it continued to be most commonly the town or place of birth or a regionally defined entity (native *civitas* or pre-existing ethnic name).

COMMONALITIES: THE ROMANIZATION APPROACH

The Romanization paradigm has had its problems dissected, to the point of dismemberment, by British Romanists across the last 20 years.¹⁵ There have been several announcements of the demise of Romanization, yet it continues to display some signs of vital functions, especially in Roman scholarship emanating from other European and North American countries. The journey I took from initial acceptance of Romanization as a key construct of the discipline, to something that needed special nuancing to be useful, to outright rejection of the paradigm can easily be traced in my published work.¹⁶ I do not propose to go over the argument in detail here. It will suffice to summarize my main objections to Romanization and to explain why I have decided to abandon it as an explanatory device.

Romanization places emphasis above all on elite sites, Roman state structures, monumental public buildings, and elite culture, and universalizes the experience of this culture and the valuing of it across Roman society, whereas there are good reasons to see access to these Roman markers as being much more restricted in Roman society.

The preceding point shows how Romanization has led us to take a fundamentally pro-Roman and top-down view of the empire. This is also partly affected by the choice of monuments to excavate and display for public consumption—which reflect the elite and state-focused agenda (public monuments in towns, villas, and urban *domus* associated with artworks, forts, etc.).

Meanwhile, field survey and rescue archaeology in many countries, especially in Europe, but also in other parts of the empire, have started to publicize a more random cross-section of archaeology, including lesser rural settlements and lower order urban habitation. The new data produced by this sort of work stretches the Romanization paradigm to the limit.

Romanization can also be said to focus to a greater extent on the degree of sameness within and across provinces, rather than on the degree of difference or divergence. As we shall see, when we seek to examine identity, it is the diversity of culture and behavior that is potentially most revealing about social attitudes across the full spectrum of society.

Romanization also suffers from being an intellectually lazy shortcut in that it is commonly used to describe both the process and the result of cultural change, introducing a strong element of circularity to the argument.

It is an unhelpful term in that it implies that cultural change was unilateral and unilinear, prioritizing the Roman aspect of complex cultural interactions and encouraging the use of binary oppositions such as Roman : native.

It is part of a modern colonial discourse on the nature of empire, being formulated in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century heyday of modern European and American empires. Quite apart from the issue of whether the term has continuing practical utility is the issue of whether the modern colonial associations render it unsuited (and potentially damaging to our subject) in a postcolonial age.¹⁷ It is worth reflecting on the differing fate of the study of eugenics in the twentieth century.

Through long and varied use in different scholarly traditions, Romanization has multiple meanings and understandings, making it a flawed paradigm.

A final point about Romanization is that it has generally been more central to studies of western than eastern provinces. Its application to the cultural complexity of Egypt or the Asian territories of the empire, for instance, has always been unconvincing lip service to a dogma developed in the European lands.¹⁸ Seen from Yale, the incongruity of the concept of the Roman East has long been evident. Dura-Europos is a classic instance, in fact, of a city that pushed cultural boundaries in different directions, spatially and chronologically.¹⁹

There has been a trend in the last years to repackage Romanization through the use of terms like *Romanitas* or *Romanness*.²⁰ I am not sure this solves the problem entirely as it still places the main emphasis on measuring the degree of adherence to supposed Roman cultural norms. I think a more radical approach to the issue is desirable, though I need to be clear that I am not advocating that Romanists abandon the study of the phenomenon formerly referred to as Romanization. Rather I am suggesting that we approach the issue of cultural change from other directions, allowing us to reach new understandings of the mass of data already accumulated and informing the agenda of future study.

DIVERSITY AND DIFFERENCE: THE POTENTIAL OF IDENTITIES

Identity is very much the zeitgeist of archaeology²¹ and classical studies at present.²² While some of the recent work invoking identity reveals the strong imprint of works by Bourdieu (on praxis), Foucault (on power, sexuality), and Giddens (on structuration), much of it

is theoretically unsophisticated.²³ The transference from Romanization to identity can be graphically illustrated by the UK Roman Archaeology Conference, where the numbers of papers and sessions mentioning Romanization and identity have moved in inverse directions over the last 20 years.²⁴ While there has been evident enthusiasm for the concept, there have also been doubts and questions about its application. Indeed there is a possibility that classics has arrived at the party late, when other guests have departed the scene. In the social sciences, some serious concerns have been raised about the continuing utility of “identity” as an underlying concept of those disciplines. The arguments overlap in several respects with the critique I have just advanced of Romanization: 1) “Identity” is so broadly defined and applied as a concept that it loses “analytical purchase”; 2) “Identity” is an essentialist construct that reifies understanding by giving solidity to what is actually fluid and ill-defined; 3) “Identity” is both a category of practice and a category of analysis; and 4) “Identity” is increasingly put in inverted commas or qualified by strings of adjectives in attempts to disguise its analytical shortcomings. No doubt some of the difficulties relate to the semantic looseness with which the term is employed.²⁵

The uses of identity cover a wide range of social situations. Following Brubaker and Cooper, identity can be defined as: 1) The basis of social or political action; 2) A collective phenomenon, relating to the sense of sameness within groups or categories; 3) A core element of individual or collective “selfhood”; 4) The product of social or political action (where it relates to the processual development of groupness); and 5) The product of multiple and competing discourses, highlighting the dynamic, fragmented, and plural nature of sense of self.²⁶

Part of the problem is that use of the term “identity” in academic publications often elides these distinct categories or leaves undefined the precise sense in which it is intended. The analytical value of the concept is much reduced when its meaning is so ambiguous or when the interpretational emphasis is focused on the essentialist construction of a primary affiliation for an individual or group. Such criticisms do not to my mind invalidate the analytical potential of “identity” provided that the manner in which it is to be employed is clearly defined and that the concept is used in an analytical manner, rather than as a mere tool of description.²⁷ My own approach combines aspects of points 4) and 5) in the above list, with the emphasis on the fluid and shape-shifting nature of multiple identity formulations operating within society. Clearly there is a need for other practitioners in classical studies also to be explicit in their theoretical and methodological approaches to identity, to minimize ambiguity in the employment of the term. Despite the criticisms of “identity” in the social sciences, from the evidence of the last decades of Roman research, I believe the advantages of studying cultural change via the identity agenda outweigh the negatives, at least in contrast to Romanization. In this light, we can see that Romanization has tended to produce a reified view of a Roman identity, which is smoothed and averaged across chronological, spatial, and social boundaries to the point where it in fact does not correspond to the precise evidence on the ground at any particular place or moment.

My approach to the use of identity in relation to the Roman Empire can be summarized in a few brief points. A key theme of my work is to explore evidence for different broad identity groups in provinces under Roman rule. In a world of potentially infinite identity presentations, it is preferable to seek to delineate some broad communities rather than atomization to the level of individuals. My initial work has focused on detecting gross differences between these groups in terms of material culture and behavior patterns. For instance, in studies of Britain and Africa, I have delineated large differences between the identity markers of urban, rural, and military communities.

There were evidently many ways of constructing a “Roman” identity (and by “Roman” identity I mean a presentation of self that reflected the place of an individual within the power structures of the Roman world). Identity studies also allow us to access and assess differing levels of social conformity in Roman society. It is increasingly clear that identity strategies

were not simply about emulation (as Romanization has tended to suggest). Rather the desire to create a sense of differentiation and distance from other groups in society often seems to have been a crucial factor in material and behavioral choices. Identity lends itself to exploration of both inter- and intra-communal difference. It has also become apparent that within the broad communities I defined there was lots of internal variability in the use of material culture and that there was dynamic change across time (leading to a plurality of identities).

IDENTITY AND MATERIAL CULTURE

A major problem in the archaeological application of identity studies concerns the use of material culture as evidence.²⁸ There are, of course, also problems in utilizing textual evidence, since written testimony is not immune to bias and misdirection. However, at least the study of texts can be regulated by the rigor of "source criticism." Artifacts have rarely been considered as active agents of culture, as opposed to passive objects.²⁹ When artifacts are identified as having been imbued with special value as identity markers, not much thought is given to the way in which they were used in society or consideration of the fact that the same artifacts could have varied uses and diverse significance to different groups.

Some artifacts convey clear information about associated behaviors. For example, the distribution of amphorae and the incidence of graffiti on pots at sites in Britain illustrate different consumption behaviors among the military community in comparison to urban and rural communities.³⁰ The military diet in Britain favored wine/oil over the north European norm of beer/butter, despite the inconvenience and expense of shipping Mediterranean amphora commodities across vast distances. Graffiti on pots also speaks to us of the emphasis on literate behaviors in the military. While the adoption of shiny red pottery fine wares has sometimes rather simplistically been equated with Romanization, the spread of similar styles of pottery in many areas was more likely a consequence of the globalization of the Roman world (such as the vessels from Gaul and Tunisia in the present exhibition, plates 161, 166).³¹ Close analysis again reveals different patterns of consumption among the three broad communities. Identity patterns are more concealed and pertain to different usage made of pottery by various groups in society, by the emergence of different types of vessels at a regional level, or the preference for certain vessel types by different sectors of the provincial community.³² When historical archaeologists of the Americas recognized the potential of material culture to play a larger role in the tracing of lifeways and social identity, this led to the development of artifactual studies covering a wide range of mundane artifacts.³³

One of the problems impeding studies of Roman material culture is that the recording of artifacts is often highly selective and favors the more "Roman" or "elite" classes. In North Africa, for instance, there are comparatively few excavated sites with comprehensive publications of all classes of pottery and small finds, whereas in Britain not only are excavated assemblages published in detail (backed up by grey literature reports in other cases),³⁴ but there is also a major national cataloguing and mapping program related to surface and metal-detected finds (the Portable Antiquities Scheme).³⁵ The full potential of finds is revealed in cases not only where they have been well catalogued but also where the depositional context has been carefully recorded, allowing a proper assessment of the use behavior to be assessed.³⁶ From such bodies of data new types of analysis are becoming possible. Hella Eckardt's work has revealed very different levels of engagement with a range of artifact types across my three communities (military, urban, and rural). Lamps (and by implication artificial light) were overwhelmingly connected with the military community and the largest cities, while a range of toilet implements reveal a distribution much more focused on smaller urban centers and rural communities.³⁷ The remarkable dossier of artifacts, paintings, relief carvings, and inscriptions relating to the Roman army at Dura-Europos (see for example the painting of Terentius, fig. 6.2; and bronze artifacts in the present catalogue, plates 60, 62–65)

provides remarkable insights into the creation of a package of material and behavioral markers of a Roman military identity that was widely diffused within the empire.³⁸

It is also important to remember that Roman culture spread far beyond the frontier.³⁹ The possession of artifacts from the Roman world in Germany, Scandinavia, Ireland, India, or the central Sahara did not mean that people in these remote regions were perceived or saw themselves as “becoming Roman.” The adoption of some of the material trappings of a powerful neighboring civilization was potentially a strategy to reinforce or to transform local power structures. What is clear is that the associated behaviors and use context of material culture beyond the frontiers often followed unusual patterns, creating distinctive expressions of indigenous identity, not pale imitations of Rome. Why might this not also apply to some instances of uptake of Roman material culture within the provinces?

Artifacts that are perceived as artworks are a particularly well studied subset of Roman material culture, though the tendency is often to correlate discoveries within an established canon of classical art, with less attention paid to regional peculiarities and distinctiveness or to pre-existing traditions of art.⁴⁰ There is also sometimes a tendency to elide the stylistic and iconographic characteristics of a huge range of material, which reflects pre-Roman traditions, cosmopolitan art of the Roman Empire, and distinctive regional provincial art forms as though this vast corpus was part of a single continuum. The art of the Roman Empire was a product of the colonial environment in which it was created and more work is needed to draw this out.⁴¹ Dura-Europos is an exceptional example of this, but detailed regional studies of almost any corner of the empire will produce surprising patterns. To cite one example on which I have worked, the funerary iconography of tombs at Ghirza in the Libyan desert can be linked in part to “Roman” norms, but are more appropriately seen as a localized response to new ways of expressing Libyan cultural ideas about power, ancestor worship, fertility, and so on.⁴²

I want to end this section with a few general reflections on how archaeologists use material culture to define identity. In part because artifacts, especially art objects and precious items, are divorced from their use context, some of our interpretations are a bit relativist. In fact, Romanization theory has encouraged us to sum and amplify the main material culture markers and draw conclusions about the degree of Romanness present. I have encapsulated this approach in an imagined equation (perhaps devised by Einsteinorix as his Theory of Social Relativity):

$$I = mc^2$$

(I = Identity, mc = material culture)

Put crudely, Romanness has tended to be determined by the amount of Roman “stuff” that people had, with its importance multiplied and other material cultures present ignored.

As I have been arguing, however, a fundamental point about the analysis of artifacts is that it was not generally the artifacts that defined identity; rather it was the specific associated behaviors and contexts of use. I argue that identity is the product of a complex set of interactions involving structure and agency, material culture and behavior. These relationships can be imagined as an alternative equation to the one above:

$$I = Ss/Sa + B(mc)$$

(I = Identity, Ss = Social structures, Sa = Social agency, B = Behaviors, mc = material culture)

I am not suggesting that either equation is of *any* practical value in exploring identity, and I present them simply as a heuristic device to illustrate the over-simplifying emphasis of the Romanization approach when compared with the complexity I believe we need to introduce to discussions of the linkage between material culture and identity. What I am trying to

convey here is the complex interplay between artifacts, behaviors, and aspects of individual agency and social structure that should be considered in defining identity. While it may not always be possible to delineate all these factors in full from the archaeological material available, we should at least attempt to keep all these in mind.

DISCREPANT IDENTITY

A further key ingredient of my approach to identity is the recognition that the social behaviors witnessed across Roman society were to some extent contingent on the colonial context.⁴³ It is for this reason that I favor the use of the word “discrepant” in relation to the range of identities that I have delineated, as this term conveys more effectively than “different” or “plural” or “hybrid” that such outcomes were achieved in a world of colonial power networks.⁴⁴ Identity has a harder edge in such drastically unequal societies and many behaviors are constrained or distorted by the realities of where political, social, or economic power resided. In the early days of Romanization theory there was a common assumption that Rome had a deliberate and evolved cultural program, designed to make the provinces more Roman and thus easier to govern. In more recent times, the emphasis has shifted to native agency as an explanation for the patterns of adoption of Roman identity.⁴⁵ My preference is to see the complex cultural combinations as the result of highly varied colonial situations in which key intentional acts of the state (such as imposing garrisons, raising taxes, redistributing land, and exploiting resources) elicited a range of responses from subject peoples, which were also affected in repeated feedback cycles by the systemic effects of empire (fig. 3.1).⁴⁶ This relates to the generally unintended consequences of imperial power imbalances. These create conditions in which individuals charged with delivering elements of imperial rule (from governors, to soldiers, to councilors, to tax collectors) had the opportunity, or the latent potential at least, to exceed their brief. The perception of how power operated or could operate was thus a factor in guiding behavioral choices and further consequential acts.

Intentional acts (structure)	Systemic effects (unforeseen consequences)	Consequential acts (native agency)
Garrison deployments	Brutality	Behavior modifications
Census taking	Surveillance and intrusion	Resistance (economic)
Tax settlements	Abuses/corruption/extortion	Tax payment/avoidance
Legal frameworks	Legal inequalities	Reinforced social hierarchy
Urban promotions and encouragement of monumentalization	Fiscal over-commitments of towns	Elite competition for imperial favor
Land confiscation, survey, and reassignment	Incentives and penalties	Emergence of greater regional and community differences
Creation of imperial estates and exploitation of natural resources	Conflicts of interest between locals and officials/chief tenants	Loss of valuable resources to community
Language of government	Exclusive nature	Linguistic choices
Enslavement	Individual exploitation	Increase in slave ownership
Recruitment	Loss of men to community	Recruits absorbed into military community
Operation of imperial economy	Unequal economic opportunities and consequences	Investment in province from outside and inside

3.1. Chart illustrating effects of imperial power structures.

It is commonly stated in Roman studies that the empire was an overall good thing for its subject peoples and that incorporation into the provincial structure brought tangible

improvements in the lives of millions.⁴⁷ The Roman conquest was a short-lived unpleasantness, before subjected peoples were able to settle down to “sensible” life in cities and enjoy the benefits of membership of the Roman club.⁴⁸ The parallelism between this and both what Roman writers said of their imperial destiny to rule benevolently and the “white man’s burden” argument elaborated in the late nineteenth century to justify the activities of European empires is striking.⁴⁹ All are part of separate imperial discourses intended to provide the ideological backbone for colonial rule. The Roman world was a drastically unequal society and it is worth reflecting on the characteristics of such societies before we conclude that Rome was uniquely accommodating and inclusive among empires and that her subject peoples were uncommonly consensual. One of the most interesting books of recent years on the formation of complex societies and the emergence of kingdoms and empires has focused on the way in which such societies are built on progressively more dramatic exploitation of underprivileged members, through the emergence of hierarchies of inequality.⁵⁰

Are unequal societies consensual and happy ones? Detailed statistical analysis of Wilkinson and Pickett on modern societies has demonstrated the opposite may be the case. They have assessed the levels of equality of modern countries in terms of the relationship between the wealth of the richest 20% and the poorest 20%. Across a huge range of social markers, what they have found is that the performance of unequal societies significantly lags behind that of more equal ones. This effect shows up not only in things like life expectancy, violence, and social mobility, but also in health and mental illness, educational attainment, social problems and anti-social behavior, happiness, and other measures of human wellbeing.⁵¹ There are serious obstacles to demonstrating if this holds true for the Roman world, most obviously we lack the sort of statistical data that Wilkinson and Pickett have used. But the strong modern correlation between inequality in societies and a range of negative social markers should surely give us pause for thought about our default view of the Roman world. To play a thought game for a moment, if we did have unlimited access to Roman census data from a range of provinces (and their predecessors) would those data actually uphold the assumed picture of a benevolent and beneficent empire raising the standard of living of the vast majority? Just as the great colonial era buildings of London and Paris do not represent a time of universally improved living conditions, life-expectancy, incomes, and social cohesion in those cities, so we should avoid the temptation to equate the monumental achievements of Roman architecture with the greater good in provincial societies.⁵² This highlights for me why the conventional focus in Romanization studies on elite groups in society creates a false image of the generality of social wellbeing under Roman rule.

There is in fact some archaeological evidence from human skeletal analysis to suggest that life expectancy in some areas of the Roman Empire was lower than in pre-Roman times. The work of Rebecca Redfern has been particularly impressive in this regard, as she has been able to work with groups of both late Iron Age and Roman inhumations from southern England and thus to compare data on human stature, longevity, disease, and a range of health markers.⁵³ Interestingly, the results suggest, just like the Wilkinson and Pickett analysis, that children, adult men, and the elderly faced an increased risk of mortality and a number of adverse health markers (including enamel hypoplasia related to malnutrition) under Roman rule. The assumed universal benefits of membership in the Roman Empire were thus in all probability far less apparent to the majority of its inhabitants than they have been to generations of modern scholars.⁵⁴ These issues remind us of the non-consensual nature of imperial power and the inherent probability that alongside the participation and collaboration, there was always resistance—albeit primarily cultural or passive.⁵⁵

Religion and funerary practices are areas of life where the underlying behaviors can be studied as well as the material culture in use and are thus particularly fruitful ones for the exploration of identity. Funerary practices are one of the most useful ways to expose



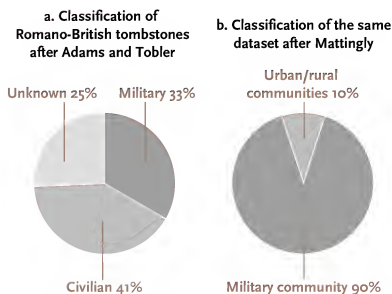
3.2. Tombstone of Regina from South Shields Roman fort near Hadrian's Wall. Arbeia Roman Fort and Museum, Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums, T765.

such variations and local/social patterning in identity.⁵⁶ This is also one of the most obvious points of departure from the (incorrectly) assumed norms of the Roman Empire. The idea that funerary practices were characterized by cremation burial in the early Principate, with this being increasingly replaced by inhumation in mid-late imperial times is at best a partial truth even in the western provinces where the pattern is most commonly encountered. For the East, Egypt, and Africa the patterns were much more varied.

The first stage of my analysis of discrepant identity has been to explore the distinctiveness in material culture and behaviors of the military community, town dwellers, and rural populations in two provinces, Britain and Africa. Here I have expanded on the work of specialists on the Roman army, such as Simon James, who have constructed an impressive picture of the army as a distinctive community, with organizational structures, dress, linguistic practices, and an array of distinctive behaviors that set soldiers apart from the majority of civilians in the provinces.⁵⁷ What is interesting is that there are perceptible differences in a range of key social behaviors that also effectively discriminate between urban and rural communities. A good example concerns the incidence of Latin tombstones in Britain (fig. 3.2). This has generally been assumed a normative Roman practice that was widely adopted across Britain, among soldiers and civilians

alike. Adams and Tobler, for instance, assumed an even split between military and civilian use of tombstones (fig. 3.3a).⁵⁸ However, the location map of tombstone findspots shows that the vast majority come from the militarized part of the province; further analysis leads to the suggestion that erecting tombstones was primarily a social practice of the military community, extending to the special categories of civilians closely connected with them (families, veterans, merchants, and craftspeople living alongside garrison settlements, other imperial officials, including imperial slaves and freedmen) (fig. 3.3b). At the same time,

tombstones from rural districts are extremely rare and the exceptions appear to be associated with extraordinary circumstances (suspected imperial estates, the territories of veteran *coloniae*, and so on), while finds from towns for the most part can be attributed to the military community (soldiers on secondment or in transit, imperial officials, veterans and their families) or to foreigners (i.e., non-Britons who went to the trouble of stating this fact on the stone). The British *civitas* center towns are notable for the absolute paucity of tombstones recovered (other than those relating to these exceptional and external groups). Most of these towns have produced either one or zero tombstones. This surely reflects a non-participatory cultural choice on the part of the vast majority of native Britons.⁵⁹



3.3. Alternative classifications of the corpus of Romano-British tombstones: a) Adams and Tobler separated women and children at known military sites from soldiers, boosting the numbers of "civilians"; b) my reworking of the dataset, assigning men, women, and children at known garrison sites entirely to the military community.

HETEROGENEITY, HYBRIDITY, AND PLURALITY

I have argued that a prime reason to abandon the concept of Romanization is that it allows us to shift attention away from issues of cultural commonality and homogeneity toward heterogeneity and hybridity. That is not to imply that the issues of commonality lack continuing relevance, but merely to reflect that after more than a century of the Romanization agenda those aspects of cultural change are quite well exposed. Colonial “soft power” and the creation of a globalized socio-economic zone can help account for much of the similar patterning we trace across the empire. There is a further impact of the neglect or de-emphasis of evidence of heterogeneity and long-continued pre-Roman traditions in that such evidence sits uncomfortably with conventional notions of an inclusive and consensual Roman Empire. A growing interest in postcolonial approaches to imperialism among some archaeologists⁶⁰ has been opposed by others with entrenched interests in the model of a benevolent Roman Empire.⁶¹ I would counter that we may be in a better position to judge the distinctiveness of the Roman Empire in comparison with more recent imperialisms once we have subjected the ancient evidence to the same sort of critical analyses that have been applied to the modern case studies. It is precisely in this light that the exploration of the underlying factors that explain the hybrid and diverse culture and cultural practices of the Roman Empire in its entirety is such a pressing need. It does not matter much to me whether people call this “discrepant identity,” hybridity, or some other term, as long as the phenomenon is explored—with Scholars’ Day,⁶² the exhibition, and this book a promising start. When engaging in colonial comparisons it seems to me that we need to focus on underlying processes rather than the specific mechanics of colonial systems, as Stark and Chance have done recently in exploring the strategies adopted by provincials in empires. The detail varies, but the behaviors can generally be equated with a range of options: bolstering, emulation, resistance, exodus, information control, appropriation, complicity, assimilation (fig. 3.4).⁶³

Strategies

Bolstering: E.g., elites seek collaboration with imperial agents to guarantee position within empire

Emulation: E.g., elites (and others) take on styles and practices of imperial elites

Resistance: Provincials seek to reduce or overturn imperial controls

Exodus: Move to escape imperial boundaries or power

Information control: Attempts to conceal or restrict information that was demanded by the imperial power

Appropriation: Selective adoption of imperial procedures and institutions

Complicity: Individuals pursue own interests (often economic) via collaboration with imperial regime

Assimilation: Elites and some commoners seek varied degree of social and identity integration with dominant imperial society

3.4. Strategies of provincials in imperial societies (after Stark and Chance 2012, 193).

PLURALITY VERSUS SINGULAR AFFILIATIONS

In his book *Identity and Violence* Amartya Sen eloquently makes the case for why we need to give more attention to multiple affiliations in social analysis, instead of over-emphasizing singular affiliations, like nation-state or religion.⁶⁴ This seems to be one of the key safeguards against the reifying power of identity studies when narrowly focused. The moment we prioritize one or a few identity markers we are heading toward essentialist and often

predictable conclusions. Brubaker, while voicing semantic concerns about the use of the term *identity*, has highlighted in his other work the importance of multiple ways of defining groupness. Both writers stress that factors that help define groups may be either specific to the individual or influenced by external factors (such as the structure and agency relationship). As Sen observes, “The freedom of choosing our identity in the eyes of others can sometimes be extraordinarily limited.”⁶⁵ Some cultural behaviors thus represent “reactive identity” as a response to socio-political impositions—here I think in particular about the sorts of colonial humiliation or the dramatic inequalities inherent in a colonial society that are implied in Figure 3.1.

One of the key questions to ask about political changes is the extent to which they were transformative of the lived experience of people. This is well illustrated by a story told by Hugo Gryn in his memoir of growing up in what is now southeast Slovakia. A man from the town of Berehovo has arrived at the gates of heaven and before admittance is told by an angel that he must tell the story of his life:

“I was born in the Austro-Hungarian Empire...received my education in Czechoslovakia, and started to work as an apprentice in Hungary. For a time I also worked in Germany, but I raised my own family and did most of my life’s work in the Soviet Union.” The angel was impressed. “You certainly travelled and moved about a great deal.” “Oh no,” the man protested, “I never left Berehovo!”⁶⁶

While those political transitions of the early twentieth century were particularly dramatic and had a major impact on the lives of many inhabitants, they were not historically unique—one can imagine ancient equivalents. In the course of the second century BCE, for example, the North African coastal city of Lepcis Magna moved from being a Carthaginian dependency, to a territory of the Numidian Kingdom, to a self-governing Libyphoenician community, to an ally of Rome, to an effective part of the Roman Empire. Each of those political changes will have involved cultural realignments.

Plural identities need to be investigated at a number of different levels, not simply in terms of ethnic, linguistic, or political units—which tend to dominate identity politics. In my recent work, I have suggested that identity in the Roman provinces may have been defined by (in no particular order): status, wealth, location, employment, religion, place of origin, family or ethnicity, proximity of engagement with the Roman imperial project, legal condition, language, literacy, gender, and age. It is unlikely that there was a predominant factor that consistently outranked others. Scholars of early Christianity recognize that religious identity did not serve as a primary affiliation until long after Christianity was established as the dominant religion.⁶⁷ Individuals may have belonged to multiple identity groups at any time, or indeed have acted in socially contingent ways depending on locale, fellow actors, audience, and so on. In this example I present the complex identity markers that can be deduced about Regina, a British slave who was freed by and married to Barates, a Syrian with a connection to the Roman army in northern Britain. The iconography of the tombstone (fig. 3.2) is that of a respectable Roman matron and the image is regularly used in books and museum displays to illustrate the archetype of a Roman woman in Britain, once again exposing the essentialism of the Romanization model. The true story of Regina shows that her identity and her life were far less straightforward and typical, with a sinister shadow cast by her enslavement.⁶⁸

My next example is drawn from Lepcis Magna in Libya. This Libyphoenician city was transformed from the reign of Augustus into one of the most recognizable Roman centers in North Africa, boasting early examples of Italian-style theaters, market buildings, and pedimental temples. The people who effected the transformation were not Roman colonists, but local Liby-

phoenician notables—men like Annobal Tapapius Rufus, who donated the funds for the market (11 BCE) and theater (1–2 CE). These early adopters also embraced Latin epigraphy for public inscriptions (initially as part of handsome bilingual texts), togate statues, and, increasingly as the first century CE progressed, Roman naming practices and the other perks of citizenship. At one level this is the classic Romanization success story. But there are indications that more complex identity games were being played out here, even among the aristocratic order that was most visibly “becoming Roman.” Annobal Tapapius might define his identity in a number of different ways, in part dependent on social context and the maintenance of such plural identities; this is strongly supported by the evidence of funerary practices in first- and second-century CE Lepcis.⁶⁹

The pre-Roman tradition in Tripolitania included the use of subterranean hypogea for multiple burials and freestanding tower and obelisk mausolea, in the Punic tradition. Excavations at Lepcis have shown a diversity of Roman burial and commemorative practices. Initially, many burials continued to be made in specially constructed hypogea of Libyphoenician type. The hypogea type of burial at Lepcis is well illustrated by a double-chambered example at Gelda, c. 2.5 km southwest of Lepcis. The two funerary chambers were each constructed with 10 niches for cinerary urns, with a wide bench running around the walls in front of the niches for the placement of other grave goods. One of the chambers had been completely cleared in antiquity, but the other contained 11 cremations and three inhumations, evidently deposited between the Flavian period and the mid-second century. The burial rite employed, the tomb contents, and the epigraphic indications on the cinerary urns provide a remarkable record of a society in cultural transition. The family seems to have been from the very top level of Lepcitanian society, as indicated by the quality of the burial monument, the best of the ash urns and associated grave goods, including fragments of two folding stools. Two types of cinerary urn were used: the earlier form was a gabled stone chest; the later type a stone vase, some plain, some with elaborate vegetal decoration. Most of the urns carried engraved inscriptions, the earlier examples in Neo-Punic script, the later ones in Latin characters.

Considerable interest lies in the naming practices observed on the ash chests and urns. Two of the ash chests had Neo-Punic inscriptions, but evidently related to individuals who already at that time possessed Roman citizenship, Publius Flavius Proculus Iaton and [Publius Flavius] Iustus Iaton. The final element is evidently a peregrine name added to the *tria nomina*. The third ash chest bore the name Flavia Amothmic Nysfur in Latin. The vase urns all had inscriptions in Latin letters, but though (seemingly) dealing with Roman citizens the form of names did not generally respect the expected form of presentation of *tria nomina* (see fig. 3.5). The vase urns represented an innovation of the Flavian period and probably derived from Roman models, though several were of clear local manufacture. Overall, this fascinating assemblage shows a family of early adopters at work, taking on Roman citizenship and Roman names, but maintaining onomastic practices in the tomb that evoked earlier identity markers in Punic and Libyan society. This family was also quick to switch to confined inhumation and plaster portrait busts in the mid-second century.

Other Lepcitanian hypogea have revealed a similar pattern of non-synchronicity between the forms of names on public inscriptions or on funerary inscriptions outside the tomb and the use of Neo-Punic or abbreviated Latin names on the cinerary urns. Of approximately 200 inscribed urns known from burials near Lepcis only about 10% used the Latin naming system properly.⁷⁰ The majority of these hypogeal burials evidently related to the elite class and this shows that even among the Lepcitanian elite, who were at the forefront of “becoming Roman,” families often retained Libyan or Punic cognomina in the domestic and funerary contexts, whereas public identity emphasized the purely Latin aspects of the individual’s identity. There is a mix of Latin, Punic, and Libyan names among the inscriptions, and even the Latin names sometimes reflect the Libyan heritage of an individual, as in the case

Urn no.	Form on urn	Reconstructed name?
1 (Neo-Punic)	PWBLY PL'WY PRQL YT/NN/T	Publius Flavius Proculus Iaton
2 (Neo-Punic)	YHST' YT/NN/T	(Publius Flavius) Iustus Iaton
3	FLAVIA AMOTH/MIC NYSFUR	Flavia Amothmic Nysfur
4	No inscribed name—perhaps originally painted	
5	C. FLAVI PROCULI	C. Flavius Proculus
6	NAMGYDDE	(?) Namgyddus
7	C. F. PROCUL BYDBA/LIS F	C. Flavius Proculus, son of Bydbal
8	PROCUL	(C. Flavius?) Proculus
9	CANDIDE	(?) Candidus (or Candida?)
10	M. F. IUSTI	M. Flavius Iustus
11	FLAMINIAE GAETULIAE	Flaminia Gaetulia

3.5. Names on funerary urns in the Qasr Gelda hypogeum at Lepcis Magna (after Di Vita-Evrard et al. 1996).

of Flaminia Gaetulia mentioned in Figure 3.5. There are few young children represented in the hundreds of cremations from Lepcis, and on the ash chests female names are much less common than male ones (33 : 67). Both of these anomalies may reflect continuation of pre-Roman cultural traits. A final point about the hypogeal burials is that they continued in use even after the switch to inhumation and the fact that the inhumations were inserted into the hypogea alongside the existing ash urns that were moved to one side but not cleared out completely, suggests continuity of family use.

The contrast between building dedications from within the city where *tria nomina* were generally used by prominent Lepcitanians from the late first century CE and funerary texts on mausolea, evidently for people of the same sort of elevated social status, is striking. The man commemorated on the Qasr Duiat mausoleum near Lepcis, C. Marius Boccius Zurgem, has a distinctly Libyan extra cognomen and this pattern echoes other examples.⁷¹ These Libyan or Libyphoenician lineage groups seem to have remained of high significance for the first generation or so after acquisition of Roman citizen status.

The first use of Latin varied across different types of inscriptional contexts (with its use initially overlapping with Neo-Punic): public inscriptions were the first to change, followed by funerary inscriptions, and finally by names inscribed on the urns within tombs. Nor was there a synchronous cutoff point across these different types of inscriptions when Neo-Punic gave way finally to Latin. In other words, the Libyphoenician elite adopted Latin much sooner and more completely in the public sphere than in the domestic sphere. Punic remained the key spoken language at Lepcis, and its use in funerary inscriptions long outlasted its disappearance in public inscriptions. The funerary landscape at Lepcis thus reveals a rather different pattern of identity presentation to the monumental urban core and the world of public inscriptions, statues, and mosaics.

In my work on Britain and Africa, I have dealt with very different types of data. Britain is rich in published artifact assemblages covering a wide range of materials but is comparatively weak in epigraphic and literary data. Africa has a disproportionate volume of inscriptions and literary texts, notably from the Christian period, whereas the artifactual record is heavily slanted toward elite artworks, with few sites for which the mundane culture of daily life has been well published. Nonetheless, I have found in both cases that the approach of discrepant identity has yielded interesting and valid results.⁷² That gives me hope that the approach will have utility elsewhere too, notwithstanding the fact that our datasets are so varied and incomplete. New approaches to data collection can enhance the

datasets available, as in the outstanding work on household assemblages carried out by Anna Boozer in the Dakhla oasis town of Amheida.⁷³ Dura-Europos seems to me to be another ideal site to apply discrepant identity analysis to, with its plural and highly differentiated expressions of groupness and individual personhood.⁷⁴ However, rather than seeing sites like Dura-Europos as exceptional, we need to recognize the likelihood that this sort of hybrid cultural plurality was probably much closer to the norm at many sites in the Roman Empire. Nor do we need the extraordinary preservation conditions of sites like Dura-Europos, Amheida, or Pompeii to engage in the sort of analysis of identities that I am advocating. All that is required is a change of mindset and asking different questions of the available evidence.

CULTURAL BACKWATERS AND CULTURAL BACKWASH

In 2012–13 there was a major exhibition in central Rome, spread across the Colosseum and several monuments in the Roman Forum. *Roma Caput Mundi...tra dominio e integrazione* explored traditional themes in Roman studies. It posed the old question: How was it that the Roman Empire enjoyed such success in unifying the ancient Mediterranean and lands beyond for so long? The theme of domination, though given equal billing in the title, was much less prominent in the displays, which strongly emphasized integration as the key aspect of Roman imperialism. Perhaps inevitably, Romanization still looms large in the model proposed:

The Romanisation of Italy and the provinces was not like a blanket spread over cities and countryside with the intention of eliminating diversity and turning the infinitely varied colours of local culture into a monochrome fabric. Roman identity was never forced on Rome's conquered subjects, cancelling pre-existing identities as punishment for defeat. Rebellions were put down ruthlessly, but the Romans did not force their culture on submissive former enemies...Romanisation was the highest privilege they could offer, and since they were convinced that their culture was superior, they thought it natural that foreigners should make it their own. Individuals chose to become Romanised because they were attracted to Roman culture, because it raised their social status, because it allowed them access to local and public offices. [...] Fusion of the dominant culture and indigenous cultures could lead to diverse and novel ways of life. Romanisation was like a unique tree that spread the same branches everywhere, but produced fruits of different flavours.⁷⁵

Leaving aside the florid and mixed metaphors and the emphasis on false negatives here, this passage is interesting for the way it still presents cultural change as something that was initiated by Romans and that took place in the provinces. However, the Rome exhibition in fact illustrated a very different pattern of cultural interaction. Since virtually all the material presented in the exhibition came from Rome or Italy, the real subject was the transformation of the metropolitan heartland of the Roman Empire and the integration of an extraordinary diversity of new cultural markers, religions, and ethnic groups within Roman society. The catalogue is filled with images of these cultural innovations often culturally incongruous in the context of republican Italy, with much epigraphic testimony of migration of people from all corners of the empire, some voluntarily, some forced. Here we encounter one of the great paradoxes of imperialism: the more wide-flung and diverse the cultural territories incorporated, the greater the long-term transformation of the metropolitan core, with cultural change at the center generally running at a faster pace and exceeding the transformation in the provinces. The reason is self-evident when one considers the operation of an empire

like Rome—the individual provinces were opened up to new cultural ideas from Rome and to potentially enhanced regional contacts and migration flows, but the effects often appear to be focused at certain key sites, or on particular social groups (mainly elites) and representative of only a subset of the totality of the material culture of the Roman Empire. On the other hand, the metropolitan center was open to reciprocal cultural flows and migration with all the provinces. The scale and pace of cultural change was thus much more dramatic and multi-dimensional than what we encounter in the provinces. Many provincial territories remained relative cultural backwaters, where pre-Roman traditions and practices were long maintained, while we might characterize what we witness at Rome as the cultural backwash of empire.

The cultural changes were not always welcome in conservative Rome—as the section in the *Roma Caput Mundi* exhibition on the attempted repression of the Bacchanalia in 186 BCE illustrates. But it is equally apparent from the sequel to the ultimately unsuccessful action against the Bacchic cult that the Roman state had limited ability to constrain or control the multilateral process of cultural exchanges that imperial conquest had unleashed. Like the tide coming in, cultural backwash is an unavoidable side effect of empire.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, I have advanced eight key arguments.

In the first place, I challenge the common assumption that there was a clear-cut Roman identity that was widely adopted across the Roman world. This has implications for the way in which we approach the material culture and behaviors of people living in the Roman provinces. Linked to this first proposition, I also think it mistaken to prioritize a singular non-Roman alternative identity. Thirdly, this Roman : non-Roman binary opposition is embedded in Romanization theory and is a further reason we need to replace the Romanization discourse with new approaches linked to identity.

The fourth issue raised relates to the emergence of “identity” in the last decades as a serious alternative to Romanization, and the fact that the application of identity studies in archaeology also has problematic aspects and theoretical and methodological processes that need to be clearly defined.

My fifth point relates to my own approach to identity, which takes as its starting points the inherent diversity of material culture in the Roman world and the fact that imperial systems elicit discrepant behavioral responses covering a broad spectrum from resistance to consensual participation.

The next point acknowledges that while there is value in looking for variance in identity markers and behaviors at the level of broad groups—the army, townspeople, rural communities—it is evident that there was huge variance within these groups as well as between them and a plurality of identities resulted which were dynamic rather than static.

My seventh point recognizes that the ultimate goal of studying identity in the Roman world is not simply to categorize specific examples (the stamp collecting approach), but to use such studies to arrive at a deeper understanding of how the impact of the Roman Empire operated at the social level, revealing the varied choices and priorities of the millions of subjects, not simply the culture and aspirations of the ruling elite who have predominated in the Romanization view.

Finally, I have suggested that the cultural flows between metropolitan center and provinces, between province and province, and between provinces and center are highly variable. Paradoxically, especially in relation to the assumptions underlying a model like Romanization, the greatest net cultural change in an imperial system is often located at its metropolitan center due to the focusing there of the diverse cultural influences of all the provinces. This is what Edwards and Woolf encapsulated in *Rome the Cosmopolis*, but we

might equally think of Rome as one of the first multicultural cities, characterized not by its sense of unchanging *Romanitas* so much as myriad plural identities.⁷⁶



- 1 Amartya Sen, *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny* (New York: Norton, 2006).
- 2 The chapter summarizes and takes further work on identity that I have been engaged with over the last decade, see “Vulgar and Weak ‘Romanization,’ or Time for a Paradigm Shift?,” review of *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*, ed. Simon Keay and Nicola Terrenato, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15 (2002): 536–40; “Being Roman: Expressing Identity in a Provincial Setting,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17 (2004): 5–25; *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC–AD 409* (London: Penguin, 2007); “Cultural Crossovers: Global and Local Identities in the Classical World,” in *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Roman World*, ed. Shelley Hales and Tamar Hodos (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 283–95; *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).
- 3 Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); but cf. his earlier article, “Becoming Roman, Staying Greek: Culture, Identity and the Civilizing Process in the Roman East,” *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 40 (1994): 116–43.
- 4 The paper is published as John C. Barrett, “Romanization: A Critical Comment,” in *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, ed. David J. Mattingly (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1997), 51–64 (quote from 52).
- 5 *Ibid.*, 59.
- 6 Leicester Faith Trail, see <http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/archaeology/research/projects/mapping-faith/faith-trail>.
- 7 See Timothy Insoll, “Configuring Identities in Archaeology,” in *The Archaeology of Identities: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2007), 1–18, see 11–13 for the comparison of modern multicultural societies with the Roman Empire.
- 8 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1995); Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998); Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray, eds., *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).
- 9 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- 10 Ton Derks and Nico Roymans, eds., *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009); Jonathan Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 1997).
- 11 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 58.1.21 cited by Jonathan Conant, *Staying Roman: Conquest and Identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439–700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.
- 12 J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- 13 Tacitus, *Germania*, trans. J. B. Rives (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- 14 Yves Modéran, “La province, troisième patrie,” in *Provinces et identités provinciales dans l’Afrique romaine*, ed. Claude Briand-Ponsart and Yves Modéran (Caen: CRAHM, 2011), 9–40.

- 15 Richard Hingley, *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity and Empire* (London: Routledge 2005); Simon James, "Romanization' and the Peoples of Britain," in *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization*, ed. Simon Keay and Nicola Terrenato (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), 187–209; Mattingly, *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*; Jane Webster, "Creolizing the Roman Provinces," *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, no. 2 (2001): 209–25; Jane Webster and Nick Cooper, eds., *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives* (Leicester: School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester, 1996).
- 16 See *inter alia*, Barri Jones and David J. Mattingly, *An Atlas of Roman Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Mattingly, *Tripolitania* (London: Batsford, 1995); Mattingly "Being Roman"; Mattingly, *Imperial Possession*; and Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity*.
- 17 Jane Webster, "Roman Imperialism and the 'Post-Imperial Age,'" in *Roman Imperialism*, 1–17; Webster, "Ethnographic Barbarity: Colonial Discourse and 'Celtic Warrior Societies,'" in *ibid.*, 111–23; Webster, "Necessary Comparisons: A Post-Colonial Approach to Religious Syncretism in the Roman Provinces," *World Archaeology* 28, no. 3 (1997): 324–38.
- 18 Warwick Ball, *Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire* (London: Routledge, 2000); Alan Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs, 332 BC–AD 642* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Miguel Versluys, "Exploring Identities in the Phoenician, Hellenistic and Roman East," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 65, nos. 3–4 (2008): 341–56. Cf. also, Woolf, "Becoming Roman, Staying Greek."
- 19 See most notably, Gail L. Hoffman, "Theory and Methodology: Study of Identities Using Archaeological Evidence from Dura-Europos," in *Dura-Europos: Crossroads of Antiquity*, ed. Lisa R. Brody and Gail L. Hoffman, exh. cat. (Chestnut Hill: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2011), 45–69; Nigel Pollard, "Colonial and Cultural Identities in Parthian and Roman Dura-Europos," in *Aspects of the Roman East: Papers in Honour of Professor Fergus Millar FBA*, ed. Richard Alston and Samuel N. C. Lieu (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 81–102. Cf. J. A. Baird, "The Graffiti of Dura-Europos: A Contextual Approach," in *Ancient Graffiti in Context*, ed. J. A. Baird and Claire Taylor (New York: Routledge, 2011), 49–68, for an attempt to show how different communities within the town employed graffiti in varied ways and to different degrees.
- 20 Conant, *Staying Roman*, 3–9, for an insightful analysis of Romanness.
- 21 For a representative range of recent studies, Margarita Díaz-Andreu et al., *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion* (London: Routledge, 2005); Andrew Gardner, "Social Identity and the Duality of Structure in Late Roman-Period Britain," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2, no. 3 (2002); Gardner, ed., *Agency Uncovered: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Agency, Power, and Being Human* (London: University College London Press, 2004); Melanie Giles, *A Forged Glamour: Landscape, Identity and Material Culture in the Iron Age* (Oxford: Windgather, 2012); Margarita Gleba and Helle W. Horsnaes, eds., *Communicating Identity in Italic Iron Age Communities* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011); Hales and Hodos, *Material Culture*; Edward Herring and Kathryn Lomas, *Gender Identities in Italy in the First Millennium BC* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2009); Timothy Insoll, ed., *The Archaeology of Identities: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2007); Lynn Meskell, "Archaeologies of Identity," in *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed. Ian Hodder (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 187–213; Louise Revell, *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Ursula Rothe, *Dress and Cultural Identity in the Rhine-Moselle Region of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009); Peter van Dommelen and Nicola Terrenato, eds., *Articulating Local*

- Cultures: Power and Identity under the Expanding Roman Republic* (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2007).
- 22 See *inter alia*, Ray Laurence and Joanne Berry, eds., *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1998); Claude Briand-Ponsart, ed., *Identités et cultures dans l'Algérie antique* (Rouen: Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 2005); Claude Briand-Ponsart and Sylvie Crogiez, eds., *L'Afrique du nord antique et médiévale: Mémoire, identité et imaginaire* (Rouen: Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 2002); Emma Dench, *Romulus' Asylum: Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Monique Dondin-Payre and Marie-Thérèse Raepsaet-Charlier, *Noms, identités culturelles et Romanisation sous le Haut-Empire* (Brussels: Timperman, 2001); Janet Huskinson, ed., *Experiencing Empire: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 2000); Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Tim Whitmarsh, ed., *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- 23 Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980); Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of a Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity, 1984).
- 24 Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity*, 208–9.
- 25 Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, “Beyond ‘Identity,’” *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1–47, see 5: “What is problematic is not that a particular term is used, but how it is used.” For an insightful discussion on the potential and problems of the use of identity in Roman archaeology, see Martin Pitts, “The Emperor’s New Clothes? The Utility of Identity in Roman Archaeology,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 111, no. 4 (2007): 693–713.
- 26 Brubaker and Cooper, “Beyond ‘Identity,’” 6–8.
- 27 It also remains the case that Brubaker and Cooper’s rejection of the term “identity” is far from accepted within the social sciences in general, see *inter alia* Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 2008).
- 28 Here I must acknowledge that other contributors to this volume are far more expert than I in researching material culture across a wide range of artifact types. My analysis of the shortcomings of some of the traditional approaches to artifactual studies is not intended as a criticism of their work, but rather an observation on a lack of critical rigor in the field more generally. As is apparent from the papers presented in this volume, there is a commendable engagement with new agendas among the contributors.
- 29 Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Chris Gosden, *Archaeology of Colonialism: Cultural Contact from 5000 BC to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, “The Cultural Biography of Objects,” *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1999): 169–78.
- 30 Jeremy Evans, “Material Approaches to the Identification of Different Romano-British Site Types,” in *Britons and Romans: Advancing an Archaeological Agenda*, ed. Simon James and Martin Millet (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2001), 26–35. See also Robin Fleming, “Struggling to be Roman in a Former Roman Province,” in this volume.
- 31 R. Bruce Hitchner, “Globalization Avant la Lettre: Globalization and the History of the Roman

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- 32 Martin Pitts, “Regional Identities and the Social Use of Ceramics,” in *TRAC 2004: Proceedings of the 14th Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham 2004*, ed. James Bruhn, Ben Croxford, and Dimitris Grigoropoulos (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 50–64; Pitts, “Pots and Pits: Drinking and Deposition in Late Iron Age South-East Britain,” *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24, no. 2 (2005): 143–61; Pitts, “Consumption, Deposition and Social Practice: A Ceramic Approach to Intra-Site Analysis in Late Iron Age to Roman Britain,” *Internet Archaeology* 21 (2007), doi:10.11141/ia.21.2; Pitts, “Artefact Suites and Social Practice: An Integrated Approach to Roman Provincial Finds Assemblages,” *Facta: A Journal of Roman Material Culture Studies* 4 (2010): 125–52; Steven Willis, “Samian Pottery: A Resource for the Study of Roman Britain and Beyond; The Results of the English Heritage Funded Samian Project,” *Internet Archaeology* 17 (2005), doi:10.11141/ia.21.2.
- 33 The seminal text remains James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1977).
- 34 “Grey literature” is the term used for archived reports, whether held in hard copy or in digital format. The Archaeological Data Service (ADS) is a common repository for digital files (<http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/greylit/>). These resources are increasingly being exploited by national research programs, as in the case of a current project on Roman rural settlement (<http://www.reading.ac.uk/archaeology/research/roman-rural-settlement/>).
- 35 Lindsay Allason-Jones, ed., *Artefacts in Roman Britain: Their Purpose and Use* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). For PAS, see <http://finds.org.uk>.
- 36 Hilary Cool, “An Overview of the Small Finds from Catterick,” in *Cataractonium: Roman Catterick and Its Hinterland; Excavations and Research, 1958–1997*, ed. Peter Wilson (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2002), 24–43; Cool, *The Roman Cemetery at Brougham, Cumbria: Excavations 1966–67* (London: Roman Society, 2004); Cool, *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Hilary Cool and M. J. Baxter, “Exploring Romano-British Finds Assemblages,” *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21, no. 4 (2002): 363–80; Hilary Cool and Chris Philo, eds., *Roman Castleford Excavations 1974–85: Volume 1, The Small Finds* (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Archaeological Services, 1998); Nina Crummy, *Colchester Archaeological Report 2: The Roman Small Finds from Excavations in Colchester 1971–9* (Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Trust, 1983).
- 37 Hella Eckardt, “The Social Distribution of Roman Artefacts: The Case of Nail-Cleaners and Brooches in Britain,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18 (2005): 139–60; Hella Eckardt and Nina Crummy, *Styling the Body in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain: A Contextual Approach to Toilet Instruments* (Montagnac: Éditions Monique Mergoïl, 2008), 36.
- 38 Simon James, *Excavations at Dura-Europos 1928–1937: Final Report 7; The Arms and Armour and Other Military Equipment* (London: British Museum, 2004). Also see James, “The ‘Roman-ness of the Soldiers’: Barbarized Periphery or Imperial Core?,” in this volume.

- 39 Thomas Grane, ed., *Beyond the Roman Frontier: Roman Influences on the Northern Barbaricum* (Rome: Quasar, 2007); David J. Mattingly, ed., *The Archaeology of Fazzan: Volume 1, Synthesis* (London: Society for Libyan Studies, 2003).
- 40 Duncan Garrow and Chris Gosden, *Technologies of Enchantment? Exploring Celtic Art: 400 BC to AD 100* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Duncan Garrow, Chris Gosden, and J. D. Hill, eds., *Rethinking Celtic Art* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2008); Peter Wells, *Image and Response in Early Europe* (London: Duckworth, 2008).
- 41 Sarah Scott and Jane Webster, eds., *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). See also Johnston in this volume.
- 42 David J. Mattingly, "The Art of the Unexpected: Ghirza in the Libyan Pre-Desert," in *Numismatique, langues, écriture et arts du livre, spécificité des arts figures Afrique du Nord antique et médiévale*, ed. Serge Lancel (Paris: CTHS, 1999), 383–405; Mattingly, "Family Values: Art and Power at Ghirza in the Libyan Pre-Desert," in *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, 153–70. Cf. Paul Zanker, "Selbstdarstellung am Rand der libyschen Wüste: Die Reliefs an den Häuplings-Mausoleen in der Nordnekropole von Ghirza," in *Austausch und Inspiration: Kulturkontakt als Impuls architektonischer Innovation*, ed. Felix Pirson (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2004), 214–26.
- 43 Like identity, ancient colonialism has attracted increased interest from classical scholars in recent years, informed by postcolonial theory, leading to new perspectives: Michael Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Michael Given, *The Archaeology of the Colonized* (London: Routledge, 2004); Andrew Gardner, "Thinking about Roman Imperialism: Postcolonialism, Globalization and Beyond?," *Britannia* 44 (2013): 1–25; Gosden, *Archaeology and Colonialism*; Tamar Hodos, *Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean* (London: Routledge, 2006); Henry Hurst and Sara Owen, eds., *Ancient Colonizations: Analogy, Similarity and Difference* (London: Duckworth, 2005); Claire L. Lyons and John K. Papadopoulos, eds., *The Archaeology of Colonialism* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002); Gil Stein, ed., *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2005); Peter van Dommelen, *On Colonial Grounds: A Comparative Study of Colonialism and Rural Settlement in First Millennium BC West Central Sardinia* (Leiden: University of Leiden, 1998).
- 44 The term "discrepant identity" is my elaboration on what Said called "discrepant experience," see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1992). See also, David J. Mattingly, "Dialogues of Power and Experience in the Roman Empire," in *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*, 1–16 and *Imperialism, Power, and Identity*, 213–45.
- 45 Keay and Terrenato, *Italy and the West*; Martin Millett, *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Peter Wells, *The Barbarians Speak: How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Wells, *How Ancient Europeans Saw the World: Vision, Patterns, and the Shaping of the Mind in Prehistoric Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).
- 46 The table is a development from an idea initially explored in *Imperialism, Power, and Identity*, 16.
- 47 For a review of some of the evidence for the benign assumptions about Roman imperialism, see Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity*, 13–22; Phiroze Vasunia, *The Classics and Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 22, 150–55.
- 48 A few examples from many, Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman*

- Empire*, vol. 1 (1776; London: J. Murray, 1896), 78: "If a man were called upon to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus." Theodor Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire: The European Provinces* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 4: "Seldom has the government of the world been conducted for so long in an orderly sequence. [...] In its sphere, which those who belonged to it were not far wrong in regarding as the world, it fostered the peace and prosperity of the many nations united under its sway longer and more completely than any other leading power has ever done." Francis Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1915), 10: "The men of the Empire wrought for the betterment and the happiness of the world." Albert Rivet, *Town and Country in Roman Britain* (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1958), 78: "For success was only achieved when the garrisons could be withdrawn, the forts dismantled and the local inhabitants be left to settle down to sensible Roman life in towns." John Wachter, ed., *The Roman World*, 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1987), 1:12: "The endurance of the Roman Empire is one of the success stories of history. That it survived so long is a sign of its principal achievement, whereby a heterogeneous mixture of races and creeds were induced to settle down together in a more or less peaceful way under the *Pax Romana*."
- 49 Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity*, 18–20.
- 50 Kent Flannery and Joyce Marcus, *The Creation of Inequality: How Our Prehistoric Ancestors Set the Stage for Monarchy, Slavery, and Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), especially 341–544 on kingdoms and empires.
- 51 Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett, *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone* (London: Penguin, 2010).
- 52 See for example, Vasunia, *Classics and Colonial India*, 157–91 on the employment of classical architecture in India; James Morris, *Pax Britannica* (London: Penguin, 1968), 177–213 on architecture in London and India. See also Richard Hingley, ed., *Images of Rome: Perceptions of Ancient Rome in Europe and the United States in the Modern Age* (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2001); Hingley, *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: The Imperial Origins of Roman Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 2000).
- 53 Rebecca Redfern, "A Bioarchaeological Investigation of Cultural Change in Dorset, England (Mid-to-Late Fourth Century BC to the End of the Fourth Century AD)," *Britannia* 39 (2008): 161–91. Rebecca Redfern and Sharon DeWitte, "A New Approach to the Study of Romanization in Britain: A Regional Perspective of Cultural Change in Late Iron Age and Roman Dorset Using the Siler and Gompertz–Makeham Models of Mortality," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 144, no. 2 (2011): 269–85.
- 54 Redfern and DeWitte, "A New Approach," 278–79: "The age patterns of mortality within the late Iron Age and Romano-British samples, as revealed by the Siler model parameter estimates, suggest that Romanization had deleterious effects on the age groups that are typically the most vulnerable, i.e., very young children and the elderly. [...] Following the Roman conquest, men were apparently at significantly higher risks of dying than women. This finding questions many traditional and often implicit assumptions about Romanization and life in the Roman Empire, fundamentally that this cultural change and social environment would be more advantageous for men."
- 55 We are just returning to such issues, despite interest in these themes 40 years ago, Marcel Bénabou, *La résistance africaine à la romanisation* (Paris: Maspero, 1976), D. M. Pippidi, ed., *Assimilation et résistance à la culture Gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1976).

- 56 On Roman funerary practices see *inter alia*, Maureen Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Richard Jones, "Burial Customs of Rome and the Provinces" in *The Roman World*, 2:812–37; Ian Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Jocelyn Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971). The regional complexity and the use of funerary ritual to express aspects of identity is more evident in Valerie Hope, *Constructing Identity: The Roman Funerary Monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nîmes* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2001); John Pearce, Martin Millett, and Manuela Struck, eds., *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000); Lea Stirling and David Stone, eds., *Mortuary Landscapes of North Africa* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).
- 57 Adrian Goldsworthy and Ian Haynes, eds., *The Roman Army as a Community* (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999); Simon James, "Soldiers and Civilians: Identity and Interaction in Roman Britain," in *Britons and Romans: Advancing an Archaeological Agenda*, ed. Simon James and Martin Millett (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2001), 77–89. Cf. Mattingly, *Imperial Possession*, 16–224; *Imperialism, Power, and Identity*, 220–36. See also James, "The 'Romanness of the Soldiers,'" in this volume. Interestingly, the distinctive package of material culture associated with the army is extraordinarily widespread in the Roman world—indeed it is one of the factors underlying the evolution of the idea of a Romanization process, though we now recognize it as something much more focused on a specific minority group within imperial society, rather than a sign of a general pattern of cultural change.
- 58 Geoff W. Adams and Rebecca Tobler, *Romano-British Tombstones between the 1st and 3rd Centuries AD: Epigraphy, Gender and Familial Relations* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2007).
- 59 David J. Mattingly, "Urbanism, Epigraphy and Identity in the Towns of Britain under Roman Rule," in *A Roman Miscellany: Essays in Honour of Anthony R. Birley on His 70th Birthday*, ed. H. M. Schellenberg, V. E. Hirschmann, and A. Kriekhaus (Gdansk: Department of Archaeology, Gdansk University, 2008), 53–71.
- 60 Peter van Dommelen, "Colonial Constructs: Colonialism and Archaeology in the Mediterranean," *World Archaeology* 28, no. 3 (1997): 305–23; Van Dommelen, "Ambiguous Matters: Colonialism and Local Identities in Punic Sardinia," in *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, 121–47; Van Dommelen, "Colonial Interactions and Hybrid Practices: Phoenician and Carthaginian Settlement in the Ancient Mediterranean," in *Archaeology of Colonial Encounters*, 109–41.
- 61 Terrenato highlights what he sees as modernizing tendencies of those who would like to compare the Roman Empire with other empires, whether this comparison was done in the nineteenth century or in the postcolonial age, arguing for the uniqueness of the Roman Empire. Terrenato, "The Deceptive Archetype: Roman Colonialism in Italy and Postcolonial Thought," in *Ancient Colonizations*, 59–72; cf. also his "The Cultural Implications of the Roman Conquest," in *Roman Europe*, ed. Edward Bispham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 234–64. But attempting to disallow comparative study of empire informed by postcolonial approaches, while effectively ignoring the extent to which the conceptual framing of classical studies was and still is influenced by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century comparative study is surely disingenuous. See further Peter van Dommelen and Nicola Terrenato, "Introduction: Local Cultures and the Expanding Roman Republic," in *Articulating Local Cultures*, 7–12.
- 62 Held at Yale University on September 20–21, 2013, Scholars' Day gathered the curators of *Roman*

- in the Provinces and contributors to this book to discuss and develop themes for the exhibition and publication.
- 63 Barbara L. Stark and John K. Chance, "The Strategies of Provincials in Empires," in *The Comparative Archaeology of Complex Societies*, ed. Michael E. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 192–237. Cf. also, Jane Webster, "Archaeologies of Slavery and Servitude: Bringing 'New World' Perspectives to Roman Britain," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18 (2005): 161–79.
 - 64 Sen, *Identity and Violence*, esp. 20–28.
 - 65 Ibid., 30.
 - 66 Hugo Gryn, *Chasing Shadows: Memories of a Vanished World* (London: Viking, 2000), 6.
 - 67 Éric Rebillard, *Christians and Their Many Identities in Late Antiquity: North Africa 200–450 CE* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); Conant, *Staying Roman*.
 - 68 For a recent new study of this fascinating tombstone, see Maureen Carroll, "The Insignia of Women: Dress, Gender and Identity on the Roman Funerary Monument of Regina from Arbia," *Archaeological Journal* 169 (2012): 281–311.
 - 69 Ginette Di Vita-Évrard, Sergio Fontana, and Luisa Musso, "Leptis Magna: Une tombe exemplaire du haut-empire," in *Monuments funéraires, institutions autochtones en Afrique du nord antique et medievale*, ed. Pol Troussset (Paris: CTHS, 1995), 153–78; Di Vita-Évrard et al., "L'ipogeo dei Flavi a Leptis Magna presso Gasr Gelda," *Libya Antiqua*, n.s., 2 (1996): 85–133; Sergio Fontana, "Lepcis Magna: The Romanization of a Major African City through Burial Evidence," in *Italy and the West*, 161–72.
 - 70 Fontana, "Lepcis Magna," 167.
 - 71 Joyce M. Reynolds and John B. Ward-Perkins, eds., *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania (IRT)* (Rome: British School at Rome, 1952), *IRT* 729 (Qasr Duiat); Fontana, "Lepcis Magna," 168–69 citing Q. Domitius Camillus Nysim (*IRT* 692); Q. Caecilius Cerialis Phiscon (*IRT* 673); C. Calpurnius Tracachalus Dosiedes (*IRT* 677).
 - 72 For Britain, see in particular, Mattingly, *Imperial Possession*; for Africa, see some preliminary thoughts in my *Imperialism, Power, and Identity*. The African case study was the subject of my 2013 Jerome Lectures and will be prepared in due course for publication.
 - 73 Anna L. Boozer, *Housing Empire: The Archaeology of Daily Life in Roman Amheida, Egypt* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).
 - 74 Indeed, there are already a number of excellent studies that pick up on the plural identities expressed through the site's remarkable material record, see *inter alia* Patricia DeLeeuw, "A Peaceful Pluralism: The Durene Mithraeum, Synagogue, and Christian Building"; Lucinda Dirven, "Strangers and Sojourners: The Religious Behavior of Palmyrenes and Other Foreigners in Dura-Europos," both in *Crossroads of Antiquity*, 189–99 and 201–20.
 - 75 Andrea Giardina and Fabrizio Pesando, eds., *Roma Caput Mundi: Una città tra dominio e integrazione*, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 2012), 33–34; see also Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Romanizzazione," in *ibid.*, 111–16.
 - 76 Cf. Catharine Edwards and Greg Woolf, *Rome the Cosmopolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).