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Britons abroad : the mobility of Britons and the circulation of British-made objects in the Roman Empire

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1 – Identifying identities in material culture

This section discusses the three main notions used in the present thesis: identity, migration and diaspora and their relation to material culture, in particular Roman material culture. Each notion is defined, typified and discussed. ‘Roman’ identity, migration in the Roman Empire and the formation of diasporas in the Roman provinces are considered here, with the emphasis on the expression of each type of identity (ethnic, migrant and diasporic) in the record of material culture. While not trying to propose a rigid terminology for each notion, I would like to present, in each case, points of discussion and outline aspects that might aid the understanding of the expression of migrant ethnic identity in the material record, a subject which is difficult to approach within archaeology (Grahame 2001, 159-160).

1.1 Identity

1.1.1 *Definition of a term*

As a research theme, identity has become increasingly popular in the Anglo-Saxon humanities and social sciences in the last few decades (specifically for archaeology cf. Wells 2001, 20; Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 1; Insoll 2007, 1; Pitts 2007, 693; Mattingly 2009, 283; also cf. Pitts 2007, 696, fig. 1 on the increasing number of publications in Roman archaeology dealing with the topic of identity in the past two decades, mainly in English-language scholarship). Yet, in spite of the theoretical and methodological discussions on how identity is formed and negotiated, there have been less discussions of how identity itself can best be studied (Pitts 2007, 699). While each study group has its own definition of the notion of ‘identity’², the concept itself can be considered in terms of two categories: practice and analysis (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 4; Ve 2006, 15).

The first category is based on an Aristotelian approach, whereby identity is defined according to the principle “a thing is itself” (Aristotle, *Metaphysics* VII, 17). This category emphasises the universality and sameness in things, the possession of identical traits among members of a group (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 7; see also Insoll 2007, 2 for a discussion of the term ‘identity’ in modern English dictionaries, where the preference tends to be given to the notion of ‘sameness’). It says that things are “identical with one another and at the same different from others” (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 5), i.e. a rose is a rose, and cannot be a tree. This category evokes the original meaning of the word ‘identity’, which derives from the Latin root *idem*, ‘the same’, implying continuity and essentialism (Rowlands 2007, 61).

² Revell 2009, 7; Mattingly 2009, 284; Archaeological perspective: Jones 1997, 13-14: identity based “on shifting, situational, subjective identifications of self and others, which are rooted in ongoing daily practice and historical experience, but also subject to transformation and discontinuity”. Archaeological perspective influenced by the social sciences: Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 1: “individuals’ identification with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant”. Cultural anthropology perspective: Byron 1996, 292 : “anthropological uses of ‘identity’ are ambiguous. In one sense, the term refers to properties of uniqueness and individuality, the essential differences making a person distinct from all others, as in ‘self-identity’. In another sense, it refers to qualities of sameness, in that persons may associate themselves, or be associated by others, with groups or categories on the basis of some salient common feature”. Sociology perspective: Johnson 2000, 151: “identity, social, see self”; 277: “the self is a relatively stable set of perceptions of who we are in relation to ourselves, to others, and to social systems”. Underlined are essential differences between the various perspectives of the term ‘identity’: comparative in archaeology (me and all others); perceptive in sociology and social science (how I and others see me); dualist from the anthropological point of view (I/others).

The second category allows for the recognition and analysis of the ‘selfhood’ within, and by, a certain social being. Here the emphasis lies on the duality of the nature of ‘identity’, where ‘selfhood’ is perceived by self and by others, allowing the understanding, formation, negotiation, fragmentation, fluctuation, *etc.* of the self³. The real and constructed self co-exist within one unity, the division being reinforced by the opposition and contrast. This is where identity, better understood in its plural form – identities – are categorised as fluid, dynamic and unstable; they are constantly changing, depending on situations in which agents find themselves.

The notion of identity is multivalent and highlights various modes of perception and covers two different realms⁴, yet both usages are mutually constitutive in order to have meaning and existence (fig. 1.1). In other words, two realms are connected and define each other: an ‘a’ is shaped by the self and the other perceptions, which in their turn define themselves in relation to an ‘a’ (constructed self cannot exist without a static ‘a’ and vice versa)⁵.

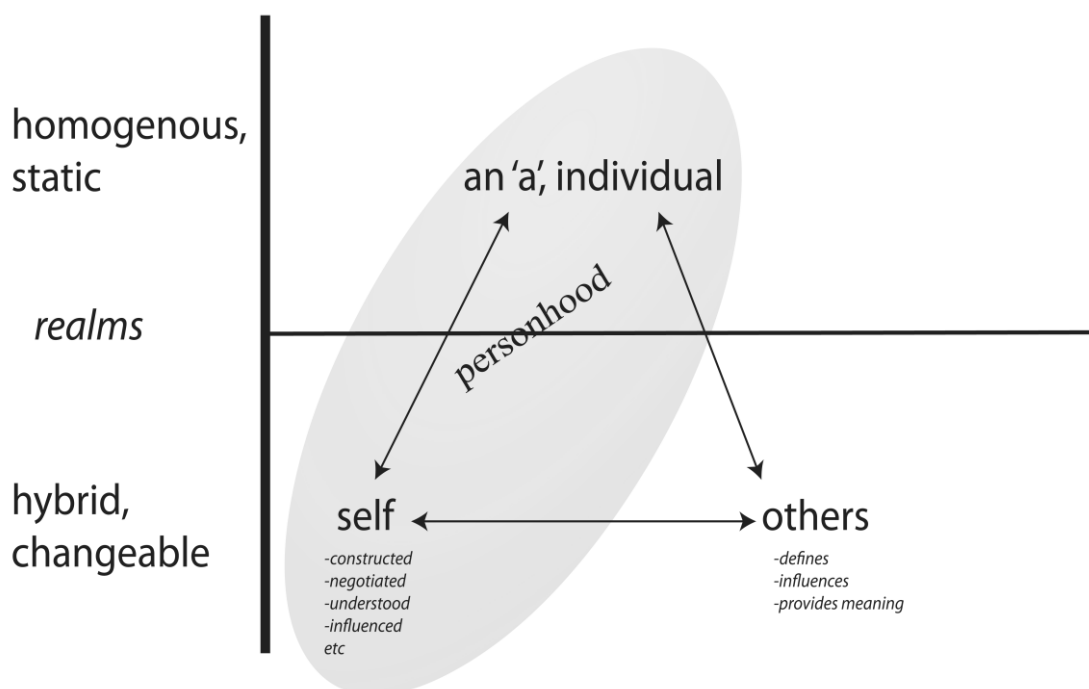


Figure 1.1 Schematic examination of the notion ‘identity’

³ Versluys forthcoming, 2012a: “It is only in confrontation with the Other that we begin to understand and investigate ourselves and our own culture”. Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 1: “[identity] is inextricably linked to the sense of belonging. Through identity we perceive ourselves, and others see us, as belonging to certain groups and not others”.

⁴ Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 8: it “highlights fundamental sameness - sameness across persons and sameness over time [...] and uses both reject notions of fundamental or abiding sameness”.

⁵ Cf. Gardner 2007a, 239: “identity is one of the qualities of human life that connects agency and structure. Individuals are shaped by identities as structural categories, but they also internalize those categories to define themselves”. In his interpretation agency, although a rather nebulous term, “is something that people ‘have’ – a capacity for acting in a particular, self-conscious way [and] what people ‘do’ – the particular way they engage in the world through a flow of interactive practices” (Gardner 2007a, 18). The ‘have’ part of agency is what is here understood as a static ‘a’, while the ‘do’ aspect – self-identification and self-opposition to the ‘other’. Under ‘structure’ Gardner (2007a, 18) sees the ability to affect and shape, i.e. to structure, the world of agents, who at the same time affect and shape the world themselves. Identity therefore plays a crucial role as “a key symbolic medium through which agency and structure interrelate” (Gardner 2007a, 18). In this sense, identity is an action, a shaper of the dialectic opposition of the self and other. Here, however, identity is understood as an idea, subjectively formulated by ‘self’ and ‘other’ in order to define the static ‘a’.

While the first category has one level, an ‘a’ or ‘sameness’, the second category by its dual nature implies various levels of identification; i.e. an individual or a self has many identities, based on gender, ethnicity and culture, age, status, class and religion⁶. Because of the multi-dimensional nature of the second category, “any investigation of identity also needs to take place through multiple scales of analysis” of these various levels of identification (Revell 2009, 8) rather than studying solely one type of identity⁷. Another important point is that all these categories cross-cut each other at some point, though not all are equally important for all individuals, or at any one time (Hall 2007, 338). The identification of the ‘other’ has various levels, which form and influence the perception of the ‘self’. ‘Self’ and ‘other’ are also dependant on each other: context plays an important role here because how one sees oneself and how one is perceived by others differs from one situation to the next (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 14). We should not forget that “self- and other-identification are fundamentally situational and contextual” (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 14). In this realm ‘self’ operates on the individual level, “where a person experiences many aspects of identity within a single subjectivity, fluid over the trajectories of life”; the ‘other’ is defined by social experiences and formal associations formed by the categories of society (Meskell 2007, 24). This second level also suggests that “identities are not given” (Rowlands 2007, 68), but acquired through associations.

1.1.2 *Cultural and ethnic identities*

This section does not aim to provide a rigid taxonomy of different types of changeable identities or discuss in detail each type, considering that within Roman archaeology some types have received little or none coverage⁸. The main focus is on the cultural and ethnic identities, where the emphasis is on their inherited differences and possible interrelations⁹.

Cultural and ethnic identities have enjoyed the longest interest in modern scholarship (Gardner 2007a, 198; Pitts 2007, 695; Revell 2009, 8; Antonaccio 2009, 3 and 46). It is not the intention here to provide an analysis of all published literature about cultural and ethnic identity (see Brather 2004, 11-27; Lucy 2005b, 87-91; Gardner 2007a, 198-199 and Meskell 2007, 25; Hodos 2009, 5-13 for further literature and for a discussion of the development of ethnic and cultural studies), but rather to give a general introduction and to discuss some crucial points.

Ethnicity has usually been considered to be based on ‘racial’ characteristics: the same origin, language, descent; in other words, something that people share based on their blood ancestry or inheritance (Lucy 2005b, 86; also see Brather 2004, 77-88 on the notion of ‘race’ in discussions of ethnicity). However, contemporary studies indicate that ethnicity is more “an idea than a thing” and is primarily based on social relationships,

⁶ The usual characteristics implied to describe various facets of identity (Pitts 2007, 694), where ethnic and cultural identity are juxtaposed with one another, which will be discussed later.

⁷ E.g. the plea by Meskell 2007, 33 for “multidimensional analysis”; also Gardner 2002, 329 commenting on approaches to study material culture, the subject that will be discussed below: the “multi-dimensional nature of social life can only be explored through [a] multi-dimensional approach”.

⁸ Identities excluded from this list are national identity and identity of nations (because these are modern constructs, cf. Guibernau 2007, 11: “national identity is a collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging to the same nation and of sharing most of the attributes that make it distinct from other nations. National identity is a modern phenomenon of a fluid and dynamic nature”, but see 14-15, 19-21); political identity (defined by Grahame 2001, 159 as “citizenship, membership of a body politic, party affiliation and nationality”).

⁹ For the overview of other identities, the author refers to the following publications with further literature: on gender identity - Diaz-Andreu 2005 and Meskell 2007; on age - Lucy 2005a; on status and class - Babić 2005; on religious identity – Edwards 2005.

similar ways of behaving and is something that can be learnt, rather than something one is born into (Lucy 2005b, 86). Contemporary scholarship is therefore moving away from dealing in whole bounded entities (as ‘ethnic groups’ are often understood) to complex dimensional groupings grounded in social conditions and cultural practices (Jones 2007). Rather than identifying “salient markers” of ethnic and cultural identities, the preference is now given to the interrogation of “social domains in their cultural context” (Meskell 2007, 30).

Ethnic identity is usually understood as a part of cultural identity¹⁰, although in some cases the concepts of cultural and ethnic identity are used interchangeably (Friedman 1990, 26-27; Grahame 2001, 159; Lucy 2005b, 101; Antonaccio 2009, 33)¹¹. However, ‘culture’¹² and ‘ethnicity’ are not embedded within each other: cultural similarities are not necessarily bounded by ethnic boundaries and an ethnic group is not necessarily limited to one culture¹³. The problem lies in the interpretation of the role of agents and their perceptions of ethnicity, and the relationship between agents and “cultural contexts [...] in which they are embedded” (Jones 2007, 48). For instance, ethnic affiliation can easily be changed by the agent through mobility or social associations; in other words, ethnicity is highly mutable depending on the context in which the agent finds himself (Friedman 1990, 27; Brather 2004, 568; Lucy 2005b, 97; Gardner 2007a, 198-199; Whittaker 2009, 191, 193).

One solution is the introduction of the concept of *habitus*¹⁴, which deals with “subjective ethnic classifications [...] grounded in the social conditions and cultural practices characterising particular social domains” (Jones 2007, 49). In this sense, identification of ethnicity is based neither on the similarities and differences of social domains, nor is it produced as a result of social interaction manipulated to achieve specific interests; rather it is embedded in a shared *habitus* enhanced by the usage of symbols (Jones 2007, 49; also see Lucy 2005b, 96 on the importance of the symbols “to reproduce feelings of ethnic belonging”). Ethnicity is born out of cultural *differences* (thus not similarities!) that are first recognised and understood by groups. Later these differences are internalised “within the shared dispositions of the *habitus*” (Jones 2007, 50). In other words, the formation of ethnicity is an ongoing changeable process and “involves the objectification of cultural difference vis-à-vis others in the context of social interaction” (Jones 2007, 51)¹⁵. It should be pointed out that ethnicity is not universal and depends on certain conditions to prevail (Grahame 2001, 158): ethnic

¹⁰ Cf. Jones 2007, 44: “cultural identity in Europe, whether [...] European, national, or ethnic”.

¹¹ Brather 2004, 111-112 goes even further to differentiate between the notions of ‘ethnic identity’ and ‘ethnicity’, where he understands the former as “*grössere geschlossene Gruppen die Individuen in den Mittelpunkt gerückt*”, the latter as “*das Verhalten von Gruppen in bestimmten Situationen – die ‘Objektivierung’ ethnischer Zugehörigkeit durch die Bezugnahme auf einzelne soziale und kulturelle Merkmale*“.

¹² Cf. discussion on the notion of ‘culture’ from an anthropologist’s point of view in Friedman 1990; for an archaeological view, and on cultural identity see Brather 2004, 52-76; Hodos 2009, 3-4.

¹³ Jones 2007, 48 describing the subjective instrumental approach to ethnicity, while emphasising that this subject is a neglected area of research; cf. also Lucy 2005b, 91-92: “different social groups may share a relatively homogenous material culture, while still maintaining ‘ethnic’ orientation or identity”; Whittaker 2009, 189: “ethnicity is not the same as culture, let alone an identifiable material culture”.

¹⁴ The concept of *habitus* was introduced by Bourdieu and defined as a “generative and unifying principle which retranslates the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary lifestyle, that is, a unitary set of choices of persons, goods, practices” (Pitts 2007, 701 citing Bourdieu 1998, 8). Pitts (2007, 701) notes that “*habitus* is rooted in the material conditions of everyday existence and is learned or acquired through interactive practices, in a process of familiarity rather than learning, which comes about by the act of living in a world composed of some given order”.

¹⁵ Cf. also Jones 2007, 54: “ethnicity is a dynamic, contested phenomenon, which is manifested in different ways in different contexts, with relation to different forms and scales of interaction. [...] the representations of cultural difference involved in the articulation of ethnicity are transient, although subject to reproduction and transformation in the ongoing processes of social life”.

relations are established when one group identifies itself in opposition to another using the terminology of cultural differences and only when “such cultural differences are perceived as *important*” (Lucy 2005b, 95, my emphasis). Moreover, the process of differentiation is “a dialectic, a continuing communication, rather than simple binary opposition” (Lucy 2005b, 96). To summarise, ethnic identity is a created cultural idea embedded within, and formed by, social practices and formulated through dialectic opposition.

The idea discussed here avoids defining ethnicity in terms of origins and blood relations¹⁶ but rather emphasises that its primary reference is subjectivity¹⁷ and individual associations influenced by dialectic social interactions, and suggests that it is a social practice based on “shared ways of doing things” (Lucy 2005b, 101). Yet the notion of shared origins plays an important role in creating and maintaining ethnic identity, although this may stem from modern constructions of what ethnicity is, and was not necessarily valued to the same extent in the past (Lucy 2005b, 98, 100 and 109; Pitts 2007, 700). Ethnic identity is also closely interwoven with other identities, such as status, gender and religion, and can be constructed as a result of power relations and political systems; all these aspects are fundamental to the creation of ethnic groups (Brather 2004, 568; Lucy 2005b, 100; Gardner 2007a, 201; Derks and Roymans 2009, 1).

Coming back to the opposition of cultural and ethnic identities, ethnicity is therefore a subjective phenomenon drawing its sources from cultural associations and practices, and in which the agents’ actions are crucial in forming, maintaining and dissolving ethnicity. Cultural identity is a pool from which ethnic manifestations can be extrapolated; it has properties that are common to all other kinds of identity but to some extent can be realised in itself and it mostly operates on the communal level¹⁸. It is, however, not a static self-evident product, but a practiced one - an “instable product of the practice of meaning, of multiple and socially situated acts of attribution of meaning to the world” (Friedman 1990, 23; see also Hodos 2009, 4).

Having discussed here an approach to cultural and ethnic identities through the concept of *habitus*, another approach based on the ‘structuration theory’ will be briefly addressed. It should be noted that this theory neither strictly deals with nor tries to explain cultural and ethnic identities, but it provides the starting point for a discussion of all identities and the relationship between agency and structure mediated by identity (cf. Gardner 2002, 326; 2007a, 202-203). Yet the introduction to this theory is crucial for the understanding of how cultural and ethnic identities operate on various levels.

The ‘theory of structuration’ was introduced by Giddens (1979; 1984) and is based on the ‘duality of structure’, where “structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices” (Giddens 1979, 5)¹⁹. Agency is itself “united with structure in

¹⁶ Contra Friedman 1990, 26 where cultural identity is understood as a generic concept, while ethnicity is a part of this cultural identity. Referring to the blood, ethnicity here is inherited and not practiced.

¹⁷ Lucy (2005b, 96) notes that subjectivity is not a final resource; the ethnic identity of a group/individual can also be born out of definition and categorisation constructed by another group. See also Ve 2006, 19 on the identity that male members of the juridical court attributed to female rape victims in Norway.

¹⁸ Cf. Rothe 2009, 6: “[ethnic identity] fails to circumscribe the complex processes at work when a community becomes part of the *cultural* world of an empire”; See also Versluys (forthcoming, 2012b) who sees the connection between collective and cultural identities: “[...] collective identities [which are] images that a group constructs of itself in order for its members to identify with. Nations are probably the clearest examples of these collective self-definitions. If people identify themselves with such an image we speak of cultural identity.” He defines cultural identity as “the (successfully functioning) imagined collective identity of a group”.

¹⁹ Cf. also Gardner 2007a, 43: “The concept of ‘structuration’ specifies more closely how the duality of structure works over time, referring to the ways in which social structures and systems are continually created and maintained through people’s interactions”.

the context of specific activities or practices” (Gardner 2007a, 43). On the level of the relationship between agency and structure the ‘duality’ also exists, where both (agency and structure) are mutually constitutive and dependant (Giddens 1979, 69; Gardner 2007a, 43; cf. also Revell 2009, 10: “social structure and individual lives should not be seen as a dichotomy, with one taking precedence over the other. Instead they form a duality, each the precondition and the product of the other”). Moreover, the unifying principle of agency and structure, practice (also known as *habitus*), develops as a result of interaction between this agency and structure. Interaction in its own turn can develop through either evaluation and transformation of the actions and the rules by individuals (called discursive consciousness) or repetition of actions (called practical consciousness) (Gardner 2007a, 44). The deepest level of interaction, which is repressed, is unconsciousness (Gardner 2007a, 45).

The terminology used to outline structuration theory can be applied to understand the division between ethnic and cultural identities as well as their operation on various levels (fig. 1.2). Ethnicity, being an agent of culture and structured by it (as in the theory of *habitus*), develops through an interaction (called differences in *habitus* theory) of social practices, norms and actions. It is continually created, developed, maintained and abandoned, whereas culture is its general application, that can be used, i.e. it is something that agents nominally ‘have’, while ethnicity is something that agents choose to ‘do’ (using Gardner’s (2007a, 18) terminology on the meaning of the word ‘agency’). Ethnicity is united with cultural identity in the context of specific activities and practices²⁰. Practices or interactions can be transformed because they can be evaluated by individuals (discursive consciousness in structuration theory); ‘routinised’ by repetition (practical consciousness in structuration theory) or operate on the unconsciousness level.

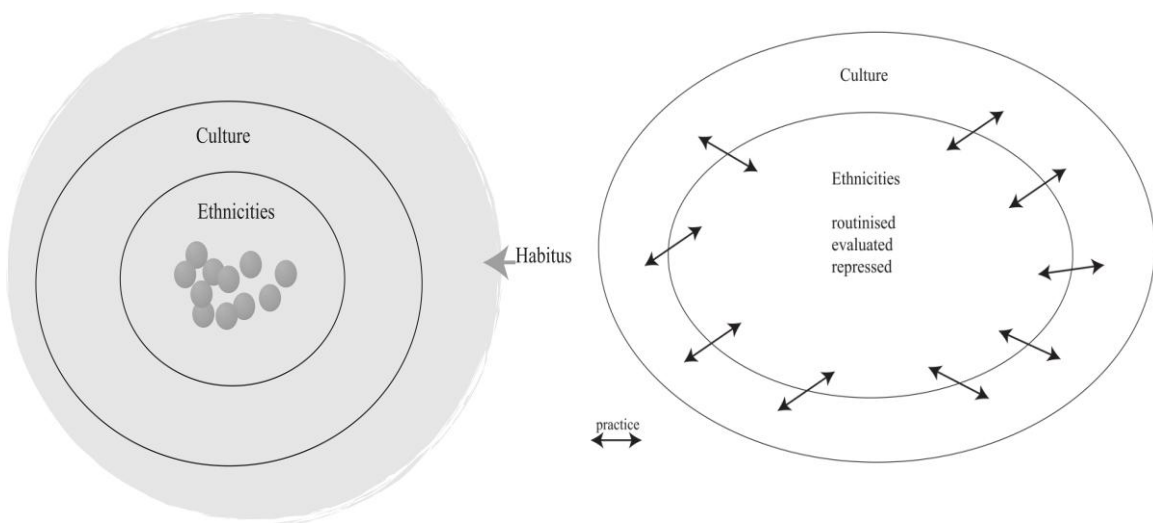


Figure 1.2 Cultural and ethnic identities, using the theories of *habitus* and structuration

The division of the practices on the discursive, ‘routinised’ (practical or habitual in Gardner 2007a, 130) and unconsciousness levels allows a deeper understanding of how ethnic identity operates. While both discursive and habitual levels make it possible to consider acquired ethnic identity (evaluated in relation to other ethnicities) and birth

²⁰ Cf. Gardner 2007a, 43: “agency is united with structure in the context of specific activities or practices”.

identity (origin, descent, blood relations, the national identity one is born into), the unconsciousness level brings an affective, emotional dimension to it²¹.

1.1.3. *Identities' relation to 'self' and 'other'*

The popularity of 'identity' studies leads to identity being studied for identity's sake (Insoll 2007, 4); because identity is multifaceted and implies diversity within the 'self' and 'other' such studies focus on "diversity for diversity's sake" (Pitts 2007, 693), cataloguing the oppositions or differences that form any type of identity. Shortcomings in studies of any type of identity lie in their terminology: modern theoretical applications pollute our understanding of past identities (Insoll 2007, 4; Meskell 2007, 32). What we understand as, for instance, age identity might not have been of any importance to the people of the past, instead being understood as an expression of what is known today as gender identity²². Moreover, ascribing a particular type of identity to past actions "forces a confrontation with different kinds of identities and different process of identification" (Gardner 2002, 324). By applying a label of a particular kind of identity we are, at the same time, creating a new identity. Moving away from making catalogues of binary oppositions and labeling them with modern notions to experiences of agents and their actions through social practices provides a new refreshing shift in contemporary scholarship (Meskell 2007, 30; Pitts 2007, 701). In other words, by shifting the focus from 'identification' to 'experience' (also known as practices, interaction, *etc.*) we might avoid the labeling and cataloguing problem.

While diversity of identities should not be undermined when one approaches aspects of identity, other aspects, outlined in the discussion on ethnic and cultural identities, should be brought into the equation: routinisation and evocation. Routinisation is rooted in habitual and mundane activities (although not static!), while evocation implies affection and an emotional relationship with social practices. Habitual actions complement the discursive ability, i.e. the ability to make decisions, whether deliberate or not, to change the way of doing things (Gardner 2007a, 243, though he emphasises the intentionality of decision making). Individuals, because of the routinisation of some actions (practical level), know "how to function in their daily existence", which gives them the possibility to get by within their world (Revell 2009, 12); discursive ability provides the framework for negotiation.

So how does this relate to 'self' and 'other'? Social aspects, practices and interactions determine and negotiate with the actions of individuals dialectically: 'self' is expected to act according to the norm socially constructed by the 'other', at the same time the 'other' is determined by the constructed norms imposed by the 'self'²³. The different identities - gender, age, status, cultural and ethnic - are all negotiated and performed by the 'self' and 'other' either at the same time or selectively, depending on

²¹ Cf. Gardner 2007a, 130: "People do not just think about what they are doing in a purely cognitive sense, but also have feelings about it". It should be pointed out here that Gardner (2007a, 202-203) has a different vision of the relationship between structuration theory levels and identity than the present author. E.g. "Certain aspects of identity may require active signalling, to others and/or to oneself; these are equally likely to be amenable to explicit discussion on some level. However, social identities must also be routinised in practice (i.e. become part of practical consciousness) if they are to form a significant element of an individual's own sense of self-identity. It is fundamentally through such routinisation that identities serve to structure human interactions, at the same time as they are themselves reproduced" (Gardner 2007a, 202-203).

²² Cf. Hodos 2009, 18: "what may be regarded as an ethnic indicator may equally reflect other socially constructed identities beyond ethnicity".

²³ Cf. Gardner 2007a, 239-240: "individuals are shaped by identities as structural categories, but they also internalise those categories to define themselves. Equally, structures are shaped by the actions of people, but those people are living largely according to the rules of behaviour that their identities afford them". Also Revell 2009, 10

the social and temporal context(s). The identification or sense of belonging to a particular identity (for instance, to the same gender or status group) runs through the understanding of differences embedded within social practices that can be routinised, evocative and/or interactive, and entirely dependent on the context (i.e. there should be certain important conditions).

This second level of identity relates to the aforementioned first level, homogenous and static an 'a'. It is a socially real body constructed from 'self' and 'other', where a complex cluster of different types, yet associated, identities form individual traces of an 'a'. This model of identity therefore emphasises the multiple categories of identification (negotiated between the 'self' and 'other') existing within an individual, i.e. an 'a'.

1.1.4. *Materiality of identity in (Roman) archaeology*

"Each time the same object would give rise to a new meaning, though all former meanings would resonate together with the new one" (Kundera 1995, 84)

The way various identities are manifested in the usage of material culture is central to archaeological studies, yet 'the archaeology of identity' is a problematic sub-discipline. All identities are multifaceted, multidimensional, negotiated between dialectic interaction of 'self' and 'other'. Because items of material culture were used for particular purposes in daily life, they were actively involved in the social practices of human beings (Lucy 2005b, 102). Therefore, material culture is an active participant in social practice as well as its producer (Wells 2001, 29; Lucy 2005b, 102; Pitts 2007, 701). Through the use of objects identities are articulated, negotiated and can interact with each other. In other words, material culture plays an active role in shaping various identities as well as contesting them, because it is a medium as well as a product of human action (Revell 2009, 3)²⁴. This implies that a particular identity cannot be 'read off' a particular object; rather material culture is used and manipulated to construct various shifting identities (contra Mattingly 2004, 22; see also Eckardt 2005, 157). An object itself can be used in a variety of ways with different 'identities' ascribed to it by different users and because identities are multifaceted *etc.*²⁵. Moreover, individuals using particular objects in their expression of identities might use different objects when expressing the same identities in different (or sometimes even in same) contexts (Gardner 1999, 404; Wells 2001, 25; Jones 2007, 52). The material aspect of identity is a complex pattern of overlapping and changing (personal) perceptions dependant on context. Another problem has to do with our modern perceptions of various types of identities; identities ascribed to a person or an object in the past might have been very different from the identities ascribed by a contemporary viewer (Pitts 2007, 700). The challenge is to assess which objects stood for which identities, taking into the account that a particular identity cannot be read from an artefact, and under which circumstances these identities flourished or were disbanded (Derks and Roymans 2009, 4 on ethnicity). To understand this, i.e. which, when and how particular identities were expressed in artefacts, is, in fact, impossible because material expression of identities is loaded with various meanings. What we need is to understand the actions employed to produce, use and discharge a particular object or assemblage of objects.

Identities are embedded within the social practices (actions) of everyday life, and this provides a solution for understanding the materiality of identity. A key to

²⁴ Cf. Mattingly 2004, 22: "material culture was used at every level in society to express identity".

²⁵ But Antonaccio 2003, 62-63 with further examples: "identities were indeed recognised in material culture", meaning that peoples in the past were able to recognise differences in objects, which leads to the assumption that they used objects "to make different sorts of statements in antiquity".

understanding the meaning of actions is understanding the contexts in which objects were used (Hill 2001, 17; Gardner 2007a, 49). The construction of various identities goes hand in hand with use of objects in particular (social routinised/discursive) contexts. Therefore the study of social contexts²⁶ is crucial. Moreover, we need to move away from simply charting the signifiers of identities in various contexts; an understanding of the relationship between identities expressed in material culture usage and of “what these identities actually amount for” is important (Pitts 2007, 702).

Introducing the concept of routinisation in the discussion of identities provides another tool for studying materiality. In spite of the fact that “material culture meanings certainly can be multiple and fluid” (Gardner 2007a, 201), because of the physical permanence of an object (an ‘a’ dimension of material culture) and because of its permanence embedded within routinised practice (i.e. similar objects used similarly in similar practices), the static routinised dimension of material culture gives a clue as to the expression of routinised identities (the term ‘routinised identities’ was discussed above). In other words, while identities of objects varied in various contexts, they are also linked by common practical threads (Gardner 2007a, 241). The commonality of practice in the usage of objects allows an understanding of the meanings “most commonly constructed by people in particular contexts” (Gardner 2007a, 241).

Investigating how individuals create/reproduce their identities through the usage of objects, while being at the same time shaped by them, leads to a one-sided picture: the identities of objects and users under consideration are limited to the period when the objects were used by a particular group. What is excluded from the narrative is the study of the biographies of objects²⁷: the development of the meanings attached to the objects by their users. The purpose of an object established at the time of its creation by one group fades from the research when one studies the object used in the social practices of another group. New identities are established when a particular object enters a new realm, i.e. a change of owner means that the owner also acquires a new identity with the purchase/construction of an object²⁸. Therefore, objects “do not always retain their original meaning when recontextualised”, however, some of them “may still retain particular resonance for their users” (Antonaccio 2009, 35), adding a new dimension to the meaning of objects and making it possible to research object biographies. The resonance of former meanings in objects has been described as ‘material resonance’ (Antonaccio 2009), when objects are associated with particular meanings, i.e. place of production (material ethnicity), first encounter with the object, first usage, *etc.* Objects are therefore a sum of material resonances, in which an individual has a free (deliberate or not) choice of choosing the object’s identity in order to construct his/her own. According to this theory objects are agents in themselves, since they are active participants in communication with human agents and definers of the social practice; yet, it should not be forgotten, that objects cannot exist without the human agent, because it is ‘he/she’, who provide objects with all their meanings, resonances and associations. Objects are formed by agents as well as forming them, as in ‘the duality of structure’ theory.

²⁶ Here ‘context’ is understood not in its strict archaeological meaning (final ‘resting’ place of an object - its findspot), but in a more fluid sense, i.e. the uses of an object in various contexts during its ‘lifetime’ (before it ended up in the place where archaeologists found it).

²⁷ Cf. Antonaccio 2009, 46: “typological and chronological lineages for objects – a way of thinking that employs the metaphor of coming into being, changing over time, grafting on new characteristics or losing them in the process, and eventual demise. [...] objects have biographies – sometimes in the form of genealogies of their own, histories of their origins and exchanges”.

²⁸ Cf. Eckardt 2005, 140: “[...] objects [are] used in very specific ways to express meanings that have little to do with the meanings those objects had in the context of the originating culture”.

Therefore, objects' origins, its age (usage) and development (collection of biographies) are part of a discourse when approaching the materiality of identity. Because humans have the ability to associate a thing, or things, with some other place (Antonaccio 2009, 47) or cherish objects for particular associations, it gives us a criteria of evocation and affection, the so called unconscious level of identity, a subject which remains somewhat undeveloped (cf. Gardner 2007a, who finds the subject engaging but fails to explain it or apply it in his study).

1.1.5. *Identifying 'being Roman' in the Roman Empire through the material culture evidence*

The theme of 'Roman identity' has usually been approached through the discourse of Romanisation (Hill 2001, 15; Revell 2009, ix). Discussions have usually centered on the Roman/native polarity²⁹, where changes in material culture have been understood as the transformation of less civilised 'natives'/'barbarians' into civilised 'Romans' resulting in the homogeneity of cultures and societies living within the Roman Empire and the formation of bounded autonomous group known as 'Romans' (for the critique of such approach see Hill 2001, 12; Gardner 2007a, 31-33; Pitts 2007, 693; Revell 2009, ix and 6). Lately, however, fueled by the discussion surrounding the redefinition or abandonment of the term 'Romanisation'³⁰, scholarship has turned away from the idea of 'becoming Roman' towards the terminology of 'being Roman' (Revell 2009, ix, also 7 for further literature). Stepping away from presenting "a homogenous, monolithic experience" of what it meant to be Roman, the discussion is now centered on understanding how various individuals experienced being part of the Roman Empire emphasising "a multiplicity of Roman identities" (Revell 2009, ix; see also Wallace-Hadrill 2007, 356; Hingley 2009, 58). In other words, this scholarship devotes attention to the fragmentation of Roman identity and perceives the Roman Empire as a heterogeneous society with variety of individual and group responses to 'being Roman'. Due to the re-orientation of contemporary Roman scholarship towards more diverse approaches to 'Roman' identity, the term itself has received much attention and, to some extent, has become a substitute for and synonym of the 'R' word (as in Mattingly 2009, 285, 2011, 208 but see Pitts 2007, 693; Collins 2008, 45; Revell 2009, x, 8). Because the study of 'Roman' identity deals with cultural and ethnic identity, much of the work concentrates on these subjects, putting aside subjects of gender and age identities, as well as creating a theoretical and conceptual vacuum in the absence of agreement on a suitable substitute for the 'R' word (Hill 2001, 15-16; Pitts 2007, 694; esp. 697, fig. 2;

²⁹ E.g. Hingley 2009, 55-57 on the development of the idea of Roman-native polarity, where he traces its origins to the perspective of the Roman elite.

³⁰ It is not the intention here to discuss the extensive literature on and about the "Romanisation" debate. A good starting point is to consult Hingley (2005) and Schörner (2005) for further literature on the whole discussion. The "R" word in contemporary scholarship is avoided and various new terms have been introduced including 'discrepant experiences' (Mattingly 2004, 2011) 'bricolage' (Terrenato 1998), 'creolisation' (Webster J. 2001), 'acculturation' (Deppmeyer 2005; Naerebout 2009) and 'globalisation' (Pitts 2008; Pitts and Versluys forthcoming). The reason for the exclusion of this important discussion here is the aim of this thesis: it looks at the possible formation, maintenance and abandonment of the personal ethnic identity in moving Britons living within communities with various ethnic identifications rather than at the impact of Roman-ness on one particular community. Indeed the formation *etc.* of British ethnic identity abroad was influenced and probably reinforced by Roman cultural identity, but other cultural and ethnic, and other identities of Britons and other communities played an important role. In other words, Roman-ness and its impact on British identity was part of a complex dialectically negotiated process. The avoidance of the discussion on Romanisation by the present author is also embedded within her own attitude towards the discussion itself, which can neatly be summarised by a quote from Shakespeare (Romeo and Juliet, Act II, scene II): "What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet". In other words, a rose would still be rose whatever you called it; the process would also still be the process, whatever name or description you gave it.

Derks and Roymans 2009, 8; Pitts and Versluys forthcoming). It is important to realise that cultural or ethnic identification might have been of short duration (Mattingly 2009, 292; 2011, 212; cf. Hodos 2009, 18), where other aspects of identity came to prevail at some later point after (physical, i.e. military occupation of provinces, or mental, i.e. learning ‘the Roman way of life’) incorporation into the Roman Empire; we must acknowledge, however, that discourses of ethnicity played a significant, yet not necessarily important, role in the Roman world (Mattingly 2011, 210).

‘Roman’ is not a fixed entity, various individuals may have understood and experienced ‘being Roman’ in a variety of ways (Hill 2001, 14); yet, the composing elements of Roman-ness were common to all societies of the Roman Empire. Unifying elements (to name a few) could have consisted of language (Latin), ideas of personal hygiene (baths), usage of structured space in urban centers (each town was centered on a forum) and objects shared in the same ways amongst various groups of people (e.g. amphorae containing wine or *garum*, fish sauce)³¹. In other words, one would recognise the Roman world when entering it, while individual experiences of this world would be strictly personal. The term ‘Roman’ should be understood in a holistic way, implying persons or the material culture of these persons who lived within the boundaries³² of the Roman Empire (Revell 2009, xi). In the end, it becomes impossible to construct a single experience of ‘being Roman’, which is unnecessary, because ‘being Roman’ was always different (Revell 2009, xii)³³. Moreover, the formation, negotiation, *etc.* of various identities should not be regarded as ‘end products’, especially in the Roman case, when ‘being Roman’ was not the final domain to acquire, but could be abandoned at some point for some other ‘-ness’³⁴. The focus on the ‘Roman’ aspect dilutes the understanding of individual experiences of the Roman Empire, where ‘being Roman’ may have not been a necessity, but rather a fashion, and the Roman citizenship might have been acquired for purely economic or personal reasons without being seen as the end product of what constitutes the ‘being Roman’ package³⁵.

That the study of ‘being Roman’ is to some extent connected to the study of cultural identity of population in the Roman Empire has been noted above; yet most modern scholarship focuses primarily on the diversity of local responses to Roman power (Pitts 2007, 695; e.g. studies of Woolf 2000; Grahame 2001; Gardner 2002, 2007a; Revell 2009; Mattingly 2009, 2011). In other words, the focus is mostly on how Roman-ness was constructed rather than how diverse the Roman Empire was in terms of ethnic and other identities, where ‘being Roman’ was only part of a set of several identities (e.g.

³¹ For instance, for Revell (2009, 5) the unifying elements of Roman-ness are urbanism, the emperor, and religious practice.

³² While ‘boundaries of the Roman Empire’ is again rather nebulous term (i.e. where the Empire or its material manifestation ends and where it starts), the physical expression of the boundaries, such as walls, palisades *etc.*, can be considered to indicate the territories under Roman rule. Cf. the discussion in Versluys forthcoming 2012b, who also struggles to define the boundaries of the late Roman Republic.

³³ This is in contrast to Whittaker (2009, 202) who suggests that ‘being’ or becoming Roman can be measured by political integration; he stresses that being Roman was to follow the rules and obligations of the Roman state; yet “adoption of Roman political practice carried with it cultural implications, such as the means by which a community organized its religious practice or its social organization”. Such idea carries a rather negative view on ethnicity, because “archaeology cannot dig up ethnicity” (Whittaker 2009, 202) - the assumption that is contested in the present thesis; yet it shows that there are different views of the relationship between ethnicity and archaeology, which should also be acknowledged.

³⁴ Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 2007, 360: people can become and unbecome a Roman, because it was simply a legal status, “unaffected by cultural choices”.

³⁵ Cf. Versluys forthcoming 2012b on idea of ‘becoming Egyptian’, which has nothing to do with ethnic identity, but is rather connected to ways of being buried and ideas regarding the afterlife.

van Dommelen 2001; Marshall 2001; Hingley 2009, esp. 68)³⁶. There are, of course, exceptions which approach regional identity through the study of manifestations of cultural, ethnic and other identities through material culture and epigraphy (Pitts 2005; Collins 2008; Derks 2009; Rothe 2009; Roymans 2009b)³⁷. The danger which needs to be avoided here is falling into the trap of the ‘diversity for diversity’s sake’ approach, where the emphasis lies on simply cataloguing the diversity that existed within the Roman Empire (Pitts 2007, 696). That the population of the Roman Empire was diverse in their expression of various cultural, ethnic, gender, *etc.* identities is clearly understood³⁸; it is necessary to move beyond such a one-sided approach in order to realise that diversity is a point of a departure in itself rather than an end product of the Roman Empire (Pitts and Versluys forthcoming). Studies should incorporate the act of negotiation and/or interaction of various sets of identities in the context of the Roman Empire (Pitts 2007, 696)³⁹ as well as acknowledge that the Roman Empire was subject to change and transformation itself because of its artificial ‘universalisation’ of various ethnics (Wallace-Hadrill 2007, 364). We need to approach the process from the diversity-in-unity perspective rather than focusing on unity-in-diversity perspective, of course acknowledging that the formation of local identities cannot have taken place in isolation, but was the result of understanding the differences, negotiation and opposition between the Roman Empire and its subjects, and the subjects themselves (Hingley 2009, 70; Mattingly 2011, 206). In a sense, the coming of Rome enhanced the formation of new sets of cultural identities as well as expanding the ‘settled’ boundaries of ethnic and other identities, while changing in the process itself (i.e. transforming the ‘being Roman’ package at the same time).

It should be noted that studies on Roman-ness and other identities avoid, consciously, the identity of an individual, but rather approach identity at the level of the community for reasons to do with the multi-layered identities that an individual has⁴⁰. The study of individual identity through material evidence is, therefore, impossible; only the examination of epigraphic data can provide information for this level⁴¹. Yet, because identity exists on any level, how one (an individual) relates to another, to a community or to a state forms the basis for our understanding of how a materiality of identity might operate on an individual level. In this vein, Gardner (2002, 345, fig. 7; 2007a, 240 fig. 5.3) identifies “a stratified model of identification” of Roman identity, which consists of three levels: from the macro level of military, ethnic, state identities to the meso level of communal, age, status and religious identities down to the micro level of individual identity. All levels come into existence when put in special contexts of interaction

³⁶ Cf. Versluys forthcoming, 2012b, who indicates the focus of contemporary Roman scholarship, where “the main unit of analysis used is the nation state, with the inherent notions of imperialism, colonialism, cultural superiority and national identity”.

³⁷ Mattingly 2011, 215 suggests the decomposition of ethnic identity in the Roman Empire, where ethnic differences were evoked by and in people during the organisation of resistance to colonial violence. In other cases, ethnic distinctions became extinct “as new multiplex strategies for displaying individual and communal identity were developed”. However, eliminating ethnic identity from the discussion can bring us to the point of non-existence of ethnicity, which, of course, should be avoided.

³⁸ Cf. Hingley 2009, esp. 55: “hybrid Roman identity” and 61: “The Roman Empire [was] a highly variable series of local groups, roughly held together by directional forces of integration that formed an organized whole”.

³⁹ Mattingly 2009, 285 following his own discourse on the interaction between local and global in the Roman Empire, suggests that “we need to engage with both the local and the global aspects of identity”, or, in other words, to engage with all levels of identities, as outlined by Gardner 2002, 2007a.

⁴⁰ Cf. Collins (2008, 47), who lists 18 roles a legionary legate in the Roman Empire might have had or used, excluding psychological and physical characteristics.

⁴¹ E.g. Derks and Roymans 2009, 6: “For the issue of multiple ethnic identity more potential is to be expected from epigraphic data, as inscriptions can provide an unparalleled source for research into subjective and context based constructions of ethnicity at the level of the individual”.

between people (Gardner 2007a, 240). This approach suggests that while individuals understood different things differently in different contexts, on the micro or global level of the empire, all people possessed a sort of “unifying identity” giving them the possibility to understand and use things in the same way (Gardner 2007a, 241).

There are various approaches used in modern Roman archaeology to study Roman-ness as well as cultural and ethnic identities through the evidence of material culture and epigraphy. These approaches are centered around four major aspects of human daily life: the appearance (body, dress, personal hygiene, treatment of the body during life, upon and after death); treatment of food (preparation, consumption, eating); settlement space (organisation, construction, dwelling, division of activities within the space); consumption (economic factors, exchange (buying/selling), requirements for specific goods) (Hill 2001, 17). The evaluation of these themes takes place in a variety of ways (to name a few):

1. Because humans present an image of themselves through practices that take place in space, the analysis of public architecture of the Roman Empire (architecture also being part of human action and experience), provides evidence of how people incorporated the physical and symbolic markers, such as building decoration, access and visibility, into their daily use to act in a Roman way (Revell 2009, 12-13; for the analysis of evidence see 15-23, esp. 40-79). The focus is not on the building themselves but on how people used them, moved through them and occupied them on a daily basis (Revell 2009, 23).
2. Manifestation of individual, communal and global identities in material culture is approached through the analysis of contexts of find assemblages (coins, small finds, pottery and animal bones) and space these contexts are shaped by (plans of sites and buildings), using material, temporal and social dimensions (Gardner 2007a). The study of artefact usage within space and contexts aids the exploration of how various practices humans are engaged in, such as exchanging, dressing, eating, dwelling, building and writing, manifest themselves in the negotiation of identities on different levels (micro, meso and macro).
3. The multilayered study of four distinct groups, such as elite, military, urban and rural communities, living in a particular province or region of the Roman Empire and examination of each community through “a number of factors that bore particularity”, such as status, wealth, location, employment, religion, origin, *etc.*, gives possibility to research “a degree of uniformity in diversity” within the Roman provincial context (Mattingly 2011, 217 and 219). The (similar or different) ways particular aspects of material culture were taken up and maintained by four communities provide hints as to the degree of either regional variation or uniformity among provincials in the Roman Empire (Mattingly 2011, 235)⁴².

The primary focus of the present thesis is on the expression of cultural and ethnic identities in moved Britons through the aspect of the appearance, the subject which will receive a significant coverage in the Chapter 2 (The Sources). As for now I would like to emphasise that the symbolic meaning embedded within the objects⁴³ draws attention to

⁴² The problem with this approach is its use of the provincial boundaries, which were to some extent artificially imposed on the peoples. The ‘real’ boundaries for particular communities in the Roman Empire were not confined to provincial borders but might have grown and extended beyond the imposed walls and palisades.

⁴³ Cf. Millet *et al.* 1995, 2: “material culture [...] does not simply reflect human behaviour, but is also the bearer of symbolic meaning”; e.g. Wells 2001, 22: “objects that people make and use are also media of

the study of routinised or conservative identity elements such as language, religion, art and dress (Rothe 2009, 2). Dress is a visible ‘object’, implying highly personal characteristics, because it is worn by a person and “linked with the identity an individual wishes to express” (Rothe 2009, 2). The study of cultural identity through the means of dress avoids the danger of material culture evidence being used non-reflectively without understanding the intention behind its usage (Rothe 2009, 2). Dress behaviour provides medium for communication of various types of identities between a wearer and their audience, and sometimes points to intentionality, i.e. that something can be worn to express a specific identity (Rothe 2009, 2), which is the main reason why the aspect of appearance has been chosen as a research medium in the present thesis.

1.2. Diaspora

1.2.1. *Definition of the term*

The word ‘diaspora’, deriving from a Greek verb and preposition, meaning ‘to sow’ and ‘over’, was applied by Greeks to describe human migration and colonisation, specifically referring to the colonisation of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean, rather than to the dispersal of a people (Mélèze Modrzejewski 1993, 66; Cohen 1997, ix, 2; Lilley 2004, 289; Eckardt 2010c, 99). In a scholarship it was used for a long period of time to refer to the Jewish diasporic experience to denote Jewish dispersal and scattering from Palestine around the third century BC (Mélèze Modrzejewski 1993, 72; Barclay 2004, 1; Lilley 2004, 290; Eckardt 2010c, 99)⁴⁴. The word was written down with the capital D, as Diaspora, and in the scholarly texts was synonymous for the Jewish population. By the 1960s it had come to denote the dispersal of all peoples who maintained ties with and “retained a sense” of their homeland, especially used to describe a scattering and dispersal of the peoples from the British Isles through the process of colonisation, i.e. Irish or Scottish diaspora (with small ‘d’!) living in America, Canada or Australia (Barclay 2004, 1).

In the contemporary world, the meaning of this word varies greatly (Anthias 1998, 557 for further literature; see also Clifford 1994, 303) and sometimes it is used by communities with strong collective identities, although they are not agents of colonisation or victims of persecution (Cohen 1997, ix). Because “there is an increasing awareness of the diversity of diasporic communities” (Eckardt 2010b, 7), over thirty new groups can now be called ‘diasporas’, while in the traditional sense, there are three big, so called historical, diasporas – the Armenians, the Greeks and the Jews (McCabe *et al.* 2005, xviii). In general, communities that experienced separation, where their movement to another territory was dictated either by circumstances (banishment) or by personal wishes (in a search of a new and better life), but continued to dream of home while living in exile because of the mostly low adaption in the new settings can be called a diaspora (Clifford 1994, 304; Cohen 1997, ix-x). The formation of a diaspora community does not start at the moment when a particular group arrives in another territory: the group’s members can merge with the new community and lose their previous identity; others may disappear as a separate ethnic group through intermarriage with the locals (Cohen 1997, 24). A diaspora is born at the moment when strong ties to the past (space and time dimension) are recognised or when the community struggles or refuses to assimilate (Cohen 1997, 24). Because the term diaspora is used by some communities as a self-descriptive notion, in the majority of cases this notion is used

communication, transmitting information of different kinds from one individual to another and between groups”.

⁴⁴ Cf. Cohen 1997, 21: “all scholars of diaspora recognize that the Jewish tradition is at the heart of any definition of the concept”.

“casually, in an untheorized or undertheorized way” (Cohen 1997, x; also see Anthias 1998, 557 and Gourgouris 2005, 383-384).

Therefore, the main features of diasporic condition are dispersal, uniqueness, distinction from the host societies, forced exile, assumed unhappiness, attempts to maintain ties with the original country and kin, resistance of singularity of location (Clifford 1994, 305; Cohen 1997, 26; Shukla 2001, 551; Lilley 2006, 37)⁴⁵.

Spatial fluidity, mobility and/or social heterogeneity feature in the diasporic communities where the focus lies on creating and maintaining a distinctive identity from groups that surround this community as well as from the groups left at the migration source-area, and is rooted in the manifestation of differences (Lilley 2004, 300; 2006, 568; Gourgouris 2005, 389; see also Eckardt 2010c, 107). The growth of the realisation and understanding in the community of their significant differences with the host population prompts the formation of special social conditions, when “diasporic communities construct themselves in terms of difference [from the host population and] from the original homeland community” (Eckardt 2010c, 109). However, a diaspora is not a monolith; there can be different groupings within a diaspora based on age, status and ideas of authenticity (more on that later), as well as different motives for dispersal⁴⁶, and outside a diasporic group, where coalitions are formed on a trans-communal level based on common ground, i.e. similar religious affinity (contemporary Turkish and Moroccan diasporas are connected through their shared Islamic affiliation); class and racial subordination (Caribbeans’ and African Americans’ experiences in USA) or shared histories of colonisation and displacement (Clifford 1994, 315; Brighton 2009, 14). Such coalitions can be disbanded and new ones can be formed based on other allegiances.

It should be emphasised that two visions exist in contemporary scholarship as to what a diaspora actually is: a society characterised by one or all of the features described above or a social condition produced through the experience of living in one place and being of another (Lilley 2006, 34 with further literature)⁴⁷. The latter implies that the formation of diasporic identities (more on them later) should not necessarily be bounded by dispersal over large distances or across physical boundaries (Lilley 2006, 36 contra to Cohen 1997 who sees diaspora in relation to fixed territorial boundaries).

1.2.2. Typology

Cohen (1997, 178) in his seminal work ‘Global diasporas’ proposes the following division of diasporic communities⁴⁸:

⁴⁵ Cf. Cohen (1997, 26) who outlines nine features that are shared by most of the diasporas:

⁴⁶ Within a particular diasporic group various social conditions may have featured as push/pull factors for the movement: as pointed out by Anthias (1998, 564), the Greek diaspora in London and the Greek diaspora in Germany are not the same in terms of reasons for migration and projection of cultural distinctiveness, while both groups share the commonality of dispersal and solidarity in terms of the return movement and strong ethnic consciousness; in other words, what binds them together is an “*attribution of origin*” (Anthias 1998, 565, original emphasis).

⁴⁷ Cf. Anthias 1998, 560: “the term is often limited to population categories that have experienced ‘forceful or violent expulsion’ processes, it may also denote a *social condition*, entailing a particular form of ‘consciousness’”.

⁴⁸ This typology has, however, its shortcomings: firstly, it is a comparative typology, where attention is not paid to how communities are related to one another; secondly, it is a descriptive typology where the allocation of a group is based on its origin and the “intentionality of dispersal”; thirdly, the typology is based on the motivation for the movement (which is mostly socially based) rather than taking into account individual experiences or identities (Anthias 1998, 563). Moreover, this typology is based on the strict relation between diaspora and ethnic origin, where the latter is understood as shared blood ancestry or inheritance. Failure to go beyond ethnicity as blood relationship and to go further beyond the ethnic idea itself, i.e. to explore the inter-ethnic processes, results in a lack of concern for other important features in diasporic communities such as class and gender (Anthias 1998, 562).

1. Victim/refuge type. Characterised by forced exile and unwilling dispersal to other territories; in most cases a traumatic dispersal; constant reference to a collective memory and myth about the homeland. Examples: Jews and Palestinians, Africans of 17 – 18th centuries, Armenians in the early 20th century.
2. Imperial/colonial type. Characterised by voluntarily exile; expansion because of colonial ambitions; settlement for colonial or military purposes; authorised by government or authorities. Examples: ancient Greek, British (Empire), Russian (Empire).
3. Labour/service. Characterised by voluntarily and forced exile; expansion from a homeland in a search of work; consists of an ‘unskilled immigrant group’ that came into a subordinate position through lack of opportunity or prejudice in their own homeland. Example: Chinese, Indians.
4. Trade/business/professional/entrepreneurial. Characterised by voluntarily exile; expansion in pursuit of trade and business; develops without the approval of the authorities in the home countries and usually later transformed into imperial diasporas. Examples: British colonisation of USA and Australia.
5. Cultural/hybrid/postmodern. Characterised by collective identity of homeland which is a changing set of cultural interactions; various forms of movement – visiting, studying, tourism, seasonal work as opposed to the movement of whole families from the homeland (as in the other four types); mobility of ideas with humans rather than humans only (e.g. linguistic patterns, religious practices, music genres, i.e. various cultural phenomena); ‘home’ is an abstract symbolic idea rather than a physical manifestation of a land. Example: Caribbean peoples, today’s Chinese.

It is not necessary for a community to belong to one of the types only; some groups might take two or more characteristics of various types, others might change their group ‘membership’ over time, i.e. a trade diaspora might become, over some time, an imperial diaspora (Cohen 1997, x, see also Clifford 1994, 306).

As has been already pointed out, a diaspora sometimes is regarded as a condition, rather than a group distinctive in terms of the aforementioned characteristics (Anthias 1998, 565; Lilley 2006, 34 with further literature). Such a condition comes into existence “through the experience of being *from* one place and *of* another, and it is identified with the idea of particular sentiments towards the homeland, whilst being formed by those of the place of settlement” (Anthias 1998, 565, original emphasis). Central to this ‘condition’ is the idea of place rather than the actual physical place: this place is wherever one constructs it, does not need to have physical boundaries and is not necessarily in ‘the far and foreign land’. Such diaspora groupings do not claim to inhabit or to return the original territory to settle but rather needs a new territory to claim their distinctiveness and to construct the (new) homeland (Anthias 1998, 566).

Growing out of the idea of diaspora as a condition, the realisation has been advanced in recent scholarship for the location of diaspora within the settlers as well as indigenous communities. While the settlers, usually falling into the type of imperial and/or trade diasporas, have been recognised as diasporas, the indigenous populations have mostly been described by the term ‘host’ society. Yet, both groups have had the experience of relocation, where the indigenous society has been put under the pressure of the colonisation process to abandon their homelands in order to give a place for the settlers communities (Lilley 2006, 29). Both communities are therefore “victims of the colonial circumstances” (Lilley 2006, 29), where settlers are becoming a foreign majority and constructors of the own (new) homeland and where hosts, indigenous communities and the native minority, feel as foreigners in their own homeland. This leads to the formation of a new type of diaspora – the so called indigenous diaspora (Lilley 2006). As already

briefly described above, indigenous diasporas “need not involve dispersal over large distances or across major political boundaries”, rather their attachment to the lost homeland is based on “their tangible and intangible historical heritage [...] because history is part of them” (Lilley 2006, 36-37; see also Clifford 1994, 309-310 for further discussion on diasporic identities of indigenous peoples).

In general, it can be said that “all or most communities have diasporic dimensions (moments, tactics, practices, articulations); [s]ome are more diasporic than others” (Clifford 1994, 310), which makes it difficult to define the terminology of diaspora sharply. Yet, ‘the dwelling-in-displacement’ from (an idea of) home forms the centerpiece in any diasporic community.

1.2.3. *Diasporic identity*

‘Longing for home’ forms the center of the diasporic identity, wherever one’s home lies, i.e. a long or short distance away, or in someone’s mind (the so-called ‘idea of a lost homeland’). Yet, in order for a community to start expressing diasporic features, it does not necessarily have to be oriented to roots in a specific place or have a desire for return, since, as has already been mentioned, it is more of a condition centered around an idea of a place. ‘Home’ or ‘place’ are not fixed and bounded, but flexible and creative, meaning that a new society can be recreated at any location using symbolism of distinctiveness. This ‘idea’ can be a shared experience, connecting “multiple communities of a dispersed population” (Clifford 1994, 304). ‘Home’ might mean different things in each community or within one community, as well as the sense of attachment to it, but the physicality of ‘displacement’ in each community is real (Barclay 2004, 2).

Because diasporic communities are settled in new places but their home is elsewhere, the identities that form in such communities are dualistic: a particular member of a particular diasporic community has both local and translocal affinities. In that sense diasporas have multi-locale attachments, i.e. they belong both to here and there, but they are permanently ‘not-here’ to stay (Clifford 1994, 311; Barclay 2004, 2). Such conditions create an ambiguity in identity and an ambiguity in cultural self-expression, where refusal of “the binary options of becoming wholly like, or remaining wholly unlike the host culture” dominates (Barclay 2004, 2)⁴⁹. Such a condition is rooted in the concept of the ‘changing same’ (Shukla 2001, 552), where one is defined by ‘being one *and* something else’ at the same time (cf. Clifford 1994, 308 and 322; Radhakrishnan 2003, 120 calls it “hyphenated identity” as in Asian-American).

The promotion of distinctiveness also lies at the heart of diasporic identity: while the expression of the (lost and idealised) homeland forms the point of departure, the (conscious) exhibition of differences with the host society aids the emergence of solidarity, pride and authenticity within the community in exile, which experiences powerlessness and minority status. It is a glue that holds a diasporic community together.

Another aspect of diasporic identity is the connection with the past. Any member of a diasporic community has their own history of displacement; this history is real, tangible and material (Hall 2003, 237)⁵⁰. The past in diasporic groups is constantly reinvented and constructed through memory, narrative, myth and symbols associated with the lost home (Hall 2003, 237). The similarity in the displacement narrative and continuity in the evocation of the past gives a diaspora a ground to hold on to while

⁴⁹ Cf. Clifford 1994, 307: diasporic cultural forms “are deployed in transnational networks built from multiple attachments, and they encode practices of accommodation with, as well as resistance to, host countries and their norms”.

⁵⁰ The material aspect of the past will be discussed later in this chapter.

living in the place, which carries with it the experience of discontinuity with this past and the home.

Ethnicity and diaspora have a strong relation to each other⁵¹, but there is more to a diaspora rather than shared ethnic origin. Modern understandings of the concept of diaspora see it as ‘an idea’, similar to ethnicity, which is also ‘an idea’ embedded within and formed by social practices. Ethnic origin is not necessarily rooted in territory or land, blood relations or ancestry. Similarly diasporas communities long for an imagined or idealised home that only exists in one’s mind. Anthias (1998, 571) sees a diaspora as “a particular type of ethnic category, one that exists across the boundaries [...] rather than within them”, an understanding that emphasises the border-less nature of both ethnicity and diaspora but fails to avoid the ethnicity-less of diaspora⁵². One needs to start looking beyond the ethnic component of diasporas. Because ‘home’ is, to some extent, an abstract idea, marginalised in diasporic communities in order to form alliances based on the distinctiveness and differences with the host population, ethnicity too becomes abstracted and evoked only when there is a need to establish, negotiate, maintain and abandon diasporic claims.

The cornerstone of the ethnicity consists of individual associations influenced by dialectic social interactions, in turn based on shared ways of doing things; ‘shared’ is also a key word in diasporic communities. A community creates an image of ‘a home’ (subjective aspect), but it is a shared idea, where all individuals within the community contribute to its construction, each with their own interpretation. All other applications of ethnicity, such as practiced, routinised and evoked, also find their niche in this terminology: feelings of a home or lost homeland (evocative dimension); interaction of ‘an old home’ with ‘a new home’ (discursive dimension); practice of ‘a home’ in a new society (routinised dimension). One again, ‘a home’ is not necessarily a physical, bounded territory, but can be an imagined and abstract idea, which might include various elements apart from an idea of a land, such as religion, language, music or appearance⁵³.

The diasporic experience is always gendered and the female experience of displacement, notably, provides new ground for the formation of a new set of identities within the diasporic groupings: the acquirement of new roles and facing new demands in the new society opens various possibilities for the negotiation of gender relations and traditional roles, resulting in the quasi-independence of female members. The gendered experience of living somewhere else constitutes, and to some extent influences, the position of a diasporic group in a new society. The quasi-independence of a female member of a community may destroy the patriarchal stereotypes of what is expected from women in general, resulting in the defragmentation of a group into authentic or true holders of ‘an idea of a home’ and an inauthentic group, which selected a different path in constructing and maintaining ‘an idea of a home’ (Anthias 1998, 572). Gender relations within a diasporic group may be affected by the ‘host’ society as well, when women or men chose different gender roles in contrast to those of their homeland because of interaction with the rules and views on gender of the host society (Anthias 1998, 573). It has been noticed that diasporic women, while being free from performing stereotypical roles, tend to be, or to become, conservative when it comes to issues of dress (appearance), language (teaching the children mother’s ‘diasporic’ tongue), food (preparation and way of consumption), values and morals (Clifford 1994, 314, see also

⁵¹ Because diasporas are rooted in origin and dispersal from the original homeland, the affinity of people within a diaspora is usually reduced to a similarity in ethnic based traditions. This understanding of diaspora, however, uses a notion of ethnicity in which the emphasis is on origin in the construction of diasporic identities and solidarity, but it fails to examine trans-ethnic commonalities (Anthias 1998, 558).

⁵² Cf. also later in Anthias 1998, 576: “diaspora itself relies on a conception of ethnic bonds as central, but dynamic, elements of social organization”.

⁵³ This is not a rigid taxonomy; other aspects can be proposed as well.

Rothe 2009, 70-72 for a discussion of women as ‘guardians of ethnicity’⁵⁴. In this sense, diasporic women are caught between two worlds: while trying to sustain and reconnect with their homeland, they are constructing a new homeland in an alien world.

Defragmentation within diasporic groupings can be also affected by class rules and status relations leading to its individuals becoming excluded from membership. The experience of a middle class Greek family in London may differ drastically from the experience of an economically successful Greek family in London. The position within the host community may also produce a particular class structuration - the unequal distribution of⁵⁵ and prohibition on acquiring resources⁵⁶ affects how different members of diasporic groupings settle in a new society (the rich may become richer, the poor poorer). Therefore, internal and external factors formulate the narrative of how a diasporic group is regarded in relation to a successful or negative experience of living in exile.

The discussed here intersection of abstract ethnicity, gender and class constructs multiple, but also uneven and contradictory, social patterns, which form the diasporic identities; individuals are positioned differently according to their interpretation of tradition or authenticity (Barclay 2004, 3; Anthias 1998, 574; see also Radhakrishnan 2003, 127 on authenticity within diaspora). Diasporic identities are not fixed, but are constantly being remade, defragmented and multiplied, where different alliances and affinities form and are formed by the experience of exile (Clifford 1994; Cohen 1997; Hall 2003). They are the product of mixing, dualistic dimensions (here and there) and of multiple memberships, gender, status and age⁵⁷ specific. The similarity in the displacement narrative and evocation of distinctiveness indeed forge solidarity between the individuals living in exile, but diasporic groupings differ within themselves on various levels and aspects, making them diverse and heterogeneous at the same time; only through dialogue and interaction are the bonds tied⁵⁸.

1.2.4. *Materialities of diaspora*

Diaspora as identity has multiple meanings, symbols and levels, therefore, the ‘archaeology of diasporas’⁵⁹ has similar problems as the ‘archaeology of identity’. Objects were certainly used in the daily lives of diasporic groups with the intention of promoting their distinctiveness, as they were actively involved in the formation, negotiation, maintenance of some diasporic threads within the displaced communities. The differences and similarities in the usage of particular objects may have provided the grounds for diversity or homogeneity within the multiple-leveled diasporic groups (as discussed in the previous section). However, as has already been pointed out a particular identity cannot be ‘read off’ objects, which makes the material identification of diasporic identity problematic. How is a collective (shared), subjective memory of a (lost,

⁵⁴ Cf. also Anthias 1998, 571: “women are the transmitters and reproducers of ethnic and national ideologies and central in the transmission of cultural rules”.

⁵⁵ I.e. good goods for the own society, bad goods for the displaced people.

⁵⁶ I.e. prohibition on buying certain goods, on applying for financial support, education, *etc.*

⁵⁷ Age in diasporic identity was not discussed here, but it is fundamental feature of diasporic communities and the formation and expression of diasporic identities; for the discussion on age experiences and differences in diaspora see Radhakrishnan 2003

⁵⁸ This suggests a hybrid nature of diasporic groups, where hybridity is defined as a ‘space between two extremes’, produced as the result of communication and negotiation between the host and newcomer society (Antonaccio 2003, 59), but see Anthias (1998, 575-576) for problems of hybridity.

⁵⁹ Cf. the discussion by Lilley 2004, 294-295 on the relationship between archaeology and diasporic studies. For the literature on the archaeology of diasporas, see the African Diaspora archaeology network (www.diaspora.uiuc.edu). The focus of this network is on African diaspora archaeology rather than archaeology of diasporas in general. For the archaeology of the Irish diaspora see Brighton 2009 with further literature.

imagined, real, non-physical) homeland constituted in and through the use of material culture? How are objects applied to negotiate the various aspects of identities existing within a community, when each individual has own interpretation of authenticity but also communal interpretation of solidarity? And this is especially problematic considering that objects are given meanings by agents, who create multiple readings of objects depending on physical and metaphorical context, practice and feelings. Another problem is the strong relation of diaspora groups with their past: the materials and symbols applied by a displaced people represent not ‘the homeland of today’, but ‘the homeland of yesterday’ (Brighton 2009, 19). In other words, objects have the meanings of the past, yet they are also active participants in constructing ‘the diasporic identity of today; we need, therefore, to understand how the diasporic identity of ‘today’ was constructed in the past through the usage of the material culture.

As diasporic communities have biographies of displacement, movement and settlement, so do objects, as has been discussed above, have their own biographies starting from the origin (making), age (usage) and movement through space (from maker to owner to owner to to discharge, abandonment, deliberate death⁶⁰). In each phase objects are supplemented by a new narrative, i.e. new meanings are given to them, while all the older meanings attached to them continue to resonate (cf. the citation by Kundera at the beginning of the section ‘Materiality of identity in (Roman) archaeology’). The study into the biography of object(s) allows to understand how the act of displacement affected the objects’ usage within the diasporic group and how the presence and incorporation of new objects (produced in the new social environment as by the host as by displaced community) affected the diasporic groups.

The theory of material ethnicity outlined above also provides the possibility to trace the negotiations, maintenance, *etc.*, of identities within and outside diasporic groups. Objects in the new environment appear to be recontextualised (their original meaning is not retained), but they may still retain particular resonances for their users (Antonaccio 2009, 34-35). This is especially relevant when discussing ‘the longing for home’ in diasporic groups, because the resonance of ‘a home’ in the usage and practice of the objects in a particular context may reflect ‘the shared ways of doing things’ as envisaged in the (lost, imagined, *etc.*) homeland. Using the concepts of routinisation, discourse and evocation can here provide an overview of how objects are used to express particular ideas, identities and dimensions. Routinisation is embedded in the social practices of diasporic groups who continuously exploit the idea of ‘a home’ in the use of the objects. Routinised practice keeps them in touch with their ancestors, with places and people left behind, claims authenticity and forges solidarity. The feelings about and evocation of ‘a home’ give a texture to the identities of the displaced: objects may sometimes be valued for their particular associations with home. The discursive elements appear when the identity of ‘here and there’ comes into play: objects mediate relations between the societies of ‘here’ and ‘there’, give meanings to interaction and contest them. In other words, the way objects were used, positioned in a society and contextualised shed light on the ways diasporas approached material culture in the host society as well as embedded the objects of the past in the displaced conditions of the present. It draws a picture relating to the social identities, rather than focusing explicitly on ethnic origin and its projection in the diasporic community; the study of the biography of objects’ use aids the exploration of the changing status, gender and age identities in the present of the diasporic community, which focuses on their identities on the past.

⁶⁰ ‘Deliberate death’ refers to the termination in the use and placement in a burial, hoard or sacral place of the object, whereby it loses its functional propose and is taken out of circulation in the real world.

1.2.5. Identification of diasporas in the Roman Empire through the evidence of material culture⁶¹

Roman archaeologists have increasingly been concerned with the meaning of diversity within the Roman Empire and the ways movement of peoples stimulated diversification within the Roman provinces and within particular settlements. Interest is being shown to the subject of diasporas as one of the contributors to the diversity within the Empire and, at the same time, to static homogeneity within communities (cf. ideas of solidarity and authenticity within diasporic groups). The subject and its theoretical implications has been borrowed, though not wholesale, from current trends in anthropological and social studies, as well as from the archaeology of the modern period which focuses on African, Caribbean, Irish and Asian diasporas (i.e. the diasporas known and settled in USA). The concept of diaspora has been featured prominently thanks to the studies of Jane Webster on archaeology of Roman slavery, who argues for a diasporic definition of the Roman slavery (Webster J. 2005, 2008 and 2010) and to the project conducted by University of Reading under the supervision of Hella Eckardt entitled 'A long way from home – diasporas in Roman Britain' (conducted in the period 2007 – 2009)⁶², which has recently resulted in a major publication (Eckardt 2010a).

The subject of the Roman diasporas⁶³ has been approached from a variety of ways: epigraphic analysis of the presence of foreigners at particular sites in order to consider the mechanisms for projection of the 'ethnic' origin (Noy 2010); material culture analysis, in particular the grave goods relating to personal ornament in order to understand the social identities of gender, status and to some extent ethnic origin (Cool 2010); study of the Roman military communities (especially the soldiers' families), and tradesmen, for whom the diaspora was the natural habitat (Derks and Roymans 2009, 5; Hingley 2010) but the majority of studies have focused on the identification of foreigners through the study of the funerary evidence, using the scientific techniques such as isotope analysis and forensic ancestry assessment (Evans *et al.* 2006; Eckardt *et al.* 2009; Chenery *et al.* 2010; Leach *et al.* 2009 and 2010; Eckardt 2010c; Killgrove 2010; Prowse *et al.* 2010; cf. also Eckardt 2010b, 8-9).

The project conducted by University of Reading used the multidisciplinary approach, comparing the evidence obtained from the analysis of epigraphic sources with the data based on isotopic and osteological research of funerary remains, and contrasting it with the picture drawn from the analysis of material culture leading to a discussion of the life of foreigners in the diasporic conditions. There are, however, drawbacks. The definition of diaspora is taken at the face value⁶⁴ as well as the words 'migrant' and

⁶¹ This section will avoid the substantial discussion on *The Diaspora of Antiquity, the Jews*, because the primary focus of contemporary scholarship is on finding other diasporic communities in the Roman world, rather than focusing solely on the Jewish experience. There are substantial publications covering the Jewish diasporic experience in the Roman world, for further literature see Cohen 1993; Cohen and Frerichs 1993; Honingman 1993; Méléze Modrzejewski 1993; Barclay 2004; Gruen 2004; Williams 2004.

⁶² That the concept is a center of attention can be seen in the number of sessions devoted to the subject of Roman diasporas in the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference and Roman Archaeology Conference: each year there is at least one session organised (TRAC/RAC 2010 held in Oxford: 'Roman Diasporas – archaeological approaches to mobility and diversity in the Roman Empire' organised by H. Eckardt; TRAC 2011 held in Newcastle: 'Moved communities: social projection and cultural conformity in the archaeology of the Roman limes' organised by T. Ivleva and I. Oltean; TRAC/RAC 2012 in Frankfurt: 'Materialising diasporas in the Roman Empire: cultural resistance, the pioneering spirit and social exclusion' organised by G. Schörner, T. Schierl and F. Teichner).

⁶³ Only studies mentioning the term 'diaspora' are mentioned here. For other publications relating to Roman mobility and the presence of migrants, see below.

⁶⁴ Eckardt (2010c, 107) quotes Cohen (2008 is an edition of his 1997 publication) for "a convenient list of the characteristics of diasporas" without providing a critical analysis of this typology; neither there is any attempt to discuss issues of diasporic identities or perceptions within the diasporic groups from gender, status or age perspective.

‘diaspora’ are used as synonymous throughout the whole volume. The idea of a diaspora as a condition, as in a social condition produced through the experience of living in one place and being of another, is not considered, while this is a fundamental philosophical paradigm that shapes diaspora communities and distances them from the migrant communities (as will be discussed in detail below). In general, the project is confined to the plotting on the map the possible birth origin of the deceased, emphasising once more the diversity and multi-cultural make-up of the Roman Empire. Another issue is the use of the data for the osteological and isotope analysis, that come from the skeletons, which means that only evidence from inhumation burials can be used, making the large number of cremated people invisible for the purposes of assessment⁶⁵. The methodological problem is the usage of the currently-known and modern data for isotopes and DNA that is matched to the data obtained from the skeletons in (Late) Roman burials⁶⁶. The problem is recognised (Eckardt 2010c, 121), but its impact still needs to be assessed, and might result in the reconsideration of the scientific results and therefore some key assumptions.

In spite of these critical remarks, the studies and the framework do have great appeal for researching material culture in relation to the diversity and ‘multi-cultural’ characteristics of the (Late) Roman Empire and the ways material culture in burials can and should be interpreted (cautiously, taking the context, site location and settlement history into account). The project shows how material culture was manipulated, contested, (re)contextualized and deployed in practice to express various sorts of identities at death and at the time of burial, emphasising that other identities, rather than ethnicity, may have been most significant to migrants (Cool 2010, 43; Eckardt 2010b, 11; 2010c, 124-125). Moreover, it provides an important insight into levels of personal mobility in the Roman Empire and a possibility to chart the mobility of an individual from the time of his/her childhood⁶⁷.

The question can be asked whether the borders and categories of the concept ‘diaspora’ can be analogous to the kind of contexts and systems that existed in the Roman Empire. As has already been pointed above, an idea of ‘a home’ does not necessarily have to be confined to a physical, bounded territory, but may include various aspects such as religion, language, music and appearance. Moreover, the condition of dispersal and movement does not work for indigenous, internal types of diaspora, which have not experienced the act of migration and continue to live in their own land, but ‘feel’ like foreigners⁶⁸. More fundamentally problematic is the dependence on artefacts as markers of difference, i.e. the assumption that foreign groups would use distinctive objects to express their difference. Difference may come in variety of forms, invisible to archaeology, such as language or regional accents (though the analysis of the epigraphic material does provide a window, as in Clay 2007 and 2008 on the presence of *Germani* on Hadrian’s Wall), the act of eating or cooking (cf. preparing food in similar vessels as in the host society, but cooking it differently). Moreover, the evidence for foreign ancestry comes from the burial record, while identities projected at death may vary significantly from identities projected during a lifetime, as epigraphic research has shown on numerous occasions (cf. Hope 2001a, 2001b, 2003; Carroll 2006). It has been

⁶⁵ The problem was realised by the Eckardt team at the early stage but was not overcome (Eckardt 2010c, 109).

⁶⁶ Cf. Prowse *et al.* 2010, 189-190, when discussing the possible origin of a person, whose DNA analysis points to East Asia, buried in a Vagnari Roman cemetery: “all modern mtDNA matches to her available haplotype sequence are from Japan” (my emphasis). One might ask about the possibility of making a comparison with the evidence obtained from the burials in East Asia dated to the same period as the burials at Vagnari.

⁶⁷ In other words, where one had spent the first years of one’s life.

⁶⁸ Cf. Webster J. 2010, 56: “colonized native minorities, uprooted literally or figuratively by the colonial system, may be considered as diasporic”.

noticed (Cool 2010, 42; Eckardt 2010c, 120) that on some Roman sites persons buried with 'local' goods were of foreign ancestry, indicating the adoption of the material culture of the host society, while those with 'foreign' goods were of local ancestry, suggesting, possibly, second or third generation migrants. However, the question can be posed whether these persons deliberately or unconsciously wore or used objects that showed their difference during their lifetime, but at or after death the difference or foreignness became less important. There are, of course, possibilities to overcome these problems.

Cool (2010, 41) emphasises that material culture, as a bearer of various symbols and biographies, of a community or person under suspicion of being foreign, should be put in a broader context in order to understand the changing patterns in the usage and "seeing if it differs in any way from what might be expected". The solution would be the study of the material culture of a population on a particular site, comparing it with the material record of funerary practice. In other words, to compare the objects of the living with objects of the dead to understand the changes in the use taking into the account other external forces of influence, such as commerce or political (in)stability⁶⁹. Approaching the assemblages of objects circulating on a site from different angles and contrasting them with the evidence obtained from the scientific analysis of the skeletons and from the study of epigraphy might allow the possibility to draw a broader picture of the existence of various (migrant, foreign and local) communities living on one site. However, whether the results obtained will allow us to talk about diasporic nature of one community living on a site, is another problem.

As pointed out above, the theory of material ethnicity is suitable when discussing 'the longing for home' in diasporic groups because the routinised aspect embedded within the ethnic materiality of objects sheds light on such practices as 'shared ways of doing things'. By identifying the material culture on a site which was constantly used and reused by a community with foreign affinities, one should make a second comparative analysis between artefacts used in the community's possible homeland and artefacts used by this community in the host society in order to single out the potential markers of 'shared ways of doing things', which are at the same time "being continuously created in practice through routine activity" (Pearce 2010, 88). The artefacts should come from a variety of contexts, so that all levels of the community in living and dying characteristics would be covered. This view, of course, faces challenges from the archaeological record itself, because "the vagaries of archaeological survival dictate that we usually have at our disposal [a fraction of] evidence and can establish affinities from only a limited number of indicators" (Pearce 2010, 93). Yet, taking on a positive view, using the available evidence, one may create a map of the 'deviant' markers and its variants, one that shows how the activity and practice of people in a particular community fit or do not fit in the standard scheme of the activity and practice on a site. The picture drawn here gives a view of these markers as intentional, while it is important to emphasise that they are also reflexive. They shape, and are shaped by, a society from two angles - newcomer and host. What makes the diaspora community stand out in the material record is its deliberateness and unintentionality, routinisation and discourse at the same time.

Returning to the Roman Empire, where, as has been discussed already, multiple identities, categories and concepts were embedded within the concept of 'Roman-ness', being a diaspora would encompass the aspect of 'being Roman' at the very end of the identities spectrum, while on the communal and individual levels the dominant criteria

⁶⁹ The choice of objects available for use might be confined to the location, i.e. the position of a settlement far away from trading routes or, on the contrary, precisely on a trading cross roads; near or far away from the provincial borders. The community does not have a choice of what to use because the choice might be limited, resulting in the adoption of objects because of their availability.

would be being different and solid in cultural expression, being flexible and conservative in practices and activities. Material culture in this sense stands as a representative of negotiations between various groups of people under regional and temporal circumstances. In general, diasporas in the Roman Empire faced the challenges of coping with both the local mix of various ‘ethnicities’ at the provincial level and with the general Roman-ness of all communities, with both of which they had a choice of either interacting or not.

1.3. Migration

1.3.1. *Definition of the term*

Migration is understood to consist of spatial, geographical changes in a residence, either permanent or semi-permanent, and always involves a place of origin and a destination (Lee 1966, 49; Lucassen and Lucassen 1997, 32). It implies two different processes: immigration and emigration, where the former implies the mobility to, the latter from a particular place. The term ‘migrant’ itself encompasses a bewildering variety of mobile people, such as permanent emigrants and settlers (those who are here to stay), professionals or trade migrants (those who commute across borders), refugees and asylum-seekers (van Hear 1998, 41). Individuals might shift between categories: those who come as visitors might become asylum-seekers for a permanent residence (van Hear 1998, 41).

The decision to migrate takes a variety of form, from the individual motivation to factors beyond the individual reach. Reasons individuals have for migrating are to some extent personal, and include “social and cultural motivations, such as enhancing status, and above all concerns about safety and security” (van Hear 1998, 14). Households also may play an important role when it comes to deciding to migrate. The major considerations here are to minimise the risk for the movement of the whole household and to decide who stays put and who moves (van Hear 1998, 15). Chain migration helps in the development of migrant networks and institutions, and comprises and links people who move and who stay put, providing information and building networks for (future) migrants of a particular community (Anthony 1997, 24; van Hear 1998, 15). Factors that are beyond the individual decision-making for migration are orders shaped by the so called ‘micro-political economy’, by which is meant “the distribution of power and resources globally and regionally, reflected in the structure and distribution of production and consumption; in patterns of trade and financial flows; in the development of transport and communications; in the distribution of military might; and in population, environment and other elements of global imbalance” (van Hear 1998, 16). In general, individual decisions to migrate may have been shaped by a complex decision-making process, influenced to some extent by migrant networks and economic push factors.

The movement to and settlement in another territory is, in most cases, a painful experience for most individuals, who face issues such as discrimination, racism, and sometimes expulsion and rejection. Migration brings stress to any society, be it the one on the move or the one who admits. Yet we need to take into account that the negative monolithic experience is not necessarily an outcome of migration; smooth and carefree processes of mobility are known as well (Lucassen and Lucassen 1997, 21). While in the short-term perspective migrants appear to maintain their cultural bonds and distinctiveness, in the long-term migration always leads to assimilation and adaptation of the cultural norms of the host society, when “migrants or their descendants [usually second or third generation of immigrants] do not regard themselves primarily as different from the native-born population and are no longer perceived as such” (Lucassen and Lucassen 1997, 23).

1.3.2. *Typology*

The consideration of typology of migration reveals a variety of forms and types of movement (Lucassen and Lucassen 1997, 10; van Hear 1998, 40). While there is no space here to discuss all approaches⁷⁰, I will focus on two major typologies which approach the process of mobility from the vertical and horizontal perspective, where the former describes the processes of mobility itself (inward, outwards, onward, *etc.*) and the later the objectives for mobility (free/unfree or voluntary / involuntary).

There are five essential components of all migratory movements: outward mobility – from a place of origin to other place; inward – leaving a place in order to arrive at another place; return to the place of origin or residence; onward – arriving at some other place (as opposed to inward mobility); staying put or non-movement, because all migrants leave a community behind (van Hear 1998, 41). In each type migration can be categorised as either voluntary or involuntary (Lucassen and Lucassen 1997, 11). Involuntarily migration is usually taken to mean a forced transportation or movement of peoples, i.e. transportation of prisoners or convict labourers. Free migration is usually based on a deliberate choice of individuals to move to another territory in search of work, for a better quality of life or for personal pursuits. Yet, few migrants are influenced by free will to migrate; all types of migration include an unfree component, a compulsion to move, although each individual is allowed to make choices (van Hear 1998, 42). Labour migrants and refugees, for instance, have less choice and fewer options when it comes to migration (Lucassen and Lucassen 1997, 14). Migrants, who have the possibility to choose whether or not to move, when and where, how, for how long and how far away, fit into the groups of professionals, students, traders or those seeking a family reunion or family formation.

The group that usually receives the least attention from the scholars, are the ‘staying-put’ communities, who “opt to stay behind, and those household members who remain at home as part of a household insurance strategy which involves the migration of other members” (van Hear 1998, 46). The reason to stay may be influenced by unfree factors, such as the obligation to remain, because of physical immobility, lack of recourses, or free factors, such as provision of support for future migrants or maintenance of ‘safe heavens’ in the case of failed migration.

1.3.3. *Diaspora versus migration*

The terms ‘diaspora’ and ‘migration’ are used by some scholars as synonyms, although the terms themselves and the processes they describe are diametrically opposed. A diaspora is considered to be a much more complex process than migration, because a diasporic community is “neither a wandering body of people, nor simply a community of ‘immigrants’ absorbed into a new home” (Barclay 2004, 2)⁷¹.

Diasporas emerge through migration; they are created “as a consequence of both voluntary and imposed migration to one or various countries” (Sheffer 2005, 361). While it is true that some diasporic communities show features of ‘diasporas’ prior to movement, especially those who are forced to exile, others at the very beginning show

⁷⁰ Other significant typologies are represented by Petersen 1958 and Lee 1966, the most influential one being that of ‘push-pull factor’ model, where push dimension has been considered to represent mostly negative factors such as economic decline in the place of origin, no, or poor, employment opportunities, and pull factors represent a positive influx, i.e. better or more lucrative employment opportunities in the place of destination, opportunities for education, *etc.*

⁷¹ Cf. Gourgouris 2005, 384, who indicates a conflation or confusion between migration and diaspora. In the contemporary world, it often occurs that “migrant communities seem to turn [or to invent] themselves into diasporic communities, perhaps in an attempt to invent themselves a frame of reference difference from the 19th century standard”.

migratory features, only making the crucial decisions of whether to settle permanently in the new society and join the existing diasporas, or to conform to the norms and attributes of the host society (Sheffer 2005, 361)⁷². Some migrants go even further in their search for a ‘suitable’ host society; secondary or tertiary migrations are known⁷³. Only when migrants reach the place that suits their original reasons for migrating, are they faced with the choice of whether to assimilate or join diasporic groups. The final decision is primarily based on ties with the original homeland, “the personal and collective history” and memory of (an idea) of a homeland (Sheffer 2005, 362). In other words, people in diasporas have two homes (the original, the lost one, and newly acquired), while migrants only one (the one they settled in). This axis is an element that allows a distinction to be drawn between migrant and diasporic groups. The readiness and capability of the people who have moved to maintain their original homeland identities and to promote their distinctiveness are two other crucial elements of the difference. The continuation or dissolution of homeland identities depends to some extent on the opportunities provided by the host society, when migrants start to receive offers and rewards from a host community only “if the migrants [would be] ready to give up their identity and undertake the problematic process of full integration that eventually may lead to assimilation” (Sheffer 2005, 364). In this sense, host societies play a part in the suppression or emergence of diasporic identities.

Another aspect of the emergence of diasporas from migrant groups is the presence of a community or organisation to take care of newcomers and to help prolong their attachments to the lost homeland, as Sheffer (2005, 364) points out, “without such organizations diasporas can neither exist nor thrive in what basically are socially and politically hostile environments”. The presence or establishment of such organisations helps in creating solidarity within diasporas, a diasporic aspect that has been already discussed above, but one that is lacking in migrant communities.

1.3.4. *Archaeology of migration and materiality of mobility*

The relationship between archaeology and migration has had its ups and downs, with archaeologists either having approached the subject of migration as a signifier of cultural change positively, or having retreated from ‘migrationism’ theories, to discuss the negative effects of the theory of migration on explanations of cultural change in the material record⁷⁴. The problem that archaeologists have with migration is the assumption that it always brings about (cultural) change and is a strategy based on individual choice. Yet, migration does not necessarily bring (visible) changes in the material record, since two distant communities might use the same or similar sets of objects and share the same way of use; at the same time the presence of non-local elements in material culture does not necessarily indicate the presence of immigrants on a site. Moreover, because migration also covers the people who stay put, the question is whether the material culture in these communities underwent any characteristic changes when part of the community moved away (i.e. the movement of professionals or craftsmen).

The important axis in the materiality of migration is to understand how and with whom objects arrived at a particular site and how they participated in the establishment, maintenance or change of existing identities in the host and newcomer societies. Isotope studies, as discussed above in relation to diaspora communities, have made a great

⁷² Sheffer 2005, 361 notes the survey results, which confirmed that few migrants upon their arrival at a place of destination are able to make final decisions regarding their stay, i.e. “whether they intend to live permanently outside their homeland or whether they wish to maintain connections with it”.

⁷³ Living temporarily in one host society and moving shortly afterwards to a second or sometimes third place.

⁷⁴ For a full discussion on changes and evolution of the relationship between archaeology and migration, see Chapman 1997, esp. 13-14, fig. 1; Hamerow 1997, 33-35; and also Anthony 1997 for further literature.

contribution to our understanding of the relationship between (possible foreign) artefacts found in burials and (possible migrant) individuals buried with them⁷⁵. When isotope analysis is not possible, i.e. when objects have been found in contexts other than burials or together with cremated remains, an examination of the specific context sometimes provides a clue as to how unusual and non-local artefacts might have ended up in particular contexts and what might have prompted their appearance on a site, especially when epigraphic evidence is available for additional analysis (see for instance Cool 2004). The so-called ‘social distribution’ of objects, when particular types of artefacts seem to appear at particular sites, the difference in the usage of these objects between sites provides another spy hole for studying the materiality of migration⁷⁶. Making comparisons between particular types of artefacts and types of sites they were more commonly associated with, i.e. investigating the site-type distribution of artefacts, makes it possible to establish the processes and influences on patterns of distribution of non-local objects and aid in the identification of factors that affected their presence. Therefore, two analyses of identification should play a key role here: firstly the investigation of sites where the objects are presumed to have originated and secondly the investigation of sites where the objects can be categorised as non-local in order to match and identify (possibly deviant) patterns in their usage and placement in particular contexts⁷⁷.

1.3.5. *Migration in the Roman Empire*

The theme of the presence of foreigners in the various provinces of the Roman Empire is not new, and numerous publications have appeared on this subject over the past few decades, varying in the range of the content and depth of the analysis (see below)⁷⁸. The majority of these studies have concentrated on the analysis of epigraphic material, which is understandable, considering that studying inscriptions is the first step in obtaining any information regarding the presence of migrants in any given province. The presence of foreigners in the center of the Roman world, Rome, has been analysed through the study of individual names and places of origin stated in inscriptions (Noy 2001, 2010). The first publication (Noy 2001) is, to date, the only comprehensive epigraphic analysis of all foreigners who left their visible mark in Rome. It is not only a catalogue of all foreign residents - it is also an analytical study discussing the issues relating to the status, employment, integration of and attitudes toward foreigners. Such a comprehensive analysis is missing from the works of those who approached the presence of migrants of various origins in Roman Britain, i.e., the general study by Rowland (1976) and the detailed studies on particular migrant groups such as North Africans (Thompson 1972), Pannonians (Birley E. 1988) and Dacians (Wilmott 2001 with the main focus on the history of a Dacian auxiliary unit); with the notable shift in perception in the work of Clay (2007) on Germans where the ethnic (re)adaptation of these migrants is investigated with the help of onomastic, linguistic and pictorial analyses.

Other provinces of the Roman world have also received attention: the epigraphic material of Roman Spain (Haley 1991), Gaul (Wierschowski 1995, 2001), Lusitania

⁷⁵ Cf. Swift 2010, 238: “isotope studies in conjunction with material culture studies allow us to examine constructions of identity through material culture in a more nuanced way [...] it is possible to identify unusual material culture and burial practice which stands out from that of the local population”.

⁷⁶ The term ‘social distribution’ was introduced by Eckardt 2005 and is used by Swift 2010 in her analysis of the presence of artefacts associated with migrants at various sites in Western Europe of the Late Roman period.

⁷⁷ For the successful analysis see Eckardt 2005, 145-156; Swift 2010, esp. 265-271.

⁷⁸ It is not an intention of this section to provide a critical examination of these studies taking into account the amount of work that appeared in recent decades, but rather to give a brief evaluation of their interpretative potentials and the levels of contribution to our understanding of migration in the Roman Empire.

(Stanley 1990), Raetia (Dietz and Weber 1982), and Germania Superior and Inferior (Kakoschke 2002) have been studied in order to determine the levels of inward and outward mobility within these provinces. However, these publications range in their depth of analysis. Works of Wierschowski and Kakoschke stand out for their detailed erudite study covering aspects of foreign involvement in the life of these Roman provinces and providing biographic and contextual analysis for nearly every migrant recorded, making them more than catalogues of names and ethnic origins.

On the more provincial level, epigraphic sources combined with the analysis of few archaeological finds have provided insight into the mobility of particular groups in certain provinces: North Africans in Germania Inferior and the “Lower Rhineland” (Neder-Germanen) population in North Africa have been considered by den Hartog (2010); the occurrence of “Dutch” in Roman Romania has been investigated by Haalebos (1999); the presence of Syrians on a frontier post in Pannonia Inferior has been studied by Fitz (1972); and the presence of Dacians in Egypt and the expression of Dacian (military) identity abroad has been analysed by Dana (2003) and Oltean (2009). The mobility of some communities outside their region or *civitates* has received attention in the epigraphic studies of Krier (1981), who looked into the migration of Treverans in the Roman Empire, and of Kakoschke (2004), who studied Germans abroad. Here the imbalance in the approach to the data analysis is the most apparent. Den Hartog’s and Haalebos’ articles are more directed to the general public, because they focus on the presence of migrants from “Roman Netherlands” in diverse Roman provinces. Fitz’s work met severe criticism (cf. Mann 1974), due to his selective approach of fitting examples to support his case and underestimating the presence of other foreigners on the site. Dana and Krier’s studies present yet another catalogue of the individuals settling abroad. In this list the work of Oltean stands out for bringing the discourse a step further by treating the Dacian emigrant community as a group rather than looking at particular individuals. Moving away from the cataloguing of who moved where and why, she provides evidence for the destruction and consequent reformation of the Dacian emigrant military identity by looking through a sociological prism.

From this brief examination of epigraphic research on migrants, we can conclude that the majority of the research simply charts the mobility of particular group of people and pinpoints their place of residence. There is not much discussion on the issues relating to the changing nature of personal and ethnic identification, the complexity of moving to another territory or problems of adaptation. In this sense the works of Clay and Oltean are notable exceptions. Moreover, it is clear that the focus in most of the cited research was on those people who mention their origin directly. More on the onomastics would have been helpful, since such analysis makes it possible to study the mobility of those people who preferred not to indicate their ancestry. Such works did appear recently, e.g., the onomastic analysis of the names recorded in inscriptions from Raetia (Kakoschke 2009) and Gallia Belgica (Kakoschke 2010). Another issue absent from the epigraphic studies is the consideration of the representations of foreign objects or foreigners themselves on the monuments, on which the text was inscribed. Depictions, as part of the monuments, form one piece together with the texts, and the way the stones were decorated sometimes supported the inscriptions “in images”⁷⁹. Only the work of Booth (2005) looked at the role of foreigners in Ancient Egypt through analysing the non-stereotypical artistic representations, but the research missed on the exploration of the texts. The absence of a synthesised approach probably resulted from the subject boundaries where the depictions are usually the subject for art historians and inscriptions for classicists. On the bright side, even though the majority of the studies

⁷⁹ Cf. Hope (1997) analysis on the relation between words and texts on the tombstones.

noted here presented catalogues, they have still made us aware of the high levels of mobility within and between particular provinces.

Material culture has also been used to identify migrants at particular sites and in particular regions. The analysis of the burial rites has pointed to the presence of Germanic and Sarmathian individuals (Clarke 1979; Hills and Hurst 1989) in Roman Britain; Syrians have been attested in Rimini and communities from the Near East in Budapest (Póczy 1964; Galli 1998). While these studies mainly concentrated on the questions of who, where and when, analysis of burial rites of possibly Pannonian communities in Roman Britain (Cool 2004, 2010) was a step forward in our understanding of the multiplicity of identities projected at death by migrants since any sort of identity projected is and can be manipulated. This research has offered ideas that some grave assemblages regarded first as a symbol of particular ethnic identity might not have been ethnic at all, but rather stood for something else.

A changing thought is reflected in studies where attention is given to the objects of personal use. Analysis of pottery assemblages on the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall have led researchers to suggest the presence of North African (Swan 1992, 1997) and Frisian (Jobey 1979, Peeters 2003) individuals; Gaulish communities spread across the Roman Empire were identified in a similar way (Swan 2009a). An important outcome of these studies is a realisation that the migrants preferred to use the very same vessels they had back home. However, these objects were not exports but were locally made using traditional forms and technology (cf. van Driel-Murray 2009, 818, citing Peeters 2003, 16-18). These contributions suggest there might have been at least a desire to do things as they were done back home in migrant communities, greatly enhancing our understanding of how mobile people constructed their homes while living abroad. That such a desire was not only limited to cooking or pottery making is indicated in the research of personal ornaments such as belt fittings, bracelets and brooches (cf. Swift 2000, 2010; see also my own preliminary publications, Ivleva 2011a, 2011b). Although both pottery and accessory assemblages were effectively used to locate particular migrant communities on various continental sites, the studies emphasised in many ways that the occurrence of these objects does not necessarily mean that particular ethnic identity was exhibited through their use. It only hints at a possibility that the migrants' lifestyles were not only limited to the adaptation to the new host culture, but they were also a form of continuation of the past habits. The danger of simply "reading-off" ethnicity from the objects is clearly understood in modern scholarship, although it is still somewhere in between, neither fully looking beyond ethnicity as a manipulated nationality nor holistically approaching the subject by combining as many contextual elements as possible, i.e., everyday life, service, family, *etc.*

Another type of evidence can be used to research the levels of migration in the Roman Empire: the skeletons found in inhumation burials at various sites (cf. works of Evans *et al.* 2006; Eckardt *et al.* 2009; Chenery *et al.* 2010; Leach *et al.* 2009, 2010; Eckardt 2010c; Killgrove, 2010; Prowse *et al.* 2010). Osteological and forensic techniques are then used to assess ancestry, and strontium and oxygen isotope data indicate where particular individuals spent the first years of their lives. The data can be contrasted with the material record found in the burials to compare personal and birth identities (i.e., "real" identities received through birth, and "constructed" during the lifetime). The main issue is that these techniques can only be used when the body of the deceased has survived more or less intact, but knowing that cremation was a widespread practice in the period discussed, such analysis is not possible for many burials.

In general, three types of evidence are available to scholars who wish to approach the subject of mobility in the (Late) Roman Empire: epigraphy, material culture and isotopes. Ideally, in order to determine the numbers of migrants at any given site and to discuss the real and constructed (imagined) identities of these migrants, one needs to

locate a cemetery where the tombstones are still standing, inscribed with names, origins and age of the buried individuals, to excavate the bodies of the deceased in order to scientifically determine their ancestry and compare it with the information on origin inscribed on the stones, and to contrast this with the material culture with which these individuals were buried⁸⁰. Unfortunately, such amounts of information are not available on any site that has been excavated so far. Researchers either have to be satisfied with one type of information (mostly epigraphy), or with two (skeletons and artefacts), although the data for analysis is only available for inhumation burials.

As can be seen there is enough evidence to chart the movement of people and objects in the Roman Empire. The question is what had prompted these people to move? The forces behind migration in the Roman Empire can be confined to military and imperial orders, administration and trade opportunities, although some individuals migrated not because they had a choice, but because they were forced to do so (Eckardt 2010c, 102). Recruitment into the Roman army was done either by agreement (i.e. conscripts serving in the legionary and auxiliary forces) or by forced levy (i.e. hostages after a war for the auxiliary forces), making recruits migrants by force. Migration by imperial orders (forced by its nature) is attested in the organised movement of barbarians from one province to another, and for movement from beyond the frontiers to the Roman provinces (cf. Modéran 2005 for discussion and further literature). Traders and administrators, who moved on the regular basis, but were still able to maintain links with their homelands, crossed long-distances or alternatively were bound to intra-province migration (Eckardt 2010c, 102).

1.4. Identifying migrant and diasporic identities in material culture

Notions of identity, migration and diaspora make up the intellectual tools used in this thesis in order to gain insight into how migrant and diasporic identities were literally and conceptually constructed by peoples moving from Britain at the time of the high Roman Empire. By considering each notion in relation to material culture and crossing the boundaries of ethnicity as one aspect of identity, the present section offered some perspectives and views on issues of migration and diaspora within the Roman Empire.

The general view in archaeology on any sorts of identity is that identity is constituted rather than essentialised (apart from the realm of an ‘a’ identity, as discussed above) and open to movements and changes, depending on the context and on various factors of influence. Identities are fluid, dynamic and unstable; they are constantly changing, depending on the situation in which the agent finds him/herself. An individual has many identities, one of which is ethnic, which, unsurprisingly, is also multifaceted. Ethnicity has different ‘faces’, which could be based on status or age rather than origin, and be constructed, manipulated or/and multi-layered. In other words: the identities – ethnic, cultural, national *etc.* – expressed by an individual or group are multi-layered, with each layer being expressed at a particular time through a particular medium in a particular set of circumstances⁸¹. In migrant and diasporic communities the construction of identities goes through identity stress when new forms of identification are constructed, manipulated or adjusted to circumstances, bringing us to the level of multiple ethnic identities (for the discussion on identity stress see Oltean 2009, 92-93). A person expresses not only his or her own set of identities (let’s say ‘Spanish’) but also identities acquired during the period of living in a foreign territory (‘English’) and new identities

⁸⁰ The most ideal situation is of course to excavate all the cemeteries which were in use on a site, since it most likely have been a norm to have more than one at any time (I. Haynes, per. comment).

⁸¹ Cf. the concept of code switching identity as in Versluys forthcoming, 2012b: “in one context you take on identity *x*, while a different context ask for the display of identity *y*”, see also Wallace-Hadrill 2007, 356-357 for the code switching in the Roman world.

constructed by an individual as a result of being a migrant ('Spanglish'). All three identities (and there could be more) co-exist, shaping an individual and making him or her unique.

The recognition that identities can be constituted and reconstituted over periods of time provides a conceptual problem when approaching the materiality of migrant and diasporic identities because of the multivocal nature of the material culture itself⁸². The central question for the discussion here is: how is it possible to approach through archaeology the multiple identities of an individual, considering that the material culture this individual (who had a choice either to become a migrant or to join diaspora) was using, while expressing and reflecting the person's unique ethnicities and other identities, played an active role in shaping and contesting them (Antonaccio 2009, 34)? Because migrant and diaspora identities are embedded within the notion of a home, where migrants choose to loose it, and diasporas constantly reinvent and promote it, the subject of the material expressions of a home or origin can be approached from the following perspective. It has been proposed that "getting at [origin] through archaeology is to study social practices that determine 'shared ways of doing things'" (Antonaccio 2009, 51, note 10, after Lucy 2005b, 101). If mobile individuals behave similarly, wear the same dresses and continue to worship the same gods as at home *etc.*, then it can be argued that one of their origin-based identities, the ancestor-based one, can be determined through such shared communal ancestor-based ways 'of doing things'. Rowlands (2010, 235) points out that in spite of all differences, reinventions, constructions and negotiations, the process of making oneself distinct or different is brief, because "we do, after all, make meaning by making order, and we make order by cognising and recognising categories". At the end of the day, it all comes down to the habitual practice, habits the person grew up with or got used to. 'Sharing' ways of doing things and structuring things by the 'order' can be considered components of routinised identities⁸³, which are based on and bounded by *habitus*. The expressions of the routinised identities are confined to what is available from the pool of the past, therefore, making it possible to approach the complex matter of 'a home' in migrants and diasporas.

Objects move with humans. Persons and things are interrelated because both of them have biographies of movement as well as the aspects of origin, development and death. Therefore, the process of accessing the changing materiality of identities, including origin, may be approached through the category of 'biography'. While it is clearly understandable that all identities of mobile individuals cannot be put onto the identities map, one side, one part/piece of identities, plausibly the routinised ones, can be drawn while studying the persons' and objects' biographies and their dialectical interrelations.

Another aspect that has received only cursory attention here is the evocative value of things and the ways the everyday objects become part of the inner life of persons. This is when commodities and ordinary things come alive: their routinised usage makes them invaluable (Turkle 2007, 312). Things carry various meanings for their users and through use they become animated within and by meanings; in this sense, objects retain something of their users. It is precisely through the animation that objects have an influence on their users, while being influenced by them as well. Such influence evokes the feelings of attachment, based on the objects' value as memory containers (associations with or remembrance of particular event, or of (deceased) family member) or based on the objects' everyday presence in life (habits of usage)⁸⁴.

⁸² Cf. Derks 2009, 241: "material culture is by definition multivocal".

⁸³ Routinised identities are only one set of identities individual have. Evocative or unconscious as well as discourses identities also form the personality and individuality of a person.

⁸⁴ In the book of essays edited by Turkle (2007) objects come alive and become representatives of various feelings, affections and relations: objects fulfill the role of desire, history and exchange, transition,

Objects were taken abroad by moving individuals for reasons. While some may have been brought for purely practical purposes, other may have been valued for specific associations. The idea of value was exploited by Vives-Ferrándiz (2010, 191) who approaches the objects value through the term ‘appropriation’, “an important material dimension in relation to the use of things when they change hands and contexts”⁸⁵. People are attached to things; they ascribe (material or emotional) value to them, because at some point in time they became linked to the objects through their daily usage. The appropriation of the valued objects into new physical circumstances, i.e. when individuals transit or settle in a particular territory, would imply two scenarios: the continuation of the same usage or changes in usage, which are aspects of the discourse practice, envisioned in tension between the past and present. Rather than working out the consequences of such tension, it is important to understand the reasons behind bringing objects to a new place, to understand their value and the level of feelings and associations, i.e. the evocative dimension of objects’ identities. The exploration of the evocative value of objects takes us further in understanding how evocation interferes with materiality of an idea of a home, because this idea has a dimension of affection and feeling too.

memory and death, play and growing, containers of new vision and future; they facilitate mourning, hopes and familiarity, comfort and discomfort.

⁸⁵ Cf. Eckardt 2005, 140 who uses this term to describe changes in the processes of consumption of material culture: “‘appropriation’ emphasizes the active process by which any objects (whether mass-produced or not) can become meaningful in society by being incorporated into the personal and social identity of the consumer in an active process of cultural construction”.