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HEROM

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Thematic issue on:

‘Artefact Variability, Assemblage Differentiation, and Identity Negotiation:
Debating Code-Switching in Material Culture’

Composed and edited by
Kristina Winther-Jacobsen

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CONTENTS

Negotiating the Complexity of Material Culture Studies: Editorial Preface	7
<i>John Lund, Jeroen Poblome and Daniele Malfitana</i>	
Artefact Variability, Assemblage Differentiation, and Identity Negotiation: Debating Code-Switching in Material Culture: Introduction	11
<i>Kristina Winther-Jacobsen</i>	
The Bilingualism of Material Culture? Thoughts from a Linguistic Perspective	21
<i>Alex Mullen</i>	
Communicating Identities from Beyond? Assessing Expressions of Identity in Funerary Material from the Black Sea Region	45
<i>Jane Hjarl Petersen</i>	
Difference, Similarity, and Code-Switching in Ancient Sicily and South Italy	75
<i>Gillian Shepherd</i>	

Language and Iconography. The Identity of Sub-Groups in Italian Funerary Monuments	97
<i>Kathryn Lomas</i>	
Code-switching and Identity in the Western Provinces	123
<i>Louise Revell</i>	
Labraunda as Memory Theatre for Hellenistic Mylasa. Code-switching between Past and Present?	143
<i>Christina G. Williamson</i>	
Marble Mania: Code-switching in Roman Cyprus?	169
<i>Jane Fejfer</i>	
An Example of Dynamic Change in the Material Culture of Contact, Interaction, and Identity Expression	199
<i>James G. Schryver</i>	
Instructions to authors	221

NEGOTIATING THE COMPLEXITY OF MATERIAL CULTURE STUDIES

EDITORIAL PREFACE

John Lund, Jeroen Poblome and Daniele Malfitana

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DENMARK, UNIVERSITY OF LEUVEN, AND IBAM-CNR-ITALY

In the editorial preface to HEROM 1, we acknowledged that the study of past material culture should contribute to our knowledge of the ‘*complex structure of past life*’.¹ The theme of the second volume of the journal, ‘*Artefact Variability, Assemblage Differentiation and Identity Negotiation*’, reflects this policy statement, and we are most grateful to Kristina Winther-Jacobsen and all of the contributors for having had the courage to take on this challenge.

The question of identity is one of the key issues at stake. But how to define this concept? In the fields of current philosophy, psycho-analysis, social theory and cultural studies, the individual is no longer considered as a coherent whole subject but as an amalgamation of various cultural identifiers, such as location, gender, race, history, nationality, language, sexuality, age, status, religious beliefs, ethnicity and aesthetics. Culture can be considered a historical reservoir of these identifiers and is accordingly important in helping to shape identity. It is generally acknowledged that all active members of contemporary society step in and out of multiple identities many times each day depending on the social contexts she or he is part of – defined by age, gender, family relationships, workplace, political and religious beliefs etc.² Were these issues less complicated in Antiquity?³ We think not, and this quandary

1. Poblome *et al.* 2012, p. 16. By an odd coincidence, *Scherben bringen Glück* was chosen as the title of a book by Amanda Adams (2013).
2. Smith 1991, pp. 3-8; Hoy 2004; Smith 2010, pp. 20-22; Hales & Hodos 2010.
3. For the concept of identity in archaeology, see for instance Meskell & Preucel 2004; Díaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005.

alone makes any attempt at seeking a connection between archaeological artefacts and ancient cultural identity a far from straightforward matter.⁴

Perhaps the problem stems in part from the fact that most current archaeological theories – including those concerning identity – originate in other scientific disciplines. Indeed, “code-switching” was originally a theoretically based linguistic concept,⁵ but it is now used more generally to explore diverse coexisting culture-systems. The dominant models of culture contact include a measure of acculturation and assimilation, exemplified in classical archaeology by the hotly debated concepts of Hellenisation and Romanisation, which tacitly assumed that the elites in the areas subjected to such influences submitted to a (supposedly) superior culture in an asymmetrical acculturation-process. The Middle Ground theory and the hybridisation/creolisation model avoided this asymmetry, but still implied a fusion of multiple cultures into a single new one. Archaeological evidence on the other hand suggests the simultaneous coexistence of diverse culture-systems. How to proceed from this dilemma?

A two-pronged approach might provide a way forward. The first could comprise an attempt at formulating new theories based primarily on the archaeological material. It would clearly be unrealistic to deal with everything at once, so a beginning might possibly be made by focusing on the archaeology of burials. Undisturbed graves constitute what is (paradoxically) called ‘life assemblages’, i.e. ‘use-related contexts’. Such contexts are quite rare, except for wrecked ships, but they are of prime value for archaeologists because they offer an uncontaminated snapshot of the past.⁶ Moreover, burials are ubiquitous, and their setting and external expression embody a multitude of messages, which may be decoded if only we can crack the cypher.⁷ The second would be the undertaking of a new and systematic analysis of the current theoretical models in order to define where they can be fruitfully applied and where not (as done in the present volume with regard to code switching) – with a view to developing ways and means of making these models communicate with each other. This is, however, a long-term objective.

4. Poblome *et al.* forthcoming.

5. Mullen in this volume.

6. Peña 2007, pp. 18-19; Orton & Hughes 2013, p. 13. Even in these cases ‘uncontaminated’ should be qualified, as in not disturbed by cultural post-depositional processes, but nonetheless greatly transformed by natural ones.

7. See Poblome *et al.* forthcoming. Of the vast literature on this subject, we will limit ourselves to referring to the recent volumes by Pearce *et al.* 2000; Brink and Green 2008; Kümmel *et al.* 2008; Danek and Hellerschmid 2012; and especially Tarlow and Stuta 2013, which might provide a point of departure for such a venture.

With regard to the immediate future, we can announce that the next issue of HEROM will contain contributions dealing with a variety of the fundamental issues covered by the journal. This does not imply that we are abandoning the concept of thematic volumes. We are currently planning a future volume on artisanal production, and would welcome contributions dealing with this issue. In the meantime, however, it should be clear that HEROM values detailed presentations of material assemblages at least as much as thematic/conceptual approaches. As with anything in life also for HEROM, the truth lies somewhere in the middle, in our case between publishing conceptual themes and material presentations with added value. As a matter of fact, it is where both these practices genuinely meet that disciplinary progress can be expected. We will continue to nurture excellent work in that direction.

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ARTEFACT VARIABILITY, ASSEMBLAGE DIFFERENTIATION, AND IDENTITY NEGOTIATION

DEBATING CODE-SWITCHING IN MATERIAL CULTURE: INTRODUCTION

Kristina Winther-Jacobsen

SAXO INSTITUTE/UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN

It is no surprise that archaeologists feel an affinity to things, artefacts produced and used by people not only for utilitarian purposes but to mediate social, economic and political relations and to create, express, maintain, and transform social, economic and political identities. For these purposes artefacts possess what appears to an endless variability over space and time creating, mediating and challenging social practises embedded in the choice between appropriate and inappropriate behaviour, which is how we differentiate ourselves and others. In the introduction to *The Archaeology of Identities*, the editors defined identity as ‘individuals’ identification with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant’.¹ The later part of this definition is very important, because creating the means to differentiate by introducing an endless variability of artefacts over space and time is not the same as actual differentiation in the social realm, hence the significance of social sanctioning. As we use artefacts, we create, maintain and challenge the social norms surrounding them. Archaeology is about people and people’s behaviour, and the study of artefacts should never become separated from its human, historical context. As Sam Lucy reminded us ‘identities are defined not by individual artefacts, but by the context in which the artefacts are used and the ways in which they are used by people.’² This archaeological definition of identity provides us with a glimpse of the flexible, dynamic, situational and performative aspect of identity, which is the

1. Diaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005, p. 1.
2. Lucy 2005, p. 87.

focus of sociological studies. As defined by contemporary cultural theorists such as David Couzens Hoy,³ identities are flexible and dynamic social constructs emerging within the context of an individual's multiple overlapping social relationships and locations. Depending on the context and audience, different identity positions are taken in order for the multiple overlapping social relationships and locations to be successfully negotiated. From this definition we pick up two central elements: the dependence on context and audience which creates the flexible character of identity. Identity is not something you possess. It is something you create/perform (or is created for you) before a specific audience and in a specific context giving the identity meaning. This flexibility poses a challenge to archaeologists and our ability to define identity archaeologically because archaeological assemblages rarely reflect a specific moment but rather multiple agglomerated acts on a repeated basis and at different time-scales. As is often the case in archaeology, the study of identity is greatly influenced by other disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, and anthropology. This challenges our archaeological methodology, because these initially borrowed analytical frameworks and concepts are not rooted in the practices of the study of material culture.

The articles collected in this thematic section originate from the workshop on *Artefact variability, assemblage differentiation, and identity negotiation. Code-switching in material culture*, on November the 10th and 11th 2011 at the SAXO-Institute, University of Copenhagen. Hosted by the AVADIN research network funded by the Independent Danish Research Council, the workshop was dedicated to the cross-disciplinary interpretation of identities in the Mediterranean world. The purpose was to discuss how material culture may provide a better understanding of the construction, expression, maintenance and transformation of identities in the ancient world, and how the developing concept of identity may continue to contribute to our understanding of material culture in the rapid progression of this field of research. One of the main themes proposed in the call was the possibilities of mapping code-switching in material culture, because this particular model seems to provide room for flexibility by allowing the agent to switch between multiple identities at the appropriate time and place. The papers presented at the conference in 2011 approached identity in different ways, but code-switching had been on the mind of archaeologists especially since Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's seminal *Rome's Cultural Revolution*.⁴ The lively discussions following the papers came to focus very much on code-switching in material culture, possibilities, strengths, problems. Many of the participants came away

3. Hoy 2004.

4. Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

with a strong sense of intent, and the articles in this thematic section consist of the first attempts of different authors to address code-switching in different spheres of material culture.

Why code-switching?

Since the middle of the 1990s an ever increasing number of research publications have brandished the concept of identity within the general process of fragmenting bounded socio-cultural units such as “Greek” and “Roman” through the concept of subcultures of different types.⁵ Within this literature the deconstruction of the Romanization in the western provinces looms largely.⁶ Naturally, within the first generation of studies the development of models and terminology for understanding and defining the concepts took up more space than detailed archaeological analysis. More recently the debate has generated studies which discuss cultural contact with more detailed attention to material culture.⁷ Some contributions focussing on the Eastern Mediterranean have appeared which tend to focus strongly on written sources and less on detailed archaeological analysis or developing the concept.⁸ Susan Alcock’s study is one of the few exceptions.⁹

The analysis of cultural diversity, plurality, and heterogeneity lies at the core of post-colonial research. Wallace-Hadrill posed the question ‘what if Roman rule enabled the coexistence of elements of different cultures with code-switching as an improvisation?’¹⁰ Clearly the elements of coexistence and performativity resonated widely among archaeologists generating a growing interest in code-switching. Code-switching is a linguistic model of bilingualism/multilingualism according to which populations sustain diverse culture-systems in full awareness of their difference and code-switch between them.¹¹ Code-switching appears to provide a theoretically-based model for exploring diverse coexisting culture-systems in a performative perspective. Gillian Shepherd rightly stresses the model’s ability to allow for parallel aims of association and group membership as well as disassociation

5. E.g. Hingley 2010.

6. E.g. Millett 1990; 2003-2004; Mattingly 1997a; 1997b; 2011; Woolf 1998; 2003-2004; Webster 2001; 2003; Hingley 2005; see also Revell this volume.

7. E.g. Roth 2007; Roth and Keller 2007; Wallace-Hadrill 2008; Revell 2009.

8. E.g. Woolf 1994; Goldhill 2001; Hinds & Schmidt 2007; Whitmarsh 2010.

9. Alcock 1993.

10. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, p. 13.

11. E.g. Adams 2003; see Mullen this volume.

and exclusivity.¹² Several of the articles in this volume contextualise their study in this discourse of socio-cultural contact.¹³ Of course, post-colonial theory is not the only point of origin for studies of identities in the ancient world. Louise Revell's contribution draws attention to the different theoretical points of departure of the broad range of identity studies in archaeology such as gender studies and materiality.

Why possibly not code-switching?

Several of the contributions highlight the problems when attempting to apply a linguistic model to material culture. The archaeological dictum that a pot is never just a pot highlights the communicative aspect of material culture, but of course a pot is also functional in ways that words are not. This is not a re-evaluation of the debate over the symbolic or functional aspects or the concept of meaning in archaeology.¹⁴ Material culture conveys meaning in dissimilar ways to word, because it is not made primarily to communicate – it is not reducible to language.¹⁵ Language is a complex skill, which requires unending training; artefacts may be picked up because they are available. They may require you to learn a skill in order to use them to your advantage, but the actual acquisition merely involves access and funds. Once you have acquired an artefact, you put it to use according to social practises embedded in the choice between appropriate and inappropriate behaviour in your community, which may have little in common with the ideas or intentions of the producer or trader of the artefact. The objective of archaeologists is to explain the remains of the past both in terms of the processes that may have been valid in the past as they are in the present and in terms of the special circumstances that distinguish the past from the present.¹⁶ Rather than assuming that specific artefacts exist in a one-to-one relationship with specific aspects of identity, we investigate the processes through which identities were negotiated. This flexibility of identity as created before a specific audience and in a specific context giving the identity meaning correlates well with the character of conversations; they take place before a specific audience and in a specific context which provide their meaning. As mentioned above, this situational aspect correlates less well with archaeological assemblages,

12. Shepherd this volume, p. 82.

13. See Petersen; Shepherd; Lomas; Revell; Fejfer; and Schryver this volume.

14. See e.g. Hodder 1987; Hays 1993.

15. E.g. Mitchell 1994, p. 13.

16. van der Leeuw 2004, p. 117.

typically the product of acts on a repeated basis and at different time-scales.¹⁷ Even so, within the burial act a more direct analogy between archaeological assemblages and conversations may be found. Post-depositional processes have transformed the funerary assemblage, but the processes recreated by the archaeologists relate to a specific event, the burial.¹⁸ The burial is the only time this specific assemblage is displayed, which provides a possible time-scale for analysing burial goods. Kathryn Lomas makes a strong case for carefully treating individual funerary monuments like a conversation, “parsing” them by isolating the different cultural elements in order to analyse how these interact.

In her contribution, Revell reminds us that the idea of performativity or social practice, so closely connected to identity, is that it is ongoing: the performance of acts occurs on a repeated basis and this is much closer to the character of archaeological assemblage. Revell urges archaeologists to have a more flexible timescale for the occurrence of the code-switching, as a similar level of resolution as that of the single utterance is not applicable. To Wallace-Hadrill bilingual inscriptions, differing dress codes and the housing of the Roman elite provided possible evidence for code-switching between Roman, Hellenic and other identities.¹⁹ Indeed, dress codes and housing provide excellent examples of the performance of acts occurring on a repeated basis. The funerary monuments discussed by Lomas provide another possible example of code-switching on a repeated basis. The Neapolitan stelae were placed in the tombs only to be viewed by a select group, but none the less every time the tomb was reused. The external grave markers had the ability to attract the attention of anyone who passed by, and the choice of cut stone secured this for the foreseeable future. Consequently, the funerary monuments could be viewed as a recurring conversation. Of course (as in any conversation) there is no guarantee your message will be successfully transmitted e.g. the intriguing grave stele discussed by Robin Osborne.²⁰

The papers and discussions at the workshop in 2011 kept returning to two specific challenges in the attempt to map code-switching in material culture. The first challenge concerns the intentionality or direction of the communication, which is also a challenge in linguistic studies.²¹ Material culture is not made primarily to communicate. Even accepting that a pot is never just

17. E.g. Ault and Nevett 1999; Wandsnider 2004.

18. See Petersen; Lomas; Shepherd this volume.

19. Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

20. Osborne 2012.

21. See Petersen; Lomas; Revell; Schryver; and Mullen this volume.

a pot, not all things are equal. Artefacts serve multiple purposes, and the strongest cases presented in this volume deal with very deliberate directional types of visual communication e.g. the correlation between material and type of sculptural dedication in Roman Cyprus.²² Lomas suggests two important factors 1) identifying the determining factors in the choice of code, including who was responsible; 2) determining whether the process of code-switching was internalised or the result of a more conscious and deliberate process, not just a case of availability.

The problem of intentionality is closely linked to the second challenge, the recognition and understanding of the code. Archaeologists cannot assume that their sense of the relationships between people and their artefacts is similar to that of the people they study. Assigning meaning to particular artefacts is highly complex and completely dependent on interpretations derived from the specific archaeological context based on a full contextual study.²³ Revell warns against focusing on the possible incidence of code-switching alone, advocating for a consideration of the phenomenon within wider patterns of usage. Indeed, the cases presented in this volume are all supported by the documentation of a wider pattern of usage in archaeological (and epigraphical) material and written sources. The same condition can be observed for studies of cultural contact based on literary sources equally benefitting from a multi-disciplinary approach supported by the documentation of a wider pattern of usage.²⁴

Alex Mullen reminds us that code-switching is only one of three bilingual phenomena, and she is rightly concerned that archaeologists explore the models more fully. The concepts of borrowing and interference have not produced the same interest possibly because their identification is dependent on specific use.²⁵ In language the syntax reveals the use and meaning of each word specifically, but archaeological assemblages are fragmented and incomplete, and it is usually very difficult to reconstruct the precise relationship – the syntax, if we stay in the analogy – between the individual artefacts. Consequently, it is more often the combination of artefacts or styles in a specific context rather than the actual functions of them in a specific act which can be deduced.

22. See Fejfer this volume.

23. See Petersen; Revell; Fejfer; and Schryver this volume.

24. Osborne 2012, pp. 329-331.

25. See Mullen this volume, p. 28.

Presentation of the volume

Alex Mullen draws attention to the fact that archaeology and socio-linguistics have come to share the same interests. In her article, she introduces the concepts developed by linguists working with bilingualism, only one of which is code-switching as well as discusses examples in material culture.

Within the context of code-switching, Jane Hjarl Petersen and Gillian Shepherd both compare burial assemblages in the Black Sea region and southern Italy and Sicily investigating how funerary material, with its exceptional potential for displaying identities, have been used to perform expressions of culturally and socially complex identities. The elaborate funerary complexes are interpreted as examples of sophisticated displays of elite code-switching communicating their status to a specific local audience in a multi-vocal visual language.

In her contribution, Kathryn Lomas analyses the inscriptions and iconography of funerary monuments from three contrasting areas of Italy in the wider context of other changes to local culture in order to understand the level of intent behind the cultural symbols used. Lomas carefully analyses the weaknesses and strengths of the code-switching model with reference to her data. Among her cases, in the funerary monuments from Padua, Lomas demonstrates how choices have been made which code-switch between various different registers of material culture within the individual stele supported by the inscriptions. Furthermore, the type of cultural encoding appears to be strikingly gendered in the cases of Padua and Ancona both.

Christina Williamson uses actor-network theory to understand the development of the Labraunda Sanctuary into a *lieu de memoire* for the Hekatomnid dynasty by the polis of Mylasa. At Labraunda the architecture of the Hekatomnids as well as their coinage underscored the intrinsic authority of the cult place while augmenting their own legitimacy of rule; a century later Mylasa capitalized on these networks of ancient associations to legitimize its own presence in the region as supported by onomastic correlations. Williamson suggests that 'the single utterance or context in which code-switching occurs has been expanded to include Mylasan political culture'.²⁶ The memory of the satraps was interjected into the contemporary world of 3rd century BC Mylasa to create a narrative of power that transcended time and politics.

26. See Williamson this volume, p. 163.

Influenced by Alfred Gell's anthropological theory of art, Jane Fejfer demonstrates how the sculptural population of Roman Cyprus contributes towards a better understanding of how the choice of material, techniques, and iconographies took part in the ongoing identity negotiation with the wider Roman world. Fejfer establishes how marble was intimately linked to new architectural styles in the urban spaces of Roman Cyprus and how the so-called marble style was given specific meaning in the juxtaposition with local limestone and bronze. Employing different materials in different settings allowed benefactors to switch between a "global" marble style of the Eastern Roman Empire and a long-lived, insular style of representation thereby claiming both.

Dealing with Roman ethnicity, Louise Revell's approach to identity is informed by performativity and social practices more typically associated with gender studies. She argues for ethnogenesis, the creation of new group identities either by or in reaction to a dominant ethnic group, as another way of dealing with ethnic sub-groups within poly-ethnic communities. Revell considers the Romano-British town of Verulamium a case of possible code-switching located within the ongoing routines of dwelling within a place arguing that within this particular context, the model can be used to aid an understanding of Roman imperialism.

James Schryver discusses a group of 14th century churches from the island of Cyprus investigating the conscious expression of identity in monumental buildings and the attribution of a similar function to "style" attempting to determine which elements of material culture were actually being used by a particular group to consciously express a particular identity. Schryver suggests that, in the particular context of 14th century Famagusta, new priorities appear to have included the adoption of an assertive style visible by the Orthodox Church indicating their involvement in and contribution to the newly found prosperity and position of the city.

'We seem to have entered a critical phase of refining, rethinking and elaborating, and it is in this context this volume was conceived'²⁷ Code-switching is only one of a range of analytical frameworks utilised by the archaeologist for understanding artefact variability and identity negotiation in the past. The thematic section demonstrates that the model provides theoretical support for deliberate directional types of visual communication of coexisting identities in a performative perspective in the ancient world. Together with my co-organisers of the AVADIN workshop, Jane Hjarl Petersen and John Lund

27. Mullen 2012, p. 35.

I wish to thank the Independent Danish Research Council and the SAXO-Institute, University of Copenhagen for the financial and practical support which made the workshop possible, all the speakers and participants of the workshop for their willingness to engage in the lively debate about “the way we think about things” and the editors and reviewers of HEROM for paving the way for this volume. Finally a great debt of gratitude is owed to Alex Mullen, who has been tireless in making her expertise on code-switching and linguistics available to all of us.

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THE BILINGUALISM OF MATERIAL CULTURE? THOUGHTS FROM A LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

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‘Linguistic sources of inspiration have not always served cultural analysis well, and whenever one takes an intellectual ride on a metaphor, it is essential that one knows where to get off’ (Hannerz 1992, p. 264).

Cross-disciplinary interaction

Anthropology, archaeology and linguistics have had a very long association.² The current interest in studies of language contact is merely the most recent example of archaeologists, anthropologists and others looking to linguistic theory and practice for models and data to use in their analyses. The relations have fluctuated over time, with some rapprochements markedly warmer than others. The suggestion that linguistic models might be applied to material culture often evokes an initial concern that the ‘material culture as text’ approach of the 1980s is being revived,³ a theoretical endeavour which provokes a sense of caution amongst some classical archaeologists. Archaeologists and linguists have also tended to misunderstand one another on the subject of “Proto-languages”. Indo-Europeanists have long been reconstructing parent languages, the most significant being Proto-Indo-European, without explaining their alchemy to a non-linguistic audience, and then become vexed when archaeologists want to add speakers, home-lands and dates using

1. I am grateful to Penelope Gardner-Chloros for her comments on this article.
2. Wallace-Hadrill highlights that Varro in *de lingua Latina* (8.27–32) makes an explicit comparison between the *consuetudo*, “normal practice”, of spoken language and material culture (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 67–68). See Duranti 1997 for an overview of linguistic anthropology.
3. See, for example, Hodder 1989; Tilley 1991; Tilley *et al.* 1993.

genetic data, material culture and glottochronology. There are good reasons why comparative philologists are suspicious of these endeavours,⁴ not least because they are aware that their methodology only works by removing the speakers and the variation (dialects, sociolects, genderlects) of real languages and by avoiding the realities of language contact. The linguistic inputs are from a mixture of time-depths and the result, as James Clackson puts it, is an ‘asterisk-heavy “star-spangled grammar” of reconstructed PIE [which] may unite reconstructions which go back to different stages of the language.’⁵ Proto-languages are reconstructed languages, not real languages.⁶

These cross-disciplinary interactions of the past few decades have left many with the impression that linguists and archaeologists do not speak the same language and have quite divergent concerns. But currently ripples of excitement are being created by the appreciation that developments in the two fields are drawing the disciplines together in potentially novel ways. Classical linguists are becoming increasingly interested in putting the speakers, variation and contact back into the picture. These socio-historical linguists try to make sense of attested linguistic remains and are concerned with real languages in action and context. Sociolinguistics and contact linguistics have for years been providing us with intriguing insights into the role of language in expressing identities and enabling us to disentangle the intricacies of cultural contacts. Whenever language is used a message is communicated, but also numerous other intended and unintended clues about the speaker. Language is often regarded as ‘the primary index, or symbol, or register of identity’;⁷ a human output that can betray or express a range of information concerning gender, age, sexuality, socio-economic background, occupation, origin of birth, ethnicity, amongst other things. Linguistic negotiations have been termed ‘acts of identity’⁸ and each speaker is endowed with ‘a “repertoire of identity,” in which any of a multiplicity of identities may be fronted at a particular moment. [...] speakers may index a polyphonous, multi-layered identity by using linguistic variables with indexical associations to more than one social category.’⁹

4. See Sims-Williams 1998 for some of the methodological problems associated with this work.
5. Clackson 2007, p. 16.
6. Comparative linguists reconstruct Proto-languages not only to engage in a highly specialist and respected intellectual endeavour but also because they are major building blocks for understanding historically attested linguistic material.
7. Crystal 2000, p. 40. See also Adams 2003; Edwards 2009; Fought 2006; Joseph 2004.
8. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985.
9. Barrett 1999, p. 318.

We are all sociolinguists. Everyone is aware of sociolinguistic phenomena such as “accommodation”, when speakers try to speak as similarly as they can, and the importance of choosing the right register for context, topic and audience. Armstrong and Miller’s comic sketch of the WWII airmen employing 1940s Received Pronunciation, but using modern “Multicultural London English” relies on our sociolinguistic awareness. It is obvious why archaeologists should find socio-historical linguistics of great value: a primary concern is to reconstruct the complexities of individual and societal identities by harnessing all the potential of the scientific advances of recent decades, as Winther-Jacobsen puts it ‘[a]rchaeology is about people and people’s behaviour’ (this volume, p. 11). Our concerns are converging and code-switching is merely one aspect of potentially rewarding interdisciplinary endeavours.

Code-switching as a phenomenon of bilingual speech and writing

This volume brings together a group of archaeologists who are explicitly interested in identities. At the workshop in Copenhagen in 2011 relatively few of the papers engaged with the concept of code-switching, though it ignited a good deal of debate. The contributors to this volume all discuss code-switching to an extent, which might indicate that our exchanges encouraged even sceptics not to reject the concept without some serious discussion. None of the papers, however, fully exploits the copious modern linguistic research. Since we are at such a formative stage, I suggest that it is important that we do not leave behind the linguistic research, which is constantly developing and whose interpretive insights are valuable.

Linguistic publications on code-switching are both extremely numerous and various. Approaches to code-switching follow four major routes: *structural*, *psycholinguistic*, *sociolinguistic*, or a combination. Adams (2003) has steered a sensible path through the mass of modern research with its terminological minefields, but we should be aware that there are competing frameworks and theories and we are operating with a selection. Classicists, for example, have been tempted by the term “matrix language” to describe the primary language (where this can be identified) of code-switching. When modern linguists have encountered papers using this term they often assume that the theoretical framework employed is that of Myers-Scotton, who has proffered a distinctive model of the grammar of code-switching (Matrix Language Frame, 4-M

model and Rational Choice model),¹⁰ as opposed to the grammatical models of, for example, MacSwan, Muysken, or Poplack, or the less grammatically driven accounts of Auer or Gumperz. Classicists may well wish to follow Myers-Scotton, but they should be aware of the choices they are making.

We should also be aware that a major change in studies of code-switching has been underway for at least a decade: some researchers have become increasingly interested in the phenomenon of code-switching in writing. Of course, written code-switching is not a new phenomenon, as any classicist who has read the epistolary output of Cicero knows,¹¹ but code-switching in literature has traditionally been the preserve of literary studies and bilingualism studies have had an almost unflinching focus on oral output.¹² Bilingualism studies have largely started this new phase of investigations with what we might consider the “speech-end” of writing, termed “written speech”¹³: texts, emails, web chats, blogs, magazines, diaries and so on,¹⁴ and only more recently has the scope expanded to take in literary output too, perhaps in part inspired by some high profile texts (e.g. Zadie Smith’s *White Teeth*).¹⁵ A major study of Chicano literature containing English-Spanish code-switching suggests that written code-switching is generally found in written contexts of relatively informal type, and that both structurally and functionally there seem to be no significant, universally applicable differences between spoken and written code-switching.¹⁶ There clearly are differences, however, between writing and speech in terms of media, receiver (interlocutor versus reader), spontaneity, instantaneity, generic restrictions, authorial representations of multiple characters, impact of standard versus vernacular languages and literacy,¹⁷ but research has not yet fully investigated the precise ramifications of these.

This research into contemporary written code-switching has two important implications for our studies of the past. First, it confirms that Adams and other scholars of the past have been right to consider that written manifestations

10. See Myers-Scotton 2006; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009.
11. See also Schendl and Wright 2011 for code-switching in early English.
12. For studies of literary code-switching, see, for example, Hess 1996; Lipski 1982; Valdés-Fallis 1977.
13. See Dorleijn and Nortier 2009, pp. 128–129.
14. See, for example, Danet and Herring 2007; Dorleijn and Nortier 2009; Hinrichs 2006.
15. The broadest major survey of code-switching in writing to date is Sebba *et al.* 2012.
16. Callahan 2004.
17. Some discussions have suggested that the functions of written code-switching are restricted, though these restrictions might be explained by the nature of the *corpora*, for example the apparent restrictions noted by McClure in her 2001 study may be, at least in part, a result of the fact that Assyrian is a difficult script to produce electronically and is written in the opposite direction from English. More empirical studies are required before we can make suggestions as to why some code-switching communities do not permit code-switching in writing, whilst others do.

of bilingualism can be treated, with care, as equivalent to spoken. Second, code-switching has been shown in contemporary bilingual writing to be both a feature of very informal, spontaneous “written speech” (e.g. in journal entries or web chat) and also of more formal, carefully constructed texts (e.g. poetry and novellas). As Dorleijn and Nortier remark ‘during the last few years, the focus of interest of much CS research has, again, along with general trends in sociolinguistics, shifted to issues like stylistic uses of CS and the role of CS in identity construction, processes in which conscious use of CS is involved’.¹⁸ Written code-switching does not *have* to be spontaneous and naturalistic, and can be a carefully thought-out process, as it can be in speech where it often represents a deliberate, marked choice. Awareness of this fact will perhaps help to counter the potential criticism that many of the examples from material culture which might be submitted to a code-switching analysis (iconography on the *Ara pacis* or funerary monuments, grave assemblages etc.) are far from spontaneous creations.

Categorizations of linguistic code-switching

It is not possible here to set out a comprehensive treatment of modern code-switching research, instead I will present a brief overview with references for those who wish to explore the field further. For a more detailed account, set within the context of other bilingual phenomena and descriptions of contact languages, and with a discussion of the pit-falls of applying modern bilingualism research to the ancient world, see Mullen 2012 and chapters 2 and 3 of Mullen 2013a.

In basic terms, code-switching is one of three main bilingual phenomena which can be summarized as follows:

1. *Code-switching*: the phenomenon of switching between languages within one utterance or text. It can be practised by both balanced and dominant bilinguals (symmetrical and asymmetrical proficiency respectively). Subdivisions include tag-switching, inter-sentential switching and intra-sentential switching.
2. *Borrowing*: the adoption of any linguistic element into one language from another. The items function in the recipient language as native elements and can be used by monolingual speakers, often with some degree of morphophonemic integration.

18. Dorleijn and Nortier 2009, p. 127.

3. *Interference*: the process through which features from L1 (first language) are unintentionally transferred into an utterance or text in L2 (second language).

Code-switching¹⁹ has been described as a ‘full-blown switch from one language into another within one person’s utterance or piece of writing’.²⁰ Seen by Weinreich (1953) and others as an aberration, it is now appreciated as, at least in some cases, a mark of bilingual competence.²¹ Two main types of code-switching can be distinguished: bilingual code-switching (associated with bilinguals) and restricted code-switching (associated with inadequacies in bilingual proficiency).²² The majority of modern research, and the subsequent appropriation by Adams and others for Classics, focuses on bilingual code-switching, rather than restricted code-switching, though the two are not necessarily easily distinguishable in textual evidence.²³ A large proportion of recent linguistic research has also focused on the identification of linguistic constraints which may restrict possible forms of switching in bilingual code-switching.²⁴ Counter-examples and the lack of consensus have led many scholars to admit that the theories do not propose universal constraints, but rather, strong tendencies.²⁵ Given the relative paucity and restrictions of our evidence for code-switching in the classical world, it seems that testing complex grammatical models will not constitute a particularly fruitful line of enquiry.²⁶

19. *Code-alternation*, where ‘both languages are used by the same speakers, but in different settings and therefore without code-switching’ (Thomason 1997, p. 195), is also an important feature of bilingual speech, though less well studied, see *ibid.*, pp. 195–198 and Thomason 2001, pp. 136–139; 2003, pp. 697–699.
20. Adams 2003, p. 19. Important works include: Auer 1998a; Bullock and Toribio 2009; Gardner-Chloros 2009a; Gumperz 1982a; 1982b; Heller 1988; 1995; Isurin *et al.* 2009; Jacobson 1998a; 2001; Milroy and Muysken 1995; Muysken 1997; 2000; Myers-Scotton 1993a and b; 2002; Poplack 1980. See Jacobson 1998b for an overview of research trends.
21. See, for instance, Adams 2003, pp. 297–298; Muysken 2000, pp. 1–2; Poplack 1980. For bilingualism and intelligence, see Edwards 1994, pp. 66–71.
22. See Hamers and Blanc 2000, p. 267 for these terms. See Franceschini 1998; Meeuwis and Blommaert 1998 for evidence that full competence in the languages is not a prerequisite for code-switching.
23. See Adams 2003, pp. 305–308 for some examples.
24. See Clyne 2003, pp. 81–92; Hamers and Blanc 2000, pp. 261–265; Muysken 2000, pp. 12–27; Myers-Scotton 1993a; 2006, pp. 239–271; Poplack 1980, pp. 585–588; Winford 2003, pp. 127–163.
25. See Muysken 2000, pp. 27–29 for an interesting discussion of this issue. His own theory is set out at Muysken 2000, pp. 30–32.
26. The Ciceronian *corpus* provides the only material that is anywhere near suitable for such an analysis; see, for example, the discussions by Dunkel 2000 and Swain 2002.

Code-switching is subdivided by Adams into *tag-switching*, *inter-sentential switching* and *intra-sentential switching*.²⁷

- a) *Tag-switching* is the insertion of a tag, such as an exclamation or interjection, in a different language from the rest of the utterance or text, e.g. “I mean”, “you know”.²⁸ It is not unusual for Greek or Latin epitaphs to have a tag in the other language at the beginning or end, for example, Greek ταῦτα at the end of Latin epitaphs (e.g. *IGF* 126). The line between tag-switching and inter-sentential switches (below) is very thin, and modern bilingual studies often regard tag-switching as a sub-category of inter-sentential switching. Adams includes these additions to epitaphs under tag-switching ‘because they are so distinctive in type and in their placement’.²⁹
- b) *Inter-sentential switching* is characterized by a switch in languages between sentence or clause boundaries, e.g. ‘sometimes I’ll start a sentence in Spanish (*sic*), y termino en español’;³⁰ *mihi simulatio pro repudiatione fuerit*. τοῦτο δὲ μῆλώση ‘I shall interpret pretence as rejection. You will probe this matter’ (Cicero *Att.* 293.2).³¹
- c) *Intra-sentential switching*³² occurs within the sentence or clause boundary, e.g. *Yo anduve in a state of shock pa dos días* ‘I walked around in a state of

27. See Adams 2003, pp. 21–25; also Swain 2002 and Rochette 2007. See Poplack 1980 for the terminology. Scholars still do not agree as to how the term code-switching should be employed, for instance some scholars use code-switching to refer to inter-sentential switching, and code-mixing for intra-sentential switching, see Muysken 2000, p. 1. To avoid confusion it seems sensible to follow the terminology employed by Adams.
28. See Hamers and Blanc 2000, p. 259 (though they call this type of code-switching *extra-sentential code-switching*) and Romaine 1995, p. 122.
29. Adams 2003, p. 21.
30. Poplack 1980, p. 594.
31. References are to Shackleton Bailey 1965–1970.
32. Muysken 1995, 2000 subdivides intra-sentential switching into: *alternation* (to be distinguished from *code-alternation*), *insertion* and *congruent lexicalization*. *Alternation* is code-switching where the two languages remain relatively separate (2000, pp. 96–121), *insertion* involves the insertion or embedding of constituents of language B into language A (2000, pp. 60–95), *congruent lexicalization* is switching ‘of material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure’ (2000, p. 3, see also pp. 122–153). Adams does not mention the third category, but rather adds another from Bentahila and Davies: *leaks* (‘minor elements of the psycholinguistically prior or dominant language find their way even into what is clearly intended to be discourse in the second language’ (1998, p. 42)). Adams remarks that ‘it must [...] be acknowledged that this type of ‘code-switching’ is virtually impossible to distinguish from (morphological) interference’ (2003, p. 25). There seems little point in retaining this category; Adams hardly uses it after the introduction. Indeed, it is not clear whether the subdivision of intra-sentential code-switching is useful for this discussion.

shock for two days’ (Spanish-English),³³ *nunc autem ἀπορῶ quo me ver-
tam* ‘But now I do not know where to turn’ (Cicero *Att.* 321.2).

This simplistic summary should not in any way imply that it is easy to identify these features in either the modern evidence or the ancient. Langslow’s discussion (2012) of his attempts to categorize the forms *elticis* and *catelticis* in the Latin version of the Greek medical works of Alexander of Tralles runs to thirty pages and demonstrates the potential complexities of identifying whether a feature should be assigned to code-switching, borrowing or interference. A major issue in categorization is that the three categories of bilingual phenomena reside on a continuum.³⁴ Borrowing and code-switching show similarities; indeed it is generally accepted that code-switching may be a precursor to borrowing — ‘a loan is a code-switch with a full-time job’ as Gardner-Chloros neatly concludes.³⁵ For the ancient world, the distribution of the item in the extant literature may give an idea of whether it had generally been accepted into the recipient language (borrowing), or whether its attestation was *ad hoc* (code-switching or interference). Similarly, some interference phenomena could easily be assigned to code-switching and borrowing. Adams notes that the best way of assigning the features to either borrowing or interference is the direction of the transfer: L2 to L1 for borrowing or L1 to L2 for interference, though the bi-directionality of borrowing, and to a much lesser extent interference, occasionally causes problems.³⁶ Also essential is an understanding of the extra-linguistic context in which the example occurs. Interference is ‘unintentional and beyond the control of the writer, whereas code-switching [...] is often a manifestation of linguistic skill.’³⁷ “Often” is significant here, as code-switching (‘restricted code-switching’), as we have seen, can also be practised by dominant bilinguals who switch from L2 to L1 because of gaps in their knowledge of the former. Reconstructing the intentionality or bilingual aptitude of ancient authors, however, frequently eludes us.

Interpretations of linguistic code-switching

Modern linguistic research, incorporating both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, has produced theories regarding the linguistic ability related to

33. Cited in Muysken 1997, p. 361.

34. See Myers-Scotton 2006, pp. 253–260.

35. Gardner-Chloros 1987, p. 102.

36. See Langslow 2012, pp. 42–44.

37. Adams 2003, p. 28.

various types of code-switching. Researchers suggest that inter-sentential code-switching is used mostly by dominant bilinguals (i.e. those whose competence in their languages is asymmetrical), whereas balanced bilinguals (i.e. those with equal competence in more than one language) employ significantly more intra-sentential switching.³⁸ Hamers and Blanc refer to the latter as ‘a maturational social process’ which children learn later ‘since it requires full development of syntactic rules for both languages.’³⁹ Auer notes that ‘whenever intrasentential code-switching occurs, intersentential switching is a matter of course, but not all code-switching situations / communities which allow intersentential switching also allow intrasentential switching.’⁴⁰ It is generally thought that tag-switching is the form of code-switching which requires the least competence; some researchers do not even consider the phenomenon to be a real instance of code-switching, and it is certainly true that, at least in some cases, the tag can be an ‘emblematic part of the speaker’s monolingual style.’⁴¹

Levels and types of code-switching can also be related to speakers’ and interlocutors’ attitudes, their age, their gender, the role of linguistic varieties in the community, the origins of the community, the attitude of the community to code-switching, to name just a few factors.⁴² Often several elements will be involved in a switch and contextualization is vital to determine these.⁴³ Generally, intra-sentential is regarded as the most intimate form of code-switching, and tag-switching the least. For instance, in the case of balanced bilinguals who can choose between the two types, an “in-group” interlocutor encourages the former and a “non-group” interlocutor the latter.⁴⁴ Poplack (1980) categorises frequent intra-sentential code-switching as ‘intimate’ and tag-switching, interjections, idiomatic expressions and single word switches

38. See Poplack 1980, p. 581.

39. Hamers and Blanc 2000, p. 267.

40. Auer 1998b, p. 3; Muysken 2000, pp. 8–9 selects some factors that determine types of intra-sentential code-switching.

41. Poplack 1980, p. 589.

42. See Gardner-Chloros 2009a, especially, pp. 42–64.

43. Although the macro-sociolinguistic context can often be illuminating, a proportion of code-switching is independent of this context. Auer 1998a is a timely reminder that internal analysis of code-switching, i.e. ‘conversation analysis’ (Auer 1984), should not be overlooked.

44. See Poplack 1980, pp. 589–590. Her code-switching subjects are Puerto-Rican residents of the stable Spanish-English bilingual community of El Barrio (New York City). Her analysis of the factors underlying different varieties or absence of code-switching is somewhat general due to the small number of informants.

as ‘emblematic’.⁴⁵ She argues that intra-sentential switching should be seen as a ‘discourse mode’, and that what is significant for sociolinguistics is not the exact position of the switch points, which can be relatively random, but rather the fact that the speakers have chosen this discourse mode.⁴⁶ Indeed, in some communities, intra-sentential switching is so natural that it can be deemed an unmarked choice.⁴⁷

Adams considers the extant Latin-Greek written code-switching from the Roman world to be ‘marked’ and restricted in its use: ‘code-switching into Greek by educated Romans was always a marked choice, even if carried out in private with a sympathetic peer’⁴⁸ and ‘[i]n both epigraphy and Latin literature code-switching is a resource used only sparingly for symbolic purposes’.⁴⁹ Indeed, there appear to have been clear generic restrictions within literature (one must never code-switch, for example, in epic from Vergil onwards), but even within epistolography, which permitted code-switching, the practice seems to have been contingent on the individuals involved, the content and the context, as has been shown by detailed analysis of the Ciceronian letters. Informed by the findings of modern sociolinguistics, Adams discusses at length the possible motivating factors for written code-switching involving Latin in the classical world and selects the following as most common, all of which are linked and may be found in combination.⁵⁰

1. *Expression of identity, perception of self and belonging*: doctors, for example, often use (Ionic) Greek in referring to their profession, soldiers referring to the military often use Latin.⁵¹

45. “Emblematic” is a term also used in archaeological discourse, for example by Weissner to distinguish types of styles: ‘styles with distinct referents are those that I call emblematic and those with more vague associations I call assertive’ (1990, p. 108)); see also Schryver, this volume.

46. See Poplack 1980, p. 614.

47. See Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 167.

48. Adams 2003, p. 412.

49. Adams 2003, p. 304. Code-switching is relatively rare in the epigraphy of the Roman West. If we take the example of *Gallia Narbonensis* out of hundreds of Gaulish and Greek inscriptions and many thousands of Latin inscriptions only a handful contain clear examples of code-switching (*IGF* 10, 56, 57, 126); see Mullen 2013a.

50. See Adams 2003, pp. 297–308. Adams discusses code-switching in Cicero’s letters in detail at *ibid.*, pp. 308–347. Additional motivations to the categories set out above include: intimacy, common educational background, criticism, cultured game, distancing, euphemism (e.g. medical, endearments), humour, showing-off, using the *mot juste*, though all of these could be fitted into the categories.

51. For Latin and the army, see Adams 2003 *passim*.

2. *Interpersonal, interactional code-switching*: triggered by the perceived taste or character of the addressee. This can involve feelings of solidarity (convergence) or dominance / aloofness (divergence).⁵²
3. *Culturally specific code-switching*: triggered by topics, events, activities, or material.
4. *Stylistically evocative code-switching*: used as a stylistic resource to evoke another world.⁵³

Inscriptional evidence is generally much more difficult to interpret than the well-contextualized Ciceronian works, given that we repeatedly face issues of legibility, fragmentation, uncertain authorship, findspots and dating. Nonetheless, when code-switching can be identified, certain functions seem to be recurrent. Code-switching in epitaphs from the Roman Empire, for example, might contain a switch from Latin into Greek to include a formula associated with “high culture”, or a switch in the opposite direction to include the public-language of the state. Repeatedly we find code-switching texts with a clear division of labour: Latin deals with the factual detail and Greek with the personal. And, as Adams notes, ‘[i]t does not seem to be the case, at least in Rome, that language switches of the opposite type to that just discussed occur: that is, we do not find names and personal details written in Latin but bureaucratic information in Greek. If this observation is along the right lines, it supports the contention that such switches are not haphazard, but reflect the social situation.’⁵⁴ A switch may also reveal the perceived need to express the bilingual nature of a community or individual, and, if the text were positioned in such a way as to exclude readership (e.g. folded curse tablets thrown into wells, or inscriptions in high positions on temples), the bilingualism might have been thought necessary to ensure the potency of the inscription.⁵⁵ Complex forms of code-switching, for example intra-sentential, suggest more than just a brief acknowledgment of a second language and culture; they are more indicative of a duality of identity. These code-switching discourses can have both the effect of increasing solidarity and coherence within a community, but also an exclusionary purpose in that they can alienate those who do not have the ability to code-switch. But interpretations, as

52. Accommodation theory considers this in detail, see Adams 2003, pp. 350–356; Joseph 2004, pp. 70–73. ‘Speech / Communication Accommodation Theory’ was developed by Giles and co-workers; see Hamers and Blanc 2000, pp. 242–251; Winford 2003, pp. 119–124 for details. Myers-Scotton set out a similar theory, the ‘Markedness Model’; see Adams 2003, pp. 410–413; Myers-Scotton 2006, pp. 158–161. Sebba has produced a ‘congruence approach’; see Hamers and Blanc 2000, pp. 268–269.

53. See, for instance, Sedley 1999 on Lucretius’s use of Greek to evoke the “exotic”.

54. Adams 2003, p. 401.

55. Adams 2003, p. 23.

always, are difficult. Written code-switching may not even be evidence for bilingualism, particularly if more than one author has been involved,⁵⁶ and tag-switching into a second language may be indicative that the language is moribund or even dead (e.g. in the case of Hebrew tags such as “*shalom*” in Jewish epitaphs in Latin or Greek).⁵⁷

Code-switching and material culture

Wallace-Hadrill's *Rome's cultural revolution* marks an influential break from the standard recent historical and archaeological offerings on identity and ethnicity by looking to contact linguistics, and it is to this work that the contributors of this volume have largely turned. Inspired by publications by Adams (2003) and Swain (2002) on bilingualism, and especially code-switching, Wallace-Hadrill argues that ‘bilingualism is at least as interesting a model as fusion or creolisation’⁵⁸ for understanding cultural interaction, and that ‘the Roman world produces no evidence of Creole languages, but abundant evidence of bilingualism and code-switching’.⁵⁹ Wallace-Hadrill's support of the model of bilingualism derives from his view that an individual did not need to be Greek or Roman or native, nor a fusion, but could be all three at the same time (consider his examples of the *tria corda* of Ennius or Favorinus).⁶⁰ He considers that other models, including even hybridization, assume a replacement of old identities with new. ‘The alternative model of bilingualism, or rather multilingualism, points the way to other possibilities: of populations that can sustain simultaneously diverse culture-systems, in full awareness of their difference, and code-switch between them.’⁶¹ He aims to ensure that we do not see identities as an ‘either / or’, but rather that we understand that ‘the power of multiple identities lies in their strategic deployment in diverse contexts’.⁶² Wallace-Hadrill proceeds with caution, however, careful to clarify that just because linguistic negotiations might operate in a

56. For example, the Latin-Gaulish La Graufesenque graffiti discussed in detail by Adams (2003, pp. 687–724) as showing various bilingual phenomena, are probably subject, at least in some cases, to complex compilation processes involving documentary and oral inputs from multiple authors, see Mullen 2013b.
57. For Hebrew tags, see Adams 2003, pp. 22–23, 271–272; Leiwo 2002, p. 184. For the linguistic complexities of the Jewish communities of the Western Empire, see Noy 1999, Rochette 2008.
58. For some problems with the ‘creolization’ model, see Mullen 2013a, pp. 8, 66.
59. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, p. 13.
60. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 3–7.
61. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 27–28.
62. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, p. 85.

certain way, other aspects of identity, such as material culture, need not correlate: 'it is only a possible model, a hypothesis to evaluate'.⁶³

Wallace-Hadrill's chosen model of bilingualism and code-switching seems to have been appropriate and successful for the treatment of his own material which focuses on the well-documented late Republic and early Empire and exploits his interdisciplinary interests. Linguists have not voiced any significant concerns, not least because proper attention has been paid to the origins of the terms. Archaeologists too have begun to consider seriously how to employ code-switching in their own analyses and how far the terms might be stretched. Wallace-Hadrill has set us on an intriguing path, which will demand more research and detailed interrogation in years to come. This volume is one of the first edited volumes dedicated to code-switching in material culture, and it is hoped more may follow.

I now set out some key issues that, as a linguist and archaeologist, I consider important for this formative period, some of which have been picked up by the contributors in their papers, but none, in my opinion, has as yet been resolved (nor should we expect it to have been). Why does Wallace-Hadrill zoom in on code-switching but does not play with the two other main bilingual phenomena, interference and borrowing (see above)? If we are to pursue the bilingualism model as a way of approaching material culture we ought to look at all its components, not just a selection. Indeed, it is relatively easy to see how interference and borrowing could be applied to material culture.⁶⁴ To take two banal examples, we might categorize tea in British society, at least in some contexts, as a borrowing; it has been adopted in one culture system from another and functions in the recipient system as a native element, i.e. it is thoroughly integrated. As an example of interference, we could imagine an effort to drink wine in Greek fashion in the Iron Age by non-Greek communities. These might take on the drinking paraphernalia and the wine, but through lack of full knowledge of the culture of Greek wine-drinking, drink the wine unmixed as they might their own beverages; this demonstrates the unintentional transfer of practices from the local culture system when attempting to engage in another.

Indeed, as I have argued recently, the code-switching model itself could perhaps have been pushed further. Should we not also consider the sub-categories,

63. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, p. 77.

64. Work has begun amongst researchers of modern multilingualism to compare hierarchies of linguistic borrowing with borrowings of material culture, see, for example, Muysken 2002 (I am grateful to Jacomine Nortier for this information, pers. comm. 2013).

which are so familiar to linguists, of inter-/intra-/tag- switching, or of ‘emblematic’ versus ‘intimate’ (see above)?⁶⁵ How could these be applied to the analysis of archaeological material and visual culture? The details of this need to be worked out carefully, but elsewhere I have presented the iconography of the Barates monument from South Shields (*RIB* I 1065) as possibly suitable for an intra-sentential code-switching analysis.⁶⁶ Gardner-Chloros, a modern linguist, has also independently been investigating whether the concept might work beyond the purely linguistic sphere by looking at visual culture, and particularly at the work of bilingual artists. Her work in fact highlights that code-switching analysis has occasionally surfaced in recent years in artistic and anthropological discussion: code-switching has been used to describe changes in key in Bach’s *St Matthew’s Passion*, switches between classical and vernacular registers in choreography and switches of ‘cultural elements’, for example between “western” and “traditional” in Japanese mass culture.⁶⁷ Of specific significance for us is her own reformulation of Hölscher’s analysis of the Augustan *Ara pacis* in code-switching terms.⁶⁸ Hölscher (2004) presents a vision of Roman art where the formulae are derived from Greek art types of different periods and are used for key themes and messages (for example, Classical Greek style to depict Roman *dignitas* and *auctoritas*). We are in the world of the language of imagery and of visual communication, and the work, whilst influential, is not without its detractors. Hölscher strews his text with linguistic terminology (‘vocabulary’, ‘syntax’, ‘grammar’), though he does not always fully explain his extra-linguistic use of these terms, and he does not exploit sociolinguistics. He describes the Imperial procession of the great frieze of the *Ara pacis* as of Classical Greek style,⁶⁹ whilst the sacrificial procession depicted on the small frieze is of Hellenistic type.⁷⁰ Gardner-Chloros hints that this style-switching within the monument, which conveys different messages, may be akin to inter-sentential code-switching.⁷¹ Hölscher also describes more intertwined imagery, for example, in the Aeneas relief (landscape, attendant and sow in Hellenistic style, Aeneas in Classical style),⁷² which Gardner-Chloros argues parallels intra-sentential code-switching.⁷³

65. Mullen 2012, p. 31.

66. Mullen 2012, pp. 32–35.

67. See Gardner-Chloros 2010, p. 644 for brief discussion and bibliography.

68. Gardner-Chloros 2010, pp. 650–653.

69. Hölscher 2004, pp. 49–56, 77–78.

70. Hölscher 2004, pp. 78–81.

71. Gardner-Chloros 2010, pp. 651–652.

72. Hölscher 2004, p. 81.

73. Gardner-Chloros 2010, p. 652. Indeed the ‘heterogeneous figure-types’ (Classical, Late Classical / Hellenistic, Roman) of the great frieze might also be described as displaying intra-sentential code-switching. Hölscher remarks that they are ‘not placed abruptly side by side but, through the execution of detail, are assimilated to their neighbours’ (2004, p. 77).

In some respects, Fejfer's chapter (this volume) might make a good comparison here with her example of what could be viewed as code-switching between a local 'language' (limestone and bronze) and a foreign one (marble) in Roman Cyprus. Inspired by Gell, she brings materiality and agency to the fore and cites Gell's desire to distance himself from the 'slightest imputation that (visual) art is "like language"'.⁷⁴ However, we should not necessarily infer from Gell's comments in *Art and agency* that the two standpoints, Gellian and sociolinguistic, are utterly incompatible. Gell rails against Saussurian linguistics which inspired structural anthropology and led to the 'misconceived' strategy, popular in the 1970s, of decomposing art into basic elements (e.g. ovals, zig-zags) and writing 'visual grammars'.⁷⁵ He views art 'as a system of action'⁷⁶ and proposes a more anthropological / sociological / psychological approach to the anthropology of art which should study 'social relations in the vicinity of objects mediating social agency'.⁷⁷ The code-switching concept that we are currently considering derives from a discipline – sociolinguistics – which embraces anthropological, sociological and psychological strands, and anthropologists of art will need to judge whether sociolinguistics is as well aligned with Gellian concerns as it appears.

It is quite possible that the use of models from sociolinguistics in archaeology will be consigned to the scrap heap of failed theoretical endeavours but the interest currently being generated suggests that it is at least worth consideration. One of the key issues to think through (yet again) will be the exact relationship between language and material culture. For decades structuralist approaches from linguistics have been applied to the human sciences encouraged by semiological proclamations such as the following:

'there exists a general category of language/speech, which embraces all the systems of signs; since there are no better ones, we shall keep the terms language and speech, even when they are applied to communications whose substance is not verbal' (Barthes 1967, p. 25).

So, as Osborne puts it, now 'no one flinches at talk of the language of architecture, the language or languages of art, the language of ballet, the language

74. Gell 1998, p. 14.

75. Gell 1998, p. 165. Despite Gell's rhetoric, Tanner and Osborne note that we should not assume that Gell has distanced himself 'from all aspects of the "linguistic turn" that has so marked post-structuralist and post-processualist work' (2007, p. 5). For some responses to *Art and agency*, see Layton 2003 and Osborne and Tanner 2007.

76. Gell 1998, p. 6.

77. Gell 1998, p. 7.

of blood, the language of clothes.⁷⁸ But what we are considering with code-switching is another level, a sociolinguistic, and not (only) a structural linguistic or semiological approach. Gardner-Chloros argues that we can perhaps assume ‘a widely applicable “code-switching principle”, i.e. that the juxtaposition of subsystems provides a way of generating meaning within larger systems, complementary and additional to the meanings provided within those subsystems themselves. [...] if this principle is indeed a general and flexible one, then the type of “meanings” we find by analysing texts containing CS should be found in other fields as well.’⁷⁹ What we need to ask is how suited is material culture of the past to this *sociolinguistic* analysis?

Clearly, there are ways in which material culture does not precisely correlate with language, as Winther-Jacobsen highlights (this volume, p. 14), though we can always blur the distinctions; we should not underestimate the ‘functionality’ of words in comparison to kitchen ware, for example. The classic examples of words “doing things” include “I do” in the marriage ceremony and the naming of ships, known as *performative verbs* in Speech Acts Theory.⁸⁰ But pervasive similarities are elusive: languages and material culture are analogous in that they both communicate and express identities, but material culture arguably will not *always* or *primarily* perform these roles, and we often find it very difficult to be sure when it is doing so and which sort of identities it is expressing.⁸¹ The model from linguistics does not extricate us from the problem of identifying intentionality and types of identity in the archaeological record. Indeed, identities and intentionality are headaches for modern sociolinguists too, though they have the advantage of being able to live in the communities they are studying and to operate carefully controlled experimental analysis and interviews with their subjects. Even so, problems arise. Code-switching may sometimes be “unconscious”, for example in in-group communities of balanced bilinguals. Code-switchers may not be aware that they have switched, and may not be able to report when and why they switched languages,⁸² indeed even prolific code-switchers may deny that they code-switch when asked by outsiders since they feel that the practice may be disparaged. In discussion in Copenhagen, examples of code-switching in material culture, which we agreed seemed convincing, tended to be those with specific textual support commentating on the use of material (as

78. Osborne 2012, p. 317.

79. Gardner-Chloros 2010, p. 636.

80. See Austin 1962; Duranti 1997, pp. 214–244.

81. See, for example, the debates in archaeology about the function of ‘style’, as exemplified by the papers in Conkey and Hastorf 1990.

82. See Wardhaugh 1998, p. 103.

in many of Wallace-Hadrill's examples or the *Ara pacis* example discussed above), or iconography of funerary reliefs with epigraphic support (as in the Barates example mentioned above, or Lomas's examples in this volume). The apparent ease with which this 'logocentric'⁸³ material can be submitted to code-switching analysis might reasonably lead us to worry to what extent 'logoi' are indispensable.⁸⁴ One of the purposes of this volume is to experiment with the concept to see how far it might stretch beyond these contexts.

Another potential attack could come from an argument that if we want to stay close to the original linguistic meaning of the term code-switching, namely switching between different languages, e.g. Greek and Etruscan, we might need to start identifying material culture with certain "culture systems", e.g. this vessel is "Greek", another "Etruscan", and this begins to be redolent of "the bad old days" of the culture-historical approach. Modern linguists, however, have recently been talking about code-switching as the 'plurilingual embodiment of techniques that have equivalents in the monolingual sphere',⁸⁵ and they evoke switching occurring between dialects, styles and registers (termed 'style shifting'). This appreciation that the switched elements need not be the 'either / or' of standard languages may make the concept more obviously applicable to material culture, since we are constantly dealing with aspects of 'style shifting' in the material realm which may encode a range of identities, for example status or gender-based identities, rather than simply switching between culture systems traditionally linked to ethnic identity.

A further issue is that of "instantaneity" in the archaeological record. Code-switching in linguistic terms is a switch within 'one person's utterance or piece of writing'. If a bilingual speaks Swedish in Malmo on Friday but Danish in Copenhagen the next day after travelling to see family, we would not normally classify this as code-switching. Someone who speaks only Spanish after the age of eighteen but had previously largely spoken Quechua, is not code-switching as linguists define it. Code-switching takes place in a temporally restricted context and the code is linguistically multiple, not single. So, the indigenous pottery that becomes increasingly "Greek" in form and decoration over a century could not easily be classified as a code-switch, if

83. A term used by Auer (1992, p. 3, n. 1) to describe Bach's St Matthew's Passion which he submits to a code-switching analysis.

84. This should not be taken to imply that the 'word' is less complex, less mutable, less open to bias, than 'dirt', simply that a sophisticated approach to textual sources may serve as a crutch for the interpretation of non-textual material. The style switching on the *Ara pacis* feels a good deal easier to interpret given the wealth of contemporary discussion than sculptural material from Iron Age Gaul, for example.

85. Gardner-Chloros 2009b, p. 112.

we want to stay close to the origins of the term in linguistics. But instantaneity in the archaeological record is difficult to pin down: ‘archaeological assemblages rarely reflect a specific moment but rather multiple agglomerated acts on a repeated basis and at different time-scales’ as Winther-Jacobsen (this volume, p. 12) states, and we will want to decide how flexible with the concept we want to be, a matter considered by several contributors. An intriguing issue which is raised in different ways by Revell and Williamson is that of the deliberate retention of old alongside new material. Under what conditions could this be accepted as code-switching? Indeed, how confident are we about the operation of code-switching analysis beyond individual artefacts, such as funerary monuments, for example at the level of assemblages, sites, regions or Empires? Both Petersen and Shepherd make cases for the suitability of burials for code-switching analysis, and in Shepherd’s case the units of analysis are large: distinctive burials over the relatively large area (Sicily and Southern Italy) are tapping into the language of a widespread international elite.⁸⁶

Wallace-Hadrill has encouraged us to consider another model, that of bilingualism, to describe cultural contact in the ancient world. It is not yet clear that it will stand scrutiny and become widespread, either in the form that Wallace-Hadrill presents it, or perhaps in an expanded version embracing the sub-categories of code-switching and the other bilingual phenomena as described above. But even if it does catch on, the bilingualism model is not a panacea to solve the “identity crisis” in archaeology, since we are still left with the issues of how to identify identities. However, bilingual phenomena, such as code-switching, do present a way to conceptualize multiple identities and their situated use, allowing us to break away from the inadequate ‘either / or’ of bounded ethnicities associated with other cultural concepts and which so many of the authors point out do not do justice to the complex realities of their archaeological records. As such it is a theoretical endeavour that is worth pursuing.

86. Some of Lomas’s examples (this volume) could instead be described as demonstrating “in-group” code-switching.

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COMMUNICATING IDENTITIES FROM BEYOND?

ASSESSING EXPRESSIONS OF IDENTITY IN FUNERARY MATERIAL FROM THE BLACK SEA REGION

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Burials as archaeological sources

In general, burial material offers an excellent basis for identity studies due to the often complete-assemblage character of the context. An undisturbed burial can allow us a glimpse of a “frozen moment” untouched by further depositional processes. As a major rite of passage in a life cycle, a burial is an exceptional stage for constructing, negotiating and displaying identities – not only of the deceased, but just as much of the burying family and other socially-related individuals.¹

Burials have often been categorised as “intentional archaeological sources”. This means that burials are the result of deliberate and subjective choices made around the time of the funeral. Thus, burials, even when destroyed, robbed or reused, can present us with a picture of a certain situation created intentionally in a religious and subjective context. Shaped often both by the deceased and those who conducted the actual burial, funerary material inherently holds potential for the study of the worlds of both the living and the dead. Burials are therefore not only open to interpretations of burial customs and religious practices, but also highly suitable for studies of an array of social and cultural aspects of a person’s life. Thus many subjective investments are put into this last rite of passage of the human life cycle. A funeral

1. Parker-Pearson 1999, pp. 5, 21-23; Petersen 2010, pp. 32-33; Hope 2011, p. 177.

and the subsequent deposition, perhaps marked with a funerary monument, is the perfect stage for displays of status, emotions, religious affiliations, personal relations, family bonds, private commemorations, claims to power and an array of other aspects related to an individual's life as well as death. Not only does a funeral mark an ending of a person's life it also holds a great potential for memory promotion in posterity.² A funeral and the subsequent place of interment not only function as means of communication and displays of identities during the act of burial, but live on in the memories and retellings of the relatives, participants and other spectators. If the place of burial is marked, its potential audience may also encompass random passers-by. On these grounds, funerary material rightfully enjoys a prominent place among archaeological source material and offers a wide range of possibilities for various aspects of identity studies.³

However, it is also important to remember that burials, as we find them in archaeological excavations, offer only a glimpse of the whole funeral process: the death, the handling of the body, the bringing of the body to the grave – perhaps accompanied by music, song and dance – the enactment of mourning and grief by the relatives, the actual burial, and future rituals and acts of remembrance. Furthermore, important material features, such as textiles, foods, cosmetics, leather, wood and other perishable objects, are rarely preserved or discovered. All these elements of the complete ritual have vanished and we are left with only a fragment of the funeral process; therefore, as well as intentional, burials as we find them in archaeological contexts must also be considered, to a certain extent, to be 'fragmentary and incomplete.'⁴ Another aspect impacting the discussion is the selective nature of burials; selective in the sense that one cannot presume that all material available to a society at a certain time is represented in graves. Objects for burials may be chosen with specific purposes in mind, and other objects, which may have been the item of choice in an everyday situation, may be left out. I shall not dwell long on this issue, but will highlight that the selective nature of the burial data brings us closer to the choices made and allows for the decoding of these in both a religious and social context. However, the selective nature of burial assemblages also makes it problematic to use as the only source to answer questions of a more general nature (for example regarding the trade or economy of an entire society or region), as has been done in previous studies. Finally, burials can also be categorised as highly manipulative; people often choose to commemorate themselves or their relatives in ideal ways.

2. Hope 2011, p. 177.

3. Petersen 2010, pp. 32-33; Laneri 2011, pp. 7-9.

4. Petersen 2010, p. 33; also Härke 1997, p. 22.

Certain features may be overlooked whilst others are brought to the fore in order to accommodate the need for an idealised representation which fits comfortably within the social conventions of the given community.⁵

However, having listed all these precautions there is no doubt that funerary material provides an excellent basis for the study of identity expressions and negotiations. The challenge for the modern scholar must be to take the various precautions into account and consider them carefully in relation to the specific archaeological context under study.

Code-switching, identities and identity construction

In recent years, various classical scholars have taken up the challenge thrown down by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill in his book *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (2008) to consider seriously theoretical models of bi-linguistic/multi-linguistic phenomena such as code-switching in studies of material culture. There are other categories within the study of bi-linguistic/multi-linguistic phenomena (borrowing, interference), and recent research, notably by Alex Mullen,⁶ focuses on the possibilities and limitations of a wider application of these and the sub-categories of code-switching in material-culture studies. Code-switching has its roots in an empirically and theoretically-based linguistic model that explores diverse coexisting culture-systems. Traditionally, it has been defined as 'an individual's use of two or more language varieties in the same speech event or exchange.'⁷ Within the field of linguistic anthropology there is a general agreement that code-switching is 'skilled communicative behaviour that can be socially meaningful and can help accomplish interactional functions or goals.'⁸ Code-switching rejects the traditional belief in cultural superiority and hierarchy, and focuses instead on the set of choices

5. Tarlow 1999, p. 23; Hope 2011, p. 177.

6. Mullen 2012; also this volume.

7. Woolard 2004, pp. 73-74; Myers-Scotton 2011, p. 159. See, for instance, Nilep 2006 for an introduction to the many various sub-fields within linguistics and related disciplines working with code-switching and the various definitions of the term.

8. Woolard 2004, pp. 74-75. Woolard further states that: 'Since the early 1970s, linguistic anthropologists have accepted the view that code-switching is systematic, skilled, and socially meaningful. This is something of a defensive stance, responding to (earlier) beliefs that the use of more than one linguistic variety in an exchange is neither grammatical nor meaningful, but rather is indicative of a speaker's incomplete control of the language(s)' (Woolard 2004). In some sense this can be compared with traditional interpretations of culturally-complex archaeological assemblages, which have often been presented as the result of uncivilised "barbarians" striving for the pleasures and status symbols of "elite" cultures without fully grasping the "proper" or "correct" formula (Petersen 2010, pp. 33-38; also Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 32-35).

and practices by which a group constructs, interprets and reproduces its own identity within simultaneous coexistences in diverse culture-systems.⁹ Thus, in practice, the term code-switching refers to the ability to use knowledge of two or more languages or cultures and to switch between them to best communicate a message depending on the situation. Within the field of classical studies, scholars such as James N. Adams¹⁰ convincingly demonstrate that individuals of, for instance, the late Republican period negotiated multiple identities by code-switching between Latin, Greek and Oscan. However, we may rightfully ask how a linguistically-based model can work within the boundaries of material-culture studies – a discussion which has been ongoing since the 1980s.¹¹ Recent critique has indeed focused on the problems of equating languages, which are in a state of constant development, with static material culture.¹² Further, as pointed out by Kristina Winther-Jacobsen in this volume, whilst in language the syntax reveals the use and meaning of each word specifically, archaeological assemblages are fragmented and incomplete, and thus it is usually very difficult to reconstruct the precise relationships between the individual artefacts. Consequently, it is more often the combination of artefacts or styles rather than the actual functions of them in a specific act which can be deduced. Meanwhile, although acknowledging the flaws in the perception of a “one-to-one” relationship between language and material-culture research, fields such as socio-linguistics, which focuses on bringing the speakers, variations and contacts behind the language to the fore, have recently given way to more common ground between the various disciplines.¹³

The present paper examines a burial complex from the Black Sea region in order to investigate the applicability of code-switching theory in this particular context – what can potentially be gained in terms of new insight into this culturally-diverse archaeological complex and where do the limitations lie? Firstly, some considerations regarding the suitability of burials to be understood within the framework of the socio-linguistic outlines of code-switching¹⁴ and two of these sub-categories might be of interest to us here, namely: the inter-sentential code-switch (outside the sentence, for example a speech event where one sentence is uttered in one language, the next in another) and the intra-sentential code-switch (the use of two or more languages within

9. Also Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 63-64.

10. Adams 2003, pp. 754-57.

11. See Mullen this volume.

12. Osborne 2012.

13. See Mullen this volume.

14. Myers-Scotton 1993, pp. 19-45; Mullen this volume; also Adams 2003, pp. 18-29 for an introduction which takes its examples from classical texts.

the same single sentence).¹⁵ While intra-sentential code-switching may be better suited for analyses of single, coherent iconographic representations, such as the Barates stele studied by Alex Mullen,¹⁶ inter-sentential code-switching may have something to offer in analyses of tomb complexes and such like. My proposal here is that we work with the idea of equating the closed archaeological context of a tomb to the structural frames of communication. I thus suggest comparing the closed entity of a burial complex to a visual communicative event – a single communicative package intended to deliver specific visual messages to an audience of spectators/recipients. The tomb as a visual communicative event thus accommodates the potential for code-switches of various social and cultural constellations depending on the specific cultural and material context. As stated by Alex Mullen, code-switching takes place in a temporally-restricted context,¹⁷ and the very nature of a single-event burial¹⁸ meets this demand, as the funeral would have taken place within a relatively short period of time after death. The intentionality of burial contexts, as discussed above, and the communicative nature of their composition as well as the temporally-restricted nature of their formation make them appropriate candidates for this type of exercise. At first glance, however, an immediate difference between a speech event or a communication and a burial assemblage is seen in the question of agency. An individual may utter a sentence (or several) and the context and content will most likely tell us whether or not the speaker is talking on his or her own behalf. When regarding an archaeological burial context, the involvement of several individuals (the deceased, family members, craftsmen etc.) means it is less easy to identify individual contributions and distinguish them from each other. However, assuming that this range of agents worked more or less in the same interest, namely to commemorate the deceased and through this commemoration convey statements of identity, it should still be possible to understand the process of a burial as a collective effort rooted in a shared fundamental basis and aimed at a common goal. Whether the result successfully conveyed its message to the audience can only be judged by analysing the burial within the framework of the specific local context.

The next challenge is thus to ask what constitutes a material code-switch within a burial context? Where do switches occur and how can we pinpoint

15. Myers-Scotton 2011, p. 159.

16. Mullen 2012, pp. 32-35; and Lomas this volume.

17. Mullen this volume.

18. As opposed to burial complexes which would have been used repeatedly over decades, sometimes centuries, by the same family or taken over by outsiders with different agendas.

them and define the motivation behind them? To identify cultural code-switches in historic or archaeological contexts may easily end up being a *tour de force* of singling out diverse features of origin or specific elements which have been categorised and ascribed by modern scholars to particular cultures. This practice inherits the problem that the concept of culture-systems has traditionally been linked to ethnic identity, resulting in a culture-historical cul-de-sac: a one-to-one relationship between ethnic identity and artefact. For the present study a sharp distinction between ethnicity and cultural identity has been chosen in order to accentuate the limitations inherent in the definition of ethnicity versus the more flexible and changeable nature of cultural identity. This may allow us to feel a little less uncomfortable in our attempt to deal with the difficult task of identifying and defining elements and artefacts of diverse cultural adherence. Thus, the following definitions of ethnicity and cultural identity, formulated by Carla Antonaccio, form the point of departure of the present exercise: ‘Ethnicity is an identity that uses criteria in the form of kinship or descent (real or contrived) and territorial homeland to articulate its specific boundaries. While it may be seen as a kind of cultural identity, it is not the same thing as cultural identity per se. Cultural attributes that may articulate ethnicity, on the other hand, constitute its indicia. But culture need have nothing to do with the distinctive identity that is ethnicity ... Cultural identity differs from ethnic identity in that it transcends characteristics such as gender, class, age, sex, and so forth.’¹⁹

In the present paper, the concepts of Greek, Roman and various local cultures are used as elements to describe cultural groupings and cultural tendencies rather than static ethnicities. To abolish these traditional terms completely would be to throw the baby out with the bath water, and it would become rather difficult to talk about these elements and their inter-relatedness in a modern scholarly debate. The presence of such artefacts or elements in any given context is not necessarily a sign of ethnic affiliation, although it may be. It may also reflect specific (collective or individual) relations to cultural identity which can be shared and utilised regardless of ethnicity. Ultimately, the individual context and the individual interpretation will decide how nuanced a picture the analysis can permit. An important point to have in mind during the process of identifying code-switches is that in our identification of the actual switches lies the danger of dragging the contrast which enabled us to spot the switch into the interpretation – code-switching is not only about contradictions or oppositions, it is just as much about inter-relatedness and interaction.

19. Antonaccio 2010, p. 33.

However, before we venture into a discussion of the case study, a few words on social-identity constructions and perceptions are required, since these further underline the potential for understanding expressions of complex identities in a context of code-switching.

Within the fields of the social sciences and cultural studies it has long been acknowledged that identities are not fixed or static but emerge within the context of an individual's multiple, overlapping social relationships.²⁰ Any identity is always an incomplete expression of the many possible identities a person holds in their ongoing social life.²¹ Identities are flexible and manifold, and can be created at any given moment or situation in which they may serve a specific purpose for the individual. Identities are dependent both on individual as well as collective aspects of group belonging which necessitate a contrast with something else, something different from what constitutes and characterises the group. This implies that identity markers can hold elements of both an active and passive nature as well as both performativity and receptivity.²²

Different identity positions are thus taken on in order to negotiate successfully the multiple, overlapping social relationships of a human life course. Consequently, it has been suggested that this relational approach actually brings us to an understanding of the individual as a 'dividual'.²³

Traditional studies of cultural diversity in the field of classical antiquity have relied on the model of assimilation exemplified in the dominating concepts of Hellenisation and Romanization.²⁴ This has resulted in a top-down cultural hierarchy model where the natural outcome is the oversimplified assumption that Greeks or Romans brought civilisation to local "barbarians" of very low and crude cultural levels; and that Greek or Roman culture was exclusively shaped and defined by and for the elite.²⁵ In this context, the model of code-switching offers us an alternative way of perceiving and interpreting the processes of cultural complexity in that it frees us from the strains of culture

20. For example Hoy 2004, p. 203.

21. See, for instance, Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, pp. 11-12; Meskell 2007, p. 24; Van Dommelen and Knapp 2010, pp. 4-5.

22. Also Hodos 2010, p. 3.

23. Rowlands 2010, p. 242.

24. Also Haverfield 1923. According to these concepts, Greek and the later Roman culture were superior to local cultures, and, acknowledging this cultural superiority, the local populations were willing to become Hellenised or Romanised. Consequently, Hellenisation and Romanization, and similar concepts, are asymmetrical acculturation processes in which one culture develops under the influence of a superior culture, resulting in greater homogeneity (Kroeber 1938).

25. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, p. 12.

hierarchy by accepting that individuals can encompass multiple cultural identities simultaneously. Working from the notion that “one identity does not exclude another”, we may underline that a culturally-diverse burial context with evidence of burial customs and various objects from different cultural backgrounds can contain more complex identity expressions at various levels than a traditional simplistic interpretation of ‘Greek, Roman or local’ would allow for.²⁶ Thus, these lines of thought may further a more nuanced understanding of ancient identity perceptions and constructions which will break away from the static and inflexible picture that has been presented in so many studies and is particularly predominant in Black Sea research.²⁷ In many ways, the traditional approach has held the potential risk of placing the ancient people of our studies into modern-made categories biased by our own historical heritage of culture-hierarchical perceptions of ethnicities and identities.²⁸

Case study

The present case study takes us to Gorgippia, modern-day Anapa on the Taman peninsula (FIG. 1). Settlement finds, which have been interpreted as indicative of a Greek colonial presence, stem from the 6th century BC and occupation seems to have continued until a massive fire destroyed the city around 240 AD.²⁹ The city was originally part of the territory of the local tribe of the Sindoi, but became integrated into the Bosporan Kingdom at

26. However, along these lines it is fruitful to keep in mind Skinner’s remark (2012, p. 152): ‘This is not to say that the populations in question did not encounter cultural difference but rather that it is unlikely to have equated to a neat Greek-barbarian polarity’.
27. Also Lucy 2005, pp. 87-91; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 14-17; Skinner 2012, p. 152. In general, archaeology in the pre-Soviet period had its main research focus on the splendours of archaeology, such as impressive kurgan finds or Greek Classical cities (Dolukhanov 1995, pp. 327-28). From this sprung a distinct Hellenocentrism which is still today deeply rooted amongst some scholars in their approach to the demographic and cultural situation around the Black Sea in antiquity. Consequently, this has produced a view of the Black Sea region as having been inhabited by civilised Greeks who lived in Greek cities with Greek town planning, practising Greek culture, religion and language, and who taught and influenced the surrounding “barbaric” nomadic cultures through their supreme level of civilisation. During the 1930s and 1940s the German threat fostered both patriotism and a national self-consciousness among the Soviet people (Trigger 1989, 229). Thus, archaeology and history became even more important tools in the construction of political and national identities. Within the tradition of classical archaeology, interest evolved particularly around demographic studies of the Greek Black Sea poleis. It became increasingly important to separate “Greek” populations from “nomadic”, and burial data played a central role in this line of research (Petersen 2010, pp. 20-28; see also Dolukhanov 1995, pp. 331-32, 338-39 on the development of a cultural-ethnic approach).
28. Also Wallace-Hadrill 2008, p. 20.
29. Alekseeva 2003, p. 957, 1005; Avram *et al.* 2004, p. 944.

some point during the 4th century BC, at which time it also received its name Gorgippia after the local Bosporan governor Gorgippios, brother of the Spartokid King Leucon I (389/88-349/48 BC).³⁰ As part of the Bosporan Kingdom, Gorgippia enjoyed a prominent position as one of the leading cities on the Asiatic part of the Kimmerian Bosphoros and the city flourished in the subsequent centuries. However, in 107/06 BC the Bosporan Kingdom was incorporated into the Pontic Kingdom under the rule of Mithridates VI and subsequently became a vassal state under the Roman Empire after the defeat and death of Mithridates VI in 63 BC.³¹ Already in 64 BC Roman garrisons had been established in Crimea and in 42 BC the Bosporan Kingdom was officially declared a client state of the Roman Empire.³² The consequences of political dependency on Rome are directly reflected in the names of the Bosporan vassal rulers who now took the title 'Philocaesar kai Philoromaioi'.³³

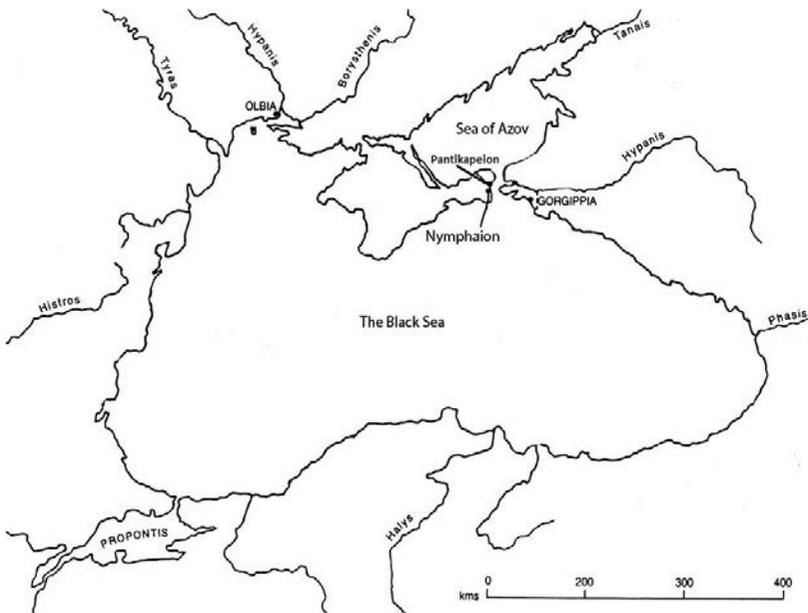


FIG. 1. Map of the Black Sea.

30. Avram *et al.* 2004, p. 944.

31. Molev 2009.

32. Bekker-Nielsen 2006, p. 9.

33. Podossinov 2002, p. 31.

The burials from the kurgan excavations of 1975

In a similar manner to many other cities of the Black Sea region, and the Bosphoran Kingdom in particular, burial mounds (kurgans) were a fashionable funerary choice of the elite of Gorgippia and lined the main roads to and from the city. In 1975 a particularly well-equipped burial came to light in a kurgan just outside the city gate.³⁴ The burial was part of a complex containing two burial chambers built in stone masonry of which one was elaborately painted with scenes from the 12 labours of Heracles (FIG. 2). Unfortunately, the three limestone sarcophagi of this chamber had been robbed already in antiquity.³⁵ The second chamber, however, was undisturbed and revealed two carved limestone sarcophagi of which one (no. 1) yielded a double burial of two girls richly furnished with gold ornaments. The other (no. 2) contained an intact male burial (the sarcophagus lid was in place and closed with an intact metal cramp) accompanied by an assemblage of very elaborate grave goods.³⁶ The grave goods comprised an impressive number of items of jewellery, dress ornaments and weaponry, but surprisingly few



FIG. 2. Wall painting with scenes from the 12 labours of Heracles (after Alekseeva 2002, abb. 20).

34. Treister 2005, pp. 70-81 with full bibliography. High-quality illustrations of many of the finds can be found in various museum catalogues, for example Leskov and Lapušnjan 1987; Karabelnik 1993; also Alekseeva 2002.
35. Treister 2005, p. 70.
36. Treister 2003, p. 9; 2005, p. 70. Sarcophagus no. 2 is described as being 'decorated with delicately cut belts, niches, columns and rosettes' (Treister 2003, p. 43, n. 2).

drinking- and banqueting-related vessels (FIGS 3.a-b). Although the complex was never fully published by the excavator, E.M. Alekseeva, various publications, notably museum catalogues, containing details of various items from the grave-goods assemblage have appeared over the years.³⁷ However, in the initial descriptions of the find the following items are mentioned. Finds inside the sarcophagus (no. 2): a dagger with a golden handle in a golden scabbard (FIG. 4), golden finger rings with inlaid gems (FIG. 3.a), a golden fibula, a buckle, beads, a torque, a plaque and figural decorations from a horse harness, golden eye and mouth covers (FIGS. 3.a-b), a golden funerary wreath (FIG. 5), golden dress ornaments in the shapes of leaves and various plaques, a silver goblet, a small glass jug (FIG. 3.a) and a large iron tripod (later interpreted as a folding chair).³⁸ On the floor outside the sarcophagus the following items were found: bronze lamps, silver spoons (FIG. 3.a), a glass phiale (FIG. 7), an enamelled bronze incense burner and bronze strigils with enamelled handles (FIG. 6), glass vessels and fragments of a horse harness.³⁹ There are no mentions of more ordinary items of grave goods such as ceramics.⁴⁰ Originally, the date of the burial complex was placed sometime in the 3rd century AD, however, Mikhail Treister has convincingly redated the burial complex to c. 150-170 AD on the basis, in particular, of a careful analysis of the toreutics.⁴¹ In his thorough examination of the various grave goods he identifies objects of precious metal of local Bosporan production, such as the necklace decorated with the knot of Heracles (FIG. 3.a), the belt buckle inlaid with semi-precious stones and the bracelet with inlays of semi-precious stones and glass (FIG. 3.b), dress ornaments adorned with lion and griffin motifs, fibulae, as well the golden eye and mouth covers (FIG. 3.a). Finally, the elaborate golden funerary wreath with a rectangular centre-piece of gold sheet featuring a female bust (most probably Aphrodite Urania or Artemis⁴²) flanked by Eros heads is also executed in typical local Bosporan style based on the Hellenistic tradition (FIG. 5). The short dagger with inlays of turquoises and garnets in a zoomorphic motif (FIG. 4) finds parallels in stylistic traditions from Afghanistan, Georgia and the Sarmatian cultures of

37. For a full list of bibliographical references, see Treister 2003, pp. 43-44; 2005, p. 70.

38. Treister 2003, p. 43, n. 2.

39. Treister 2003, p. 43, n. 2.

40. Also Treister 2003, p. 72.

41. Treister 2003, p. 72; 2005, pp. 75-76.

42. For discussion, see Treister and Zhuravlev 2006, pp. 275-76. Also Gaidukevich 1971, p. 405 on Aphrodite Urania as official main goddess of the Bosporan Kingdom in the Roman period. Ustinova 1998 on the role of Aphrodite Urania in the Bosporan Kingdom more generally.

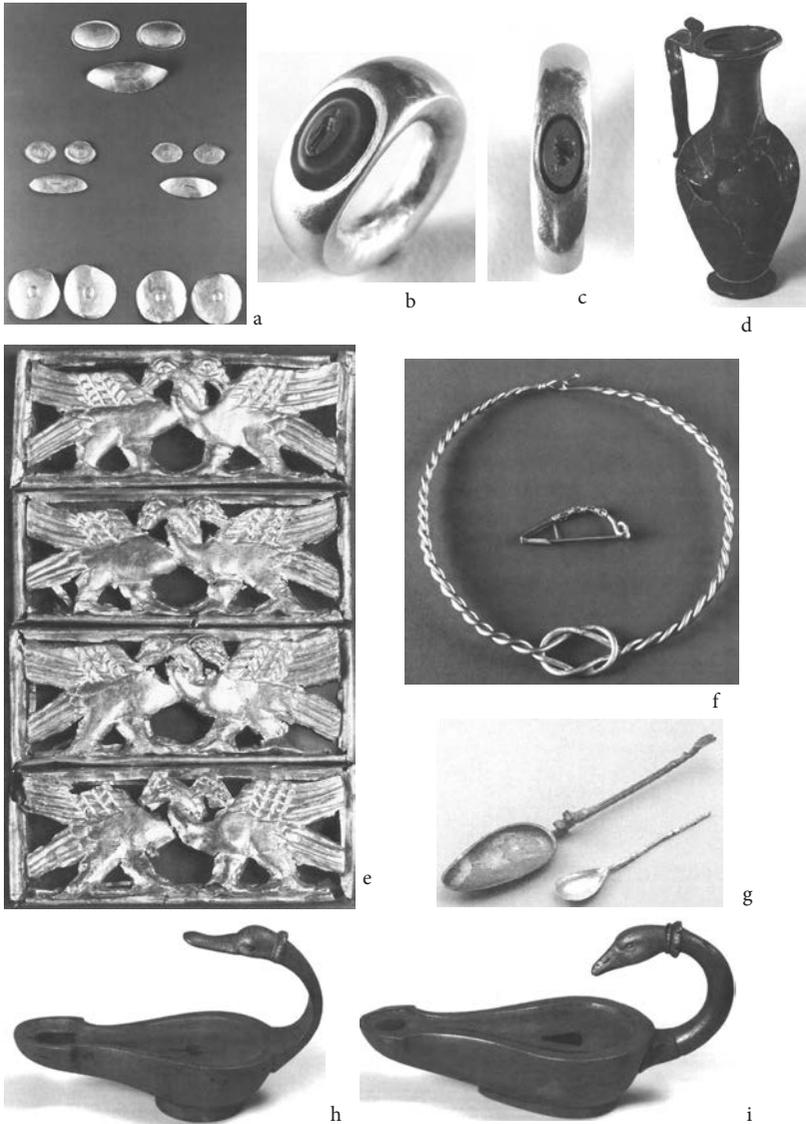


FIG. 3.a. Various finds from sarcophagi nos 1 and 2, 1975 (not to scale). a: eye and mouth covers from sarcophagi 1 and 2, breast covers from sarcophagus 1; b and c: fingerings with gems depicting Genius (Bonus Eventus) and the head of Silenus from sarcophagus 2; d: small glass jug from sarcophagus 2; e: decorative gold plaques from sarcophagus 2; f: necklace with knot of Heracles and fibula from sarcophagus 2; g: set of silver spoons from sarcophagus 2; h and i: lamps from sarcophagus 2 (after Leskov and Lapušnjan 1987).

the area around the Sea of Azov.⁴³ From the same eastern areas stems the inspiration for the dress ornaments, belt buckle and textile decoration which would have adorned the shroud of the deceased (FIGS 3.a-b).

Further grave goods were identified as Roman imports from production sites all over the western Roman empire, such as golden finger rings inlaid with gems (of earlier date and therefore considered heirlooms), a set of silver spoons, bronze lamps and a bronze amphora (FIGS 3.a-b). Unique to the Black Sea area are the bronze strigils with enamelling and a bronze incense burner with enamelling (FIG. 6), which are considered luxury imports from a workshop in Roman Britannia.⁴⁴ Further, there was also a small glass jug and a glass phiale inlaid with gold (also considered an heirloom) (FIG. 7). The assemblage of imports is highly interesting in its composition and some of its elements are very unusual, if not unique, in their Bosporan context. Treister points to the fact that there are relatively few contexts in the Black Sea region where it has been possible to identify the deposition of deliberate sets of Roman spoons (a *ligula* and a *cochlearius*). The few assemblages in which it has been possible to identify actual sets, which could be indicative of a local knowledge of Roman dining habits, are all interpreted as belonging to elite burials of the highest social standing.⁴⁵ Further, traces of wear and repair on most of the imports, which all date slightly earlier than the majority of the local objects,⁴⁶ indicate that they had been in use and served a practical function, and thus were not procured just in order to impress at the funeral. Most probably they found their way into the grave because they meant something to their owner(s), both in terms of their (sentimental) value as treasured heirlooms and their signal value indicating familiarity with Roman culture and elite groupings in a local Bosporan context. Similarly, traces of wear have been observed on the golden dagger (FIG. 4). Locally produced in a Bosporan workshop, most probably by special request, the inspiration of the dagger was

43. Treister 2005, p. 73. Treister suggests that the golden bracelet, buckle and golden dress plaque inlaid with turquoises and other semi-precious stones and glass could have been a set which, alongside the dagger, was produced locally on the commission of the owner who must have had strong personal reasons for commissioning locally-crafted jewellery and weaponry in the styles of Sarmatian and other eastern traditions (Treister 2003, pp. 52-53, 73). P.-A. Kreuz (2012, pp. 373-74) argues, on the basis of depictions of similar daggers on grave stelae, that the dagger type became a distinct status marker of the Bosporan elite, who in their local context reformulated its military origin and emphasised its function as ornamental weaponry in status displays.
44. Treister 2003, p. 59; 2005, p. 74.
45. Treister 2005, pp. 78-80. However, many rich Sarmatian burials feature single depositions of spoons which may have been used in connection with cosmetics rather than dining (Treister 2005, pp. 79-80).
46. Treister 2005, p. 75.



FIG. 3.b. Various finds from sarcophagus no. 2 (not to scale). a: buckle; b and c: decorative plaques; d: bracelet (after Leskov and Lapušnjan 1987).

taken from an original eastern context (Bactrian?) and reformulated in its local setting in Gorgippia as a status symbol of the local elite. Patric-Alexander Kreuz observes similar reformulations of the symbolism of this type of short dagger in the iconography of contemporary Bosporan grave stelae.⁴⁷ The dagger type gradually became detached from its original military associations and served to underline status in representations where no military associations are otherwise depicted. The symbolism of the dagger thus seems to work on various interlinked levels, conveying connotations of extra-regional military equipment, copied and reformulated as a regional elite marker and thus appropriated to a specific local context. The use of the dagger in the burial can be further linked with the buckle with inlaid semi-precious stones and the dress ornaments, which with their clear eastern inspiration point to a burial attire designed in the manner of an eastern nobleman.⁴⁸

In its local context, the tomb seems to have been part of a group of contemporary burials of rather elaborate composition. Although the majority of these burials have been looted, some already in antiquity, several features similar to elements of our kurgan have been identified in the tombs of the same area in what is now the city centre of modern-day Anapa.⁴⁹ An elaborately-equipped child's burial yielded a golden medallion hammered with the same punch as the one used for the centre piece of the funerary wreath in sarcophagus no. 2.⁵⁰ A set of richly ornate jewellery and a funerary wreath also with a central Aphrodite medallion have been ascribed, although tentatively, to a looted kurgan burial in close vicinity to the 1975 kurgan.⁵¹ Also in this area, a further richly-equipped burial was found intact, featuring among its grave goods a golden finger ring with a gem carved in the image of Athena and a *tamga* (a seal or stamp often associated with nomadic cultures) which displays similar features to that of the Bosporan King Rhescuporis III (FIG. 8).⁵² This has led to the suggestion that these tombs formed a part of the cemetery area which belonged to members related to the Bosporan royal family, although modifications to this theory have now entered the debate.⁵³

47. Kreuz 2012, pp. 373-74.

48. Treister 2005, p. 76.

49. Alekseeva 1994, pp. 50-54; 2002, pp. 106-10; Treister 2005, pp. 76-77; Treister and Zhuravlev 2006, p. 280. Excavations of the area are naturally complicated due to the extensive building activities of the modern city, and the spatial layout of the cemetery is explored only to a relatively limited degree.

50. Treister 2003, p. 55; Alekseeva 1994, pp. 50-51; colour illustration of the medallion in Alekseeva 2002, p. 102, Abb. 14).

51. Treister and Zhuravlev 2006, p. 280.

52. Tiberius Julius Rhescuporis III Philocaesar Philoromaos Eusebes, client king (210/211-226/227 AD) under the Roman supremacy.

53. Treister 2003, p. 72; 2005, p. 76 with discussion.

Although it seems doubtful to what extent this group of tombs can be linked with the royal family based at Pantikapeion, there should be no reservation in placing them among the absolute ruling elite of 2nd-century Gorgippia. Both in a local and a regional perspective, the owners of these tombs were of very prominent standing. Treister convincingly argues that the man in sarcophagus no. 2 could have belonged to the family of the Bosporan King's representative, of which there are several mentions in inscriptions found in Gorgippia.⁵⁴ More specifically, it is suggested that the deceased buried in sarcophagus no. 2 could have been Neokles, the son of Moirodoros (or Athenodoros), who, according to inscriptions, held office from c. 150-177 or 187 AD; alternatively, the deceased may have been his father.⁵⁵ In terms of our quest to examine culturally-complex communications, a statue of this very Neokles should be included in our analysis (FIG. 9). The statue came to light in Anapa in 1939; a possibly-related honorary inscription was found nearby. The statue depicts a man clad in a heavily-draped himation or pallium. Around his neck he wears a torque with a unique motif of a bull's head as a central medallion flanked by snakes.⁵⁶ Although badly preserved, book scrolls have been identified at his feet.⁵⁷ The portrait features draw heavily on the style of the late portraits of Marcus Aurelius, and the general level of workmanship is very high. In the words of Heinz Heinen 'the statue of Neokles thus combines a very conscious collection of Greek, native and Roman elements.'⁵⁸ Perhaps we may consider taking this analysis further and suggest that these various elements are visual indications of a complex identity composed not of elements which fused into a hazy coherence or a hybrid creation, but of single elements which stand alone in their intra-sentential statements about cultural affiliation and adherence to various cultural identities simultaneously. Switching between these elements and identities in daily life could have been both consciously and subconsciously motivated, but, on the basis of their prominence on the monument, there can be no doubt of the intentionality and the communicative value of their presence here.

54. Treister 2003, pp. 74-75; 2005, pp. 76-77; also Heinen 2001, pp. 17-19.

55. Treister 2003, pp. 74-75; 2005, pp. 76, 80-81.

56. There are no known parallels for this type of torque or the central motive of the bull's head flanked by snakes in the toreutic traditions of the Black Sea region or beyond. Thus, the craftsman or commissioner of the sculpture must have wanted to create an attribute which alluded to a very local or perhaps even personal type of adornment (also Treister 2005, pp. 80-81).

57. Heinen 2001, pp. 17-19; Treister 2005, pp. 80-81.

58. Heinen 2001, p. 19.



FIG. 4. Golden dagger (after Alekseeva 2002, abb. 22).



FIG. 5. Golden funerary wreath (after Leskov & Lapušnjan 1987, 65, cat. no. 261).



FIG. 6. Bronze incense burner and strigils with enamelling (after Leskov and Lapušnjan 1987, pp. 68, 71, Cat. Nos 269, 268).



FIG. 7. Glass phiale inlaid with gold (after Leskov and Lapušnjan 1987, 67, Cat. No. 272).



FIG. 8. Golden fingerring with an image of Athena and a tamga of the Bosporan King Rhescuporis III (after Leskov and Lapušnjan 1987, 175, Cat. No. 266).

Returning to the tomb context of sarcophagus no. 2, we see a characteristic kurgan complex with strong roots in the local Bosporan tradition, drawing on both ancient and contemporary nomadic elite models (Scythian and Sarmatian), consisting of burials in elaborately-decorated sarcophagi placed in stone chambers adorned with wall paintings of Graeco-Roman style and motifs of a Graeco-Roman religious character (the Heracles images in the adjoining chamber). The grave goods continue the culturally-complex expression, with depositions of weaponry and horse equipment strongly rooted in the nomadic cultures of the area (Scythian and Sarmatian), jewellery which underlines local Bosporan tastes and fashion, the golden funerary wreath with the female divinity (?) executed in Hellenistic style, show-pieces such as the golden dagger with inlays of turquoises and dress ornaments and the belt buckle which draw on both local elite ideals from the Sarmatian cultures and elite traditions from places further east such as Bactria. Finally, we may consider the entire group of Roman pieces selected from all over the Roman Empire which underline the status of a man and a family who surrounded themselves with only the best and most luxurious objects from Roman elite culture, who not only owned these items as exotica or luxury pieces, but who actually used them in daily life and most probably knew of their original functions and use patterns in a Roman dining context. On the basis of the argument that the deceased could have belonged to the leading political family of Gorgippia, Treister proposes that some of the very rare luxury goods, such as the enamelled incense burner, can be explained in terms of diplomatic gifts in the context of local political affairs.⁵⁹ Perhaps this line of thought could be extended with the proposal that such items could also have developed into and functioned as identity markers. Originally exotic gifts, perhaps these items ultimately became pieces in the puzzle of the identity manifestation of a man who actually acted according to Roman protocols when amongst Roman political contacts and friends? Was this a man who had intimate knowledge of Roman dining habits, who 'switched on' his Roman manners in accordance with Roman customs and norms in the social settings where this was relevant and perhaps advantageous for him? But he was also a man who surrounded himself with objects and evidence for customs which underlined his public position in the local Bosporan elite culture of his home town; a man for whom affiliations with Sarmatian and eastern elite cultures held such a prominent position in his self-understanding that he commissioned local jewellers to produce custom-made adornments and weapons in eastern styles to underline this; a man whose family dressed him in an elaborate funerary shroud adorned with motifs of eastern origin in

59. Treister 2003, pp. 74-75; 2005, pp. 76-77.

the manner of an eastern nobleman; and, finally, a man and a family who held and displayed identity aspects related to the Hellenic heritage of the Black Sea region, who appreciated the visual material culture whilst stressing their knowledge of a religious and intellectual nature. We may view this burial complex as a single visual statement orchestrating an array of identity displays, drawing on various cultural identities and thus forming a complex account of a person's and a family's private and public identity construction. Every single element on its own would not tell us the full story, but, viewed in its entirety, the whole conveys greater meaning than the sum of its parts.



FIG. 9. Statue of Neokles (photo by Sakko, creative commons photo).

But who was this communication directed toward in its original setting? In this particular case, dealing with an elaborate elite burial, we can probably assume that this funeral would have been a public and rather spectacular event attracting family, relatives, friends, business associates of both a political and an economic character, neighbours as well as the general curious public and passers-by. A burial of this character, with all its splendour and political implications, may have been a rather short-lived experience in terms of the duration of the actual funeral, but we may speculate that the deceased in all his glorious attire could have been placed on a bier beforehand and that the burial chamber could have been left open for visits for a period of time after the actual burial had taken place. It could, however, be questioned to what degree every participant or spectator would have understood or even noticed the various details of the cultural complexity displayed, and even whether it would have meant anything particular to them other than 'something foreign or strangely out of place'. It is probably safe to assume that the closer one was to the centre of events and to the deceased and his family the more insight one would have had into the intentions behind the various different elements of the funeral and subsequent burial. Individuals on the periphery of this event might or might not have fully comprehended the complete picture, and the various elements may have conveyed different meanings to the individual spectators or participants. However, to suggest that the complexities of this type of culturally-diverse communication were lost on the majority of the recipients seems to fail to see the point. The whole spectacle would have been wondered and marvelled at, gossiped about and retold to friends, neighbours and whoever passed through the town and stopped by the agora for a bit of news. This naturally forces us to consider whether our modern classifications of material into Greek, Roman, Scythian and Sarmatian categories would have made sense to someone living in Gorgippia in the 2nd century AD. Would the Roman lamps, spoons and serving vessels or the elaborate strigils and incense burner have brought associations of Roman fine dining and luxury culture to the minds of the participants and spectators at the funeral? And if recognised as such, what images or, come to that, concrete experiences would such an audience have been able to relate to these associations? There seems to be no straightforward answer to these questions. It may be pointed out that Roman presence in the Bosporan Kingdom had been an established fact for more than 100 years at the time of the funeral in question. To what extent various social levels of society were affected by this is more dubious. However, there can be no doubt about the symbolic value of these various elements of the burial amongst an elite audience, and the overall message of elite manifestation on this extravagant scale must have been crystal clear to everyone, regardless of social background.

In terms of visual communication what might be essential here is the way in which code-switching holds a dualistic capacity to signal both inclusiveness and exclusiveness: it can be employed as an instrument with which individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviours in order to reduce social differences and, at the same time, it can be used to signal membership of an elite and thus establish a claim to a dominant position. As pointed out by Gillian Shepherd:⁶⁰ 'It is this ability of language to be deployed as a manoeuvre to separate, disassociate and distinguish individuals which is particularly significant when it comes to the application of code-switching to material culture: whereas other theories such as acculturation, hybridity and the middle ground suggest a wide and pervasive context of cultural rapprochement, code-switching also allows for parallel aims of disassociation and exclusivity in addition to association, solidarity and group membership'.⁶¹

It is along these lines that the motives behind the complex visual communications of the sarcophagus no. 2 burial should be sought. On the one hand, part of the complex is designed to convey a message of consolidation of power relations with the Roman supremacy of the Bosporan Kingdom, both in terms of the actual political position of the deceased and, perhaps even more so, concern for his heir. In elite contexts a funeral offers a unique opportunity to capitalise on the event of commemoration in order to establish firmly one's

60. Shepherd this volume, p. 82.

61. In recent years, various studies on the applicability of creolisation and hybridisation concepts to the study of material culture have emerged, and the debate has created an array of suggestions on new concepts or terminologies which could be used to solve the problems inherent in the definitions of the terms (Stockhammer 2012, pp. 46-47). Both creolisation and hybridisation are often characterised as different elements merging into a new, unique variety. R. Cohen describes creolisation: 'the formation of new identities and inherited culture evolve to become different from those they possessed in the original culture ... [and] creatively merge these to create new varieties that supersede the prior forms' (Cohen 2007, pp. 369-370; also Mullen 2012, p. 30, n. 102 emphasising Stewart 2007). While hybridisation holds a strong biological element in its basic definition (cross-breeding or fusion of different species), political implications have been added to its definition by the very influential work of Homi Bhabha on colonial and post-colonial cultures (Stockhammer 2012, pp. 45-46). The subsequent addition of the term 'cultural hybridity' was made in order to translate the term into an applicable concept for apolitical studies. However, the term, with its biological element of fusion, still creates difficulties for many scholars studying the mechanisms of cultural interaction outside the realm of post-colonial studies (Stockhammer 2012, p. 46). Viewing the Gorgippia burial in the light of these, admittedly simplified, definitions of the creolisation and hybridisation concepts, it becomes difficult to characterise it in terms of 'a new unique variety' or even possessing a hybrid character. The complex draws on well-known cultural elements from well-defined surrounding cultural settings, and the coming together of these elements does not form a new cultural variety or fusion. From what we can judge from the available archaeological data, the individual elements do not merge and are not transformed into something other than their original outset.

own claim to succession. On the other hand, the local as well as eastern elements are probably to be understood in the context of exclusivity and claim to local power. These elements served to distinguish and disassociate the man and his family from more average local groups of lower social standing. Additionally, the eastern elements may also have served to bring forward associations with noble eastern ancestry or political alliances and lucrative trading connections established through skilful negotiations. We may speculate on the wide range of possible motives of both a private and public character, but there can be little doubt that this man and his family communicated to an audience of great cultural diversity, and by making the various aspects of the funeral and subsequent burial adhere to different cultural backgrounds they created a highly sophisticated visual communication.

Summing up

The present paper takes as its point of departure the notion that an individual or a group will simultaneously possess multiple, differentiated identities, which are constantly changing according to the specific social situation in which the individual (or 'dividual') or the group is placed. This ongoing change of identities is motivated by the wish for or the will to pursue specific social goals, social mobility, personal advancement and/or status displays. An individual or group can hold many different identities at the same time, which means that there is no obstacle for several cultural affiliations to be at play simultaneously within the same cultural constellation. The paper proposes the idea of equating the closed archaeological context of a burial to the structural framework of verbal communication. This means comparing the closed entity of a burial complex to a visual sentence or speech event – a single communicative package intended to deliver specific visual messages to an audience of spectators. The burial as a potential visual speech event thus accommodates a platform for code-switches of various social and cultural constellations depending on the specific cultural and material context. It is precisely the intentionality of burial complexes, their temporally-restricted context and the communicative nature of their composition that make them appropriate candidates for this exercise.

In the case study of the burial complex from Gorgippia we see a single visual statement orchestrating an array of identity displays, drawing on various cultural identities and thus forming a complex account of a person's and family's private and public identity construction. In this specific Black Sea elite context, several cultural identities were brought to the fore simultaneously

and displayed according to both political and private goals. While we may not feel certain that every single element on its own conveyed a specific message, was understood by its audience or that our interpretation of the various elements reflects their original intention, we may suggest that the various cultural elements played an important role in underlining power consolidations with the Roman superiority, legitimisation of succession, a claim to local power through an exclusive elite position and perhaps relations of a private or a professional character with eastern nomadic societies.

All these various goals and motivations lay behind the construction and execution of this burial and manifested themselves in a sophisticated culturally-diverse unity, with clearly distinguishable individual elements, yet not incompatible opposites which subsidised each other, could be played against each other and switched between accordingly.

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DIFFERENCE, SIMILARITY, AND CODE-SWITCHING IN ANCIENT SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY

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It was a great pleasure to be invited to participate in the AVADIN workshop in Copenhagen in November 2011 and to contribute to this volume, not least because its main theme – code-switching in material culture – is of particular interest to me. On a previous visit to Copenhagen in 2008, I attended a conference on communicating identity in the Italian Iron Age; although I had not then encountered the concept of code-switching, I did so shortly after the conference and it seemed to me that it had a lot in common with what I was trying to say. The 2011 AVADIN workshop was, then, an opportunity to return to Copenhagen and pursue those ideas further.¹

My starting point then and now is the broad discrepancy between the material culture profiles throughout the Archaic period (8th-5th centuries BC) – and indeed later – of ancient Greek settlements founded in Sicily and South Italy from the later 8th century BC on the one hand, and those of indigenous Sicilian and Italian sites on the other: namely, that while it is very easy to detect a mixed material culture at indigenous sites in terms of “Greek” or “Sicilian/Italian” elements, it is much harder to detect a matching picture at the Greek sites – despite some strenuous efforts on the part of modern scholarship to do so – where clear signs of Sicilian or Italian influence on material culture remain elusive and limited at best. This creates something of a problem in that while the “mixed” material culture at Sicilian/Italian sites

1. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Kristina Winther-Jacobsen, Jane Hjarl Petersen and John Lund for organising the AVADIN workshop, their hospitality in Copenhagen and their editorial help and patience. For the 2008 Copenhagen conference, see Gleba and Horsnæs 2011. My thanks also to Josephine Crawley Quinn for pointing out Andrew Wallace-Hadrill’s work on code-switching in wider culture to me (Wallace-Hadrill 2008); Adams 2003 on bilingualism is essential here also. For further discussion see also Shepherd forthcoming (a).

has long been explained in terms of not just Greek influence but actual Greek presence, the situation at Greek sites runs counter to more recent views that these places too had mixed populations. It is also a problem which some more recent approaches to cultural interaction such as acculturation, hybridity and the middle ground theory have not really fully explained: while these approaches work very well at indigenous sites, they struggle to find support at Greek ones – whereas of course it was precisely this discrepancy in material culture profiles that was the mainstay of the original, but now largely discarded, theory of Hellenisation.²

I have argued elsewhere also that attempts to detect the presence of Sicilians or Italians at Greek sites and direct local impact on Greek culture have sometimes contravened some rather well established methodological principles, and that a closer look at such case studies in fact underlines the difficulties in identifying a mixed population which established a middle ground with an accompanying hybrid material culture.³ Examples include the rare cases of contracted burials at Greek sites, often identified as those of Sicilians or Italians but on the same grounds just as likely to be those of Greeks who also practiced contracted burial (such as the Corinthians); the appearance of Italian-style fibulae in graves at Greek sites, claimed as direct evidence of intermarriage (burials of Italian women) but more likely on the grounds of their distribution to be the product of broader types of interaction and conspicuous consumption; and *akephalia* burials (differential treatment of the skull), extremely rare at both Greek and Sicilian sites and not securely attributable to either culture in terms of origin. Even the case study which seems to me to be more promising – multiple burial, which occurs in Greek Sicily with some regularity but is very rare in Greece – appears to be confined for no practical reason to monolithic sarcophagi, which suggests that its use is at best a cultural appropriation for specific local social purposes rather than a direct representation of a Sikel element in the populations of Greek sites.⁴ Aside from the metalwork, Sicilian- or Italian-derived objects are in general conspicuous by their absence at Greek sites:⁵ objects such as the sub-Geometric Licodia style amphora which was found in fragments above an otherwise “Greek” 7th century monolithic sarcophagus burial in Syracuse are rarities and even in their time must have been something of a novelty

2. For recent approaches see for example Antonaccio 2003; 2005; Malkin 2002; for further discussion see Shepherd 2011 and forthcoming (a).
3. Shepherd 2005; 2011.
4. On appropriation, see Van Dommelen 2006.
5. An exception here might be Himera, on the north coast of Sicily, where unusual amounts of indigenous pottery are reported from the settlement area (Antonaccio 2005, p. 111 with references).

or curiosity in a funerary context where imported pottery or locally made Greek wares were the rule.⁶

In fact, the further we move away from older ideas about Hellenisation and the nature of Greek settlement in the West, and the more we concentrate on investigating local populations and the sorts of interactions which might have occurred with the Greeks, the more any neat correlations we might have hoped for between material culture and ethnic identity disintegrate. The problem of detecting the mixed populations which most researchers now believe existed at Greek sites is only one of a number of instances where correlations between material culture and other evidence for varying ethnic and cultural identities are hard to find. For Sicily, some other discrepancies may be noted, especially in the context of ancient literary testimony: despite investigation, the three ethnic groups of Sicily identified in the 5th century by Thucydides (Sikels, Sikans and Elymians: Thuc. 6.2) continue to defy isolation in archaeological terms; the 5th century is also the time of a Sikel federation and uprising under Douketios (Diod. Sic. 11.88. 6), yet it is also precisely the period when Sikel culture becomes very hard to detect archaeologically at all. Literary records – again Thucydides is a main source – are also explicit in their identification of founding cities for Western Greek states (especially Sicily) but these connections are not reiterated in the archaeological record.⁷ Given that the 5th century and later texts are themselves likely to provide revised and ideal views of the past dependent on a current agenda, these cases illustrate not only the difficulties in making correlations between textual and material evidence, but also the susceptibility of the literary record to “ethnic” manipulation as much as the archaeological.

In addition to the difficulties in associating putatively diverse groups of Greeks or Sicilians/Italians with distinct material cultures which might reflect those ethnic and/or cultural associations, further complications arise in more specific cases of interaction between Greeks and local populations. Segesta, a settlement in western Sicily identified as Elymian by Thucydides, had a very mixed relationship with neighbouring Greek states.⁸ At times this relationship might have been good: Thucydides (6.6) make a frustratingly oblique reference to ‘issues pertaining to marriage’, no doubt including marriage rights between Segesta and Selinus, but the relationship had obviously turned sour, since his comment is in the context of marital matters under dispute

6. Gentili 1956, p. 123.

7. See further Shepherd 1995.

8. Thuc. 6.2; Herod. 5.46; Diod. Sic. 13.43-4; 54-9; see also de la Genière 1978, pp. 34-37 with references.

(along with a land dispute which may well have been directly connected), the cause of hostilities between Segesta and Selinus.⁹ Segesta of course famously appealed to Athens for help in 416 BC, and had earlier made a formal alliance with the Athenians,¹⁰ but rapidly switched allegiances after the demise of the Athenians at Syracuse and entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians which led to the sack of Selinus in 409 BC (Diod. Sic. 13. 43-4; 54-9). In fact, Segesta's long term relationship with the Phoenicians and Carthaginians may have been rather better than with the Greeks – Thucydides (6.2.6) claims that after the arrival of Greeks in Sicily, the Phoenicians concentrated their settlements in Elymian areas because of their alliance with the Elymi (see also Herod. 5.46). Yet despite all this Segesta presents a material record in which Phoenician or Carthaginian features are inconspicuous and even “Elymian” ones subsumed under a more prominent “Greek” profile – of which the unfinished late 5th century monumental temple is a telling witness.¹¹

Yet while attempts to make direct correlations between material culture and the ethnic claims of the textual record regularly encounter stumbling blocks, nevertheless that is not to say that a relationship between material culture and identity did not exist; rather, that identity was not necessarily clearly delineated along ethnic lines, but other cultural and social factors may have played a stronger role. Our reading of very conspicuous features in the archaeological record – such as details of the burials discussed above and also below, or even the Segesta temple – may veer towards the “ethnic” because of our awareness of mixed populations and a perhaps inevitable desire to reinforce the ethnic identifications made by ancient authors; but the inconsistencies and complexities of the evidence suggest that a simple and direct ethnic declaration was not necessarily the primary or only aim of those who constructed the material evidence we have today. Instead, the relationship of identity with material culture may have operated at a broader level of cultural or social identity rather than a specific ethnic one.

For example, if we return to the Greek sites in the West, an interesting feature of their cemeteries is the degree of uniformity and consistency in burial types which appears at each site; where there is variation it is most obviously explicable in terms of age, wealth and chronology (large scale shifts in practice over

9. For discussion of this passage see Hornblower 2008, pp. 302-3. Diodorus Siculus (12.82) also notes a war over land after the Selinuntians encroached upon Segestan territory, but does not mention marriage issues.
10. Recorded in the Segesta Decree (*IG*³ 11). This decree, conventionally dated to 458/7 BC, has been downdated to 418/7 BC by Chambers *et al.* 1990, although the new date has not been universally accepted (see Vickers 1996, p. 171 with references).
11. De la Genière 1978, 38-44.

time). What is absent is not only any clear sign of Sicilian or Italian populations, but also evidence of Greeks of different origins. It now seems likely on demographic and practical grounds that the populations of these settlements were not established and fuelled solely by individuals from the mother-cities named by ancient sources – yet the medley of inherited traditions that other settlers could have brought with them from different parts of Greece does not appear, other than possibly in the handful of unusual graves (for example, cremations at Syracuse) which appears at each site. If we are right about the varied nature of the population, then the overall homogeneity of the burials at sites in the Greek West suggests that there was some sort of requirement to subscribe to an overarching burial system which pertained to the whole community and which (as I have argued elsewhere) did not duplicate the burial customs of the historical mother-city or indeed anywhere else.¹²

If that is the case, then material culture was being used very explicitly in identity negotiation and at two different levels. In the first place, it signalled dissociation rather than connection – these were independent *poleis* with their own specific customs, not ones derived or inherited from other *poleis*. In the second place, such new customs could underline and even force group identity and solidarity within an emerging new state. While it is not possible to detect specific ethnic identities or places of origin (Corinthian, Sikel etc) nevertheless there was clearly a wider and strong cultural identity at work which could override other and “prior” identities, especially ethnic ones.

It is this manipulation of material culture to express dissociation through difference as much as association through similarity which I find particularly interesting, and where the concept of code-switching in material culture may be especially useful, particularly where issues of social mobility and status might have been powerful factors. Here I would like to pursue it through some very specific case studies of individual tombs. I have argued elsewhere that some of the more widespread “Greek” features at Sikel sites and other phenomena such as multiple burial at Greek sites, or the virus-like spread of the monolithic sarcophagus around the Greek West, are less to do with the declaration of ethnic identities and more to do with social mobility and status claims, as sub-groups and individuals constructed material environments to suit personal aims.¹³ These however are relatively widespread and regularly encountered phenomena; the discussion below concentrates on the more unusual burials.

12. Shepherd 1995, 2005, pp. 128–32.

13. Shepherd 2011 and forthcoming (a).

As noted above, cemeteries at Greek sites generally display very uniform practices; nevertheless – and this is also a regularly encountered phenomenon – at many sites there is at least one burial that distinguishes itself by its very anomalous appearance. This anomalousness is usually achieved through a combination of wealth disposal and features derived from different “ethnic” sources, or at least ones which do not pertain to the site in question. At larger sites there may be a handful of such burials, but another feature which distinguishes them is that they are often made against a wider background of elite burials. These highly anomalous burials occur at Sicilian and Italian sites as well and they are often the very burials which have prompted the most debate regarding the ethnic identity of the occupant. Such burials are usually treated in isolation in the context of the sites at which they are found, although it might tentatively be suggested that, despite a general lack of specific formal parallels from other sites (apart from in the category discussed immediately below), these burials are linked by their extraordinary and usually extravagant characters and as such might form part of a widely utilised strategy to achieve social aims.

My first example is a very well-known one, but it may be worth reviewing it again here, since it illustrates some general characteristics of these very distinctive burials. The famous Tomb 104 Fondo Artiacco of c. 720 BC from Cumae in Italy is an extraordinary burial, even from a site which produced other wealthy graves with related objects: it was a cremation burial contained in a silver vessel which was placed in two larger bronze cauldrons and covered with an Etruscan shield. The assemblage comprised 52 metal objects, including silver, gold and electrum pieces as well as iron weaponry. As a burial at a Greek site with a “Greek” rite but laden with “Etruscan” imagery in its grave goods, Tomb 104 Fondo Artiacco sparked a long debate regarding the ethnicity of its occupant, variously identified as a Greek attracted to significant Etruscan cultural influence at Cumae or an Etruscan who was resident there.¹⁴ In fact, ethnic affiliations are extremely blurred in this concoction, but what is clear is its display of status via both wealth disposal and its unusual nature.

Tomb 104 Fondo Artiacco may also have some relationship with other burials found deposited in metal vessels in the West.¹⁵ Although not as spectacular

14. See for example Pellegrini 1903, p. 225 ff.; Strøm 1971; Buchner 1979, p. 130 ff.; Frederiksen 1979, p. 290 ff.
15. Tomb 104 Fondo Artiacco is often placed in the category of “princely” tombs, rich graves often with lavish metal offerings, which occur especially in Italy and to some extent in Greece also (see further Morris 1999). The tombs discussed here do not necessarily fall into this category – they may lack either the extremely expensive metal goods and/or a “warrior” identity which is usually associated with “princely” tombs – but are nevertheless very conspicuous in their local contexts through their cost and design. See further also Shepherd 2011, pp. 122-3.

as the Cumae example with its huge assemblage, these other burials nevertheless represent some of the most unusual and wealthiest burials at their respective sites. They are usually cremation burials (although inhumations of children are recorded), deposited in bronze cauldron-like vessels such as *lebetes* or *dinoi*, including a number in the wide-mouthed basins with beaded rims (*bacini ad orlo perlato*) thought to be Etruscan products. The biggest sample (over 30) comes from Syracuse, but they appear as rarities in Greek cemeteries across Sicily between the 8th and 5th centuries BC, often at sites where cremation was uncommon. The bronze vessels, including Etruscan basins, also appear in funerary contexts at indigenous sites in Sicily.¹⁶

Because of Tomb 104 Fondo Artiaco, other burials at Cumae and also the lavish “heroic” burials at the West Gate at Eretria, these burials have sometimes been specifically associated with the Euboeans.¹⁷ However, the fact that they are clearly high-expenditure graves, combined with the range of sites at which they appear and (as is often observed) their similarities with the heroic burials of Homeric epic (*Iliad* 23.212 ff.; 24.872 ff.), suggests that they are not ethnically specific but instead claims of status through not only wealth but also differentiation. Add to this the incidence of bronze vessel burials in Greece itself between the Geometric and Hellenistic periods (famously the one from the Athenian Kerameikos proposed to be that of Alcibiades),¹⁸ where they are again expensive rarities, and wider long-term pattern emerges in which such burials were “internationally” recognised as markers of status, including through their possible “heroic” connections, but lacked any specific ethnic significance. Importantly, these burials were also made within a context of other elite burials in the same cemeteries (such as the “fine” sarcophagi of Syracuse or the hypogeic cellae of Megara Hyblaea): the role of difference in defining a different sort of elite is critical here. These individuals were distinguished from their local peer group, but joined (given the geographical and chronological distribution of these burials) a “club” of those who in some way qualified for and could access such burials, and in that sense were entering into a more international “language” of display.

It is here that the idea of code-switching in material culture may be helpful. The concept, derived from linguistics, is described in detail by Alex Mullen

16. Albanese Procelli 1979; 1985; 2004.

17. For example, Coldstream 2003, p. 234. For the Eretria burials, see Bérard 1970; Crielaard 2007. See also Popham and Lemos (1995, p. 156) who wonder if there is continuity between the Lefkandi heroon burials, a Sub-Protogeometric II burial also at Lefkandi, and the Eretria West Gate burials.

18. Knigge 1991, pp. 109-10; Antonaccio 1995, pp. 221-43; Morris 1999, p. 59.

in this volume, but it is important here to underline one particular feature of code-switching which seems to me to be very useful in the analysis of material culture, and which gives it an advantage as a theoretical approach over other concepts such as hybridity and the middle ground – namely its ability to provide for exclusion.

The term ‘code-switching’ refers to bilingual speakers who “switch” between two languages between and even within sentences. However, unlike another linguistic phenomenon, creolisation, the two languages remain separate but juxtaposed, rather than merged into a single third language. The choice of which language to use, the extent to which languages are switched and when they are switched, all depend upon the specific social context and mean that a plurality of identities can be maintained and brought forward (or suppressed) depending on what is required at the time.¹⁹ It is important here to stress that code-switching is by no means necessarily a casual or spontaneous phenomenon, but can be a deliberately and carefully employed bilingual construction – this is especially significant for its application to material culture in this paper which looks at burials, likewise careful and deliberate constructions. In language, code-switching can be used to establish membership of a group and to express solidarity; but the flip-side is that it can also be used to demarcate a select group and act as a device for excluding others without the relevant language skills, and also as a tactic for asserting ownership of “high culture” elite status and a dominant position.²⁰

It is this ability of language to be deployed deliberately as a manoeuvre to separate, disassociate and distinguish individuals which is particularly significant when it comes to the application of code-switching to material culture: whereas other theories such as acculturation, hybridity and the middle ground suggest a wide and pervasive context of cultural rapprochement, code-switching also allows for parallel aims of disassociation and exclusivity in addition to association, solidarity and group membership – just as in the case of the bronze vessel burials. Code-switching in material culture might involve the ability to select and acquire particular objects or practices from a range of sources, which were then employed to serve a particular purpose in their new context. These features might be expensive, exotic, or both, and like language could signal difference as much as similarity to a wider audience which might recognise their value and significance but could not itself access them. In the context of this paper, which deals with burials, this is a situation which is different from the other bilingual phenomena of interference

19. Adams 2003, pp. 297-305.

20. Adams 2003, pp. 297-305.

and borrowing,²¹ which might also find some parallels in the archaeological record. We can assume that exotic and distinctive elements are not unintentionally incorporated into burials (as in “interference”); something akin to “borrowing” might certainly be identified, such as in the use of Italian fibulae and multiple burial at Greek sites noted above, where features appear derived from Italian and Sikel practice but their contexts suggest that their adoption is due to their local usefulness and any original ethnic or cultural significance has been discarded – a scenario which van Dommelen (2006) has termed “appropriation”. In contrast, code-switching can be deliberate and allows for at least some retention of the original context: in material culture such a strategy might be particularly useful in the context of status assertion, and might account for some of the very specific types of behaviour and structures seen in the funerary environment.

Graves that are highly unusual in their immediate context appear with a degree of frequency across Sicily and South Italy that suggests they should not simply be dismissed as local anomalies. Two such examples appear in the cemeteries of the Sikel site of Monte Bubbonia in Sicily and of Inconronata “indigena” in South Italy. The Monte Bubbonia grave 1955/NE, dubbed the Tomba a blocchi, is a substantial tomb built of ashlar blocks (2.4 x 1.8 x 1.1 m deep) dating to the late 6th or 5th century.²² Although there was one other analogous tomb at the site which had been robbed, both are in sharp contrast with the circular chamber and *tholos* tombs and irregular *fossa* (trench) graves which typify the site; whereas the built tomb type is familiar as an elite structure found at Greek sites in Sicily such as Megara Hyblaea and Selinus. The Tomba a blocchi had been disturbed, but amongst the fragmentary remaining goods were pieces of bronze identified as belonging to a bronze shield. The shield is thought to be of Greek origin, but whatever its origin it is a highly unusual object for any funerary context in Sicily. The tomb has been interpreted as that of a Greek or of a high-ranking, completely Hellenised Sikel; but once again we have a tomb where ethnicity is ambiguous, but the attempt to distinguish this individual through a combination of exotic material culture and wealth disposal is not.

The Inconronata case (Tomb 571) is superficially similar in that it is also a rectangular stone tomb of “Greek” type, but the real similarity lies again in its conspicuousness within its local context, the contrast it provides with the other graves at Inconronata, and that the form of the grave looks like it has been drawn from elite Greek practice. The monumental stepped *fossa* grave

21. See further Mullen this volume.

22. Pancucci and Naro 1992, pp. 148, 154-5, with references.

was covered with a single stone slab, held a supine burial and was placed at the margins of a late 8th – 7th century necropolis comprising burials made in the local tradition, namely (for adults) contracted burial in a *fossa* grave. The marginal location may be of significance in terms of geographical isolation (see further below on the possible importance of grave location and cemetery topography).

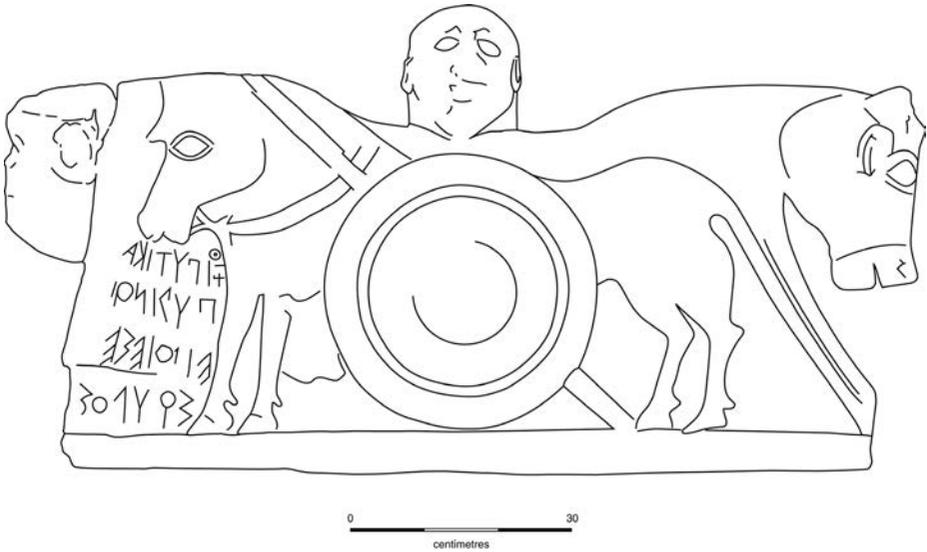


FIG. 1. The *Guerriero di Castiglione* sculpture (drawing by H. Buglass after Di Stefano 2002, fig. 18).

Incoronata T. 571 was styled the grave of a *straniero* (foreigner) by the excavator, in recognition of its ethnically different appearance.²³ A rather similar idea is implicit in interpretations of the other graves discussed above – that they belong to someone who was a stranger or “foreigner” in a particular place, who died there and then for some reason was given an extraordinary burial. This explanation has also been put forward for one of the oddest graves ever found in Sicily, the “Guerriero” grave datable to the earlier 6th century at Castiglione di Ragusa, with the suggestion that this person was a Greek who performed some special service for the local community, died, and was honoured with a monumental burial with Greek-style trappings.²⁴ In the case of the “Guerriero”, this involved burial in a *fossa* with other individuals (including two children) whose skulls were arranged at the east end of the *fossa*; the *fossa* was enclosed within a circular perimeter stone wall

23. De Siena 1990, p. 78.

24. Anello 2002, pp. 75-6.

and possibly topped with some sort of tumulus and probably also the “Guerriero” sculpture of a horse, armed warrior and bull and sphinx (?) protomes (FIG. 1).²⁵ The sculpture has some stylistic parallels with Greek sculpture and the inscription on it in Greek names Pyrrinos, son of Pytikas (one of the deceased and the main honorand?) and Skylos (the sculptor?); burial in a *fossa* grave is also more “Greek” than “Sikel”, yet there the “Greek” features end. The grave goods included Greek vases, but that need have no ethnic significance in Sicily at this period; multiple burial is a “Sikel” rather than “Greek” practice, other than those instances in monolithic sarcophagi mentioned above; and the differential treatment of the skulls is highly unusual in any context. Although much emphasis has been placed on the name “Pyrrinos”, names do not always denote ethnicity and the whole ensemble – *fossa* with circular tumulus, multiple burials, *akephalia* and sculpture – finds no parallels in either Greek or Sikel funerary practice. Again, the location might be of interest: this grave was found in the midst of a small “necropoli greca” of 21 graves of the first half of the 6th century, separated from the main cemetery at Castiglione.

From a later period – the third quarter of the 4th century – comes another highly unusual tomb, this time from the indigenous site of Timmari in Peucezia (mod. Puglia) in South Italy. Here, in the middle of an otherwise unremarkable necropolis, was found Tomb no. 33, together with five other “monumental” graves of the same date in an area apparently levelled and reserved for elite burials. Tomb 33 has been reconstructed as “semicamera”, namely a deep rectangular shaft (at least 1.5 m) lined with wooden planks on a stone socle, with internal dimensions of 1.78 x 3.72 m; it was covered with wooden planks and sealed with a layer of clay and *tufina*. It contained a cremation burial identified as that of an adult male (although only half of the skull was found in the tomb, a pyre site was identified about 5 m away from the tomb) and a grave assemblage of a staggering 149 objects. Most of the grave offerings were vases (especially South Italian red-figure pieces) but there were also two glass vases and metal ware including feasting equipment and elements of arms and armour. There was also evidence of animal sacrifice. Cremation is otherwise unknown at Timmari (and rare in the Peucezia area generally), but Macedonian parallels for both the tomb and also the arms and armour in it have been proposed and the “heroic” nature of the burial noted. The connections between South Italy and Macedonia – especially through the activities of Alexander of Molossos – in this period might well go some way towards explaining this extraordinary tomb in terms of inspiration at least, but it has

25. Di Stefano 2006 and Duda 2006, which update some of the information contained in Di Stefano 2002 and cited in Shepherd 2011. On the inscription, see Cordano 2002.

also been specifically identified as the tomb of a Macedonian aristocratic warrior closely related to the Epirot-Macedonian royal family and even tentatively identified as Alexander of Molossos himself.²⁶

Can we really go on seeing these very unusual graves as representing a benevolent and heroic stranger in town? The burials are all very different, and as they are also widely scattered at different sites, they tend to get treated in isolation; but as noted above, if all these extravagant and anomalous burials are put together they start to look like something of a pattern even if they do not always match each other in their details. The aim of status assertion would be hard to question, but the ethnic identity of these individuals is always blurred. Surely they cannot all be Greek (or Etruscan or Euboean or Macedonian) knights in shining armour who turned up in town, slew the local dragon, died, and then were lavishly buried by a grateful community?

These last examples have all been from indigenous sites, but there are other very anomalous and often extravagant graves from Greek sites in Italy and Sicily too. Two such come from the Crucinia Necropolis at Metaponto in South Italy, a substantial cemetery containing burials dating from the late 7th century to Hellenistic times. A group of Archaic elite burials were clustered in prop. Giacovelli in the north-west corner of the necropolis (again the group and location might be of significance). In 1942 one of these tombs was opened, and reportedly contained parade armour including a bronze ram's head helmet dated to 525-500 and now in Missouri.²⁷ The helmet itself is Greek, but what is not Greek is the practice of depositing arms in graves – this version of wealth disposal is far more typical of elite Italian practice. It is also stylistically isolated in this respect at Metaponto – military equipment is a rarity at Metapontum, apart from a double burial in the same complex (see below) with weaponry and graves with Lucanian military gear of the late 5th century.²⁸

Two other very distinctive arrangements were found in the same cluster. Tomb 238 of the second half of the 6th century was constructed of finely worked stone blocks and positioned near the tomb with the ram's head helmet. Although the remaining bone material was scanty, it appeared to be that of a woman aged between 30-35 years. The lavish grave assemblage included a pair of alabaster *alabastra*, two pairs of gilded silver pins, a silver necklace, and three iron nail heads with wood attached to them (possibly relating to

26. Canosa 2005, 2007. The grisly death of Alexander of Molossos – and division of his body parts – is described by Livy (8.24).

27. Lo Porto 1977-79.

28. Carter 2006, p. 207.

a bier or coffin). Such an assemblage is not unknown elsewhere in the West (similarly wealthy graves with such objects appear for example at Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea in Sicily), but what really sets this grave apart is the extraordinary gilt-silver *polos* headdress found in the grave, ostentatiously decorated with relief figures of humans, horses, rosettes and – perhaps significantly in terms of the proximity of this grave to the one with the helmet – ram’s heads.²⁹

An interpretation of these tombs put forward by De Siena is that they represent a tyrant of Metapontum and a female member of his family; there may also be evidence of such a tyrant family in an inscription on the architrave of Temple A2 at Metapontum, *autoi kai ghenai* (“to himself and his *ghenos* (clan)”).³⁰ A riposte to this “tyrant” grave group is detected by De Siena in another set of burials in the same cluster. This was an elaborate construction of double stone built graves forming a complex of four chambers (Tombs 598 a/b and 608/609), again a unique arrangement for Metapontum. The excavation revealed that three previous depositions had had to be removed in order for this grand affair to be built – which suggests that the location held particular significance. Two of the chambers were empty, but two contained adult males and the burials are dated to shortly after the middle of the 6th century. The goods were again wealthy, and also unusual, including funeral beds bordered with iron bands and two short swords. Again, the presence of arms in a grave is unusual and fits better with Italian customs of display at burial rather than Greek. De Siena proposes that in this pair we have the graves of the local South Italian tyrant slayers, Antileon and Hipparinos.³¹

These are intriguing ideas; whether or not we can be quite so precise in identifying both tyrant and tyrant slayer may be open to debate, but these must surely have been the graves of individuals who were in some way distinguished in their society, whether through wealth, position, service, or all three, and in some way “qualified” for a very distinctive and carefully located burial. The method of rendering these burials highly distinctive – as opposed to just rich – was to draw upon a range of traditions of different ethnic origins, which served the dual purpose of not only creating burials that were different and even unique in their local context, but which were recognisable as elite both within and outside their immediate area and which also associated them with a wider “international” elite context. By code-switching in a single burial ensemble – just as linguistically in a particular conversation or

29. De Siena 2008, pp. 5-11.

30. De Siena 1998, pp. 165-6; 2008; Carter 2006, pp. 207-8 with fig. 5.14.

31. De Siena 2008, pp. 5; 10-12.

even a single sentence – the different features could both exclude those who could not access them and by association form a link with those could.

The list of such burials as one moves from site to site could go on for some length. One might also cast an eye at the Contrada Mosè necropolis outside Akragas (Agrigento) in Sicily, which likewise incorporates a small cluster of elite burials apparently also in geographical isolation from other enormous and contemporary city cemeteries, notably that in Contrada Pezzino.³² Here the monumental double stone built tomb 1-2 included a bronze greave in its late 6th century assemblage, while Tomb 8, also lined with stone, held a very fine sarcophagus of (presumably) imported marble with carved decoration and painting, and Tomb 3 was a bronze vessel burial, a cremation in a superb late 5th century bronze krater with handles adorned with volutes and swan's heads. None of these graves sits well within the prevailing local funerary customs of Akragas, but all are clearly drawing on external traditions for their ostentation and visual effect. My final example, however, is again an extremely well known tomb, and one that has been often discussed in a somewhat different context, namely the development and reconstruction of ancient Greek painting – but I wonder if it might not also fit into this category of anomalous graves with different and varied “ethnic” features.

This burial is the famous Tomb of the Diver, from the Tempa del Prete necropolis at Poseidonia (Paestum) in South Italy. Dated to c. 470 by an Athenian black glaze lekythos amongst the grave goods, the tomb is not paralleled at Poseidonia or any other Greek city in the West. Its basic construction is similar to that of other tombs at Poseidonia – a trench lined with stone slabs – but while a few other 5th century tombs at Paestum were plastered and have rudimentary paintwork, the Tomb of the Diver is internally adorned with figured decoration including a symposium scene around the walls of the tomb, and the scene of the diver on the lid which gives the grave its name. Again, the location is of interest: the Tempa del Prete necropolis lies some distance (about 2km) south-east of the city, one of the more distant and liminal cemeteries.³³ The small group of burials – around twenty – to which the Tomb of the Diver belonged has been dated to between the last quarter of the 6th century and the first decades of the 5th. Although not all had grave goods, the burials nevertheless were not entirely typical of Poseidonia, since a relatively high number were plastered, some also painted with coloured bands, and musical instruments in the graves were also conspicuous

32. De Miro 1988, pp. 238-52.

33. See further Greco 1982 on the location of the Tempa del Prete necropolis.

– including of course in the Tomb of the Diver, where fragments of tortoise shell may be the remains of the sound box of a lyre.³⁴

At a time when graves at Poseidonia were basic and uniform to the extent that it looks like a levelling ideology was in place for the funerary arena,³⁵ the Tomb of the Diver is highly unusual and elaborate even in the context of the somewhat different Tempa del Prete cemetery – and has prompted a long debate regarding the ethnicity of its occupant, on the grounds of various “non-Greek” features: the symposium looks “Greek”, but not in its funerary context; elaborate painting of the interior of tombs was a long established Etruscan practice, and the symposium scene might also relate to traditional Etruscan funerary banquets; there was an Etruscan presence in Campania; and the distance of the cemetery from Poseidonia might also put it closer to Italic settlements. Thus while some have maintained that the tomb, while influenced by Etruscan practices, is essentially Greek, others have argued it belongs to an Etruscan resident at Poseidonia, and most recently an argument has been made for an elite occupant of Italic origin, indicated by the overlooked but very distinctive form of the krater in the symposium scene, of a type actively maintained in Italic ceramics after other shapes had given way to Greek styles.³⁶

Again, such a range of opinions is sufficient to demonstrate that a specific ethnic declaration is blurred by the whole ensemble, and a consensus may never be reached. One might also ask whether pointing to a particular or dominant ethnicity was ever the aim here, as opposed to referencing a plurality of identities, by once again juxtaposing – in the manner of code-switching – objects and features of different cultural derivation in a single confection. By the 5th century BC many inhabitants of Campania must have had very varied ancestry and links – Greek, Italic, and very possibly Etruscan as well – if recent thinking on intermarriage is correct, and some may have wished to illustrate precisely such a range of affiliations. Yet ethnic declarations do not wholly explain such an extraordinary tomb, given the overall conformity of most Poseidonians (who likewise may just as well have had multicultural links through intermarriage) to prevailing norms of restraint when it came to burial. Again, the aim to distinguish and assert a very particular high status in a local context, but with wider allusions, seems evident here: the Tomb

34. Cipriani 2002, 373-4; on the Tomb of the Diver generally, see Napoli 1970. On other necropoleis at Poseidonia/Paestum, especially the densely occupied Santa Venera necropolis, see Pedley 1990, pp. 94-96; Cipriani 2002, p. 380 with fig. 6 and references.

35. Pedley 1990, p. 96.

36. For a “Greek” identity, see for example Holloway 2006, p. 385; on an Etruscan occupant, see for example Torelli 1997, 138; for analysis of the krater in the symposium scene, see Robinson 2011.

of the Diver might also fit into the larger context of wealthy and anomalous burials which switch between different vocabularies of material culture and juxtapose diverse elements in the pursuit of status.

This paper has concentrated on grave forms and offerings in Sicily and South Italy, but there are other aspects which might be profitably explored also. One is the possible role of location and topography in further defining these unusual graves: this has already been noted at various points throughout this piece, but one might also point to other apparently rather “exclusive” cemeteries such as the wealthy 6th century North Necropolis at Megara Hyblaea, or the Gaggera Necropolis at Selinus which was used over a long period time but has relatively few and widely scattered burials in comparison to other huge contemporary cemeteries at the site.³⁷ There is also the question of the chronology of these anomalous graves, which here ranges from the very early stages of Greek settlement in the West (Tomb 104 Fondo Artiaco, but also for example the bronze vessel burial T.219 from Syracuse of c. 700)³⁸ to the 4th century: a relatively small number of graves is scattered over a long time period, which might again suggest that they stand outside developing local ethnic and cultural identities and even standard elite practice, and instead form part of a widely recognised strategy of juxtaposing elite and/or unusual motifs derived from a range of internal and external sources in order to construct a grave which answered a very particular social requirement.

Finally, code-switching outside the funerary arena might also be investigated. I have tentatively suggested elsewhere that the unfinished Doric temple at Segesta might be a flamboyant case of code-switching at state level:³⁹ while many indigenous sites in Sicily adopted various Greek architectural styles and forms, Segesta alone went as far as building a monumental temple, superbly positioned so as to be visible for miles around (FIG. 2). Its initiation has been plausibly linked with Segesta’s relations with Athens, including their formal alliance (*IG*³ 11) and Segesta’s call for Athenian aid against Selinus in 416; the cessation of the project might likewise be connected with the catastrophic defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse in 413 and Segesta’s switch in allegiance to Carthage. It is not clear that the temple was ever actually required as anything other than a “cultural flourish” designed to impress the Athenians,⁴⁰ or visual vocabulary with which to communicate status to the Athenians and indeed other Greeks. Although an extremely ostentatious

37. Shepherd forthcoming (b).

38. Albanese Procelli 2004, p. 105 with references.

39. Shepherd forthcoming (a).

40. Burford 1961, pp. 88, 93.

project, in fact the temple simply entered Segesta into the standard practice of Greek states (especially in the West) of representing their status and competing via temple building. The temple might have helped promote Segesta's interests in a wider political environment, but was not necessarily otherwise integral to Segestan culture.



FIG. 2. The 5th century BC temple at Segesta (photo: G. Shepherd).

This paper has concentrated on a range of very unusual and anomalous burials in order to explore the application of the concept of code-switching to material culture, but its starting point and the wider context for the discussion was the problem of broad discrepancies between the archaeological records of Greek and indigenous sites in Sicily and South Italy. Having arrived at the end of it, I wonder if this is in fact less of a problem than it first appears, given the sorts of very carefully constructed ensembles which the anomalous burials present and the evidence they and their wider burial contexts provide for management of the funerary arena.

Should we necessarily expect material cultures to be evenly balanced? Given the susceptibility of material culture to manipulation which burials in ancient Sicily and Italy demonstrate – its ability both to highlight and suppress specific social identities, its ability to act either as a cohering social mechanism or a divisive one – is it in fact likely that the sorts of broad variations seen between Greek and Sicilian/Italian sites will occur? Whatever the degree of contact, interaction and intermarriage between different ethnic groups, these were different states with different social and political conditions and priorities prevailing: material culture would accordingly be subject to differing parameters. Much recent research into indigenous sites has stressed the very active nature of selection and rejection of Greek cultural features and the strenuous maintenance of particular Sicilian or Italian ones;⁴¹ at Greek sites, especially in the cemeteries, the consistent and uniform character of the evidence suggests limited tolerance for anything that fell outside prescribed norms, whatever the ethnic make-up of the population.⁴² The need to find a balance, or account for its lack, may be due as much to the long standing arguments for Hellenisation and the more recent ones opposing them, as to a situation which might well be anticipated on the grounds of the cultural diversity we know to have existed in ancient Sicily and South Italy. What we see through artefact variability and differentiation are more complex messages of identity which are not confined to direct assertions of ethnicity, but where tactics of distinction, association and exclusion were used to varying degrees to express a range of social priorities; and where apparently “foreign” behaviour often occurs in rather specific arrangements and assemblages which might suggest the operation of code-switching in material culture to lay claim to a particular elite status via both difference and similarity.

41. See for example Antonaccio 1997; Leighton 1999, p. 254; 2000; Hodos 2000; 2006, chapter 3, with references
42. Other burial systems have been noted as suppressing ethnic and cultural diversity where it is known to have existed, as for example the lack of specific identifiers for Jewish burials in Roman Sicily (Finley 1968, pp.168-9) or modern America where social attitudes to death have produced a uniformity in burial practice which overrides the heterogeneous nature of the society (Huntington and Metcalf 1979).

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LANGUAGE AND ICONOGRAPHY

THE IDENTITY OF SUB-GROUPS IN ITALIAN FUNERARY MONUMENTS

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In communities with multi-layered identities, it may be possible to identify the various cultural strands but it can be much more difficult to work out how these strands relate to each other, and in particular, how they were perceived by the inhabitants of the communities in question and what they signified in terms of cultural identity. Many different models have been suggested to understand the various elements of cultures, how they might have interacted, and how they might have been understood by the members of these communities. This is a particularly intricate problem in ancient Italy, which was a region of many different ethnic and cultural groups, which underwent many periods of extensive demographic and cultural change. Middle ground theory, creolisation and hybridity have all been explored as models for cultural interaction and have helped immensely to shift the debate away from a bipolar, either/or, model of cultures in contact.² However, none of these models has been entirely convincing as a framework for explaining cultural change. In particular, they all run the risk of downplaying conflict and aspects of power relations by implicitly placing all cultures on an equal footing. This is a particular problem when Roman culture is added to the equation. While it is essential to move on from a simplistic top-down model of interaction, in which other cultures are envisaged as the passive recipients of Roman culture, and acknowledge the agency of other groups, there is clearly an imbalance of power between Rome and other Italians which needs to be acknowledged and explored. There is also a need for a model which accommodates

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2. Woolf 1998; Webster 2001; Mattingly 1997; Hingley 2005.

changes in Roman culture itself – a result of contact with the Greek world, but also a result of contact with other Italian cultures.³

In his influential study of Roman culture, and in particular the ways in which Roman interactions with other areas of Italy and the Mediterranean shaped it, Wallace-Hadrill suggests bilingualism as a useful model for interpreting interactions between cultures and the ways in which cultural identities were perceived. He argues that the ability to code-switch between different cultural idioms can be used to display and reinforce different aspects of multiple cultural identities, depending on context.⁴ Code-switching implies a co-existence of cultures rather than assimilation or hybridisation, permitting a group or an individual to switch between them according to context. It also allows some cultures to act as “marked” (ie dominant) cultures and others as “unmarked” (subordinate) ones.⁵ In particular, he cites examples such as the cemeteries of Oleggio in northwest Italy, in which graves contain a mixture of Celtic and Roman artefacts, as in the support of the idea that the people did not consciously adopt specifically “Roman” or “Celtic” identities in particularly areas of their lives, but switched between them, or mixed different elements of them, according to context and according to who they were interacting with, just as they might switch linguistically between speaking Latin and Celtic. In other words, their mortuary practice suggests a bicultural identity embracing both Roman and Celtic, rather than one or the other, or a hybrid of both.⁶ Eventually, over time, cultures may merge or hybridise, or fluency in the subordinate cultural “language” may be lost, but code-switching offers a possible way to explore interactions in areas and periods of initial cultural contact.

Nevertheless, code-switching poses some significant problems when it is used as a means of understanding archaeological evidence. One important caveat is that it is difficult to pin down intentionality from material evidence alone. Archaeology cannot tell us why particular cultural features were selected for use in any given context. They may be the result of a conscious and intentional cultural choice, but their presence may also be the result of accepted custom and practice, family tradition, sub-conscious selection, or any one of many other possible variables.

3. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 17-32.

4. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 73-102.

5. See also, Adams 2003, pp. 18-29.

6. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp.73-78; cf. also Häussler 2000; Häussler and Pearce 2007.

Another problem is that code-switching is based on dynamic exchanges between individuals or social groups. An essential aspect is that it involves switching between different languages in the course of a single conversation or even a single sentence.⁷ whereas archaeological evidence is – by definition – static and usually only gives a partial and incomplete picture of a particular cultural exchange or contact so transferring this model to material evidence potentially poses problems, but these are not insuperable. At first glance, funerary evidence seems particularly problematic in this respect because it reflects a considerable level of self-conscious (and invariably selective) commemoration of individual and family identities. However, it is not impossible to resolve the difficulties of applying code-switching to this type of evidence. If the individual funerary monuments discussed below are each regarded as equivalent to a single sentence or conversation, it may be possible to “parse” them by isolating the different cultural elements present and analysing how these interact. If they can then be compared to other forms of funerary culture, such as tomb types or choice of grave goods, then they may reveal further switches between different cultural registers.

This paper will examine this issue in relation to the inscriptions and iconography of funerary monuments from contrasting areas of Italy where multiple cultural groups came into contact. Northeast Italy was a region in which the local Venetic population interacted with Celtic, Etruscan, Greek and Roman culture. Campania was a key area of Greek, Oscan and Roman contact, and Ancona was located in a region in which the indigenous culture was exposed to much Greek influence. Sub-sets of the funerary monuments from all three areas allow us to examine both visual and linguistic identities, and by considering this evidence in the wider context of other changes to local culture, we may be able to reach some conclusions about the level of intent behind the cultural symbols used. Funerary monuments pose some particularly interesting questions, as we need to consider how the monument, its inscription and its iconography relate not just to the identity of the deceased but also to the family or kinship group to which he or she belonged. The form of monument and iconography, and the language used for any inscription added to it may be influenced by many different elements, including current styles and fashions, or availability of particular types of stelae, as well as social factors such as gender, ethnicity, family tradition, personal preference, and many other factors.⁸ This poses important questions about commemoration and how individuals or families presented themselves to future generations – assuming the monument was an item for public display (which it may or

7. Adams 2003, pp. 18-29.

8. Oliver 1997, pp. 12-17.

may not be, depending on circumstances). It may also give some insight into how different cultural elements were perceived, and how they were manipulated to create cultural dialogues as well as establishing cultural identities. In particular, it may also allow us to examine the group identities of particular sub-groups within these societies.

Naples

Naples is a particularly complex case, as Hellenism persisted as a significant strand of the public culture of the city until well into the Roman Empire. It was, however, not an exclusively Greek city by that date, but was a mix of Greek, Campanian, Roman elements, with even some traces of an Etruscan heritage.⁹ The Greek elements of the city's culture are particularly apparent in public inscriptions such as building inscriptions, honorific inscriptions and decrees of the assembly.¹⁰ The funerary epigraphy of the city, however, was much more culturally and linguistically mixed. Greek epitaphs are found in many tombs of the Republic and early empire, but they co-exist with significant numbers of Latin commemorations. Many of the Greek epitaphs come from chamber tombs found in the area around the Via Foria, Via dei Cristallini and Via Arena, a little to the north of the theatre and forum/ agora and at some distance from the other cemeteries of Roman Naples.¹¹ They take a variety of forms. Some are lists of personal names painted directly onto the walls of the tomb chambers, while others are incised onto plain stone stelae topped with a rudimentary pediment and akroteria.¹²

For the purposes of this paper, however, a more elaborate group of funerary commemorations is of particular interest, as they cast an interesting light on how some social groups may have employed a variety of linguistic and cultural codes in their commemorative monuments. This consists of a group of stone stelae with relief sculpture, eleven of which are inscribed, or terracotta plaques which imitate the form and iconography of the stelae.¹³ The form and decoration of these stelae are of a type which is very familiar to examples from

9. Leiwo 1994 pp. 15-25; Lomas 1997, pp. 115-118.

10. Leiwo 1994 pp. 15-25; Lomas 1993; Lomas 1997, pp. 115-118.

11. Papadopoulos 1985; Miranda 1996; Levi 1926; Galante 1893-96; Rocco 1942-46; Leiwo 1994, pp. 58-87.

12. Many of these chamber tombs were in long-term use, containing material from the 4th century BC to the 1st century AD. Levi 1926; Galante 1893-96; Rocco 1942-46; Miranda 1996, pp. 21-101; Leiwo 1994, pp. 58-87 and 116-20.

13. Levi 1926; Galante 1893-96; Rocco 1942-46; Miranda 1996, pp. 21-101; Leiwo 1994, pp. 58-87 and 116-20; Lomas 2003.

the Hellenistic world, and stylistically related to Cycladic and Attic examples.¹⁴ Many of the stone examples are of marble, indicating some significant means or status on the part of the deceased. They range in date from the early 1st century BC to the 1st century AD and those with known contexts come from the chamber tombs close to the theatre and forum mentioned above. They were placed in niches inside the tomb, or in the case of some of the smaller terracotta examples – all of them without an inscription – fixed to the walls of the tomb chamber.¹⁵ They were, therefore, displayed in a closed context visible only to people who had access to the tombs, rather than being on open display outside the tomb.



FIG. 1. Funerary stele of Grania Phelikla. Unknown context, Naples. 1st century BC – 1st century AD (Museo Nazionale, Naples. Reproduced by permission of the Soprintendenze per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Caserta).

14. Rocco 1942-46, pp. 77-92; Leiwo 1994, pp. 116-117.

15. Papadopoulos 1985, pp. 296-297. On the structure and decoration of the chamber tombs, see Greco Pontrandolfo and Vecchio 1985.

Most of the stone stelae were of marble and were carved in relief with a naiskos containing a *dexiosis* scene of the deceased bidding farewell to a friend or relative. In this respect they resemble a well-documented Greek type of funerary monument (FIG. 1-3).¹⁶ However, the details of the iconography and inscriptions reference both Roman and Greek cultural codes. Those with epitaphs carry exclusively Greek inscriptions, using the common Greek funerary formulae of the personal name, given in the Greek form of name and patronymic, along with the well-known funerary formulae *chaire* or *chreste chaire*. However, both the personal names and the way in which they are expressed reflect a greater degree of cultural complexity. Most – although not all – the names are given in Greek form, but some are not of Greek origin. For instance, Grania Phelikla and Gaius Valerius have completely Roman, or Romanised, names, expressed in Roman form although in the case of Valerius this omits the filiation which was usually included at this date. Others, such as Ariston, Aste and Lamiskos Lamiskou have purely Greek names, and Mamos Mamou and Leukios Larthios have names which are Greek in form but not in content – Mamos may be an Oscan name and Lucius Larthios is a mix of Latin and Etruscan. In choice of language and onomastic forms, the predominant cultural and linguistic code is Greek, even when the people commemorated may not have been ethnically Greek.

Matters become even more complex when the iconography is examined along with the choice of language, script and onomastic conventions. In all cases, the stelae use a familiar Greek funerary convention, showing the deceased alone, either seated or standing, or bidding farewell to a friend or relative, but some of the details mix Greek and Roman elements. The stele of Grania Phelikla (FIG. 1), for instance,¹⁷ a female figure seated in a high-backed chair known as a *solium*, which symbolises the Roman matron, and commemorates a woman with a Roman name of a type familiar from the Bay of Naples, yet the epitaph is written in Greek. Another female commemoration, however, is dedicated to one Aste, whose name is purely Greek, yet whose stele shows her also seated in a *solium* and attended by a man wearing a toga, thus providing a contrast between the name and the language of the epitaph and the Roman iconography.¹⁸ Perhaps most notably, the epitaph of Mamos Mamou (FIG. 3), set up by his brother Nymphios, shows Mamos taking leave of his brother. Mamos is seated on a Roman stool with lion-claw feet, and both men are

16. Papadopoulos 1985, pp. 293-294.

17. *IG XIV.774*; Papadopoulos 1985, pp. 296; Miranda 1995, 36-7; Leiwo 1994, pp. 120.

18. Papadopoulos 1985, pp. 295; Leiwo 1994, pp. 118; Miranda 1995, p. 33.

draped in voluminous togas. Despite the Roman iconography, the names are a mixture of Greek and Oscan, and are well-attested at Naples.¹⁹



FIG. 2. Funerary stele of Lamiskos Lamiskou. Unknown context, Naples. 1st century BC (Museo Nazionale, Naples. Reproduced by permission of the Soprintendenze per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Caserta).

Roman elements inserted of iconography are not universal, however. Other stelae show figures wearing the Greek pallium and chiton and seated on

¹⁹ This stele, which is of Augustan date, comes from Tomb B of the Via Cristallini hypogaeum and is one of the few to be found in context (Galante 1893-96; Papadopoulos 1985, p. 295; Leiwo 1994, pp. 74-76; Miranda 1995, pp. 66-67). On the name Mamos and the Oscan onomastic history of Naples, see Livy 8.22.7-29.5; *IG* 14.894; Leiwo 1994, pp. 74-76; Fraser and Matthews 2000, p. 332.

low backless seats which are more typical of the Greek world. The stele of Lamiskos Lamiskou (FIG. 2), for instance shows two male figures in Greek dress, and carries both a Greek personal name and a Greek epitaph.²⁰ The relative chronology for this sequence of stelae is not secure, but these variations do not seem to be explicable as a chronological change from Greek to Roman customs. Indeed, one of the later examples, the stele of Pakkis Herakleon, which may be as late as the beginning of the 2nd century AD, depicts Pakkis and a female companion in Greek dress.²¹



FIG. 3. Funerary stele of Mamos Mamou. Via dei Cristallini, Naples. 1st century BC – 1st century AD (Museo Nazionale, Naples. Reproduced by permission of the Soprintendenze per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Caserta).

In an article published some years ago²² I argued that the persistent elements of Hellenism in these monuments – the use of Greek language, the depiction of the deceased using Greek funerary conventions and wearing Greek dress, and the continued use of Greek names and onomastic forms after the extension of citizenship to Naples – reflected a conscious and deliberate emphasis on Greek culture and ethnicity by some sections of the local elite. The practice seemed to be associated with a specific burial area and a specific group of elite tombs, and the choice of language and onomastic form, the form and style of the stelae and the location of the tombs all seemed designed to distinguish them from the majority form of funerary commemoration in 1st

20. *IG XIV.796*; Papadopoulos 1985, p. 296; Miranda 1995, p. 60; Leiwo 1994, p. 120.

21. Rocco 1942, p. 85; Miranda 1995, p. 76.

22. Lomas 2003.

century Naples. Greek epitaphs co-exist at Naples with a significant number by Roman-style epitaphs, mostly written in Latin, by people who had adopted Latin names and the Roman *tria nomina*.²³ These stelae dated to a period relatively soon after the city gained Roman citizenship in 90/89 BC – a period in which many elite Italians were adopting symbols of their new Roman citizenship such as the toga, the *tria nomina*, and the use of Latin language and forms in epigraphy – as a way of marking their new status,²⁴ and the highly Hellenised form and content of these monuments suggested a possible reaction against this. Naples is said to have tried to avoid accepting Roman citizenship in 90 BC, asking the Senate (unsuccessfully) whether the city could remain an independent ally,²⁵ so there is some corroborative evidence of at least some ambivalence towards the idea of integration with Rome. However, code-switching offers an alternative way of interpreting them. Rather than viewing them as a rejection of – or ambivalence towards – the new Roman order, these monuments can be interpreted as embodiments of several different elements of Neapolitan culture and as evidence for code-switching between them. Although they are very conservatively Greek in form, some of them nevertheless incorporate Roman symbols, especially those connected with social or legal status, such as the toga, or the matronal chair. Some can perhaps be viewed as examples of code-switching or cultural bilingualism, but the most striking impression given by this group of monuments is a surprising lack of Roman influence. This is perhaps less surprising at Naples than it would be elsewhere, since Hellenism remained an important part of civic culture, but Roman culture was already a significant presence in other areas of civic life, and in other areas of funerary behaviour,²⁶ so its relative absence from this group of monuments is noteworthy.

Ancona

The complexity of the problem, particularly in areas of Italy with a claim to Greek descent, and able to trade on the high status of Greek culture, is further illustrated by a group of Greek funerary monuments from Ancona. There are around 15 surviving examples, dating from the late 2nd century BC to the early 1st century BC, well after the Roman conquest of the region, which took place in the 3rd century BC, and probably some after the extension of citizenship in 90 BC.

23. Leiwo 1994, pp. 8-103 and 110-15; Lomas 1997, pp. 118-20; Lomas 2004, pp. 186-90.

24. Cf. Meyer 1990, pp. 78-80.

25. Cicero, *Arch.* 10, *Balb.* 8.21.

26. Lomas 1997, pp. 120-26.

If studied in isolation, these look very similar to the Greek stelae from Naples. They are, typically, marble stelae with an architectural frame – either pillars and a pediment or a niche – containing a scene in relief sculpture depicting the deceased. Most represent a *dexiosis* scene in which the deceased is seated and bidding farewell to relatives, although some depict the deceased as reclining on a banqueting couch.²⁷ Both variants are known from funerary art elsewhere in the Greek world. Inscriptions are written in Greek, using Greek names given in Greek forms (e.g. Damo, Apollo, son of Pasion) and using the typical Greek formula personal name + *chaire* or *chreste chaire*.²⁸ The women depicted are represented wearing Greek dress, and some are veiled, unlike the women on the Naples stelae. However, there are also significant traces of Roman culture. Several male figures are represented wearing the *toga exigua*, the characteristic dress of the male citizen in the 2nd-1st centuries BC.²⁹

The exact contexts are not recorded, so they cannot be identified with specific graves, and their mode of display cannot be reconstructed.³⁰ It is not clear whether – as at Naples – they were interred in chamber tombs in contexts where the audience for them would have been limited, or were external grave markers which would have been more widely visible to the public. As a group, they are associated with an area of wealthy burials containing local and imported pottery, amphorae, glass, strigils, and jewellery, some of it gold.³¹ Taken at face value, they appear to be a self-conscious identification with Ancona's Greek past.

It is only when considered in the context of the wider culture and ethnicity of Ancona, the stelae look distinctly odd. Ancona was a Picene community until its conquest by Rome in the 3rd century. Imported Greek goods found in elite Picene burials, attest to a lively trade with the Greek world from an early date, but there is almost no archaeological evidence of Greek settlement there. A Syracusan colony was supposedly founded there in the 4th century BC by Dionysios I,³² but there is very little epigraphic or archaeological evidence for this settlement. What we have here seems to be either a group of people of Greek descent who maintained a strongly Greek identity in their forms of commemoration, or – as suggested by Colivicchi – a community

27. Colivicchi 2000, pp. 136-140.

28. Mercandi 1976, pp. 164-179.

29. Colivicchi 2000, pp. 137-19; Stone 2001, pp. 15-21.

30. Mercandi 1976, pp. 164-170.

31. Mercandi 1976, pp. 164-170.

32. Strabo, *Geog.* 5.4.2.

with flourishing economic and cultural connections with the Greek world which had adopted a Greek identity.³³

In this case, it seems that the code alternation is not just between Greek and Roman cultures but between a contemporary Roman identity and a largely fictive Greek one based on a very limited aspect of the culture of pre-Roman Ancona. As at Naples, most of the cultural codes used by these monuments are Greek, but some Roman customs and symbols such as the toga are incorporated. They are also isolated from other funerary practices. The grave goods from this area are not notably different from those of other elite burials in the area, so the use of cultural codes indicating Hellenism seems to have been specific to the gravestone – the aspect of mortuary behaviour which was most explicitly a long-term commemoration.

Padua

Greek culture enjoyed a privileged status in Roman Italy, and making a claim to Greek descent or familiarity with Greek culture conferred additional cachet for members of the elite. For those of high social status, there is a very clear reason why it might be advantageous to emphasise Greek heritage and familiarity with Greek culture. However, use of multiple cultural codes in funerary commemoration was not confined to areas of Italy with traditions of Hellenism. A case-study from an area in which Greek culture is less of a factor may provide additional insights into the use of multiple codes in funerary monuments. The Veneto was a region with a dynamic and distinctive indigenous culture, but also one which was in contact with Celts, Etruscans, and later, Romans. A group of stelae from Padua, one of the key settlements of the region and the most important city of the Veneto in the Roman period, offers the opportunity to examine these issues in a non-Greek context.

These stelae are significant because they form part of a long tradition of funerary commemoration which can be traced from the 6th century BC to the Augustan period. They are also significant because forms of funerary monument are very localised in the Veneto, and seem to have been very much bound up with assertions of local identity by the elites of the region. The neighbouring city of Este, Padua's rival for local dominance, used a very different form of grave marker – a tapered square *cippus* shaped like a small obelisk – in the pre-Roman period.³⁴ In the Roman era, it adopted a very different, but no less

33. Colivicchi 2000, pp. 139-142.

34. Balista and Ruta Serafini 1992; Lomas 2011, pp. 9-10.

distinctive, cylindrical grave marker exuberantly decorated with lion-heads and foliage.³⁵ There is, therefore, good reason to believe that the local elites had a tradition of using grave markers to assert local identity.

There are currently twenty stelae known to be from Padua, ranging in date from the late 6th to the late 1st century BC. They take the form of rectangular stelae with a raised or reserved border surrounding a panel of decoration incised or sculpted in low relief.³⁶ Many have a funerary inscription, which is incised around the narrow, reserved border. The bottom of the stelae are rough-hewn in a manner which suggests that around the bottom third of the stone would have been buried, and that they were likely to have been set up outside the tomb rather than being placed inside the tomb chamber in a niche or attached to a wall. Most of the stelae come from the cemeteries of pre-Roman Padua located to the east of the city and at some considerable distance from most of the cemeteries of Roman Padua.³⁷



FIG. 4. Stele from Padua, 5th century BC (Lomas, after Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, Pa2)

35. Baggio Bernardoni 1992.

36. Fogolari 1988, pp. 99-105; Lomas 2011, pp. 10-16.

37. Bosio 1981, pp. 231-7; Michelini and Ruta Serafini 2005.

The iconography of these stelae is remarkably consistent. The earliest example depicts a man and woman embracing, and three others show scenes of mounted combat, but the rest all depict scenes of one or more people riding in a chariot. The stelae of the 5th-3rd centuries overwhelmingly use images of warriors riding in a chariot, with or without a driver or additional passenger (FIG. 4). Women appear mainly as passengers, with one exception in which a lone woman drives her own chariot.³⁸ These scenes have frequently been interpreted as the journey of the deceased to the afterlife, although given the importance of chariots and horse-ownership as elite status in the Veneto, they may also be read as a strong statement of that status and prestige.³⁹ A group of three stelae are of a later date, probably all belonging to the 1st century BC (FIG. 5-6). A fourth stele is of disputed date but is very similar to this group in many respects and should possibly be dated to the same period.⁴⁰ The iconography of these is very similar to that of the earlier stelae, but the symbols of rank and authority differ. Whereas the earlier examples depict an armed warrior driving, or being driven, the stelae of early Roman date all show passengers in civilian dress being driven along by a charioteer. Even a cursory glance at some of the earlier examples shows the similarities and demonstrates that these are drawing closely on a long pre-Roman tradition. Equally, they are very different from the Roman funerary monuments from the area,⁴¹ to an extent which looks very deliberate.

The most complete of the three (FIG. 6) allows us to examine how Roman elements are inserted into the traditional framework. The inscription is in Latin, as one would expect at this date, but it is written around the raised border around the decorated panel in the earlier Venetic manner, rather than being placed beneath it, as was the case on Roman stelae. The names of the deceased, M'. Gallenius, M'.F. and Ostiala Gallenia, are a mixture of Roman and Venetic elements. M'. Gallenius's name is given in the standard Roman form. His wife, however, retains the Venetic custom of having two names – a personal name and a *nomen* – unlike most Roman women of rank, who had only a single name, the feminised form of the *nomen*.⁴² The epitaph also

38. Prosdocimi 1988, pp. 288.

39. Fogolari 1970; Fogolari 1988, pp. 99-105; Lomas 2011, p. 18-21.

40. Modonesi 1990; Zampieri 1999, pp. 104-110.

41. Bosio 1981, pp. 231-7; Baggio Bernardoni 1992; 340-356.

42. The practice of bipartite female names consisting of a personal name and a family name is attested in the Veneto from the 5th century BC onwards. In most cases, both men and women had two names but there is some doubt over whether the second element is a patronymic (or in the case of women, a gamonymic) or a family name analogous to the Roman gentilicial name. It seems likely that a transition from a patronymic to a family name took place at some point during or after the 3rd century BC, but when and how this occurred is not known. Untermann 1961.

refers to Gallenius by the title *equptars*. This is a Latinisation of a Venetic title which appears in Venetic inscriptions of the 5th-3rd centuries as *ekupetaris* or *eppetaris* in Paduan Venetic or *eqvoptars* in the dialect of Este.⁴³ Its meaning has been much debated, but the most recent and plausible suggestion is that it is a title denoting high status, roughly equivalent to the equestrian order at Rome.⁴⁴ Whether it is the title of a specific office or a more general indication of rank is unclear. What is certain is that Gallenius' commemoration made a point of identifying him by his Venetic rank or office.



FIG. 5. Stele from Via S. Massimo, Padua, 1st century BC. Padua, Musei Civici agli Eremitani (reproduced by permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Veneto, Padua).

43. Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, pp. 324-348; Marinetti 2003, pp. 155-160.

44. Marinetti 2003, pp. 155-160. The meaning of *ekupetaris/ekvoptars* is debatable, but there is an etymological connection with the Venetic word for horse (*ekvos*), and Marinetti's suggestion that it was a rank or office connected with horse-ownership (and therefore social status) analogous to the Equestrian order at Rome, seems very plausible.



FIG. 6. Stele from Via S. Massimo, Padua, 1st century BC (Padua. Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, Pa6). Padua, Musei Civici agli Eremitani (permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Veneto, Padua).

The same cultural plurality can be seen in details of the iconography. Gallenius is shown wearing what appears to be a Roman toga,⁴⁵ but his wife wears

45. The identification of the garment as a toga is the most widely accepted interpretation, although it has also been suggested (in Bandelli 2004) that it may be a Greek *pallium*, and that the stele is a demonstration of Hellenism rather than of Roman culture. However, this seems inherently less plausible, given that the stele probably dates to a period after the extension of Roman citizenship to the Veneto and given the other elements of Roman culture included on this monument.

many elements of traditional local dress. Her cloak is clasped in the centre with a large round brooch, and she wears a wide belt and head-dress ornamented with a disc. All of these items are found in depictions of women of high rank in the pre-Roman period, and versions of them are found amongst the grave goods in many tombs of high-ranking women dating from the 6th-3rd centuries BC, demonstrating that they were genuine items of ceremonial costume, not just artistic convention.⁴⁶ The stele therefore depicts the man as someone of high status in the Roman manner, while his wife references the traditional status symbols of Venetic women of a much earlier era.

The poor state of preservation of the other 1st century stelae makes comparison difficult, but they all share the same basic iconography of one or more passengers in Roman-style dress being driven by a charioteer. A fragmentary stele from the Via San Massimo in Padua shows a woman posed in the same way as Ostiala Gallenia, with her hands clasped across what appears to be a wide belt, and wearing a similar heavily-pleated dress or tunic.⁴⁷ The passenger on the third example may be wearing a toga.⁴⁸ This stele also has a fragmentary inscription placed, like that of Gallenius and Ostiala, along the edge of the stele in the Venetic manner. A Latin inscription added below the relief panel may have been a later addition and not part of the original monument.

These stelae all seem to code-switch between various different registers of culture. The basic form of the stelae and the general framework of the iconography draw on long-established local traditions of funerary commemoration, as do the layout and positioning of the funerary inscriptions. Within this are embedded some much more Roman elements, which particularly focus on male social and legal status, such as the depiction of the toga and the use of Roman names, both of which are indicators not just of status but of Roman citizenship. Women, in contrast, are more likely to be depicted using symbols of female status which are highly traditional and which are found in the Veneto from the 6th century onwards. The prominence of the chariot on stelae of the Roman period may also hark back to an earlier era. Most of the 5th and 4th century stelae show the deceased travelling in a chariot, but the Hellenistic examples replace this with scenes of mounted combat.⁴⁹

46. Benvenuti tomb 126 contained fragments of a bronze disc, and possible fragments of a belt. Initially, these items seem to have formed part of the actual dress of a high-status Venetic woman. Some of the belts, however, are too large to have been worn, but they seem to have retained their value as female symbols of status and are found in many elite female burials. Fogolari 1988, pp. 156-169; Chieco Bianchi 1988, pp. 36-39 and 85-86.

47. Fig. 5. Zampieri 1994, pp. 109-110; Lomas 2011, pp. 14-15.

48. Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, Pa5; Zampieri 1994, pp. 109-110; Lomas 2011, pp. 14-15.

49. Fogolari 1988, pp. 99-101; Lomas 2011, pp. 10-16.

The stelae from the early Roman era therefore seem to reintroduce elements which were characteristic of a much earlier period in the history of Padua. There is also some direct linguistic code-switching in the one legible inscription, which combines Latin language and script, and Roman onomastics, with Venetic terminology and a Venetic layout.⁵⁰

A brief glance at the wider pattern of funerary practices at Padua, and the civic culture of Padua more generally, at this period, demonstrates how anomalous these monuments are. By the end of the 1st century, most funerary monuments found in Padua are of familiar Roman types, consisting of short Latin inscriptions on grave altars, funerary urns or stone slabs intended to be placed in columbaria or other types of collective tomb.⁵¹ Inscriptions are very much of the familiar Roman types, giving the name of the deceased and personal details such as family relationships using well-known Roman formulae, although with some local peculiarities.⁵² There is no sense that the elites of Padua were in any way reluctant to embrace Rome and its culture. The city had a reputation for long-established political support for Rome from the 2nd century BC onwards, and of enthusiastic acceptance of both Greek and Roman culture.⁵³ Despite this, there were clearly circumstances in which the local elite, or some part of it, switched between different cultural idioms readily and as an important part of the group identities they wished to project.

Conclusions

All of these three cases seem to show some evidence of alternation between different cultural idioms. A key question is to determine whether this can be regarded as code-switching, rather than a form of hybridisation or creolisation, and whether a dynamic concept such as code-switching is viable as an interpretative framework for material culture, and particularly for funerary evidence. In fact, code-switching is a potentially very useful tool for interpreting this type of evidence. The relatively high degree of variation in how cultural symbols are used and juxtaposed on the monuments discussed above, as well as their distinctive distribution, suggests that this was the product of active choice and manipulation, not the result of the emergence

50. Cf. Benelli 2001, pp. 11-12 for epigraphic and onomastic change in the Veneto and elsewhere.

51. Bosio 1981, pp. 231-237.

52. Milnes-Smith 2007, pp. 194-7.

53. Cicero, *Pis.* fr. 10, Asconius, *Pis.* 2-3; Strabo, *Geog.* 5.1.7; Pliny, *NH* 3.20.138; Bandelli 2004.

of a hybrid local-Roman culture. Many of the symbols used, such as depictions of the Roman toga, the use of Latin or an otherwise non-Roman monument-type, or the use of Greek in a context where Latin would be expected, are particularly significant ones for the expression of public identity in the Roman period. The fact that they are used and combined with elements of local culture in many different ways suggests an active manipulation of very socially and culturally loaded symbols and artefacts rather than the result of hybridisation. Admittedly, funerary commemorations pose their own interpretative problems and constraints (discussed further below), but this does not necessarily invalidate the use of code-switching as a possible tool of analysing them. Funerary monuments represent a range of different identities, determined by social group or class, family tradition, and the wider cultural affiliations of the deceased and the commissioners of the monument, but there is no reason why these should be less nuanced and multi-layered than other cultural artefacts.

If we accept that code-switching (or perhaps more properly, code-alternation) is a valid analytical model for this evidence, the process of applying it raises some important questions about the application of the code-switching model to aspects of material culture. One of the important issues is to identify the conditions which may have determined choice of code, and also who was responsible for making this choice. Another is to determine whether the process of switching between codes was an internalised process, or whether it was a result of a more conscious and deliberate process of cultural manipulation.

In the case of Naples, code alternation was an important aspect of civic life, and the city remained largely bicultural until well into the imperial period.⁵⁴ Some aspects of Greek culture were actively revived and promoted by the city's elite. Greek games were instituted in 2 BC, based closely on the Olympics, and the Greek phratries of the city remained active until at least the 3rd century AD. Magistrates continued to use Greek titles in some circumstances, and Greek civic decrees referring to actions by *boule* and *demos* are still found in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, despite evidence that many aspects of civic administration was actually very similar to that of other Campanian towns. Greek and Latin languages seem to have co-existed until the 3rd century AD, after which Greek gradually died out.⁵⁵ However, by the 1st century AD, Greek was concentrated in inscriptions relating to certain areas of public life, mainly those concerning Greek institutions such as the phratries and Greek games.

54. Lomas 1997, pp. 124-127; see also Lomas, forthcoming, for further discussion of the culture of Roman Naples.
 55. Leiwo 1994, pp. 165-170. On biligualism at Naples, cf Adams 2003, p.141, 401.

Inscriptions set up by private individuals, such as epitaphs, were increasingly written in Latin. Greek and Roman cultures seem to have co-existed until well into the 2nd century AD, and people seem to have swapped between them readily. If anything is odd about this, it is the specific choices in particular forms of interaction. Throughout much of Italy in the 1st century BC – early 1st century AD, there was growing and widespread adoption of Latin/Roman culture in public life, manifesting itself in use of Latin for public business and for formal inscriptions, adoption of Roman names, particularly amongst the elite, and adoption of Roman norms of civic life. Local cultures and languages co-existed with this, but are mainly found in private contexts.⁵⁶ Naples, however, appears to develop in the opposite direction. Greek culture remains prominent in some – although not all – aspects of public life, but many elements of Roman culture are found in private and domestic contexts.

The Greek funerary monuments must be read against this more general background of code-switching between Roman and Greek culture. The funerary stelae and the hypogea in which they were placed, many of which contained other Greek inscriptions,⁵⁷ demonstrate that some families continued to maintain a strongly Greek identity in their funerary practices. The fact that the Greek stelae come from a particular area of the city's cemeteries and a particular group of burials suggests that they may represent at a sub-group identity – a group of families (clearly of the elite, since tombs and monuments of this type imply status) which chose to retain a marked Greek identity. They are broadly in line with the rest of the culture of Naples in this period, but are more extreme in that they code-switch into Roman culture even less than is usual for this period.

Ancona and Padua present alternative ways in which code-switching could operate. In both cases, groups of funerary monuments present a strong and cohesive local identity, a possibly fictive Greek one at Ancona and a well-documented Venetic one at Padua. However, both show evidence of code-switching to reference aspects of Roman culture. Most of these code-switches seem designed to display Roman symbols of social status and citizenship. At Ancona, images of men wearing the toga are used, even though the form of the stelae, the rest of the iconography, and the choice of language remain Greek. A similar pattern is found at Padua, where high-status men are represented wearing the toga even in the context of otherwise traditional Venetic monuments and iconography. Unlike the Greek areas of Italy, the uptake of Roman names and the Latin language is also apparent. Interestingly, this type

56. On the differences public and private epigraphic cultures, see Häussler 2002, pp.72-74.

57. Collected in Leiwo 1994, pp. 58-87 and Miranda 1996, pp. 19-101.

of cultural encoding seems to be quite markedly gendered. Men are more likely to display the toga,⁵⁸ while women are represented wearing local dress. This is particularly marked in the Veneto, where ensembles which are traditional symbols of female status, and which look very different to contemporary female dress, are depicted. The alternation in all these examples appears to be a form of intra-sentential code-switching, in which elements of one language or culture are embedded a sentence (or in this case an artefact or material context) in another.⁵⁹

One problem in code-switching as a model for cultural interactions lies in determining what influences the choice of cultural idiom in any given context, and what determines the switching process. This is important in the study of funerary monuments because they inevitably involve some level of self-conscious memorialisation, but at the same time it can be difficult to identify who determines this, and what factors might modify it. A permanent monument reflects how an individual, or his/her relatives wish their social and cultural identities to be remembered.⁶⁰ Unlike many other areas of mortuary practice, such as the choice of grave goods, a tombstone is a long-term and more-or-less public statement of status, achievement and identity. Family tradition, the wishes of the individual, and the skills and traditions of the craftsmen producing the monuments all affect the final outcome. In Naples, for instance, family tradition may have played a part. Ownership of a chamber-tomb which had been in use for generations and around which there was a well-established tradition of Greek funerary custom may have pre-disposed the families which possessed such tombs to maintain traditional Neapolitan forms of commemoration within them. It is notable that at both Naples and Padua, the most traditional funerary monuments all come from cemeteries with a long history of pre-Roman usage. This may suggest that one factor in determining choice of cultural idiom is perceived appropriateness to the surroundings of the monument.

One important element in this cultural code-switching is the relative status of the cultures which were contact. In most areas of Roman Italy, Roman culture rapidly came to assume the status of the most dominant and high-prestige culture. People – particular members of the elite – who wished to lay claim to significant social status had an obvious motive for adopting Roman forms of monument, Latin inscriptions, Roman iconography, etc. It

58. On the symbolism of the toga and its role in establishing Roman identity, see Wallace-Hadrill 2009, pp. 39-51.

59. See Mullen this volume, p. 26 note 19 and p. 27 note 32.

60. Oliver 1997, pp. 15-17.

is notable that funerary inscriptions, and in particular Roman-style inscriptions and monuments, are particularly prevalent as markers of changing status.⁶¹ There is a high degree of correlation between changes such as manumission or acquisition of Roman citizenship, and the commissioning of a Roman-style memorial.

The areas of Italy which were culturally Greek were rather different. The high status of Greek language and culture in the eyes of the Roman elite meant that Roman culture was much less obviously the hegemonial culture in these areas. Greek culture was central to the development of elite culture in Roman Italy in the 1st century BC, to the point where Italy has been described as linguistically and culturally bilingual.⁶² The Greek culture of Naples was something which the elite could use to enhance their status in their dealings with Rome. There was, therefore, less incentive to code-switch into Roman idiom in funerary monuments than there may have been in other regions of Italy. On the contrary, Hellenism was just as powerful a symbol of education and social status. This may also explain the anomaly of the Greek stelae from Ancona. Even if the self-identification of this group of people as Greek, descended from Syracusan settlers, may have been largely fictive, the tradition that there was a Greek colony there allowed some elements of the city's elite to deploy Greek cultural idioms as a demonstration of status. In these two cases, the use of Greek cultural idioms may emphasise traditionalism and local identity, but they also represented elite education and status, since the same linguistic and visual vocabulary could do both. There was, perhaps, less need to code-switch into Roman iconography or into Latin to emphasise status than there was elsewhere in Italy.

Studies of code-switching, and particularly intra-sentential code-switching, have linked this behaviour to expressions of identity, self-perception and self-presentation.⁶³ Whether code-switching of this type in funerary commemoration is a conscious display of cultural identity or whether, as Wallace-Hadrill suggests, it was determined by other factors such as appropriateness of a specific artefact, image, or language to a particular context, is less easy to determine. The primary purpose of funerary monuments, however, was to commemorate an individual and assert the social status and identity of that individual (or that of the family and descendants), which implies some level of deliberate and conscious intent in the choice of iconography, language and form of monument. The code-switches which take

61. Meyer 1990, pp. 78-80, 90-92.

62. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 78, 97-103.

63. Adams 2003, pp. 297-308; Mullen this volume, pp. 27-31.

place within these monuments are not necessarily the product of a single individual identity, and are more likely to reflect a mixture of family tradition, the wishes of the deceased and the wishes of the wider family, as well as traditions of craft production and the availability of certain types of monument. However, we cannot discount the possibility that at least some of these code-switches were deliberate.

At Naples and at Padua, these types of memorial are only found in areas which are associated with pre-Roman burials, which may indicate that what is important here is family tradition and status. Possibly these types of monuments, which embed the Roman aspects in a non-Roman form and context, are designed to reinforce and display the identities of families belonging to a pre-Roman elite and to distinguish them from less well-established elite families. They may be about signalling difference within the community rather than about acceptance or rejection of a specific cultural identity, or the development of a more general hybrid identity. One of the strengths of the code-switching model is that it permits us to trace the ways in which different aspects of identity are referenced – or alternative, suppressed – according to context, intended audience, or the needs of a particular group in particular circumstances. The degree of variation in the ways in which cultural symbols are emphasised and manipulated on the monuments discussed above suggests a manipulation of symbols of status and social and cultural identity, and their use to emphasise different aspects of identity, rather than the emergence of hybrid Roman/non-Roman identities.

All of the cases discussed above demonstrate a degree of cultural variation within communities. In some respects they could be regarded as being anomalous within their own communities in representing themselves (or being represented by their descendants) in cultural terms which reference the non-Roman past of their communities, while at the same time code-switching into a more Roman idiom to include some symbols of Roman identity. The effect is to suggest a strong and continuing local identity which emphasises local cultural forms but at the same time incorporates key aspects of Roman identity and culture.

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CODE-SWITCHING AND IDENTITY IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES

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Introduction

From the origins of archaeology as a field of enquiry, material variability has been at its heart. This variability has been taken to mean differences in people: synchronous variability pointing to differences in social groups, diachronous variability either the movements of peoples, or internal social change. This connection between material and people has been fundamental to post-processual archaeology, with the formulation of more explicit theories about the relationship between material, people and society. At the same time, as part of wider post-modern agendas within humanities and social sciences, ideas of fixed and normative social relations have been declared suspect, and replaced by concepts of negotiation and fluidity. Thus the past has been reformulated as a place of ongoing recreations of context-dependent social systems and personal identity.

Within these new agendas, identity has emerged as a central topic, and as an important approach to material variability. Through ideas of agency and social practice, the relationship between people and material has been reconceptualised. In this intellectual climate, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's *Rome's cultural revolution* offers a further theory for combining cultural traditions: that of code-switching.¹ Focussing on a specific moment in the history of Rome, he argues for the application of a particular linguistic theory to the material evidence. He explicitly focusses on cultural identity, but in this paper I want to open up the debate to consider its applicability to identity more broadly.

1. Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

In order to do so, I shall first consider approaches to identity more widely, arguing for identity as created through performativity. I shall then move on to consider the specific case of Roman ethnicity, before asking whether code-switching can be of value as a theory for understanding artefact variability and change within Roman Britain.

Identity and material culture

There have been two stimuli to the emergence of identity as a core part of post-processual approaches to archaeological material:² feminist archaeology which has led to a new interest in gender and, more recently, age;³ and secondly, new approaches to cultural, or ethnic, identity.⁴ Although often treated as such, theories of identity in archaeology do not form a homogenous school of thought, but instead draw on a range of literature from sociology, anthropology and philosophy. Furthermore, the archaeological literature has tended to be fragmented into discrete strands which focus on specific or related aspects of identity. For example, the study of ethnicity in the Roman Empire can be seen as completely separate to the study of gender. Often, researchers draw on different bodies of theoretical literature, with those investigating gender reading predominantly feminist theory, and those studying ethnicity concentrating on post-colonial theory and work on national identities.

Nevertheless, much of this theory overlaps in both assumptions and approaches. One idea which is common to much of the literature is that identity is not primordial or fixed at birth; it is situational, and specific to the social context. Simone de Beauvoir's famous comment that 'one is not born a woman, but rather becomes one' can be applied to all aspects of identity. Gender, age, religion or ethnicity are not universal, either in how each category is divided into groups or the way in which these groups are marked out. The number of genders within a society is not necessarily fixed at two, nor are they defined by ideologies of economically active men and nurturing women. Instead, ideologies of identity are particular to specific societies, and an individual is socialised into the rules and mores of particular social groups during their childhood. There is considerable debate about the relationship between the physical body and social identity, but most would agree that there is some relationship and that identity is to some extent embodied.⁵ For example, in

2. Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005.
3. Conkey and Spector 1984; Gero and Conkey 1991.
4. Jones 1997; Shennan 1989.
5. Meskell 1998; Sofaer 2006.

dealing with age, archaeologists and non-archaeologists recognise that there can be a chronological measure of age, as well as the physiological processes of the aging body.⁶ Nonetheless, the aging process is socially mediated, both in terms of how the life-course is divided into aged groups such as children or the elderly, when the transitions occurred between the various stages, and the ideologies associated with each. The same debate can be articulated about the relationship between race and ethnicity, or sex and gender.

Thus identity categories cannot be taken as universals, and this has led Sørensen to argue that identity should be seen both as a category of difference and as a process.⁷ It is both the values and rules of behaviour associated with a specific category, and the everyday practices through which those expectations are enacted, and the sense of self renegotiated. If we say that identity is a social construction, we need to think of that construction as much as a verb as a noun. Consequently, our focus should be on the processes through which identity was constructed, maintained and transformed in the past, rather than specific material correlates uncritically used to recognize the identity of an individual. This ties in with ideas of identity as formed through performativity or praxis.⁸ Our sense of who we are and which social groups we feel an affinity to are created through everyday practices. These practices also create differences from other groups, marking out “us” from “them.”⁹ It is within this idea of performativity or social practice that material culture becomes important. Specific forms of material can constitute an act of communication, marking membership of specific groups, and boundaries between them.¹⁰ However, material does not carry an inherent meaning which ties it in to one particular identity or another, but instead, it is given meaning through specific to particular contexts.¹¹ Similarly, it is not necessarily single items which form the act of communication, but may be combinations of items, or even the specific practices they enable.¹² Finally, not all items may function as boundary markers, and so some will cross social groups.

The result is that an archaeology of identity is more problematic than is sometimes allowed for in archaeological studies. Rather than assuming that a certain item of material culture, such as an ear-ring for example, stands in a direct one-to-one relationship with a specific aspect of identity, such as

6. Arber and Ginn 1995; Gowland 2006; Sofaer 2011.

7. Sørensen 2000.

8. Bourdieu 1977; Butler 1999; Giddens 1984; Goffmann 1959.

9. Barth 1969.

10. Hodder 1982.

11. Hodder 1986.

12. Revell 2009, Sørensen 1997.

gender, we need to interrogate whether this was necessarily the case, how it was given that meaning, and what other meanings it might have held. Allason-Jones' work on ear-rings in Roman Britain points to some of these questions.¹³ In Roman Britain, as with other forms of jewellery, ear-rings are only found in graves with sexed female skeletons, suggesting that they are bound up in the ways genders were distinguished.¹⁴ Although our interpretation of their meaning comes from the context of the grave, the more common act of performance was the ear-rings being worn in life, whether by the specific deceased individual or not. Dress and jewellery formed a means of communicating social roles and social differences,¹⁵ and so if wearing ear-rings was restricted to one group, they, possibly in association with other forms of dress and jewellery, formed a way to structure differences between the genders. However, in other cases, understanding the relationship between material culture and identity could be less straightforward. In the eastern half of the empire, ear-rings were also worn by men. Although no ear-rings have been found with sexed male skeletons in Roman Britain, the epigraphically attested presence of troops from the eastern half of the empire serving in Britain raises this as a possibility (it should be noted that few military cemeteries have been excavated). If the grave of a male was found with an ear-ring, it would then raise questions of whether the meaning of the ear-ring was associated with the deceased's gender, or with his eastern ethnicity.

These questions are raised in the case of a small number of anomalous male graves in Britain: sexed male skeletons wearing jet jewellery usually associated with women.¹⁶ The most well-known is the so-called Gallus from Catterick,¹⁷ where a sexed male skeleton, aged 20-25 years, was buried with a jet necklace around his neck, a jet bracelet and a bead bracelet on his left arm and an anklet on his right leg. The jewellery is unusual for male burials, and jet is usually associated with female skeletons.¹⁸ In this case, we are left with alternative explanations for understanding the identity of the deceased man. Did he wear such jewellery during his lifetime, or was it only used for his burial? Furthermore, was it being used to differentiate a third gender,¹⁹ or was the gendered material being used as a metaphor to denote a different aspect of identity, such as the religious identity of the Galli, the castrated

13. Allason-Jones 1989; 1995.

14. See also Swift 2011.

15. Sørensen 1997.

16. Booth et al. 2008, Cool 2011, Cool *et al.* 2004, Wilson 2002.

17. Cool 2002.

18. Allason-Jones 1996.

19. Swift 2011.

priests of Cybele?²⁰ The meaning of material culture such as this jewellery cannot be assumed through “common-sense”, but needs to be identified through a full contextual study.

Thus, a fundamental issue for an archaeology of identity is understanding the processes through which identity is formed, and the difficulties in associating these with items of material culture. However, there are further problems. The first is the question of whether we are looking for individual identities (categories) or the way in which the group formulates its sense of self (processes). There is a tendency to associate identity with the individual, possibly because identity within the modern world is tied up with a very individualised sense of self. Whether this is really the case in the contemporary west is open to question, but its applicability for the past is highly contentious. This has led some to question whether identity can be identified from material culture alone. Ton Derks argues that we cannot detect a person’s ethnic identity without an explicit written statement, such as on an inscription.²¹ However, even if we are uncertain about whether a specific individual would ascribe themselves to a particular identity or not, we are still able to investigate the processes through which identity was negotiated. There may be cases where we can pinpoint the identity of an individual with certainty, usually from inscription evidence, or from the goods included in their burial. Yet even in these instances, we are often left with the labels, and without the wider viewpoint, we cannot understand the processes through which these labels were given meaning, and differences constructed between groups.

A second issue to consider associated with the idea of the individual is that a single person’s identity will not consist of one identity, but will be a palimpsest of multiple aspects: ethnic identity, family identity, gender, age, social rank or class, occupation, religion, health/disability amongst others. Again, objections to the idea of a single category have arisen from a number of sources, feminist as well as post-colonial perspectives. These have been taken on board by archaeologists, and within Roman archaeology by Andrew Gardner and David Mattingly amongst others.²² Whilst it is important to be aware of the intersection of these multiple aspects, in reality, not all will be dominant in particular social circumstances. Furthermore, it raises again the focus on categories rather than processes: we can acknowledge that a single person was male or female, child or adult, Roman or non-Roman etc., but without understanding how these categories were

20. Cool 2002.

21. Derks 2009. Similarly Hall 1997, but see Antonaccio 2010.

22. Gardner 2002; Mattingly 2004. See also Revell 2000; 2009.

maintained, we cannot hope to understand what being a woman, or an adult entailed for the individual in the past.²³

It is within these theoretical approaches to identity that we should consider whether code-switching can be used to understand artefact variability. Initially devised as a linguistic phenomenon,²⁴ the fundamental questions are whether it can be applied to material culture, and if so, what problems there might be. The move from language to material culture is not in itself unprecedented, as linguistic theory has already been successfully used within post-processual approaches to material culture.²⁵ Within the approach to identity I have outlined, there seem to be two issues which need to be resolved: the first, the relationship between utterance and performativity; and second, how we, as archaeologists, identify meaning. The utterance is encapsulated within a single moment: a single act of communication from one person to another. However, the idea of performativity or social practice is that it is ongoing: the performance of acts on a repeated basis. Within the act of burial we can perhaps find a direct analogy between the two, but other circumstances are more complicated. As archaeologists, we need to have a more flexible timescale for the occurrence of the code-switching, as the same level of resolution is not possible, or even possibly, applicable. More problematic is understanding the codes themselves: identifying the two codes at play, and also what their meaning might be. Wallace-Hadrill's identification of the cultural meanings ascribed to different forms of material are largely derived from textual sources. For the Roman provinces, we cannot necessarily rely on these: the artefact variability within the archaeological record precludes a straightforward mapping of textual sources derived from Rome onto the material found elsewhere. Instead, we need to rely upon the interpretations we can derive from the particular archaeological context, warning against focussing on the possible incidence of code-switching in isolation, but instead considering it within wider patterns of usage.

Ethnicity in the Roman Empire

In order to test the value of code-switching in Roman archaeology, I want to consider questions of ethnicity and code-switching. Since the 1980s, Romanization has been increasingly deconstructed as a concept, particularly within Anglo-American scholarship, and questions raised of its applicability

23. Sørensen 2000, p. 13.

24. Adams 2003.

25. E.g. Hodder 1986.

as a concept.²⁶ As identity has emerged as a central topic of post-processual archaeology, the idea of ethnic identity has been adopted by Roman archaeologists as an alternative means of understanding archaeological change.²⁷ However, there is the danger that identity has been laid over the existing Romanization paradigm: the terminology is different, but the idea of a defined cultural package remains. As I have argued above, theories of identity stress the fluidity of identity, with material culture as bound up in practice rather than merely correlates of an identity. These core concepts have not necessarily been seen as part of the new approaches to Roman ethnicity. In particular, there has been limited discussion of how Roman ethnicity was constructed. There is some research on this question for Rome itself,²⁸ but much less considering the question of how to define a Roman identity within the provinces. This may be a product of the rejection of Romano-centric views, part of post-colonial approaches to cultural change, alongside the lack of engagement between archaeologists of Rome and Roman Italy, and those of the western provinces. The unintended consequence is that whilst we have concentrated on regional responses, the question of what constituted a shared Roman identity has been left unexplored.²⁹

Modern definitions of ethnicity cannot be mapped unproblematically onto the Roman world, as these are strongly tied into the definition of the nation-state. Nevertheless, we can use them as a means of understanding how a Roman ethnic identity might be formed. There is no agreement on the definition of ethnicity, with individual authors arguing for varying combinations of a shared history, consanguinity, association with a specific territory, a collective name, and shared customs.³⁰ Nevertheless, all definitions include the idea of shared customs and culture, such as religion, dress, architecture, and language. We can tie this into identity being formed through performativity: specific forms of behaviour reproduce cultural values which tie the group together, but also separate it from other ethnic groups. Sian Jones has used these ideas to argue for an archaeology of ethnicity based around social practice, specifically Bourdieu's idea of habitus.³¹ However, whilst shared cultural practices can be seen as an important element of an ethnic identity, tying them into specific elements of material culture is something of a misguided methodology. In Roman Britain, changes in the practices of worship as well

26. Hingley 2005; Keay and Terrenato 2001; Mattingly 1997; Millett 1990; Webster 2001; Woolf 1998.

27. Mattingly 2011; Pitts 2007.

28. Dench 2005; Farney 2007; Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

29. Woolf 1994; 1998 represent exceptions to this.

30. Compare for example, Barth 1969; Nash 1989; Smith 1986; Weber 1968 [1956].

31. Jones 1997.

as the deities being worshipped are evident, but the resulting archaeological record does not show uniformity in material expression of this. Two new forms of material culture are part of these changes, dedicatory stone altars and temples, but these show quite different distributions: temples tend to cluster in the southern, civilian zone, whilst inscribed altars are found predominantly in military zones.³² Both forms of material are part of the post-conquest cultural changes, and both are part of distinctive religious practices we can broadly see as “Roman”.³³ However, neither can be taken as a stand-alone indicator of Roman ethnicity.

This could be applied to all forms of material culture we broadly think of as Roman: it is not possible to use the presence or absence of particular artefacts as diagnostic of Roman identity. This can be attributed to discrepant impacts of Roman imperial structures,³⁴ but it should also be seen as part of the fluid relationship between identity and material culture. Rather than looking for diagnostic items of material culture, recent work on Roman identity has stressed the idea of shared cultural assumptions and practices. John Barrett, for example, has argued for a repositioning of the study of Roman imperialism and cultural change, and that a Roman identity revolves around common cultural values which penetrated the routines of the daily lives of the people of the provinces, and the ways these were expressed materially.³⁵ A similar approach underpins Woolf’s study of the Romanization of the Gallic provinces, in which he argues that the adoption of Roman culture should be seen as encapsulating ‘the range of objects, beliefs and practices that were characteristic of people who considered themselves to be, and were widely acknowledged as, Roman’.³⁶

We can apply these ideas to the study of Roman urbanism, and the role of towns in the ongoing maintenance of a Roman identity.³⁷ Within Roman textual sources, urbanism was a marker of correct modes of living, which (literally) set the civilized apart from the barbarians.³⁸ The appearance (or not) of towns with Roman-type buildings and legal codes has been seen as an archaeological marker for Romanization. However, rather than looking specifically at the collection of buildings, we should also examine the types of activities it might enable, and whether these were part of wider practices

32. Mattingly 2006; Millett 1995.

33. Revell 2009.

34. Mattingly 2011.

35. Barrett 1989; 1993; 1997.

36. Woolf 1998, p. 11.

37. For a fuller discussion, Revell 2009.

38. Richardson 1995; Roda 1995; Rykwert 1976; Zanker 2000.

and ideologies of urbanism. The town of Tarraco developed out of a military camp adjoining the Iberian settlement of Kesse in the 2nd century BC, and was later refounded as *colonia (Iulia) Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco*.³⁹ By the 1st century AD it possessed the urban facilities we might expect in a provincial capital: a colonial forum, theatre and public baths in the lower town, and a temple to Divus Augustus in the upper town. During the second half of the 1st century, the upper town was turned into a more monumental complex, incorporating the temple, a provincial forum and a circus; in the 2nd century, an amphitheatre was built outside the city walls. The epigraphic evidence points to the adoption of Roman style socio-political systems.⁴⁰ These changes to the settlement centre are echoed in the surrounding countryside:⁴¹ in the pre-Roman period, Kesse was one of three local centres, but over the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, the other two declined whilst Kesse/Tarraco became dominant. Thus the people of the hinterland became dependent on Tarraco for urban facilities.

From this broad overview, what can we say about the role of urbanism in the ethnic identity of the people of Tarraco and its territory? There is a tendency to focus on the urban lives of elite families, but the town formed a stage for the daily practices of the non-elites, and those living in its hinterland. Assuming the colonia was granted a charter similar to the *lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae*,⁴² we can begin to identify some of these practices. The (male) citizens of the colonia, including those who lived in the surrounding countryside, were expected to take part in annual elections for the chief magistrates, which took place within the colonial forum. They and their families might attend religious festivals, either sacrifices, or games and dramatic spectacles in the theatre or amphitheatre. If they were prosecuted for debt, or involved in any other legal action, their cases would be heard within the town and overseen by the local magistrates. The charter refers to market days, when people from the surrounding territory may have come into the town to sell their wares and buy goods. They had an obligation to work for the community for up to five days per year, and could be compelled to take up arms as a local militia. The town had official record offices, suggesting that their tax obligations and any proof of land-ownership were also kept within the town. There are other events not recorded in the extant sections of the charter, such as the payment of taxes and the taking of the census. Although less than a fifth of the population of Tarraco lived within the town walls, the requirements of the charter

39. Macias Solé *et al.* 2007; Ruiz de Arbulo 2006.

40. Alföldy 1975.

41. Carreté *et al.* 1995.

42. Crawford 1996, pp. 393-454

applied to those living within the territory. Through such visits to the town, the citizens of the *colonia* and their families would become familiar with the spaces of the town, how to act within them, and how to read the iconography decorating them. Through such activities, we can understand how an ideology of urbanism became a shared element of a Roman ethnicity.

Code-switching and Roman ethnicity

This reformulation of ethnicity as performative raises the question of how code-switching might be used to gain further insight into the processes of identity maintenance. Wallace-Hadrill's argument is based within a specific context where the switching between two cultural languages was made meaningful in a specific series of socio-political circumstances. His study concentrates on a particular moment, when identity in Rome itself was contested in the context of a growing appreciation of the city as the centre of a large empire, and its relationship to the Hellenistic kingdoms and Greek culture. In contrast, within the context of the Roman provinces, for archaeologists the key question is that of cultural change or Romanization. Within the last two decades, this has become an area of intense research, and one key element of this debate has been the role of material culture in this debate. Variability within the material assemblages of different regions (and at times, within the same region) is a key characteristic, and it is one archaeologists have sought to explain. Early explanations that this was due to the apparent backwardness of the provincial communities have been replaced by more theoretically-aware models, such as resistance, creolization, or bricolage. The retention of elements of pre-conquest forms of material culture alongside the adoption of new elements raises the question of whether code-switching can also be used to understand the ways in which provincial communities adjusted to new social and political realities. This is not to argue for a return to the bounded cultural blocks which have underpinned older studies of Romanization,⁴³ and which have been heavily critiqued,⁴⁴ but to understand the deliberate retention of material in contrast to the adoption of the new.

We can see this interaction in the Romano-British town of Verulamium (modern St. Albans). During the century before the conquest of AD 43, there was a reorganization of the settlement systems to produce the oppidum of

43. E.g. Haverfield 1915.

44. Freeman 1993.

Verlamion.⁴⁵ This was a dispersed settlement comprising a series of enclosures on the plateau overlooking the River Ver, and an important central enclosure on the slopes below. There was a high status residential area at Gorehambury, a cemetery at King Harry Lane, and some form of enclosure at Folly Lane. The two hectare Central Enclosure was surrounded by an unusually substantial ditch. In this area, a number of pellet moulds were discovered, which are usually found on high status Iron Age sites. The function of the site is unclear, whether it was a royal residence associated with a pre-Roman mint, or some form of ceremonial or religious site.⁴⁶ Whichever was the case, the finds point to it being a key place in the routines of the inhabitants.

Following conquest, the earliest changes respected the pre-Roman monumental landscape rather than eradicating it. In particular, in the immediate post-conquest period, an unusual cremation took place in the high status funerary complex at Folly Lane.⁴⁷ It was carried out in the enclosure, and was distinguished by the richness of the pyre goods, including at least 2.5 kg of silver objects, bronze and enamel horse gear, and a tunic of iron mail. A few metres away, a shaft of approximately 3 m deep was constructed, with at its base, a sunken funerary chamber. Within this chamber were the remains of a feast: a large quantity of tableware, wine amphorae and fragments of furniture. A small amount of the pyre material was placed in a shallow pit, and this, the shaft and chamber then covered with a turf mound, with the site of the pyre marked by a wooden post. This funerary complex is key to understanding the initial layout of the town: a trackway linking it with the King Harry Lane cemetery became the axis of the town, with the central enclosure, the new bath-house in insula 19 and the shops in insula 14 lying to either side of it. The other enclosures on the plateau seem to have been abandoned. In this way, the initial construction of the town, a new form of settlement, included key places from the pre-Roman landscape. Their memory was preserved, but new forms of architecture were being introduced, bringing new forms of routines and ideas.

This amalgamation of new and the old continued as the town developed during the Flavian period, with the trackway from the Folly Lane enclosure to King Harry Lane remaining focal. Along this route, a series of buildings were constructed which conformed to new ideas of architecture and social routines: the forum, and a temple. The forum was constructed on the site of the

45. Creighton 2006, pp. 124-130; Haselgrove and Millett 1997; Niblett and Thompson 2005, pp. 23-40.

46. Niblett 2001, pp. 42-43.

47. Niblett 1999.

Central Enclosure, retaining its significance, but with a new form of architecture setting it within the context of a new political system.⁴⁸ Although the inscription is very fragmentary, it seems to have been dedicated to Titus and Domitian, probably in the name of the townspeople.⁴⁹ A Romano-Celtic temple was constructed in the late 1st century AD in insula 16, on a site which may have already had a ritual significance through burials and possible ritual pits.⁵⁰ During the following centuries, the town developed, with elaborate town houses, and a theatre. However, the zones of the Folly Lane burial, the Central Enclosure/Forum and the temple-theatre complex remained key.

Therefore, at Verulamium we see the construction of a town which incorporated architecture enabling Roman ideas and routines, but retaining elements of the pre-Roman in the sense of place. This could be identified as a case of code-switching, but it returns us to the problems I raised earlier: the relationship between utterance and performativity, and the question of meaning. As argued earlier, identity is created through repeated acts of social practice, therefore rather than a single utterance, within the context of Verulamium, code-switching needs to operate through the acts of inhabiting or dwelling within the context of the town. As at Tarraco, this could be the more formal activities connected with political activity and religious activities, or alternatively, more informal daily activities. Whichever form these activities took, through moving between the spaces of the Folly Lane complex, the forum and the insula 16 temple, the inhabitants were confronted with an architectural language derived from (although not identical to) that at Rome, but with an organised townscape that highlighted areas which had pre-conquest significance. Therefore, rituals enacted at the site of the Folly Lane burial were carried out with the knowledge of its pre-conquest significance. Similarly, once the Romano-Celtic temple was constructed at the heart of the town, rituals carried out there were done so with the sense of continuity. We can carry this over to the forum site, where the political significance of the central enclosure was maintained through the new Roman structure, but the forum in turn was given authority through the previous importance of the site. Approaching the forum as a magistrate, or a citizen of the town to vote, recreated both meanings or codes. Rather than a single utterance, code-switching needs to be located within the ongoing routines of dwelling within a place.

However, the question of meaning is more complex than that of utterance/performativity. It is unlikely that the selection of key places in the pre-conquest

48. Frere 1983.

49. RIB 3123.

50. Niblett and Thompson 2005, pp. 92-93.

landscape as the sites for the most important monuments of the Roman town was coincidental. Therefore, arguing that initially at least, there were two codes at play in the early development of Verulamium is persuasive. Whilst there was a hiatus of up to four decades between conquest and the construction of the forum on the site of the central enclosure, there is evidence for some form of continuous use of the site, with evidence for burials, and a structure which might have been some form of proto forum.⁵¹ This would have allowed the significance of the site to be retained. Its physical link through a road with the Folly Lane enclosure would have added to this meaning. John Creighton has argued that the ritualization of the Folly Lane enclosure was part of a strategy by a local elite family to maintain their social and political power within the changing post-conquest society.⁵² If this is the case, it points to one reason why the significance of the burial may have been retained, and its link to pre-conquest social hierarchies. However, how long did these areas retain their pre-conquest meaning? The Folly Lane temple and the Branch Lane bath-house associated with it both seem to have gone out of use in the early 3rd century. In contrast, the Insula 16 temple and its associated theatre continued to be used, altered, and in the case of the theatre, rebuilt c. AD 300. This represents a restructuring of ritual space within the town, suggesting a change in the attitudes of the townspeople to the places of the town. It suggests that either previous significance of the Folly Lane enclosure had been forgotten, or that it was no longer deemed significant. The ties into theories of memory and memorialisation which argue that social memory is mutable, and the past subject to active recreation.⁵³ It suggests that over time, this idea of negotiating between two cultural codes became less important, and either the meanings were forgotten, or they lost their significance.

If this is a case of code-switching, it raises the question of why it made sense within this moment in time. Amongst those studying ethnicity within modern contexts, there is an acknowledgement that the identity of a person can encompass more than one element of ethnicity. This contrasts with the ideology of the nation-state, which saw the eradication of local culture to produce a single series of elements which bound the nation together. However, Eriksen's studies of Mauritius and the Sami of Norway has demonstrated that this is not always the case.⁵⁴ In both, he argues that an ethnic identity derived from the political state co-exists with a second, more regional ethnic identity. This idea of poly-ethnic identities can be posited for classical Greece, where

51. Niblett and Thompson 2005, p. 82.

52. Creighton 2006.

53. Alcock 2002; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.

54. Eriksen 1991; 1993; 2001.

there was a similar layering of communal identity: polis, ethnos, federal, intra-Hellenic and Pan-Hellenic.⁵⁵ I would argue that we can see a similar situation within the Roman Empire. One consequence of the paradigm of Romanization is that we tend to see ethnic identity in terms of either-or: either Roman or still local. Instead, we can reconceptualise Roman ethnicity in terms of the two levels co-existing. The local ethnic identities, whether tribal or urban, were not antithetical to a Roman identity. There is participation in shared Roman institutions, such as dependency on an urban centre, the definition of the group through the nomenclature of the town, activities such as bathing, watching performances at the theatre, and participation in religious activity focussed on architectural homes of the gods. However, at the same time, the local identity is maintained, in part through the name of the town, Verulamium, derived from its Iron Age name of Verlamion, but also the continuity of the local history through the ongoing commemoration of the individual buried at Folly Lane, and the re-use of places within the landscape. This is not to suggest that the local identity was unchanged during this process of integration. For the people of Verulamium, their identity came to be defined through the urban centre; nevertheless, some element of its pre-Roman significance remained and was expressed through the materiality of the urban landscape. The two elements of identity, and codes of material, were not fused or hybridised, but came into play in their own right to communicate different messages. This maintenance of a local past is not unique to Verulamium, but can be seen in Colchester and Silchester amongst others.⁵⁶

Conclusion

The case study of Verulamium brings us back to the original question about the utility of code-switching as a means of understanding the lives of people in the past, and their use of material culture. It is clear that it does not provide a stand-alone insight, nor can it be directly translated from a linguistic setting to a material one. Instead, it needs to be set into a wider theoretical approach which allows its strengths to be maintained, but to be reconceptualised for the material turn. In particular, social identity, its ongoing recreation, and its relationship to material culture needs to be more explicitly theorised, bringing in other theoretical approaches. Social practice and performativity have proved central to theories of identity, and one problem in applying linguistic theory to material culture is the relationship between the speech act (or utterance) and performance. As demonstrated, we need a more flexible

55. Crielaard 2009; Malkin 2001.

56. Creighton 2006, pp. 130-148.

definition, which can encompass a longer timeframe and repeated activity. It may initially seem difficult to equate inhabiting a townscape with a single act of speech, but we need to be able to do so to apply code-switching to material culture. For other forms of archaeological material, the temporality of the act of combining two codes may be briefer, but such flexibility is still needed.

More problematic is the question of recognising the material codes at play, and how meaning is assigned to particular artefacts. It is an oft-quoted truism that material culture is multi-vocal, and it is this multi-vocality which adds a complexity to material code-switching: how do we as archaeologists establish that material retained its meaning within the process of amalgamation. This is not an easy question to answer, and it requires that we continue to be rigorous in our approaches to material assemblages. The attraction of code-switching is that implicit within it is the idea that the two cultural codes will maintain their meaning. However, archaeology deals with longer time-spans than the utterance, and meaning of material is mutable. The original meaning may not remain, and may be transformed into new understandings of the original codes. In the case of Verulamium, although we can see code-switching in the 1st century after conquest, were these meanings retained, or did they change so that the combining of old and new took on a different meaning and code-switching no longer remains a viable explanation? The archaeological record is a witness to the complexity of human activity and social organisation in the past, and warns against monocausal explanations for variability. Code-switching can be applied to certain situations, such as Augustan Rome or Verulamium, but it cannot be applied to all. Bilingualism as a wider theory includes different approaches to combining multiple languages⁵⁷ and we need to be aware that in certain situations, these may be more applicable. Ultimately, code-switching is a one means of understanding artefact variability and questions of identity in the past, but it can only be one of a range of approaches utilised by the archaeologist.

57. See Mullen this volume.

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LABRAUNDA AS MEMORY THEATRE FOR HELLENISTIC MYLASA

CODE-SWITCHING BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT?

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Introduction¹

Code-switching as a model for interpreting and especially unravelling multiple identities is a provocative approach towards understanding the material record of culturally mixed societies. As Wallace-Hadrill states, code-switching can offer productive insights for assessing cultural interaction, especially regarding power-relations.² In bilingual contexts, code-switching can imply an asymmetrical relation, with the one culture operating as the standard (i.e. the “unmarked language”) and the other (or “marked” language) as the inserted feature, depending on the context.³ The implications this has for political culture in mixed societies are clear, especially when studying the “bilingualism” between ethnically distinct cultures such as Greek and Roman, as Wallace-Hadrill demonstrates. But what about ethnically homogenous cultures which are in a state of political transition? Is code-switching a useful tool for

1. I would like to thank the organizers of this conference, in particular Kristina Winther-Jacobsen, for inviting me to participate in this conference, and the other participants for their observations. I would also like to thank Pontus Hellström who commented on a previous version of this paper; any errors remain my own. This paper draws in part from my PhD dissertation, entitled *City and sanctuary in Hellenistic Asia Minor. Constructing civic identity in the sacred landscapes of Mylasa and Stratonikeia in Karia* (Williamson 2012).
2. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, p. 63.
3. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 63-64, referring to Myers-Scotton 1990, p. 98. For a nuanced overview of approaches to code-switching, and its close alternatives, see Mullen's introductory contribution to this volume.

understanding how they negotiated their power-base between past authorities and present practices? Can it help us interpret ways that social memory is shaped and used to serve current goals, even though past and present may have widely diverged? When is the distinction pronounced, and when is it blurred?

The Karian sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda and its relation with the polis of Mylasa in the Hellenistic period will be used as principle case to explore these issues. Labraunda was the religious center of the Hekatomnids, satraps of Karia under the Achaemenid empire, who turned the shrine into a grand architectural showcase in the mid-4th century BC. Roughly a century later, and long after their passing, Labraunda became contested space as claims to the sanctuary were made both by the resident priests and by the town of Mylasa, 14 km to the south. After the Hekatomnids, no more major additions were made to Labraunda until the Roman period, leading scholars to interpret the Hellenistic phase of the sanctuary as one of decline. This seeming passivity will be assessed in light of other contemporary evidence drawn from epigraphic, numismatic, and onomastic data, using Actor-Network Theory, which addresses the web of associations that objects carry with them. It will be argued that this architectural stasis at Labraunda was part of an active policy of preservation of the memory of the Hekatomnids, even though the end of their “tyranny” had been celebrated at the sanctuary only a few generations earlier. By the mid-3rd century, using Labraunda as a *lieu de mémoire* would have served the political agenda of the newly liberated democratic polis of Mylasa in legitimating its claim to the sanctuary and establishing its authority in the region. By weaving associations with the legendary dynasts into its current political culture, can the democratic polis be seen to have been code-switching between past and present?

From Hekatomnid to Hellenistic Labraunda

Located in southwest Karia (FIG. 1), Labraunda was described by Herodotos as a modest shrine with a sacred grove of sycamore trees.⁴ A split rock with a niche that dominates the sanctuary was probably the initial locus of cult; not far from here was a mud-brick altar and towards the end of the 6th century BC a small Ionic pro-style temple was built at the western end of this terrace.⁵ These features basically constitute the shrine of Zeus Labraundos in

4. Herodotos 5.119.

5. On the mudbrick altar, Säflund 1956. The Archaic temple is discussed in Thieme 1993; Baran 2006 and 2009, pp. 301-304. See Karlsson in Henry et al. 2013, pp. 298-300 for the 2012 excavations of the area of the Split Rock.

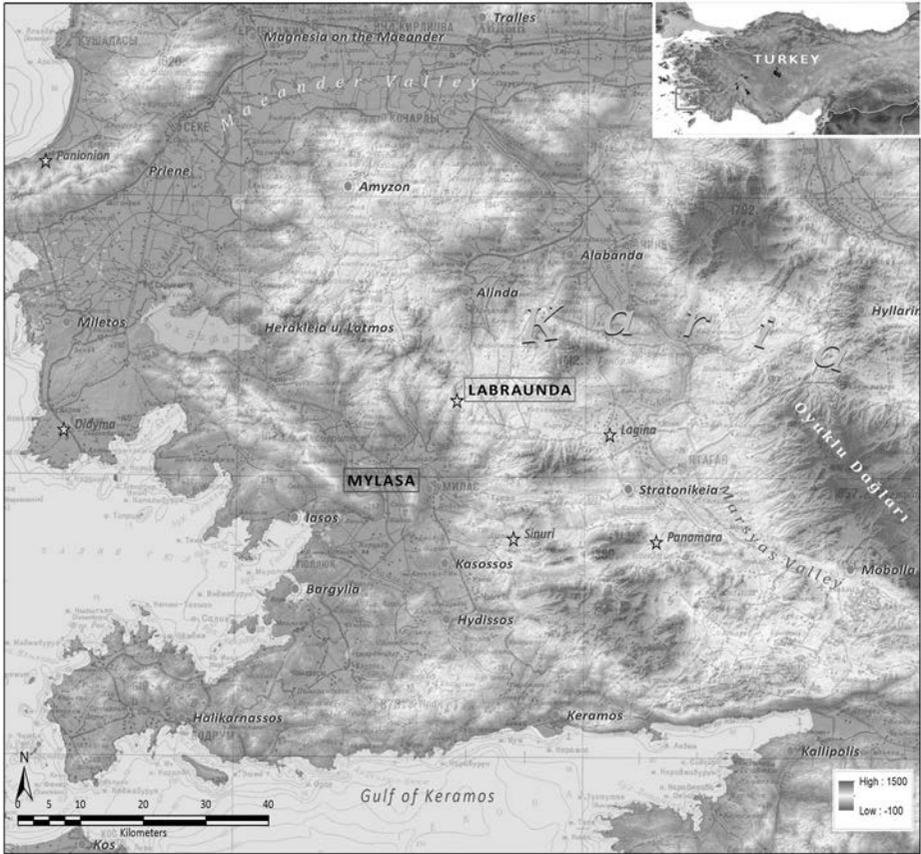


FIG. 1. Mylasa and Labraunda in Karia (map author, based on the Russian General'nyi shtab maps 1:500,000 and the SRTM Elevation Data available with ESRI).

the Archaic period; the relatively simple layout makes the contrast with the Hekatomnid design of the place in the Late Classical period that much more dramatic. The Hekatomnids, who originated from nearby Mylasa, turned the sanctuary into their religious center. Under their authority a cascade of expansive terraces was carved from the hillside to accommodate their showcase architectural ensemble (FIG. 2-6).⁶ Anne Marie Carstens aptly called the complex their 'garden residence' where they could 'dine in paradise'.⁷ The many dining facilities are indeed one of the most remarkable aspects of

6. It goes beyond the scope of this paper to discuss all of the structures at Labraunda, but see Hellström 1991 and 2007, with the dimension of power at the sanctuary in Hellström 1996b and its use on a wider scale in Williamson in press.
7. Carstens 2009, p. 88.



FIG. 2. Overview of the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos, seen from the area of the split rock, with the andrones of Maussollos and Idrieus to the left and right of the temple (photo author).

Labraunda, particularly the Andrones, the splendid banqueting halls built by Maussollos and his brother Idrieus which integrated both Greek and Achaemenid architectural influences, no doubt intended to impress guests of state through ‘super-prestigious, ritual banqueting.’⁸ As with the majority of the new structures, these buildings were fitted with dedicatory inscriptions by Maussollos and Idrieus across their architraves; the inscription above the entrance of Maussollos’ andron (Andron B), reads ‘Maussollos son of Hekatomnos gave the andron and what is inside to Zeus Labraundos.’⁹ Although this most likely refers to the sumptuous interior, one of the most impressive things inside must have been the panoramic view across southern Karia – the

8. Hellström 1996a, p. 36; see also Hellström 1996b and 2011; and Carstens 2009, pp. 85-89, 94-100; and Carstens 2011.
9. *I.Labraunda* 14 (transl. Crampa), Μαύσσωλλος Ἐκατόμνω [ἀνέθηκε τὸν ἀ]νδρῶνα [κα]ὶ τὰ ἐνεόντα Διὶ Λαμβραύνδωι. Although the other dedicatory inscriptions are fragmented, none of them appears to include the contents of the building ‘[κα]ὶ τὰ ἐνεόντα’ as does this one.

windows of the andrones provided not only light and air for the spacious interiors, but also framed the domain of the rulers, with Mylasa at the very center (FIG. 3). Besides being aesthetic, this view from the sanctuary was also highly strategic – the contemporary fortress built above the sanctuary offers a vista which stretches to the Myndos peninsula, with their new residence at Halikarnassos just on the other side of the mountains; it also provides inter-visibility with most of the watchtowers that guarded the sacred road (FIG. 4).¹⁰ This road, paved by the Hekatomnids, conducted the citizens of the polis 14 km away in the lower plain up through the foothills and weird mountains of the Beşparmak to the annual festival of Zeus at Labraunda. Once there the grand complex gradually revealed itself as one ascended the hillside through a series of staircases and terraces.¹¹ Here the population stayed for a number of days, literally feasting at the “top of the world” (FIG. 5).



FIG. 3. View from Andron A (Idrieus' Andron) looking south; Mylasa is clearly visible through in the frame of the middle window (photo author).

10. See Baran 2011 on the sacred road and Karlsson 2011 on the watchtowers.

11. The ascending serpentine path through the complex is described and analyzed in Hellström 1991.

This major religious center became the legacy of the Hekatomnids after they passed, and it continued in much the same way in the Hellenistic period with scarcely any architectural modifications – except for a fountain, nothing else is known to have been built until the Roman period (FIG. 6). The most significant material group from this time are in fact the many inscriptions themselves. The sanctuary became an important public space for Hellenistic Mylasa,¹² and one of the earliest inscriptions from this period, though heavily fragmented, celebrates the polis' return to justice and installation of democracy after the downfall of "tyranny".¹³ This decree, which was probably inscribed on the southwest anta of the temple (B on FIG. 6), mentions a man named Arlissis in one of the last lines – a Mylasan by the same name had been involved in a conspiracy against Maussollos and was sentenced to death by the Persian court; the editor Crampa suggests that his family sought restoration for his name.¹⁴ In any event, this inscription is a clear sign of a political shift at Mylasa and Labraunda away from the old order and towards the more global and Greek style of politics and government at this time. Another inscription, probably dating from the later Hellenistic period, cites the civic oath of the Mylasans, put up at the South Propylon for everyone to read as they entered the sanctuary (F on FIG. 6).¹⁵ Both of these inscriptions point to the democracy of the polis in this period.¹⁶

Perhaps the most intriguing set of inscriptions from the Hellenistic period is the dossier of correspondence that records the struggle for control of Labraunda between the priests and the polis of Mylasa, sometime after Mylasa was liberated by Seleukos II in 246 BC (inscribed at C & D on FIG. 6).¹⁷ This

12. I argue this in more detail in Williamson 2013b.
13. *I.Labraunda* 41, dated to the late 4th century BC, shortly after Alexander's conquest. Crampa interprets the inscription as a decision of democratic Mylasa 'to alter regulations or conditions from the earlier "tyranny" by juridical mode of action,' see his commentary in Volume II, p. 41.
14. *I.Mylasa* 1; see also Crampa's comments in *I.Labraunda* 41.
15. *I.Labraunda* 47, discussed at length in Williamson 2013a.
16. Mylasa was governed in the Hekatomnid period by a *kyria ekklesia*, decisions were ratified by the 'three tribes', e.g. *I.Mylasa* 1-3 (on decisions taken against the attempted assassinations of Maussollos), see also Hornblower 1982, pp. 68-70; Caldesi Valeri 1998. In the Hellenistic period, the polis had adopted the Greek institutions of the *boule* and *demos*, mentioned in numerous inscriptions such as honorific decrees (e.g. *I.Mylasa* 104, 126, 129, 144 among many others) or political decrees such as the sympolity between Mylasa and nearby Chalketor, *I.Mylasa* 913. Decrees at Labraunda were also issued by the *boule* and *demos*, such as the statue erected for Olympichos (*I.Labraunda* 9). The *boule* and *demos* of Mylasa were also addressed in the headers of the letters by Olympichos and Philip V to Mylasa (*I.Labraunda* 8 and 5, resp.).
17. *I.Labraunda* 1-7. This dossier has been the subject of much discussion, see esp. Mastrocinque 1979, pp. 216-218; Debord 1982, pp. 51-53; Dignas 2002, pp. 68-69; Virgilio 2001; and more recently Debord 2011; and Williamson 2012, pp. 118-124.



FIG. 4. View from the akropolis fortress above the sanctuary of Labraunda, looking south across Mylasa towards the Myndos peninsula. The sacred way, corresponding with the modern road in the middle of the photo, is lined with watch-towers, represented by the squares (photo author).

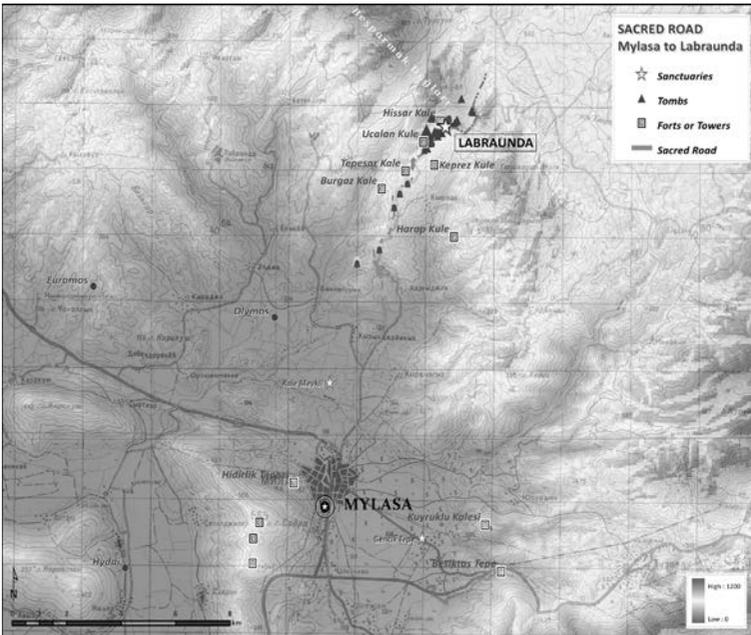


FIG. 5. The sacred road connecting Mylasa and Labraunda (map after Karlsson et al. 2008, Fig.3 (J. Blid) and Fig.12 (O. Henry) and based on the Russian General'nyi shtab maps 1:100,000 and the SRTM Elevation Data available with ESRI).

initial conflict appears to have revolved around the division of responsibility for the finances of the sanctuary between the polis and the priest Korris, who escalated the matter to Seleukos II, complaining that Mylasa was appropriating sacred lands and not giving him his dues. Seleukos' local governor Olympichos investigated the case and ruled in favour of the Mylasans, who maintained that Labraunda had always been theirs.¹⁸ Mylasa responded by honouring Olympichos with a statue and an altar to be set up in the agora, 'similar to the one of Maussollos in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos,'¹⁹ and it ends by saying 'To ensure that it will be apparent to all how the people of Mylasa honours its benefactors, and in order to commemorate him this decree shall be inscribed on stelai of stone and one of them placed in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos.'²⁰ This inscription points both towards the continuation of some kind of ruler cult for Maussollos, given the presence of an altar to him at Labraunda, as well as Mylasa's satisfaction with Olympichos, no doubt for ruling in favour of the polis and against the priest for the administration of the sanctuary.

The conflict between priest and polis has been interpreted by Pierre Debord as a difference of interpretation regarding the position of the priesthood: while Hellenistic Mylasa reorganized itself according to the format of the Greek polis and its institutions, including the priesthoods under their administration, the priests at Labraunda continued to operate in their traditional dynastic fashion, probably under the impression that they still retained ultimate responsibility for the sanctuary, rather than that they had become agents, even magistrates, of the democratized polis.²¹ Some twenty years later, however, a more serious complaint was lodged against Mylasa by the priest at that time, Hekatomnos, who together with the Chrysaoric League made a direct appeal to Philip V to obtain control over the sanctuary, stating that they had already made such an arrangement with his predecessor, Antigonos Doston. Philip V personally investigated the matter by consulting the earlier dossier archived on the walls of the temple (C on FIG. 6). He accused the priest of lying to him about the

18. *I.Labraunda* 1-3, roughly dated to the 240s BC, concern the first dispute.

19. *I.Labraunda* 134, lines 9-11 (transl. Isager and Karlsson): [καὶ αὐτῶι ἀπεναν]τι τῆς εἰκόνοσ βωμῶν λευκοῦ λίθου | [ὁμοιον τῶι τοῦ Μου]σσώλλου τῶι ἐν τῶ ἱερῶι τοῦ Δι-|[οσ Λαβραῦνδου. This inscription is a continuation of *I.Labraunda* 49 and was discovered at the sanctuary in 2002 by Lars Karlsson and published in Isager and Karlsson 2008 and Isager 2011. Both fragments are 2nd century BC copies of an earlier inscription; where exactly this stele, or the original inscription, was erected at Labraunda is unknown.

20. *I.Labraunda* 134, lines 29-33 (transl. Isager and Karlsson): ὅπως δὲ πᾶσιν]φανερὸν ἦι, διότι ὁ δῆμος [ὁ Μυ-|[λασέων τιμαῖ τοῦσ εὐερ]γετοῦντας αὐτὸν[καὶ ἴνα] | [ὑπόμνημα ὑπάρχηι αὐτῶι ἀναγ]ραψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφια[μα] | [εἰσ στήλασ λιθίνας καὶ στήσ]αι αὐτῆν τῆμ με[ν μίαν] | [ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διός ?Λαβραῦνδου?].

21. Debord 1982, p. 52; Debord 2011, pp. 138-139.

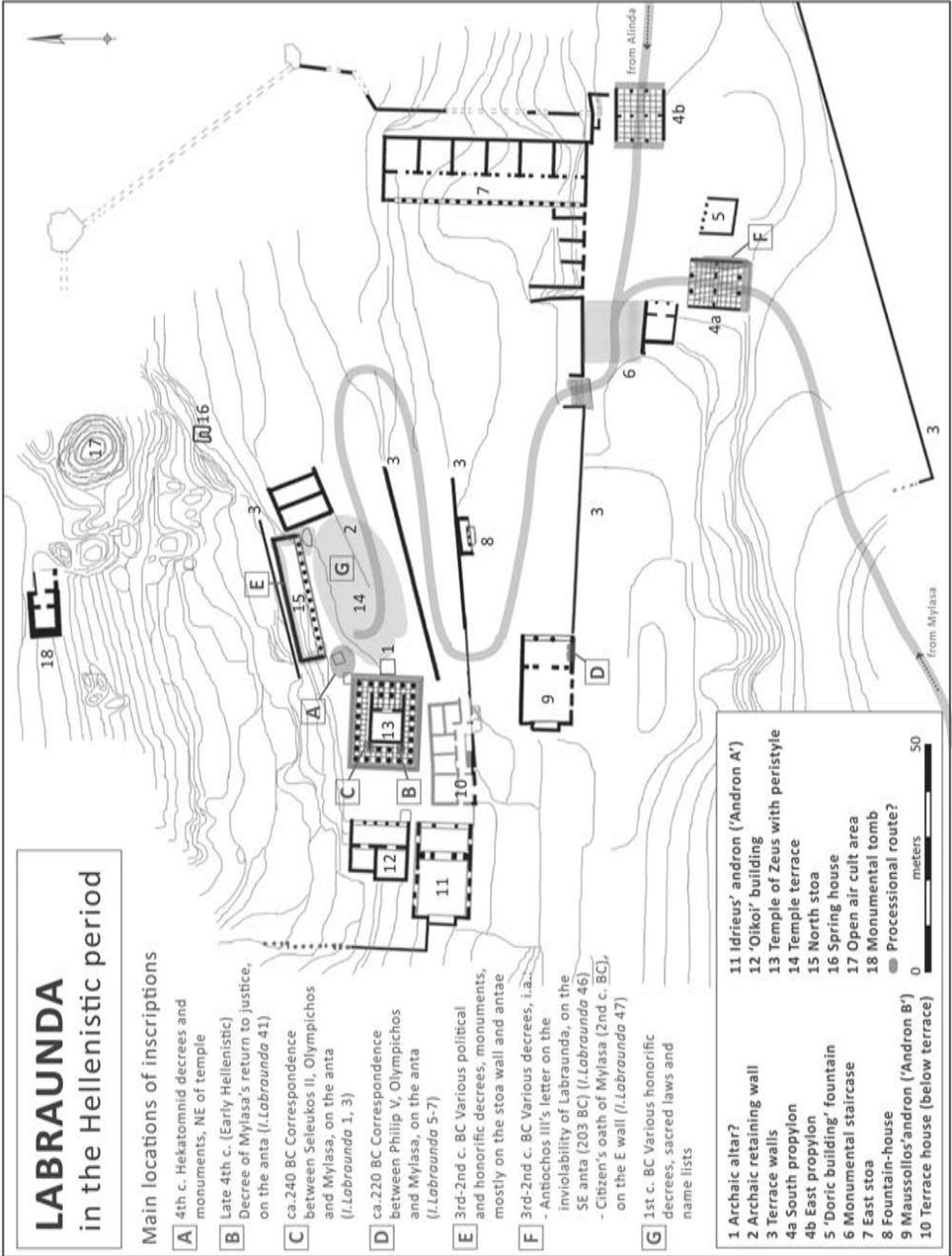


FIG. 6. The layout of the sanctuary of Labraunda in the Hellenistic period, showing the locations of the inscriptions (map author, after Karlsson et al. 2008, Fig. 2, and Hellström 1991, Figs. 1, 4).

arrangement and granted Mylasa ultimate control over the sanctuary; this dossier was inscribed on the walls of Maussollos' andron (D on FIG. 6).²²

There are clearly many facets to these conflicts, yet for the purposes of this study the most important one concerns the claims made by both priest and polis to Labraunda and to the legacy of the Hekatomnids. The priesthood, which was still hereditary and for life-long, may well have been an office that once belonged to the Hekatomnid dynasty – an inscription recently discovered at Iasos indicates a blood-tie between the priests and the satraps.²³ This certainly would have given the priests enough motive to consider the sanctuary as their domain. Yet Mylasa, hometown of the dynasty, had claims of its own. The Hekatomnids had clearly established a link between the sanctuary and their first residential town, demonstrated among others by the paved sacred way physically connecting both places, but also especially by the inclusion of Mylasa as ethnic on the architraves of the buildings dedicated by Idrieus, Maussollos' brother and successor.²⁴ Reading this association in the inscriptions would have strengthened Mylasa's claim that Labraunda had always been theirs and was built by their ancestors.²⁵ The sanctuary thus appears on the one hand to have been administered by descendants of the Hekatomnids, but on the other, anyone there would also have noticed the prominence of Mylasa in the inscriptions and in the view. Both sides would have had plausible reason to believe themselves to be entitled to the heritage of the Hekatomnids at the sanctuary.

Labraunda as “memory theatre”

Labraunda was then contested space for a time between the priests and the polis, and even though the inscriptions, the pottery, and the construction of a fountain testify to a continued and intensive use of the sanctuary at this time, it was the absence of further architectural additions which initially led scholars

22. *I.Labraunda* 4-7, dated to when Philip V controlled this area in the later part of the 3rd century BC. Philip's response is given in *I.Labraunda* 5, confirming Mylasa's rights over Labraunda, which he bases in part upon the decisions made by his predecessors. In his decree he also commands Olympichos, general under rival king Seleukos II, to leave the region.
23. Maddoli 2007, No.20B, an honorific decree for Hekatomnos son of Korris and priest at Labraunda; the relationship between the priests and the Hekatomnids is discussed further in Debord 2011, p. 134.
24. E.g. *I.Labraunda* 17, the 'Oikoi' structure, has the best preserved dedication reading 'Ἰδριεὺς Ἐκατόμνω Μυλασεὺς ἀνέθηκε τοὺς οἴκους Διὶ Λαμβραύνδωι', 'Idrieus, son of Hekatomnos, Mylasan, dedicated the oikoi to Zeus Labraundos' (transl. Crampa).
25. *I.Labraunda* 5, lines 21-24.

to consider a decline and even stagnation at Hellenistic Labraunda, attributed to the conflict between priests and polis.²⁶ Given the overall weight attached to architectural phases in the reconstruction of site biographies, this interpretation is hardly surprising. The excavator Pontus Hellström, however, recently observed that the later building projects of the Roman period appear to have respected the architraves with the dedicatory inscriptions by Maussollos and Idrieus, even suggesting that one of the inscriptions may have been faked in the Hellenistic or Roman period to make it appear Hekatomnid (referring to the ‘Doric Building’ with an inscription which differs stylistically from the rest).²⁷ This led him to ask ‘could this lack of building activity be due to a decision to preserve Labraunda’s Hekatomnid memory theatre?’²⁸ Hellström suggests that the site still resonated with echoes of the Hekatomnids, which besides the architecture and the dedicatory inscriptions, included the dedications to the Hekatomnids such as the statue to founding dynast Hekatomnos (A on FIG. 6), and the altar to Maussollos, mentioned above.²⁹

This suggests an entirely different interpretation of the sanctuary in the Hellenistic period. Considering Labraunda as a memory theatre, or *lieu de mémoire*, implies that the continued allure of the antiquity of the cult combined with the imposing architecture of the sanctuary would no doubt have evoked the ancient power of its legendary builders.³⁰ With the legacy of the Hekatomnids at stake, as described above, we may well envision the vested interest of both parties –the priests and the polis– in keeping the shrine essentially intact, as it had been under the ancient rulers. The fact that the sanctuary was *not* significantly altered by Mylasa, not after the city acquired its freedom in 246 BC from Seleukos II, nor even after Philip V declared once and for all that the polis had final authority over the sanctuary, may very well be one of the principle keys to understanding Hellenistic Labraunda.

26. Hellström 1965, pp. 1-3; Hornblower 1982, pp. 311-312.

27. Hellström 2009, pp. 278-279. Also when the North Stoa was (re)built in the imperial period by the priest Poleites (*I.Labraunda* 23), he either reused or left intact Maussollos’ dedicatory inscription (*I.Labraunda* 13).

28. Hellström 2009, p. 278. The term “memory theatre” is used here as a place where memories of the past are combined with performances of the present, rather than as a strict mnemonic device as Giulio Camillo’s *Memory Theater*, discussed in Yates 1966, pp. 129-172.

29. The statue to Hekatomnos is indicated by the inscription *I.Labraunda* 27, located just east of the temple. The altar to Maussollos is known from *I.Labraunda* 134; unfortunately we know nothing about when it was dedicated, by whom, or where it was located in the sanctuary.

30. On *lieux de mémoires*, Nora 1984-1992, discussed in Alcock 2002, pp. 21-23.

Actor-Network Theory can help in this regard. Developed by Bruno Latour to interpret the culture and norms of science, this theory in short discusses objects as being related to time, and therefore functioning as nodes in a complex network of associations, most of which are based on memory.³¹ Objects have a way of “conflating” time, by bringing the past immediately into the present through their multi-dimensional networks. This is why they are sometimes intentionally isolated, e.g. by historians in museums or scientists in laboratories, in order to “stabilize” their networks, and more typically to preserve one particular network of associations from contamination by others.³² Michael Guggenheim recently studied how architecture and memory work using Actor-Network Theory.³³ With its spatial impact, architecture clearly has a special ability to trigger the imagination of the past while retaining a functional use in the present. Guggenheim observes that buildings are much more complex than mobile objects since they contain numerous associative networks that cannot be ‘stabilized’, as they are continuously in use. He succinctly states:

‘...to use a building always means to use it partially, to use it in the presence of others and to interact with others in, through and with the building. The multiplication of uses creates networks that are outside of anyone’s control, and specifically outside the control of any functional system. For example, while a tourist might stand in front of the Villa Savoye and look at it as an artwork, the inhabitant may be inside just preparing breakfast, while the plumber fixes the heating system and a restorer analyses the composition of the walls. All these uses may exist alongside each other, but they may even interact in all kinds of unexpected ways.’³⁴

Buildings thus inherently possess multiple temporalities, mixing function with appreciation, nostalgia, and even maintenance all at the same time. What this theory allows us to do at Labraunda is to view the buildings as “actors” that both recall and create all kinds of memories and associations simultaneously. Considering the sanctuary as a *lieu de mémoire* does not mean that it was turned into a museum. The architecture at Labraunda may

31. Guggenheim 2009, pp. 41-43, this also may be the exception that proves the rule.
32. Guggenheim 2009, p. 41: “The stabilization of a network by enrolment is called black-boxing, a process whereby actants are stabilized in their use and meaning. At the same time, enrolment and black-boxing change the actants that are enrolled. What is called truth in science for ANT is nothing other than the stabilization of networks.”
33. For Actor-Network Theory: Latour 1987 and 2005; also Middleton and Brown 2005.
34. Guggenheim 2009, pp. 46-47, using Le Corbusier’s Villa Savoye near Paris to illustrate the concept.

not have been modified, but neither were its associative networks stabilized in any way, nor could they have been if we believe Guggenheim – in any event, the shrine continued to be the center for festivals and ritual performances from generation to generation, as the pottery already indicates. It is, in fact, this ritual aspect which makes the associative component of the ensemble all the more directive. The embodied movements which such ritual spaces elicit are, according to recent theory in memory studies, the prime base for shaping collective memory.³⁵ Within this frame, we should envision the participants at the festivals of Zeus Labraundos as interacting with the multiple temporalities which the sanctuary afforded – their daily lives through their involvement with friends and acquaintances at the sanctuary, their role as citizens through participation in the community festivals, the processions, the feasting and the games, their focus on Zeus Labraundos as timeless and supreme deity, who watched over their world from his high sanctuary, and of course their awareness of the legendary Hekatomnids, who so splendidly shaped the ritual space in which all of this took place.

The inscriptions from the 3rd and 2nd centuries, virtually the only additions to the sanctuary besides the fountain house, not only reiterate its ongoing use, they also demarcate the ritual areas that were critical in the Hellenistic period, showing that Labraunda was used in much the same way as the Hekatomnids had designed it (FIG. 6). Yet at the same time the inscriptions accentuated certain spots that were now particularly important to Mylasa: in particular Maussollos' andron with its 'framed' view of the polis, where the correspondence over the last conflict –and the ultimate decision in favour of Mylasa– was inscribed, and the South Propylon, the hinge at the end of the sacred road from Mylasa, which now bore among others the citizen's oath of Mylasa. This is how the Hellenistic polis left its stamp on the Hekatomnid design of the sanctuary. Architectural stasis need not always be a passive consequence of financial or political inertia – it may also be an active choice to preserve past associations. The grand architecture of the Hekatomnids at Labraunda underscored both the intrinsic authority of the cult place while augmenting their own legitimacy of rule; a century later Mylasa capitalized on these networks of ancient associations to legitimize its own presence in the region.

35. Bollmer 2011, who argues for a new approach to collective memory based on embodied movement, rather than shared individual psychic memories (contra Halbwachs 1992); also Connerton 1989 and Parkin 1992.

Rebranding the image of Zeus Labraundos

This might seem like a lot to infer based on some inscriptions and an otherwise lack of structural change, yet there is more evidence which points towards the will of the polis to appropriate the distinctively Hekatomnid version of Zeus Labraundos. The numismatic iconography of the god stands out in this regard. Zeus Labraundos regularly appeared on the coinage of the satraps, beginning with the founder Hekatomnos who depicted the god on the front and a crouching lion on the back of an issue of silver tetradrachms (FIG. 7a). Maussollos moved Zeus Labraundos to the back, next to his name, and on the front put a radiant Apollo, god of the new satrapal residency at Halikarnassos (FIG. 7b). All of these images show a consistent typology of Zeus, namely in a long chiton with a himation draped over his left arm and striding to the right, left leg forward, with his double-axe slung over his bare right shoulder, and a lance or scepter in his left hand. This active position is in stark contrast with his image on a relief which shows him being worshiped by Idrieus and Ada.³⁶ This relief also portrays Zeus Labraundos with his typical double-axe across his right shoulder and holding a scepter in his left hand with his himation over his left arm, yet otherwise the god is completely inert and facing the viewer; he is even adorned with six large globular pendants across his chest, similar to Ephesian Artemis.³⁷ This static and frontal stance is much more indicative of a cult image, and is similar to the depictions of Zeus Labraundos on later coins from Mylasa in the imperial period.³⁸

The depiction of the god in action, striding forward, appears to have been a Hekatomnid invention, made popular all across Karia on their coinage. By combining this image with Apollo, Maussollos established a triangular connection between Zeus Labraundos, who appealed to all of Karia, Apollo, tutelary god at Halikarnassos, and himself as ruler. Yet Maussollos also minted a type depicting another Zeus from Mylasa on the front, Zeus Osogollis (FIG. 7c).³⁹ Zeus Osogollis was worshiped in Mylasa alone and was the chief deity

36. This is a 4th century BC relief from Tegea, now in the British Museum (1914.7-14.1); see discussions in e.g. Akarca 1959, pp. 41-42, with earlier references in n. 5; Hellström and Thieme 1982, pp. 32-33; Gunter 1989, p. 96 with a good photo in Fig. 6; Carstens 2009, pp. 93-94.
37. Discussed at length by Laumonier 1958, pp. 64-66 in his treatise on the 'primitive' typology of Zeus Labraundos.
38. Akarca 1959, Nos. 16.2-3. Laumonier believes these to be archaizing coins, Laumonier 1958, pp. 70-83, but nearby Euromos minted similar types in the 2nd or 1st century BC, e.g. *SNG Copenhagen* 333.
39. Hurter 1998, Type B, discussed in Delrieux 1999, p. 36, Plate 10 A-B.

HEKATOMNID COINS
FOURTH CENTURY BC



FIG. 7a. Hekatomnos. Silver Tetradrachm, 392/1-377/6 BC.

Obverse: Zeus Labraundos striding right / Reverse: roaring crouching lion with EKATOMNOY, inside circular incuse (Delrieux 1999, 36, Plate 10, Fig.2)



FIG. 7b. Maussollos. Silver Tetradrachm, 377/6-353/2 BC.

Obverse: Apollo, laureate and facing $\frac{3}{4}$ right / Reverse: Zeus Labraundos striding right, with ME monogram left and MAYΣΣΩΛΛ[O] right (Delrieux 1999, 36, Plate 10, Fig.1 / SNG von Aulock 2358)



FIG. 7c. Maussollos. Silver Tetradrachm, 377/6-353/2 BC.

Obverse: Zeus Osogollis striding left / Reverse: Zeus Labraundos striding right, with MA. (Hurter 1998, Type B; Delrieux 1999, 36, Plate 10 A-B)

MYLASAN COINS
SECOND HALF OF THE
THIRD CENTURY BC



FIG. 7d. Mylasa. Silver Tetradrachm, 3rd century BC, second half.

Obverse: Zeus Osogollis striding right / Reverse: Zeus Labraundos striding right, with MYΛA-ΣΕΩΝ on either side; in a circle of beads. (Delrieux 1999, Group A no.1A, Plate 9, 1a)



FIG. 7e. Mylasa. Silver Tetradrachm, 3rd century BC, second half.

Obverse: Zeus Labraundos striding right / Reverse: Zeus Osogollis striding right, MYΛAΣΕΩΝ – ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΣ (magistrate) (Delrieux 1999, Group B no.4)



FIG. 7f. Mylasa. Silver Tetradrachm, 3rd century BC, second half.

Obverse: Zeus Labraundos striding right / Reverse: Zeus Osogollis striding right, with MYΛAΣΕΩΝ left and ΛΗΩΝ right (magistrate) (Delrieux 1999, Plate 9, 8)

FIG. 7a-f. The coinage of the Hekatomnids showing Zeus Labraundos in the 4th century, compared with that of Mylasa from the later 3rd century (based on Delrieux 1999, Plates 9-10).

of the city proper, with his sanctuary in the urban area.⁴⁰ His image on the coins is similar to that of Zeus Labraundos, except he faces the opposite direction and carries a trident and eagle as attributes. Combining these two emanations of Zeus created a second triangular relationship between Maussollos, his hometown Mylasa, and Labraunda.

Roughly a century later, Mylasa minted a series of coins that also portray both Zeus Osogollis and Zeus Labraundos and bear a striking resemblance to these issues by Maussollos (FIG. 7.d-f).⁴¹ Fabrice Delrieux dated this series to the second part of the 3rd century, i.e. after Mylasa was liberated by Seleukos II and most likely coinciding with the conflicts over control of Labraunda.⁴² Whatever the specific reason, these coins certainly reinforced the link between the polis and the sanctuary. By visually “citing” the iconography of the Hekatomnid issues, they also established a link between the present and the past.⁴³ Reviving this trusted image of the god that had become familiar throughout Karia would have been another way for Mylasa to engage the “associative network” of the satraps’ coinage, thereby recalling the ancient bond between the shrine and the city while stressing continuity with the rulers who built much of the sanctuary as well as the polis that was now administering it. Still, it is significant that the polis did not make exact replicas of the Hekatomnid coins. The gods often switch places, and the direction of Zeus Osogollis is reversed, so that he strides to the right, stressing even more the similarity with Zeus Labraundos. One of the most notable changes, however, is the substitution of the name of the satrap with that of the polis – although of practical necessity, the accompanying imagery would have provided a context that implied the position of the polis as natural successors.

In a sense, Mylasa brought these Hekatomnid images of Zeus from the past down into the present and rebranded them as Mylasan. Much like the sanctuary architecture, the coinage is about preserving the ancient legacy,

40. On Zeus Osogollis (also appearing as Zeus Osogoa), see esp. Blümel 1990; Blümel 1994; Delrieux 1999; and Debord 2001, pp. 21-24.
41. Coins from Hellenistic Mylasa showing both Zeus Osogollis and Zeus Labraundos include Akarca 1959, Nos. 9-10, and the 13 additional specimens (11 tetradrachms and 2 didrachms) from the Rhodian-Mylasian hoard, analyzed in Delrieux 1999, Group A. Discussed in more detail in Williamson 2012, pp. 133-135.
42. Delrieux 1999, Group A, discussed in pp. 42-45.
43. Aşkıdıl Akarca, who had not yet seen the Maussolleion issues with Zeus Osogollis, already noted the similarities with the Mylasan depiction of Zeus Labraundos: ‘Leur source d’inspiration ce sont les monnaies des satrapes de Carie du IV^e siècle, à tel point que la représentation de Zeus Labraundos est empruntée directement à ces monnaies. Dans le premier émission, Zeus Labraundos est une copie fidèle des monnaies comme sur celles-ci,’ Akarca 1959, p. 33 and Nos. 9-10.

but it is even more about using it to legitimate the authority of the polis. Unlike architecture, however, coins are ubiquitous and mobile. They are an excellent means of saturation advertising, circulating the message through one of the most effective networks imaginable, that of trade, hand-to-hand. Their mass-production qualifies them in the terminology of Actor-Network Theory as “immutable mobiles”, objects which travel from one “functional system”, to the next, accumulating associations along the way.⁴⁴ But the message encoded in such objects relies on the background knowledge of the recipient, and Mylasa was no doubt counting on the effectiveness of the current web of associations for their success in blending the image of the polis with that of the legendary rulers.

What’s in a name?

Preserving their sanctuary and re-using their iconography are two ways that Mylasa tapped the power of the legendary satraps. A 3rd strand of evidence supporting the idea of a Hekatomnid revival at this time may be found in onomastics, although not exactly a material group. In her study on the frequency and type of Karian personal names in the Hellenistic period, Daniela Piras found that the otherwise wholesale shift towards Greek naming practices was mitigated primarily in Mylasa, where in the 3rd century BC there was a surge of Karian names which consisted almost exclusively of those that were common among the Hekatomnids –e.g. Hekatomnos, Pixodaros, Artemisia– given to children whose fathers often had Greek names.⁴⁵ Piras further indicates that these names circulated principally among the male elite and, notwithstanding that this group is most likely to appear in inscriptions anyway, it is inviting to see this practice as emanating from an inner circle that developed a conscious awareness of its unique Karian and especially Hekatomnid past. How widespread these names were, and whether they were restricted to the elite or were common among the broader base of society as well remains unknown. They do, however, reflect a popular interest in the powerful rulers of the previous era. The question then arises as to which came first: was this naming practice a communal response to a civic policy that brought focus to their shared Hekatomnid heritage, or was it vice-versa,

44. Objects as “immutable mobiles” is one of the core concepts of Actor-Network Theory, Latour 1987, pp. 226-227. Guggenheim applies an inversion of this term, “mutable immobiles”, to architecture, to underscore its singularity and yet changeability of meanings, Guggenheim 2009, pp. 45-48.

45. Piras 2010, pp. 226-229.

was the polis reacting to popular sentiment when it issued the retrospective coinage and laid claim to the sanctuary of Labraunda?

The larger question is why the Mylasans felt it so important to connect to the memory of these “tyrants”, whom they were only too glad to be rid of a few generations before, even commemorating this through the inscription on the temple at Labraunda. Why did the newly liberated and modern democratic city now change course? This is a difficult question to answer without knowing the exact historical circumstances and sources for this period are scarce. The 3rd century appears to have been a turbulent period with shifting allegiances – Seleukos II liberated Mylasa most likely from the Ptolemies, who were active in Karia at this time,⁴⁶ while shortly afterwards Philip V of Macedon had taken over, as the last conflict at Labraunda testifies; by the end of the 3rd century the area was again in Seleukid hands with the campaigns of Antiochos III. The 3rd century was a defining era for the politics of Mylasa, both at the “global” level but also on a more regional and even local scale. During this time Mylasa managed to reinvent itself as a major Hellenistic city, even expanding to become one of the greatest cities in Karia by the 1st century BC.⁴⁷ While the democratic Mylasans at the end of the 4th century welcomed the end of satrapal rule, by the mid-3rd century they may well have seen the necessity amidst the political turmoil of creating an internal focus and shared identity – the legacy of the Hekatomnids was something which Karians, but especially Mylasans, had in common, and it was something which evoked a sense of pride and power. Politics aside, there was a certain social logic in reconnecting with the great Hekatomnid past during these turbulent times.

Code-switching between past and present?

Public awareness of the Hekatomnids not only persisted in Hellenistic Karia, but appears to have been actively cultivated by Mylasa. Their coin issues and presumably their use of Labraunda as a “memory theatre” imply a conscientious program of social memory management, whether this sparked public imagination (e.g. the naming practices) or was a response to it. What is clear

46. The Chrysaoric League and their Ptolemaic affiliations are evident in *I.Labraunda* 43-44, dated to 267 BC; see Mastrocinque 1979, pp. 66-70, 220-226; Gabrielsen 2000, pp. 156-161 and Gabrielsen 2011. On Karia and the area of Mylasa in the Second Syrian War, see Ma 1999, pp. 41-42; Bencivenni 2003.
47. E.g. Strabo (14.2.22-23) mentioned that Mylasa was a ‘village’ (κώμη) in ancient times, while in his day it was one of the three noteworthy cities of Karia (with Stratonikeia and Alabanda).

is that there are multiple polarities at work in the construction of Mylasan political culture in the Hellenistic period as it shaped its identity as a modern Greek-styled polis with a strong Karian tradition.

Using the model of code-switching can shed light on some of the mechanisms in this process, but it may require bending the rules a bit. We would need to expand the context to include the wider scope of political culture, rather than a single text, artifact or even material group, and we would need to stretch the concept of “bilingualism” to refer to the different social “languages” at work within a single ethnic group, i.e. the population of Mylasa. These languages are themselves hybrid in scope, but to simplify the model we could cluster them into two main groups:

“modern-Greek-democratic” | “traditional-Karian-Hekatomnid”

This dichotomy addresses simultaneously the temporal dimension, between past and present, the ethnic dimension, which could also be represented as a global versus a local language, and the political dimension in which the democratic system is juxtaposed with the satrapy (i.e. “tyranny”) of the Hekatomnids.

As mentioned in the introduction, models of code-switching imply a distinction between a standard, unmarked language and a non-standard or marked language, being the inserted feature.⁴⁸ In this case the “modern-Greek-democratic” culture of the polis should be designated as the unmarked language, since this is the main context in which these negotiations take place. The political organization of Hellenistic Mylasa clearly followed the Greek-style democratic form of government by representation with a *demos* and *boule* issuing the principle decrees, using many of the formulas common to documents of this era in the Greek world.⁴⁹ At the other end, we should consider the “traditional-Karian-Hekatomnid” culture as the marked language, with powerful

48. As reflective of asymmetrical bilingualism; symmetrical bilingualism however also occurs, see Mullen this volume. Mullen further discusses the related concept of “borrowing” as “the adoption of any linguistic element into one language from another”, which could also be applied here, yet this would obscure the sense of belonging to both “languages” which was apparently felt in Hellenistic Mylasa.

49. See n. 15 above. Also the statue for Olympichos, mentioned in *I.Labraunda* 134 (discussed above), was to depict the governor as crowned by the demos. Examples are discussed in Williamson 2012, pp. 174-176, showing how a sub-community of Mylasa, organized around the sanctuary of Sinuri to the east, mirrored its organization on that of the polis. In this discussion I am intentionally avoiding the question of the Karian language and the bilingual inscriptions, with Greek and Karian side by side, since this is a separate topic and would require more space than is allowed; but see Ray 1990 and Adiego 2000 for those found at the sanctuary of Sinuri from the Hekatomnid period.

signaling features being inserted into the discourse of the polis. Obviously the onomastics provide the easiest example of the inserted features, as they indicate a localized conscious “return” to Karian, i.e. Hekatomnid, names amidst the widespread adoption of Greek in the 3rd century. The iconography of Zeus Labraundos on the coinage may also be considered as an insertion, as it “revives” the classic satrapal image of the deity and connects it to Mylasa. Perhaps a less clear insertion is the policy of preservation at the sanctuary of Labraunda, since this pertains to structures that were already there, rather than an active production or manipulation of style or image. But if the sanctuary was intentionally used as a “memory theatre”, as Pontus Hellström suggested and as I have argued using Actor-Network Theory together with the inscriptions, then this should be seen as a third insertion in this general vein. What is apparent in all three cases is that it is especially the past which is being inserted, selectively, into the present – much of this seems to be directed towards the legitimization of authority over the cult of Zeus Labraundos.

Applying the model of code-switching in broad brushstrokes in this way results in this delineation of time, place and governance which ultimately boils down to questions of identity and the ability to “speak” the language of power, whether this is through style, architecture, or preservation. In this case it seems that the polis built upon its capacity to code-switch between past and present, displaying its ability to manage social memory as it integrated both languages into its political culture. Two observations, however, need to be made. On the one hand, the polis was not the only one adept at the “marked” language of the past – the priests were no doubt even more proficient, yet apparently less successful at the “unmarked” language of the present. On the other hand, Mylasa probably would have denied any distinction between the two, presenting itself as both a modern city and yet true to tradition, both Greek and Karian, both democratic and the legitimate heirs of the Hekatomnid legacy. Whereas after the downfall of the dynasts they drew a sharp line by distancing themselves from the “tyranny”, hailing their “return to justice”, just a few generations later they were all too eager to blur this line and reconnect to the past.

Conclusion

To summarize, Pontus Hellström’s suggestion that the sanctuary was intentionally kept as it was under the Hekatomnids as a kind of “memory theatre” throws new light on the interpretation of Hellenistic Labraunda, and it puts the conflicts between the priests and the polis for control of the sanctuary in

a different perspective. Considering Labraunda as a *lieu de mémoire*, rather than a victim of a power stalemate, implies that the sanctuary continued to possess a strong amount of social and symbolic capital through the heritage of the Hekatomnids. Even more than the intrinsic economic value of the sanctuary, it is this communal focus which most likely was at stake in the conflicts. Both the priests and the polis had legitimate claims to the shrine through their respective ties to the satraps, but Mylasa had the advantage of the institutions of the polis – the legal system, the festivals, and especially the advertising capacity of coinage – which it leveraged in a program of social memory management to enforce its hold over the shrine. In terms of code-switching, the priests were proficient largely in the language of the past rather than the present, while the polis was adept in both and equipped to wield them as it saw fit.

The question why the modern democratic and independent polis needed to revive its associations with the rule of the satraps, whom they had previously denounced, remains poignant. Capitalizing on their Hekatomnid heritage to gain control over the cult and sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos is one obvious reason. Yet given the turbulence of the period it also likely had to do with the more underlying issue of creating a rock-solid identity for the polis, one which everyone would recognize, both internally and externally. Weaving the authority of its past into the objectives of its future was probably one of the most effective ways for the developing polis to form its own narrative of power.

Imposing models based on a different type of data brings a certain degree of artifice, and it has been necessary to stretch the concept of code-switching to make it useful in this context; “bilingualism” is redefined here to include past and present modes of authority, while the single utterance or context in which code-switching occurs has been expanded to include Mylasan political culture *an sich*. As a heuristic device, however, this approach makes it possible to delineate with more precision the range of issues that were being addressed through the memory of the Hekatomnids and the cult of Zeus Labraundos. Understanding where the lines of distinction lie also make it easier to notice when they are sharply drawn, as in the late 4th century, and when they are blurred, as in the second half of the 3rd century. This approach ultimately leads us to reconsider how past and present were integrated in the political culture of Hellenistic Mylasa, in which the memory of the legendary satraps was inserted into the contemporary world to create a narrative of power and authority meant to transcend time and even politics.

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MARBLE MANIA: CODE-SWITCHING IN ROMAN CYPRUS?

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In modern perceptions of the Classical world Roman Cyprus is considered a backwater. Despite its distinctive prehistory and important geographical location at the crossroads of trade between Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor and the Levant, Cyprus is perceived as a historically and materially uninteresting province of the Roman empire.¹ In publications on the Roman East, Cyprus is usually omitted or referred to as insignificant with very little to add to the concept of “Romanization”.² Terrence Mitford who wrote the only recent overview of the history of Roman Cyprus in 1980 characterized the island as entering ‘more than three centuries of tranquil obscurity, seemingly not unprosperous and apparently well governed.’³ This attitude can, it seems, to some extent at least be traced back to antiquity itself. In the ancient literary sources Cyprus and its people appear neither in any exiting nor particularly positive light. Even though the Cypriot copper mines are considered to be of importance, Strabo has no extravagant praise of the island’s *arête*: he admits that it has some natural resources, which could compare to other islands, but no human excellence is mentioned (14.16.5). One of Cyprus’ few famous men, Zeno from Kition, was according to Diogenes Laertius (*Lives of the Philosophers* 7.1) a Phoenician who enjoyed green figs and the burning sun. He was thin and black-skinned and was nick-named the Egyptian stick. In a poem by Martial (9.90), contrast is drawn between an Italian *locus amoenus*, a beautiful spot with grass, flowers and sparkling rivers, and Cyprus. The island is *infamis* for its blazing heat. It is so ‘hot’ that it may even be dangerous to stay there. Such descriptions and the fact that few Roman citizens have

1. Historical overview of Roman Cyprus with its political and administrative history, Mitford 1980a.
2. Cyprus is omitted for example in Alcock 1997.
3. Mitford 1980a, p. 1295.

been attested on the island,⁴ have no doubt had an impact on perceptions of the island in modern research.⁵ My purpose with this paper is two-fold: to challenge this traditional view of Roman Cyprus and secondly and more importantly to show that the vast sculptural population of Roman Cyprus can contribute towards a better understanding of how the choice of local material, techniques, and iconographies took part in the ongoing identity negotiation with the wider Roman world.

The sculptural material from Roman Cyprus is studied here with special attention, to materiality and the relationship between object and subject and secondly, and equally importantly to the problems raised in this seminar about creating and negotiating identities as opposed to the so-called Romanization process. For the first issue on materiality and the relations between humans and objects, the Art and Agency Theory by the anthropologist Alfred Gell is taken as an outset. Gell argued against conventional aesthetic categories in the assessment of artworks and instead suggested that focus should be on their production, techniques and their agency within a social milieu. Gell is 'particularly anxious to avoid the slightest imputation that art is like language' communicating symbolic meanings through language-like components.⁶ Such approaches, he argued, sideline the character of artworks as agents in social networks. Gell encouraged to consider art objects as components of a vast technical system and that the power of art objects stems from the technical process they objectively embody.⁷ Gell also stresses that artworks are never just singular entities: they are members of categories and they are affected by the relations existing between them.⁸ Such repetitive traditional craftsmanship of established conventions may set constraints on the creativity of an artist because the object has to be understandable and perceivable by the viewer in the specific milieu and context.⁹ With outset in Gell's theory, I hope to show

4. Mitford 1980b, p. 284 and *passim*. Fejfer 2006, p. 89 with note 37. See however Cayla 2006 for evidence of two families with citizenship in Palaipaphos, the Licinnia and the Julius families of the Julio-Claudian or slightly earlier period. Cayla suggests that the Licinnii may have come to Cyprus from Delos as merchants after Delos was sacked by Mithradates VI in 88 B.C. and that the family married into the Gaii Iulii, a local family (Aegyptian immigrants?). A certain Potamon of the Gaii Iulii may have been the first local to receive citizenship. This does indeed throw new light on early Roman Cyprus suggesting that it was not characterized by poverty and misrule as is sometimes stated, see Cayla 2006, p. 202.
5. Above all Thomsen 1995, pp. 33-35.
6. Gell 1998, p. 14. For a discussion of the importance of Gell's theory for archaeological studies, see the Introduction and various chapters in Osborne & Tanner 2007 and Whitley 2012.
7. Gell 1992, pp. 43-44.
8. Gell 1998, p. 153.
9. Suggested by G. Woolf 2003/4, p. 162.

that the sculptural population of Cyprus when analyzed within the context of space, history and society, seems to have used its material properties to help redefine the island's place within a wider Roman context.

It is also argued that the general and to a wide extent literature-based perception of Cyprus' material culture of the Roman period neither does justice to nor performs well in relationship to the significance of its sculpture. Partly influenced by the above mentioned negative attitude towards the island in ancient literary sources it has been the notion among modern scholars that metropolitan Roman culture was either mechanically or uncritically accepted or even forced upon the island by foreigners. This has prevented attempts to look at this material in its own right: how techniques, materials and styles worked in specific geographic, social and historical context and what sort of agency the sculptures may be ascribed in this specific context. Where does that leave the second issue and main theme of the conference of using the linguistic theory of code-switching for understanding material culture as creating and negotiating human identities? Is this theory when applied to the material culture not a return to the "linguistic turn" to "reading art as text" and is it at all compatible with Gell's Art and Agency theory? Two issues are particularly important to stress: *firstly*, when raising his critique against the reading of art as text Gell specifically mentions the structural linguistic method of Erwin Panofsky in which aesthetics is replaced by iconography.¹⁰ The material properties of an artwork are overlooked (whether an altar piece was carved in wood or other material, whether it was gilded or not, etc) and it is broken up into symbols which can be interpreted independently of both time and social context. Such an approach ascribes the artwork a passive symbolic role, fails to see what it is doing in the terms of social relations and the mediating of social agency, and overlooks the importance of its technical manufacturing and production. However, Gell does not fully deny the usefulness of linguistic methods and reading images as signs, just as style and aesthetics can be useful, but this approach is relevant only when the artwork has been returned properly into its social context and can be ascribed agency. As stressed by Mullen in this volume linguistic studies have recently moved towards social linguistics focusing also on social milieu, speakers and audience. This focus on the social milieu, the relationship between people, and in the code-switching model of the 'expression of identity, perception of self and belonging'¹¹ may 'bridge the divide between the "dirt" and the "word"' and open up new methods of seeing objects and texts interacting.¹² The model offers *one* way of

10. Gell 1992, p. 43.

11. See Mullen this volume p. 30.

12. Martin 2008, pp. 313-49.

trying to understand how dual or multiple identities work both within a single art work and within assemblages of art objects, as demonstrated by Wallace-Hadrill.¹³ Because code-switching is now also placed firmly as a contemporary linguistic phenomenon showing that it does not have to be used instantly, impulsively or spontaneously, but may represent a well thought-through and intentional mode of constructing and expressing identity, it has become even more interesting as a model applicable for material culture. If we accept that identity is not just about ethnicity or cultural affiliation but that the shaping of identity is also concerned with such basic issues as status, gender, religion, and even tradition, the switching between not necessarily bi-polar or multiple ethnic identities but between multiple cultural identities becomes relevant. Without epigraphic or textual evidence in support it may not explain intentionality or the specific type of identity at work¹⁴ but the model is a good starting point as a meaningful way of explaining variation within an assemblage or within a single object (see below). The second issue of importance, when looking at the Cypriot sculptural material from the code-switching model is that the point of departure is not literary. Previous studies have, it seems, taken as an assumption that the literary sources establish reality in a way that the material remains do not and this has influenced the way that the material remains of the island have been approached. My point of departure is to look at the material remains in their own right avoiding the literary flaw that the island, because it was described as 'hot' and interpreted as boring, has nothing to contribute to our understanding of the Roman empire.

1. The sculptural material

The island has a long and very significant indigenous sculptural tradition. Life-size statuary in limestone and terracotta of the Archaic and Classical periods has been recovered literary in the hundreds from its many sanctuaries.¹⁵ Marble, however, is very rare in these early periods and even during the Hellenistic period examples are few, almost all of small scale, pieced together from several bits of marble, and subsequently carefully repaired more times.¹⁶

13. Above all Wallace-Hadrill 1998, pp. 86-90 and 2008, pp. 38-70.

14. See Mullen this volume.

15. Overview for the Archaic to Roman period sculptures in Counts 2001; for the Hellenistic period Connelly 1988 and for the Hellenistic/Roman period Fejfer 2006. Also now for the Hellenistic/Roman period sculpture A. Hermary's "Essai de bilan" article, Hermary 2009.

16. Westholm 1936, p. 125. Funerary monuments in marble are known from the Late Archaic/Classical through the Roman periods and according to Parks (2002) 19 marble funerary monuments take up 11% of the total funerary markers from the Hellenistic/Roman periods. Marble funerary monuments are concentrated at Salamis and other coastal cities.

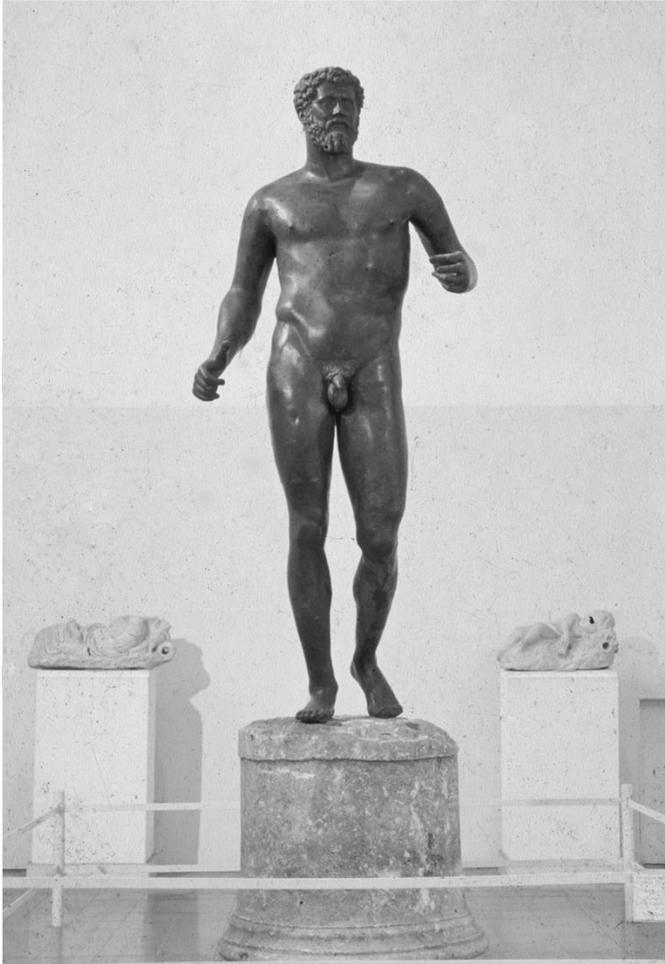


FIG. 1. Bronze statue of Septimius Severus found out of context (Photo: author).

This demonstrates that the use of marble represented a significant economic outlay and must have been perceived as exotic and rare during that period. Seen in the light of the island's substantial copper resources, bronze must have been extensively used for large-scale statuary during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. But because bronze is prone to recycling we only get occasional glimpses of the high quality bronze work, which was produced on the island into the late Roman periods.¹⁷ (FIG. 1)

17. For evidence of the production of large scale bronze sculpture of the Roman period in Nea Paphos, see Fejfer 2006, p. 86 with note 33. See also Lahusen and Formigli 2001.

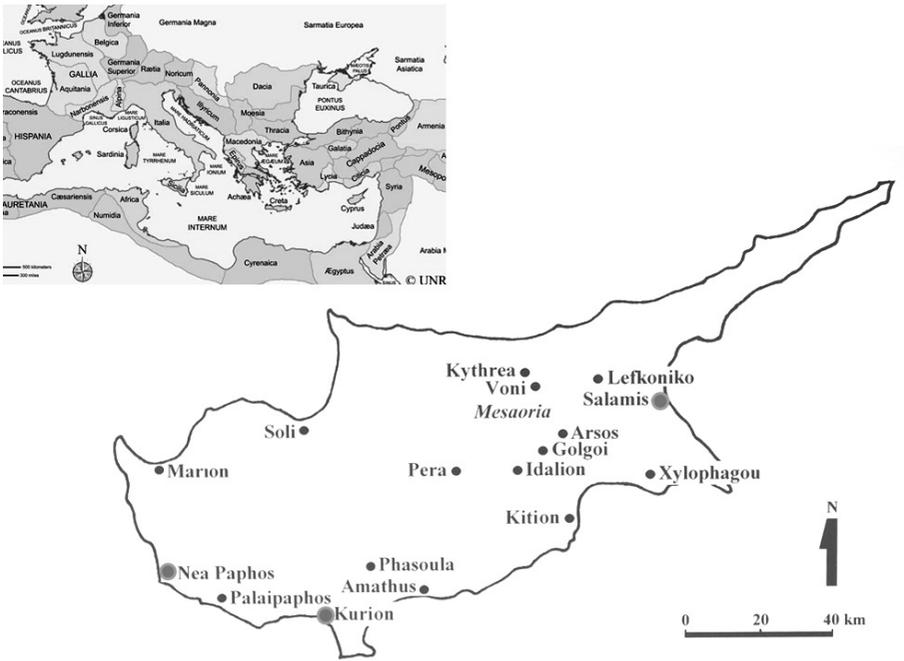


FIG. 2. Map of Cyprus with the three main sites that have boasted multiple marble sculptures.

From the Roman period, however, Cyprus preserves an extraordinary cross-section of sculpture, in useful contexts and in epigraphic documentation.¹⁸ Much of the material derives from fairly recent well-documented excavations. The sculptural material therefore provides an excellent opportunity for studying monumental art in a well defined region and province of the Roman empire. Even though limestone is still the dominant material for sculpture during the Roman period a substantial part of the sculptural population is now made of marble. Marble is alien to the island and had to be imported. Its sources remain obscure as very few scientific analyses have been undertaken but Aphrodisias and Proconessus would be qualified guesses. It is also uncertain to what extent the marble sculptures were imported as finished products to the island or made in local workshops.¹⁹ White marble for buildings and sculpture seems to have been readily available from the 1st century BC.

18. Fejfer 2003 and Fejfer 2006.

19. For a sculptor's signature on a statue of Dionysos, see Mitford and Nicolaou 1974, p. 52, No. 30 and Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, p. 24, No. 41.

Evidence for its use shows clear patterns of distribution. (FIG. 2) While limestone sculptures derive from city centres, tombs and isolated inland sanctuary sites from all over the island, marble sculptures are found in just a few coastal centres. Only three sites, Kourion, Paphos, and Salamis, can boast multiple examples.²⁰ This massive and sudden influx of marble sculptures to the most important political and commercial centres of the island has provoked comments such as, the marble sculptures are many and totally predictable or ‘they are just examples of the overall decisive influence of Roman culture’²¹ and further ‘foreign merchants and officers coming from Greece and Rome to Cyprus probably felt that in appearance Cypriot sanctuaries and cities were remote and cut off from the developments in the rest of the Mediterranean and wanted to bring them up to date.’²² In short the use of marble in Cyprus is usually perceived not just as an example of “Romanization” in the eastern Mediterranean but as a very forceful foreign influence that crushed the island’s own sculptural tradition. Because these sculptures have been perceived as totally predictable hardly any attempts have been made to explain how this to the island foreign material was given meaning and interest within its local context. Standard choices meant different things to a Cypriot recipient because such choices got their primary meaning and interest from their local context. By first looking in detail at contexts in Salamis and then proceeding to the two other main sites which have boasted marble sculpture, it will become clear how marble was used very selectively and programmatically.

SALAMIS

The theatre

In reaction to the silting up of its harbour in the early Hellenistic period, the city centre of Salamis was abruptly shifted northwards only to be replaced in the early 2nd century BC by Nea Paphos as capital of Cyprus. Although Salamis did not formally regain its status as metropolis until 346 AD when it was re-founded as Constantia, it remained an important political and industrial city during the entire Roman period.²³ From the Augustan period onwards the city was thoroughly remodelled. Its main sanctuary to Zeus, its agora and the bath-gymnasium were completely restructured during the Augustan period, its theatre and amphitheatre during the Flavian period. (FIG. 3) The theatre was discovered in 1959 and the excavations were carefully documented but have not yet been fully published except for the sculptural finds

20. Table in Fejfer 2006, p. 85.

21. Senff 1989, p. 188.

22. Senff 1989, p. 191.

23. For the archaeology and history of Roman Salamis, Karageorghis 1969, pp. 167-96.



FIG. 3. The reconstructed theatre at Salamis (Photo: author).

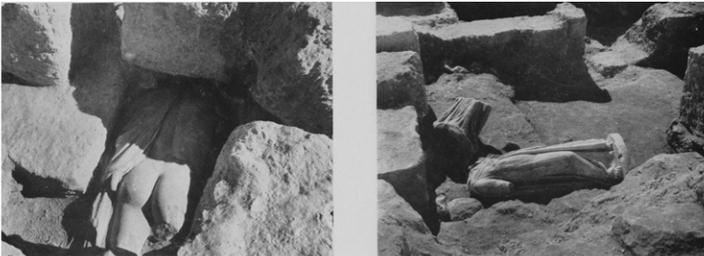
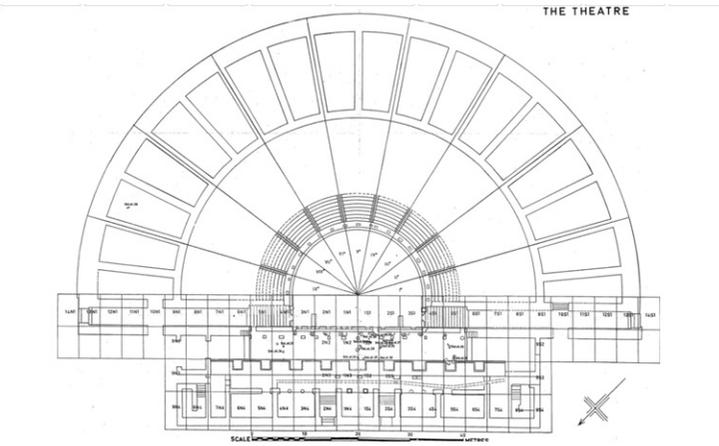


FIG. 4. 1959 find situation of the sculptures which had tumbled down from the old *scenae frons* during the earth quake in AD 332 or 342 (After Karageorghis 1964, Pl. 41).

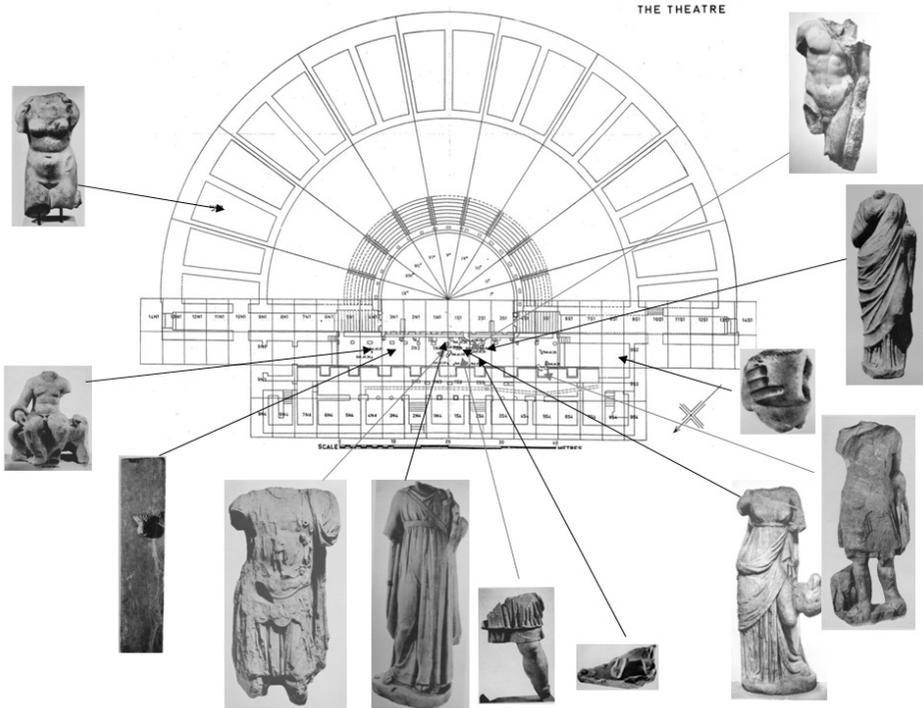


FIG. 5. Distribution of main sculptural finds from the theatre in Salamis. Red arrows indicate emperor statues, blue arrows Apollo and muses, black arrows other sculptures (Based on Karageorghis 1964).

which were published in 1964 by the excavator Vassos Karageorghis in collaboration with Cornelius C. Vermeule.²⁴ The theatre's foundations probably date back to the Augustan period, but it was thoroughly remodelled during the Flavian period after an earthquake in 77 AD when a local peer Servius Sulpicius Pancles Veranianus paid for its construction.²⁵ Its *scenae frons* was a three-storey high façade richly decorated with columned *aediculae* and niches which held statues. During one of two devastating earthquakes in the 4th century, in 332 and 342 AD, the *cavea* and the high stage building collapsed. Statues and columns tumbled down over the *proskenia* and the *paraskenia* and were mixed with building debris. Some-time after the

24. The sculptures are published in Karageorghis 1964, and Karageorghis and Vermeule 1966. Preliminary excavation reports by V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles e découvertes archéologique a Chypre en 1960", *BCH* 85 (1961) 302-6; 86 (1962) 396-404; 87 (1963) 380-82; 88(1964) 362-64; 89 (1965) 300; 91 (1967) 370; 93 (1969) 566; 98 (1974) 896; 99 (1975) 841.
25. Mitford and Nicolaou 1974, p. 26, No. 12.



FIG. 6. Part of a cuirass statue of an emperor from the *scenae frons* of the theatre in Salamis (After Karageorghis 1964, Pl. 43.1).

devastating destruction a new but much smaller theatre was constructed on top of the old one. A small stage building was built above the debris of the old stage building. It mainly covered and sealed the building debris and statues of the old theatre destroyed by the earthquakes (FIGS. 4-5). These statues are all of white marble and fall into two distinct groups: portrait statues almost certainly representing Roman emperors and mythological statues: Apollon and the Muses and Dionysiac figures. The just above life-size portrait statues include two cuirass statues as well as the leg of a third one and one statue in heroic nudity, all headless.²⁶ (FIG. 6) The remaining statues found in the debris all represent mythological figures and fall into two distinct groups according to size. The group of Apollo and Muses (FIG. 7) is slightly under

26. Almost all the statues miss their heads and other “extremities” and the site may have served as a convenient place for extracting building material until the rubble from the *scenae frons* was covered by the smaller theatre.



FIG. 7. Statue of Apollo from the Apollo and Muses Group from the *scenae frons* of the theatre in Salamis (After Karageorghis 1964, Pl. 48.2).

life-size while the Dionysiac figures are much smaller, about half life-size.²⁷ Finally, the discovery also boasted a quite different type of statuary – an inscribed headless herm of Chrysisippos. The sculptural decoration of the three-story high *scenae frons* of the theatre of Salamis can therefore be reconstructed as follows: the middle storey most probably held the statues representing the Roman emperors. The upper storey would have been furnished with the group of Apollo and the muses while the lower storey held the figures of Dionysos and his entourage. The front of the *proscenion* itself was probably embellished with a series of portrait herms representing Greek men of letters. There is nothing extraordinary in this decoration. One of the main criteria that guided the sculptural furnishing of public (and private) buildings was propriety: that the sculptural themes had to match or be appropriate for a particular setting. This concern for propriety is already evidenced in Cicero's famous letter to Atticus (*Att.* I.6.2) in which he requests sculpture

27. For Dionysiac figures in theatres in the east, Özren 1996, p. 111.

that is gymnasiode, appropriate in a gymnasium (and for his *otium villa*)²⁸ and in particular relevant here, is Vitruvius' passage on the sculptural furnishing of the theatre in Tralles (*De architectura* 7.5.6). Vitruvius tells the story of a certain Licymnius who tried to persuade the citizens of Tralles to change the decoration of their theatre in order to avoid to be regarded as foolish because of one flaw: the lack of propriety.²⁹ To support his point Vitruvius evokes the example of Alabanda where the gymnasia are filled with statues of lawyers pleading cases, whereas in the forum there are discus throwers, runners and ballplayers. Thus the inappropriate placement of the statues with regard to their site has won the city the reputation of poor judgment. With its Apollo and Muses group, portraits of emperors and herms representing Greek men of letters the Salamis theatre performs well according to standards of choices for theatre decoration across the empire.³⁰ The Salamis theatre may be compared to two recently excavated and published theatres in the Roman East, in Aphrodisias in Caria and Corinth in Achaia. In the theatre of Aphrodisias constructed during the Augustan period more than 40 pieces of major sculptures were recovered. The statues include six imperial portraits and inscriptions³¹ and the theatre doubtlessly accommodated a Julio-Claudian imperial family group whereas vast majority of portrait statues represented local dignitaries, priests and athletes.³² Findspots show that statues of local people adorned the *proscenion* and the *scenae frons* just as they were distributed around the *cavea*.³³ The mythological sculptures found in the theatre still await publication but preliminary reports record a statue of Apollo as well as two statues of Muses.³⁴ The Aphrodisias theatre therefore also held a group of Apollo and Muses as well as other mythological figures that made reference to the city's local history. In the theatre of Corinth dedicated to Hadrian, the vast majority of excavated sculptures probably adorned the three storey high columnar façade behind the stage.³⁵ The central niche of the second storey probably held a double life-size seated statue of Trajan in heroic nudity while the central niche of the story above held a cuirass statue of Hadrian. It is suggested that the remaining two principal niches in the second story held statues of the imperial family as well. The

28. Perry 2005, p. 53 and Marvin 2008, p. 35.

29. Marvin 2008, pp. 234-36.

30. Fuchs 1987, p. 185f. for the west and Özren 1996, p. 102f., p. 115 for the east.

31. A portrait of Claudius, Smith 2006, No. 158 and inscriptions for Livia, Atia, Aemilia Lepida, Germanicus, Domitia, Smith 2006, pp. 77-96, Nos. 4, 5, 12, 13, 22.

32. The portrait sculptures from Aphrodisias are published in Smith 2006. Portraits from the theatre include Nos. 1, 2, 11, 39, 40, 42, 50, 51, 84, 113, 114, 158, 171, 208.

33. Distribution of finds in the theatre in Smith 2006, p. 17, Fig. 7. The statues from the Antonine *logeion* are discussed in Smith 2006, pp. 54-56.

34. Erim and Smith 1991, p. 71; Smith 2006, p. 16.

35. The sculptures from the theatre of Corinth were published in Sturgeon 2004.



FIG. 8. Limestone votive statue of a young man in himation from the sanctuary of Golgoi in New York, Metropolitan Museum (inv.74.51.2465). (After Karageorghis 2000, no. 402)

lower storey held mythological figures including Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Heracles, Dionysos and Pan. Some of these figures may have related to local cult while others related to the contests taking place in the theatre. There are also remains of seven non-imperial marble portrait figures,³⁶ some of which may represent local benefactors.³⁷ They seem to have adorned the *scenae frons* itself. Both of these theatres, as the Salamis theatre, boasted imperial portrait sculptures on the *scenae frons*. But unlike Salamis, the stage buildings (and *cavea*) in the theatres of Aphrodisias and Corinth accommodated a number of statues of non-imperial and local people. Neither togate or himation clad figures, typical of the theatre in Aphrodisias and known from the theatre in Corinth have been recovered from the Salamis theatre.³⁸ Further, not a single *togatus* or himation statue in marble has yet been identified in the Cypriot sculptural corpus. However, himation statues sculpted in local limestone abund just as there is vast epigraphic evidence for the presence of portrait statues of local people from around the island, including the theatre in Salamis. (FIGS. 8-10) When the theatre collapsed during the 4th century earthquakes the *cavea* was not protected by a later structure, as was the debris of the stage building. Instead the *cavea* area was apparently left as it fell and used as supply for building materials for constructions in the city. However, during the excavations of the theatre a number of inscriptions that obviously belonged to the theatre's original Flavian phase were recovered. Most outstanding is a series of statue bases honouring Servius Sulpicius Pancles Veranianus and his family. Pancles, a local Salaminian who acquired Roman citizenship during the reign of Galba, is honoured in three different statue bases in his role as builder of the theatre and of the (not yet excavated) amphitheatre. One of the bases obviously bore his bronze statue while the top of the other two bases is destroyed.³⁹ A base for his daughter Sergia Phila and a base for his son Tiberius Claudius also carried bronze statues as probably did the base honouring his wife Claudia Eirene.⁴⁰ These statue bases clearly demonstrate that local benefactors and peers were honoured in the theatre. In contrast to what is evidenced from both the Aphrodisias and Corinth theatres, local people were not honoured with statues on the stage building itself but in the *cavea* and those statues were executed in bronze. They may have been gilded and even if they were not the Cypriot bronze was famous for its

36. Sturgeon 2004, Nos. 27-33.

37. Sturgeon 2004, No. 31.

38. The head-less *togatus* from the theatre of Corinth may represent an imperial person, see Sturgeon 2004, No. 34.

39. Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, Nos. 106, 111, 113.

40. Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, Nos. 115, 117, 114.



FIG. 9. Limestone himation statue of the “Koan type” at Salamis (Photo: author).

gold-like appearance.⁴¹ When entering the theatre these golden statues of benefactors and local peers shined and reflected the light from the sun and the glittering sea. The audience would stay put during performances with attention directed towards the marble furnished *scenae frons* but the eyes would move around the *cavea*. Variety stimulated the eye and the juxtaposition of the different materials caused reaction. How can we explain this particular distribution of material in the theatre? What kind of agency is at work here and what sort of social context does it operate in? Choice of material is

41. Pliny the Elder, *HN* 34. 94. By adding lead to Cypriot copper, also according to Pliny, *HN* 34.98, a purple colour, for the border of the toga, was achieved.



FIG. 10. Limestone himation statue of the "arm-sling" type from Kourion in Kourion Museum (Photo: author. Apologies for the quality, only image of type available).

never arbitrary. The making of both bronze and marble statues required both technological and technical skills and it can be assumed that technology and use of material were more resistant to change than were form and style. Tradition and practicalities therefore influenced choice of material but the choice may also be symbolic, expressing for example cultural affiliation or it may express social or economic hierarchy. The theatre was one of the city's most important cultural and political institutions pivotal in the communication between mortals and immortals, between subjects and emperor, between citizens and elite and between locals and foreigners.⁴² It was a showplace where visitors from other cities or other parts of the empire dwelt. It was the centre for presentation of drama, it was where contests in religious festivals

42. Chaniotis 1997, pp. 224-225, also Chaniotis 2007, pp. 54-59 on the crowning of benefactors in the theatre.

were held, it was where the gatherings of the citizen body met and it was here that announcements of honour and the crowning of benefactors took place. Cypriot patrons and recipients were probably very conscious of the choice of material and its significance. Since the Archaic period terracotta, limestone and bronze had been used to define religious spaces and express regional environments.⁴³ The cult images of the island's two most venerated deities the Paphaian Aphrodite and the Salaminian Zeus formed contrast in both material and iconography. The image of Zeus was of bronze and in traditional mode and style while the image of Aphrodite was a conical black stone *baetyl*, which caused Tacitus (*Hist.* 2.2-3) much wondering.⁴⁴ In the theatre of Salamis economic considerations were not an issue in the choice of material for its sculptural furnishing as Pancles who paid for the theatre including its marble decoration chose and accepted that he himself as well as members of his family were honoured with statues of bronze. Given the fact that Cyprus' economy to a large extent depended on its copper resources and that the island had a long tradition for making bronze artefacts, local identity and pride was most certainly at play here. This use of materials in the sculptural decoration of the theatre at Salamis inevitably raises the question of how and why marble was used in other contexts in Cyprus?

The gymnasium-baths

At Salamis itself, the gymnasium-baths located 200 m north-east of the theatre also boasted a substantial number of marble statues. (FIG. 11) Two large pools placed symmetrically behind the north and south end of the east *stoa* of the *palaestra* were surrounded by a roofed portico on three sides and niches were embedded in the walls – according to Vassos Karageorghis doubtlessly for the display of statues. The rooms behind the east portico formed the *palaestra*-façade of the baths. Along the walls of the two *frigidaria* there were niches, again for statues.⁴⁵ With few exceptions all the sculptures found in the gymnasium-baths were recovered from the rooms behind the east portico of the *palaestra* in the pool rooms, in the *frigidaria* and in front of the façade of the baths. The excavated evidence reflects the final phase of the city when the sculptures tumbled over either during the Arab raids or during a final earthquake in the 7th century. The preservation situation in the gymnasium-baths is therefore very different from that of the theatre. The baths were equally severely damaged during the 4th century earthquakes but when they were restored, perhaps not before the beginning of the 5th century, the sculptures were reused either as building material or reinstalled in their wall niches. The

43. Limestone dominates the east while terracotta is very common in the west.

44. Stewart 2008, pp. 204-7.

45. Karageorghis 1969, p. 185f.

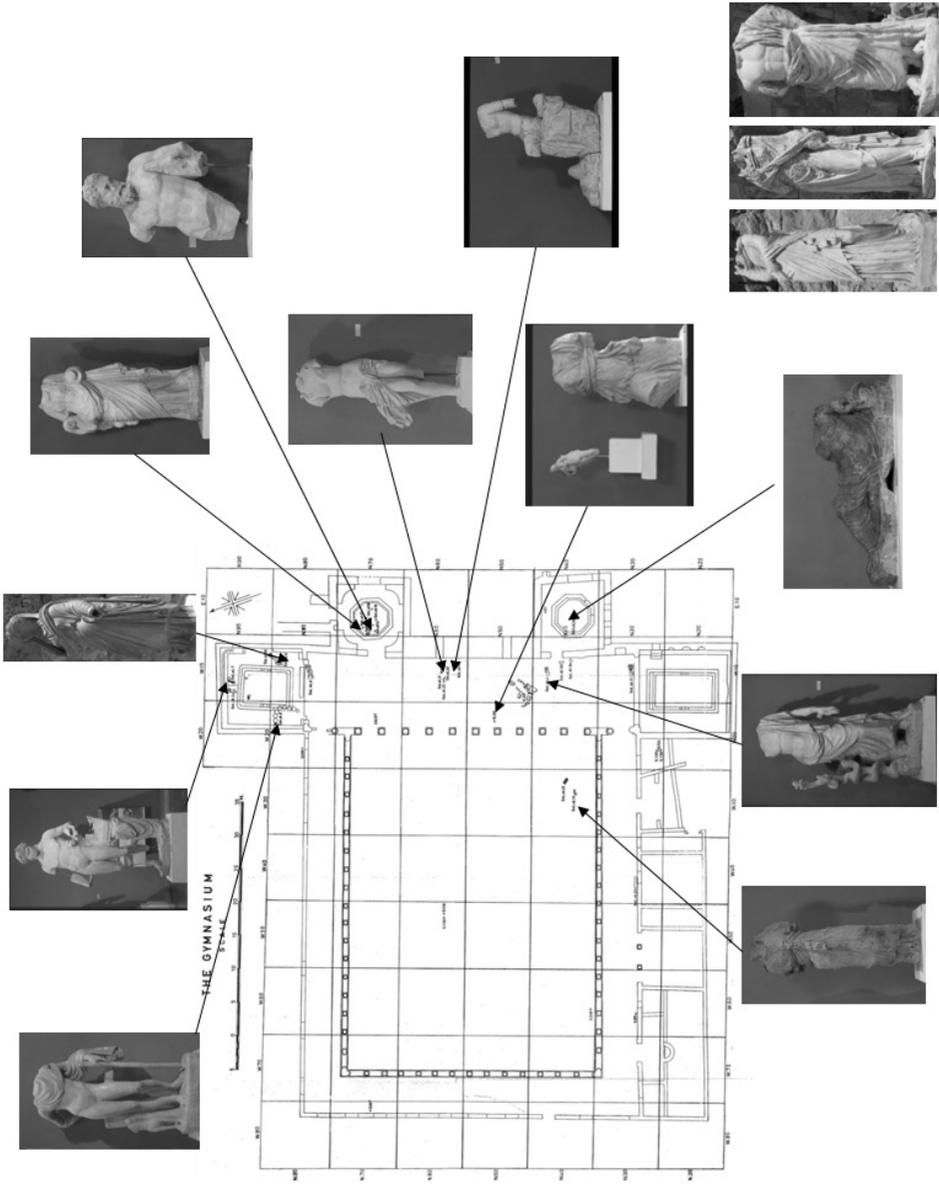


FIG. 11. The gymnasium-bath at Salamis (Based on Karageorghis (1964) and Karageorghis & Vermeule (1966)).

statues were therefore not found in the context for which they were originally made but are evidence of the 5th century restoration phase of the baths when they served as the bathing facility of the Christian city. It cannot be excluded that some of the sculptures were transferred to the baths from other buildings but the fact that several of the statues were used as building materials indicates that this was not the case. Clearly, there must have been plenty of marble sculptures available from the baths themselves. There can be no doubt that the sculptures originally, after the Trajanic revamp?, adorned the multiple niches imbedded into the walls of the baths. As in the theatre, statues of local benefactors and officials are missing in the gymnasium-baths. None of the statuary types found in the gymnasium-baths seem to have carried portraits.⁴⁶ Statue bases of Hellenistic kings, emperors, governors and victors found scattered around the gymnasium however confirm that portrait statues were displayed in considerable numbers – but they were, it seems, made of bronze.⁴⁷ We even know that Pancles, the benefactor from the theatre also paid for gilded (probably bronze) statues of emperors in the gymnasium.⁴⁸ In the gymnasium-baths the use of material is therefore slightly different from that in the theatre: in the gymnasium-baths individual portrait statues of emperors and local people mounted on inscribed bases were scattered around the *palaestra* of the gymnasium and they were, the evidence suggests, made of bronze. So-called ideal statuary of marble was concentrated in the baths where they were closely integrated into the architectural setting, most probably being placed in the niches.

KOURION

At Kourion marble statues have been recovered from two different buildings, the nymphaeum and the so-called House of the Gladiators.⁴⁹ Located on the west end of the city's agora, the 2nd century AD nymphaeum had a large

46. It cannot be excluded that the headless female statues Karageorghis 1964, Nos. 10, 12, 13, 14 and Karageorghis and Vermeule 1966, Nos. 94, 95 are portrait statues.
47. Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, Nos. 65, 66 (Ptolemaios V), 70 (Ptolemaios XI and Cleopatra III?) 75 (Seleucos governor BC 142-31), 80 (Hellenistic governor), 83 (Helenos, governor 114-7) 93 (Ptolemaios Athenes) 97 (Stasikrates, gymnasiarch?), 98 Demetrios (victor 1st century BC-AD) 112 (Servius Sulpicius Pancles Veranianus). Unfortunately it is not always described whether the bases carried bronze or marble statues and it is also sometimes the case that the surface of a base is not well preserved making judgment whether it carried a statue in bronze or marble difficult or impossible.
48. This is mentioned in the base which bore his statue in the theatre, Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, No. 106.
49. Isolated marble sculptures have also been recovered from the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates by Kourion, see Hermary 2009, pp. 160-2.

central semicircular niche flanked by rectangular niches.⁵⁰ (FIG.12) Shell shaped crownings for small niches and columns found in the nymphaeum indicate that it was embellished with a theatre-like aedicule façade that held sculptures. These include among others the well-preserved life-size figures of Bacchus and a boy with dolphin, appropriate for a nymphaeum façade.⁵¹



FIG. 12. The nymphaeum in Kourion (Photo: author).

The function of the so-called House of Gladiators located just off the agora remains disputed.⁵² It consists of a peristyle court surrounded by columns on four sides, a large hall on the north side and a bath complex on the south side. The centre of the peristyle floor has a black and white mosaic with geometric pattern and in its southern end is a series of polychrome figural mosaics with gladiatorial combats. The complex has been identified as a large residential house but it seems more likely that it was a small palaestra-bath complex.⁵³ It was constructed in the very late 3rd century AD but collapsed shortly after during the 4th century earthquakes. It was partly rebuilt and the baths remained in use probably through the 7th century. Fragments of sculptures including representations of Aphrodite, Heracles and Hygeia were recovered from the east portico but the major pieces were

50. Christou 1996, pp. 46-47. See also Fejfer 2006, pp. 88-91.

51. The statue of one of the Dioscuri, stylistically a pendant to the statue of Dionysos, may have local relevance. For sculptural decoration of nymphaea in Asia Minor see Rathmayr 2010 with table of so-called ideal sculpture p. 138f. Generally on monumental fountain buildings in the Roman east, Longfellow 2010, pp. 61-162.

52. The main publication is Loulloupis 1971. See also Fejfer 2008.

53. Kondoleon 1982, p. 103.



FIG. 13. Statue of Asclepius from the baths in the so-called House of Gladiators in Kourion. Kourion Museum (Photo: author).

found within the baths. These include $\frac{3}{4}$ life-size well-known statuary types of Asclepios and Hermes. (FIG. 13) The Asclepios statue has been radically recut and the staff with the curling snake, that usually supports the figure's right armpit, has been cut away. This probably happened when it was reused in the 5th century context and transformed into a figure of Christ. The nude figure of Hermes accompanied by a ram sitting at the tree trunk support was left untouched probably because it supported a re-interpretation as the Good Sheppard. The size of the figures, their squat proportions and their highly polished surfaces indicate that they were acquired from the same workshop with a common context in mind. They have been dated to the 2nd century AD but there is no conclusive evidence to support such a date, which goes against the archaeological evidence. Most likely the sculptures were made in the late 3rd century, when the complex was constructed and richly furnished. The Asclepios and Hermes statuary types as well as three other sculptural types found in the complex were also used in the gymnasium-baths in Salamis. This is evidence for a striking continuity from the 1st through the 3rd centuries – of both statuary types and their use as furnishing of a typical Roman bath in Cyprus.

NEA PAPHOS

The public spaces of Nea Paphos remain to a large extent unexcavated,⁵⁴ and for now therefore evidence for the use of marble sculpture in the Roman period is mainly confined to the excavated vast residential areas, in particular to the so-called House of Theseus interpreted as a 3rd century official Roman residence, perhaps of a Roman governor.⁵⁵ The huge, c. 1500 m², complex was laid out with four wings around a central columned peristyle court and richly decorated with mosaic floors and marble veneered walls.⁵⁶ Just under life-size sculptures probably stood in the two niches which embellished the passage way leading from the wide entrance hall into the peristyle court.⁵⁷ (FIG. 14) In the court itself was a small horseshoe shaped nymphaeum which may have accommodated a number of the marble statuettes found in a storeroom.⁵⁸ (FIG. 15)

54. Only the so-called odeum in the sanctuary of Asclepius and the theatre have been fully excavated. For the odeum, see V. Karageorghis, *Chronique des fouilles e découvertes archéologique a Chypre en 1974*, BCH 99, 1975, p. 840 with previous references. For the theatre, see Green & Stennett 2002.
55. Kondoleon 1995, p. 18 suggests that it was designed for receiving occasional imperial visits.
56. Daszewski 1994-2007.
57. Fejfer 2008, pp. 111-17.
58. Fejfer 2008, p. 115. Sculptures first published in Daszewski 1994.



FIG. 14. Niches for statues flanking the main passage from the entrance hall to the peristyle court in the so-called House of Theseus in Nea Paphos (Photo: author).



FIG. 15. Marble statuettes from the so-called House of Theseus in Nea Paphos, Paphos Museum (Photo: author).

2. Creating and negotiating identities: code-switching in Cyprus?⁵⁹

After this overview of the use of marble sculpture on the island we are now in a much better position to assess and understand the sculptural population of the theatre at Salamis. Without ignoring both spatial and temporal differences between the sites, evidence strongly suggests that marble sculpture in Cyprus primarily occurred in architectural settings that were specifically Roman or were eastern interpretations of Roman architectural styles. By the Flavian period an architectural style based on the decorative use of marble had become widespread with uniform results around the coast of Asia Minor, the so-called marble style.⁶⁰ This was characterized by projecting marble orders, pedimental *aediculae*, shell-crowned niches and sculptures and used particularly in city gates, nymphaeae, theatre stage-buildings and baths. In the theatre of Salamis marble sculptures were primarily if not exclusively used to embellish the three-storey high *scenae frons*. In the gymnasium-baths the marble sculptures were displayed in niches embedded in the walls of the bath building proper, at Kourion they adorned the niches of the colonnaded façade of the nymphaeum and the baths of the so-called House of the Gladiators. At Nea Paphos the collection of statuettes may have been displayed in the small nymphaeum while large statues adorned the niches in and on the axis of the entrance hall of the House of Theseus.

It has become strikingly clear that in Roman Cyprus marble was intimately linked to these absolutely new architectural styles. Choice of material formed an important element in the mode in which a space and the visual experience of it could be organized. The Cypriot way of using marble sculpture was distinctly different from other parts of the Roman East as we have seen exemplified by Corinth and Aphrodisias. Cyprus accommodated the so-called marble style into her urban spaces but it was given specific meaning in the juxtaposition with local limestone and particularly bronze. In the theatre of Salamis the golden bronze statues of Pancles and his family captured the attention of their viewers in a way that ultimately contributed to a perpetuation and memorialisation of past choices and the traditional structure and value system of Cypriot society. When the gaze moved, these familiar golden bronze monuments of local Cypriots entered into a dialogue with

59. See the introductory chapter of this volume for a more in-depth discussion of code-switching as a model for negotiating cultural identities.

60. Burrell 2006 on marble facades in Asia Minor. Specifically on Aphrodisias, see Stinson 2008, pp. 60-9.

the new and foreign tall marble-furnished and marble populated façade of the stage, which would have cost Pancles a considerable amount of money. Code-switching when used in writing is often neither instant, impulsive nor spontaneous, but can represent a well thought-through and intentional mode of constructing and expressing identity. It therefore represents *one* useful model of trying to understand what material properties and their choice may do to those people when used in the public spaces, where the sculptures were displayed. Code-switching offers a model of giving meaning to this particular and programmatic variation in use of material which I have demonstrated existed in Roman Cyprus: instead of explaining the variation as down-right random, practical or aesthetic, code-switching offers itself as a model of seeing this particular use of materials as meaningful variation: the programmatic use of sculptural material in the theatre of Salamis and other sites in Cyprus, is a manifestation of how Pancles expresses his dual identity as a local and a sophisticated member of the global Roman empire and that this is what he wants to communicate to the visitors to the theatre. The use of marble in Cyprus seems to have arrived with her annexation into the Roman empire and as it seems to be recurring again and again in the same context of marble facade architecture in Cypriot public spaces whereas bronze remains the main choice for free-standing sculpture – this distribution is neither fortuitous, spontaneous, or haphazard, but seems to be creating a meaningful dual identity embedded into a specific social situation.

The marble *scenae frons* was ultimately part of a dialogue in the process of redefining Cyprus' role and accommodating herself within a global imperial culture. The theatre decoration in Salamis was modern and imposing and it drew attention to its benefactor as being important, rich and global. At the same time when the gaze moved around the space, Pancles confirmed his Cypriot identity and veneration for a century old tradition of representation in material that was of local origin, which had been developed into technological perfection, and was important for Cypriot economy. But it is not as simple as this as material was used in a much more intriguing and sophisticated way. Himation statues in limestone (FIGS. 8-10) and the large number of statue bases for honorific statues made of bronze demonstrate that local dignitaries like Pancles continued to prefer these long-known materials of limestone and bronze for their self-representation. Moreover these choices seem to be linked to equally traditional settings and locations. In city squares, in sanctuaries and in the cavea of the theatre free-standing honorific statues were made of the local limestone and bronze. Dependent on their

location even portraits of emperors were cut in limestone.⁶¹ The sculptural material of the island therefore suggests that rather than being crushed by foreign influences,⁶² it was not only part of an ongoing negotiation with the wide-spread Roman imperial marble style but as Gell says, art objects come in families with lineages and it should not be overlooked that the routine of working local materials seems to have directed or even constrained sculptors on the island to continue long established material conventions in order that these statues may not fall outside what had been a long-established representational habitus.⁶³ During the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic period votive statues in local materials were displayed particularly in island's sanctuaries apparently without any relation to architectural structures.⁶⁴

This meaningful juxtaposition of marble versus bronze and limestone that can be observed in the Cypriot material by applying the model of code-switching opens up further dialogue between material culture and text because it suggests that we have largely overlooked the importance of and ancient attitudes towards *techné*. Craftsmen proudly showed off the results of their work in tombstones as alternatives to social roles and sculptors are sometimes described according to the material they worked with rather than the works they created.⁶⁵ Pliny the Elder devotes much of his writings to the systematic description and classification of materials and how technical advantage (or decline) had an impact on peoples' relation to the physical world. Pliny should not be considered as a merely mechanical and artless compiler but rather as aiming at creating a structured vision of the physical world, a world and world-view that was closely linked to the world of social reality and practice. The distribution patterns in choices of material for Cyprus' sculptural population suggests that Pliny's careful descriptions of the origin and qualities of particular materials, advantages and disadvantages for their use and innovation or decline in the techniques of their manufacture may reflect anything but a pedantic preoccupation with detail. It seems to reflect a world in which

61. Fragment of a relief with over life-size profile head of Augustus in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (inv. 1971.325) allegedly from Cyprus, see Boschung 1993, p. 125, No. 35 and a miniature head in limestone in Paris, The Louvre (inv. AM 181) in Boschung 1993, p. 169, No. 149. Also the about life-size cuirass-clad relief figure (an emperor?) found with relief figures of Victoria and Hercules. These figures were left unfinished in the quarry at Xylophagou on the south coast of the island and were interpreted by C.C.C. Vermeule as a possible unfinished memorial destined for Salamis and dedicated to Trajan, see Vermeule 2003, pp. 206-16; Fejfer 2008, p. 123.

62. See above pp. 170-171.

63. For a recent discussion of Gell's approach of earlier works as essential resources for their successors, see Woolf 2003/4, p. 162.

64. Connelly 1988.

65. Zimmer 1982.

materials and their technical execution played an active role in people's lives and helped shape their identities.⁶⁶ Cyprus now demonstrates that special techniques and effects were not only valued on their own but that the choice of technique and material also depended on a wider context – on routine, on the location, on the specific physical setting and in particular on issues of identity and ideology – they were meaningful not only in isolation but also in context. Material therefore contributed markedly to the expression of ideology and appropriateness of a given space and by flagging one material against another it contributed to the negotiation of identity.⁶⁷

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66. For Pliny's encyclopaedic strategies, see Carey 2003, 17-32.

67. In a much wider perspective the evidence from Cyprus raises fundamental questions about the role and function of "ideal" marble statuary and "Roman copies" and their association with the so-called marble style in the eastern part of the empire.

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AN EXAMPLE OF DYNAMIC CHANGE IN THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF CONTACT, INTERACTION, AND IDENTITY EXPRESSION

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Introduction

A major theme of the AVADIN workshop and of the papers published here is that the model of bilingualism (actually multilingualism in a number of cases) presented by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill in his recent book, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, offers an interesting new approach to the study of identity in the past and its expression through material culture.¹ In particular, the concept of code-switching seems especially intriguing as it allows for choices that are both free of value judgments and can therefore also be made more freely. As Alexandra Mullen discusses in her paper, some of these choices can become so natural, that they are unconscious. As a result, they may not have the same relevance as expressions of identity that we are wont to attribute to them. In this paper, I would like to explore the relevance of the code-switching model to monumental architecture by focusing on two ideas that Wallace-Hadrill puts forward, one in what appears to be something of a throw-away comment up against the stronger focus on bilingualism and code-switching, and the other a more central portion of his argument concerning the importance of monumental buildings in the expression of identity.

1. Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

Towards the end of his discussion of monumental buildings in the form of temples, Wallace-Hadrill addresses the following two issues: The first is a reading of monumental architecture that sees it as a cultural product that ‘requires such a concerted attempt on the part of the community, is such a commitment of resource, and leaves behind so conspicuous a public symbol, that it is hard not to read it as a significant statement of identity.’² The second issue is based on Polly Wiessner’s concept of “emblematic style” or ‘formal variation in material culture that has a distinct referent and transmits a clear message to a defined target population about conscious affiliation or identity...’³ Wallace-Hadrill mentions in a somewhat off-hand manner, that the distinction between this and other kinds of style is something archaeologists need to pay much more attention to.⁴ The key and the challenge, as both authors have noted, is to determine which aspects or pieces of material culture were actually being used by a particular group to consciously express a particular identity. Of course, this also implies that there will be aspects of that group’s material culture that do not have this function.

In his review of *Rome’s Cultural Revolution*, Joseph Geiger recommends that readers peruse the book alongside a more contemporary work focused on the early modern period in England.⁵ In particular, Geiger notes the historical parallels that can be drawn between the two. The question I wish to discuss below is the following: What can the study of bilingualism, phenomena such as code-switching, and the two issues mentioned above, which are based in an analysis of the transition from the Late Republic to the Early Empire, offer to the examination of the material culture of a third chronological period, the Late Medieval (AD 1000-1500)?

In particular, the objects of material culture that I would like to discuss comprise a group of 14th-century churches from the island of Cyprus. These have been taken to represent a hybrid Gothic-Byzantine style, labelled Franco-Byzantine, that shows the resistance of the local Greek Orthodox population to the dominant Latin/Frankish population. On the surface, especially given Wallace-Hadrill’s comments concerning the conscious expression of identity in monumental buildings and numerous studies that attribute a similar function to “style”, it is very tempting to see this interpretation as

2. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, p. 103.
3. This definition is taken from Wiessner 1983. She in turn cites Wobst 1977 in the middle of the passage quoted above. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 8-9 and 103 discusses Wiessner’s statement and the use she makes of the concept.
4. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, p. 103.
5. For the review, see Geiger 2009. The book he recommends to readers is Thomas 2009.

correct.⁶ Some background information will help provide some context to explain how this could be so.

Background and historical context

As is well-known to the readers of this journal, Cyprus is located in the Eastern Mediterranean close to what is now the coast of Turkey as well as those of the Levant and Egypt. It's continued links with the Aegean are also well-attested. Cyprus' location has served to gift it with visitors, goods, and ideas from all of these areas for great stretches of its history. Indeed, more than one scholar working in more than one period has referred to the island as a crossroads.⁷

In addition, as an island, Cyprus plays an interesting, yet challenging role in any discussion of identity and group boundaries. Itself a borderland, or a frontier if one prefers, the island was home to a dynamic and varied population in the later Middle Ages. The most obvious borders are physical and surround both the island and all of the various populations living there. This is true whether one speaks about the current situation where an "open" border still divides the island in two or whether we speak about the situation in the past where the only boundaries were those imposed by geography and topography. From the end of the 12th to the end of the 15th century, while the island was united under the rule of the Lusignan dynasty, these physical boundaries, the edges of the island and the two mountain chains that run partially across it, were the only ones that did not really change or evolve.

At the beginning of the Late Medieval period, Cyprus was a province of the Byzantine Empire. This situation continued until 1184 when the Byzantine governor of the island, Isaac Komnenos, proclaimed himself independent of Constantinople. Only seven years later, in 1191, Richard the Lionheart conquered the island after Isaac purportedly kidnapped for ransom the shipwrecked members of Richard's flotilla. Anxious to continue on his way to the Third Crusade, Richard sold Cyprus to the Templars shortly thereafter, and they retained it for about a year before returning it to Richard who then sold it on to Guy de Lusignan, whence the Lusignan kingdom of Frankish Cyprus began.⁸ The island remained in the hands of the Lusignan dynasty until it was annexed by the Venetians in 1489. Throughout this period, the local Greek

6. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 103-4.

7. E.g. Government of Cyprus 1952; Mango 1979; Edbury 1998; Karageorghis 2002; Schryver 2008.

8. For a history of the Lusignan Kingdom over the period of interest here, see Edbury 1994.

Orthodox population remained, for the most part, on the island. At the same time, waves of refugees and others from the Crusader mainland (until 1291) mixed with newcomers from both the West and East.⁹

The group of churches that I would like to re-examine here in light of the ideas put forward by Wallace-Hadrill and listed above form part of the extremely rich and varied architectural heritage of the island.¹⁰ Regarding the Lusignan period, the majority of the island's monumental religious architecture has been neatly categorized into one of two groups, either Gothic or Byzantine. It is perhaps in keeping with the linguistic theme that these two groups have in fact been described as two different artistic languages. The churches I will discuss have been placed in an in-between group and are typically referred to as Franco-Byzantine in architectural style. As noted by Tassos Papacostas in his thought-provoking study of these churches, which thoroughly debunks the assumptions behind this label, these churches were seen as falling in between the two larger categories:

‘On the margins of this simplified and sometimes highly problematic taxonomy [either Gothic or Byzantine] a small group of monuments, which is thought to hover between the two principal traditions, has been assigned its own distinct identity based on its perceived hybrid character.’¹¹

The group encompasses a number of very high-status buildings including the Orthodox cathedrals of Famagusta and Nicosia, the island's two major cities during the Late Medieval period. The defining trait for the Franco-Byzantine style attributed to them was the combination of the Gothic basilical plan with the Byzantine dome. Thus, they could readily be interpreted as bilingual monuments, perhaps even marked by Adams' inter-sentential switching.¹² The reintroduction of the (now vaulted) basilica was thought to have been a direct result of the arrival of waves of Crusaders and other Westerners to the island during the 13th century.¹³ The subsequent 14th-century combination of Gothic and Byzantine in some of the island's most prominent Orthodox religious monuments was interpreted as an expression of Byzantine or Orthodox

9. See Grivaud 1995; Papacostas 1999; 2006; Richard 1979; 1987; 1991.

10. My use of these churches was sparked by the excellent treatment of their architecture and its possible meaning in Papacostas 2010.

11. Papacostas 2010, pp. 117-118.

12. See Mullen this volume, for a summary of Adams' subdivisions of code-switching.

13. For a more thorough history of this label and its component parts than I am able to offer in the current context, see Papacostas 2010, p. 118.

identity in resistance to Lusignan (i.e. Western) rule.¹⁴ This interpretation fits well within the scholarship that viewed much of the contemporary Byzantine art of the island in the same light.¹⁵

Relevant historiography

To better understand how it was possible to see this combination of elements as a form of resistance instead of as an instance of bilingualism or even cultural hybridity, it is important to take note of the underlying scholastic currents. It was not until recently that scholarship on the Lusignan period shifted in favour of acknowledging the cultural contact and interaction that occurred between the Westerners (called Franks), Greeks, and other populations on the island. A growing number of scholars (the present author included) now subscribe to a more nuanced view of culture and society on Lusignan Cyprus that focuses on trying to strike a balance between the evidence for boundary maintenance and/or identity protection between the Franks and the Greeks and the evidence for interaction between the two groups.¹⁶

Before this, there were essentially two schools of thought regarding society on the island during the circa 300 years of Lusignan rule (AD 1191-1489). Scholars of Late Medieval or Lusignan Cyprus had usually presented the situation as one in which there was either acculturation, with the resulting Westernization of the island, or segregation, with the resulting oppression and impoverishment of the Orthodox Church.¹⁷ Although even among its proponents there was an acknowledgement of evidence to the contrary, it also seemed that until quite recently, the latter interpretation held sway with the majority of scholars.¹⁸ Of course, such an interpretation made the issue of identity quite plain and firmly rooted it within the sphere of religion: the Franks remained Latin and the Greeks remained Orthodox. With this background, it becomes easier to understand how the retention of Byzantine elements and their folding into Gothic buildings could be read by scholars as a

14. Papacostas 2010, p. 118.

15. See, for example Stylianou 1985, p. 37 where he notes that the art reflects 'the resistance of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus against the intruding Latins.' Interestingly, this interpretation conflicts with the traditionally more positive view of bilingualism where a similar mixing is seen more as a sign of acceptance and/or accommodation.

16. Among the most recent and relevant works are those contained in the following publications: Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel 2005; Weyl Carr 2005; De Vaivre and Plaginieux 2006; Fourrier and Grivaud 2006; Schabel 2010; Schryver 2010.

17. For the relevant historiography of Lusignan Cyprus, see Schryver 2005, esp. chapter 2; 2010, pp. 143-145; Schabel 2001, pp. 36-44; 2010, *passim*.

18. Efthimiou 1987, pp. 69-77; Schryver 2010, pp. 143-145.

sign of resistance, group boundary maintenance, and/or identity protection. These Franco-Byzantine churches thus advertised the message that “we are still Orthodox underneath it all and at the core of our beings!”

The problem with this interpretation is that it does not work. And it does not work because, as Papacostas has shown, the criteria that are thought to underlie the label of Franco-Byzantine do not actually apply to the relevant buildings.¹⁹ For example, the Gothic elements of the two monastic churches that form part of this group do not appear to date to the 14th century but to 200 years later. Meanwhile, the two Orthodox cathedrals do not appear to have been originally designed with a dome and instead make heavy use of local 14th-century Gothic architectural vocabulary, the local dialect.

Although this debunking of the label Franco-Byzantine and the idea of resistance, group boundary maintenance, and/or identity protection that it seemed to and was used to support corrects the architectural and scholastic record, it also leaves us with a new problem. As mentioned, recent understanding of the socio-cultural situation on Lusignan Cyprus was focused on a more mixed or Franco-Cypriot one. But does this new understanding really require the Greek Orthodox communities of Famagusta and Nicosia to build their cathedrals in purely Gothic style or explain why they did so? And are we to read these Gothic Orthodox cathedrals as expressions of a changed religious identity?

This interpretation does fit nicely with one of the previous schools of thought mentioned above concerning the society and culture of the island under Lusignan rule. In fact, at the end of the 19th century, Camille Enlart opened his work on the Gothic and Renaissance art on Cyprus with the remark that the island ‘was nothing else but a French colony. Now it is a well-known fact that French colonisation, when it succeeds, produces a complete assimilation...’²⁰ As with other scholars in the later 19th and early 20th century, his interpretation of the art matched that of the society produced on the island; one that had become purely French. And indeed, as can be seen in the quote below, although this did not completely erase the Byzantine presence on the island, it did overwhelm it in many cases. Once again, given the theme of the present volume, the repeated reference to language seems especially worth noting.

19. Papacostas 2010, pp. 119-126, esp. 126.

20. Enlart 1987, p. 15. Cf. 1899, p. I, for the French original. The more complete version of this quote reads: ‘Ce petit royaume, à jamais disparu, a vécu quatre siècles et n’a été autre chose qu’une colonie française. Or, on sait que la colonisation française, lorsqu’elle réussit, produit une assimilation complète, à la différence de la colonisation normande;...’

‘The buildings and inscriptions of Cyprus speak our language in all its native purity, just as the history of the Lusignan kingdom bears witness to all the characteristics, good or bad, of our race. The monuments, indeed, like photographs registering passing events, fix and preserve the moving picture of history. It is of course true that French manners, the French language and French art did not take possession of the country so exclusively as to banish Byzantine traditions; but since the French colonists were numerous and intelligent whereas the indigenous population was sparse, not very active and not well educated the Greeks to a large extent came under the influence of their [conquerors] while exercising practically no influence on them.’²¹

Within this view, the two Orthodox cathedrals, with their Latin architecture, can be seen to have been just the natural result of the process of almost complete assimilation between the Greeks and the Franks, which in turn was simply the natural result of the Medieval French colonisation of the island and the subsequent spread of French art, language, and manners.

However, these cathedrals can also be viewed in a very similar manner without the now unpopular references to French colonialism. In a more recent discussion of art on Lusignan Cyprus, Jaroslav Folda remarked that,

‘Whereas Enlart wrote from the viewpoint of separate cultures and societies confronting each other as stronger and weaker entities, today we have come to see the eastern Mediterranean world of the thirteenth century as much more multicultural, fruitfully studied in terms of interchange, interpenetration, and assimilation as well as dominance and influence; as made up of variegated cultural groups with their own identities and strong traditions to contribute, whatever their roles as conquerors and conquered.’²²

Although this approach creates a nice picture of complete religious assimilation and certainly one more palatable to modern sensibilities, numerous

21. Enlart 1987, p. 16. Cf. 1899, p. II, which reads: ‘Les édifices et les inscriptions de même que l’histoire du royaume des Lusignan témoignent de toutes les qualités, bonne ou mauvaises, de notre race;... Toutefois, les mœurs, la langue et les arts de la France ne prirent pas possession du pays au point d’enchasser les traditions byzantines; mais comme les colons français étaient nombreux et intelligents, la population indigène, clairsemée, peu active et peu cultivée, subit, dans une assez large mesure, l’influence de ses vainqueurs et n’eût sur eux qu’une action presque nulle.’
22. Folda 1995, p. 210.

contemporary documents show us that this was simply not the case.²³ Despite the best efforts of certain papal legates to convince the Orthodox of just how wrong they were in their heretical interpretations of certain Church doctrines, the two Churches remained quite separate during this period, with various episodes of freezing and thawing in their relationship with one another.

Monumental architecture and identity

To return to the ideas from Wallace-Hadrill's book, how might we apply these to an understanding of these churches? First, in light of Wallace-Hadrill's claim that works of monumental architecture are imbued with messages about identity, how might we reinterpret the Orthodox cathedrals in particular? Here I will focus solely on St. George of the Greeks, the Orthodox cathedral located in Famagusta, and the better preserved of the two (FIGS. 1-3).



FIG. 1. St. George of the Greeks, Famagusta. (Photo: Tassos Papacostas).

23. These documents have and continue to be published in thorough fashion by Christopher D. Schabel; Schabel 2010 provides a wonderful introduction.



FIG. 2. St. George of the Greeks, view from the south-west. (Photo: Tassos Papacostas).



FIG. 3. St. George of the Greeks, view of the nave. (Photo: Tassos Papacostas).

The Cathedral of St. George of the Greeks in Famagusta dates to the second half of the 14th century and was under construction by at least 1363.²⁴ The Latin vocabulary of St. George includes both more general things such as the layout and building techniques as well as details such as the carved portals and sculptural decoration.²⁵ In addition, it has been interpreted by scholars as a pared-down version of the Latin cathedral, which would have been inter-visible with this monument across the Late Medieval cityscape. What is more, at approximately 43 x 21 m internally, and with an internal height of 20 m (nave vault), the cathedral was not only the biggest Orthodox church on the island, but also one of the biggest in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Medieval period.²⁶ Applying Wallace-Hadrill's notion concerning monumental structures and identity produces a reasonably convincing image of the Orthodox community of Famagusta expressing their identity in monumental form. But, given the problems mentioned above, i.e. their certain identity as a separate religion and their varying relationship with the Latins, the same questions posited above also remain. Would they really have expressed their Orthodox identity through Latin architecture? Does this therefore represent a change in their religious identity?

Perhaps the categories of Latin/Frankish or Gothic and Greek or Byzantine are simply not relevant in this particular case in the way that we, with our modern understanding, expect them to have been or as they might have been at the beginning of Lusignan rule.²⁷ A recent study of the cathedral has noted that the arms of Jerusalem grace the surviving keystones of the cathedral's ribbed vaults.²⁸ We do not have any evidence of the Lusignan king Peter I (1358-1369) converting to the Orthodox faith, and yet here we have very visible evidence that he at least approved of the construction even if he was not one of the financial patrons.

As I have argued elsewhere, St. George does not fit the standard view of a society polarized along religious lines within which specific artistic styles are also split along these lines.²⁹ As Annemarie Weyl Carr first pointed out, there does not seem to have been a one-to-one equation between Latin and Western and Orthodox and Eastern religions and artistic styles. Nor do the multiplicity of artistic styles that existed on the island necessitate a view of

24. Otten-Froux 2003, p. 42, as cited in Papacostas 2010, p. 121.

25. Papacostas 2010, p. 128; Schryver 2006, pp. 394-395; Soulard 2006, pp. 355-365.

26. Papacostas 2010, p. 130.

27. Schryver 2006, esp. pp. 395-396; Papacostas 2010, esp. pp. 129-130. See also, Weyl Carr 1995; 1998-1999.

28. De Vaivre 2006, p. 452.

29. Schryver 2006, pp. 385-406.

Frankish Cyprus wherein all of the various groups of producers and consumers of these styles were in a state of unresolved conflict.³⁰ In fact, as St. George seems to indicate, the original producers and the consumers of these styles may not have even been members of the same group.

So, how might we explain the building then? One way to do this is to change our perspective and see it not as the product of an intrusion of western Gothic as has traditionally been the case, or as a Franco-Byzantine church as now debunked by Papacostas, but instead as a local product of a very specific urban context.³¹ And in fact, the appearance of St. George does seem to have been founded in the architectural tradition of the Latin churches in the city: the incorporation of elements such as the tri-partite division of the façade, the recessed portals with their archivolts, and the incorporation of a roundel for a rose window above the center portal. The similarities in plan and elevation with the Latin church of SS. Peter and Paul reinforce this idea (FIGS. 4-5).³² Thus perhaps the cathedral is an expression of the style popular at the time in a port city that had benefitted from the final defeat of the Crusaders on the mainland in AD 1291, becoming quite cosmopolitan in nature over the next 200 years.³³ It is thereby not necessarily a bilingual monument, but one that simply speaks the local dialect. And perhaps it is even doing so naturally, in what Mullen refers to as an 'unmarked' manner.³⁴

Perhaps, as Michalis Olympios has shown in his study of the Carmelite church in Famagusta, it is also an indication of more pedestrian concerns such as the stone masons who were available and the styles they were used to employing.³⁵ On the other end of the spectrum, perhaps the incorporation of these Western

30. Weyl Carr 1995; 1998-1999.

31. This monument has usually been discussed in terms of the mix of architectural styles that it represents. See Papageorgiou 1982, pp. 217-26, esp. 225-6; 1995, pp. 276-8. Cf. Enlart 1987, p. 20; 1899, p. 8, who mentions the Latin Benedictine abbey at Stavrovouni and the Latin Dominican St. Epiphanius at Vavla, in this case both built in the local (Greek/Byzantine) architectural style. Interestingly, these two constructions were erected far from the island's central cities and the materials and talent or skills found there. Perhaps we should begin looking more along the lines of differences in urban and rural styles and settings in the future.

32. Schryver 2006, pp. 394-395; Papacostas 2010, p. 121. See also the recent and very thorough study of the 14th-century Carmelite Church of Famagusta, which the author presents 'as representative of architectural trends in that town in the second quarter of the 14th century.' Olympios 2009, pp. 29-66.

33. Numerous studies have examined the population and the fortunes of the town in the period ranging from the 13th-15th centuries: Richard 1979; Jacoby 1984; Edbury 1995; Balletto 1996; Otten-Froux 2001; 2003.

34. See Mullen this volume, p. 30. See also Williamson this volume.

35. Olympios 2009.

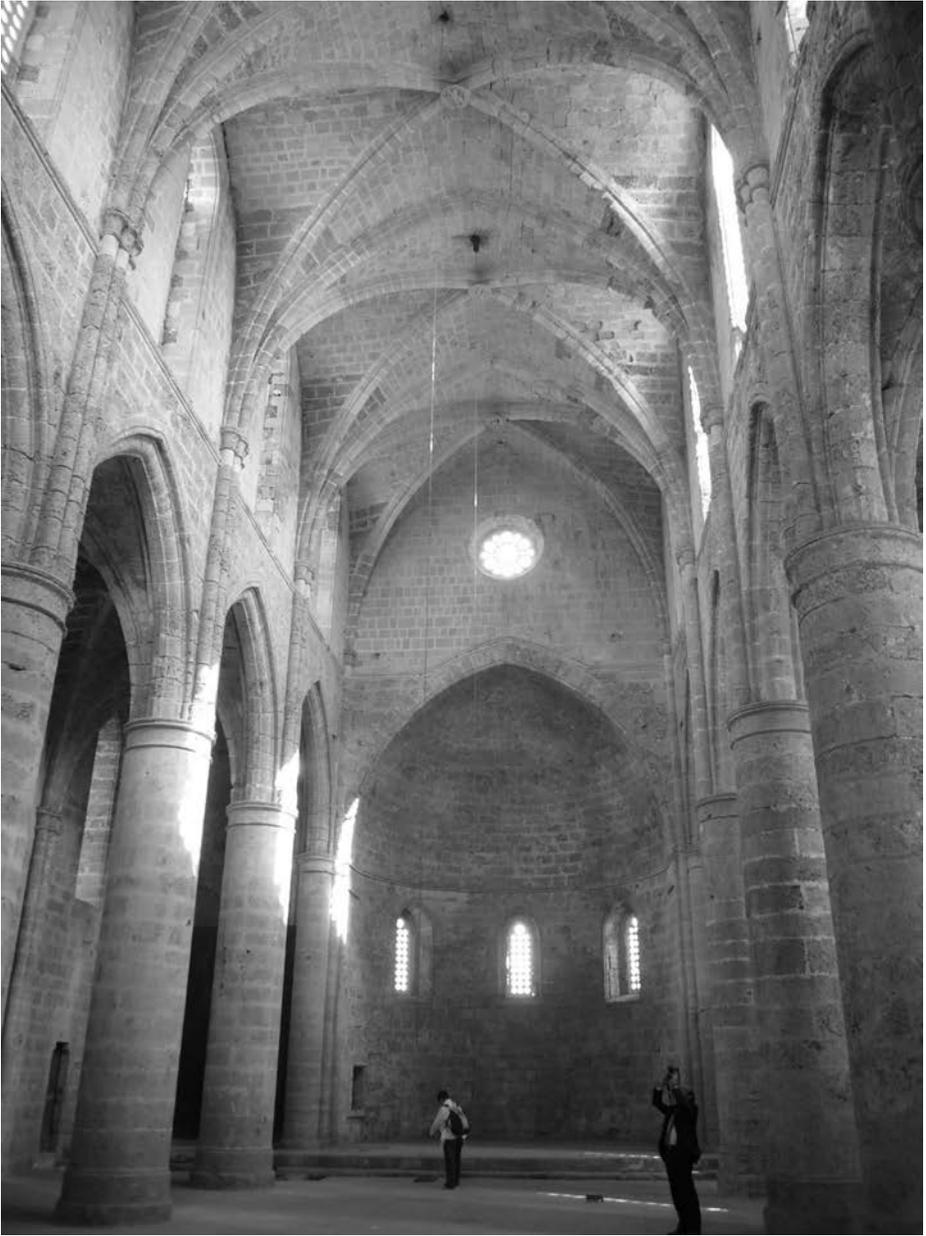


FIG. 4. SS. Peter and Paul, view of the nave. (Photo: Tassos Papacostas).

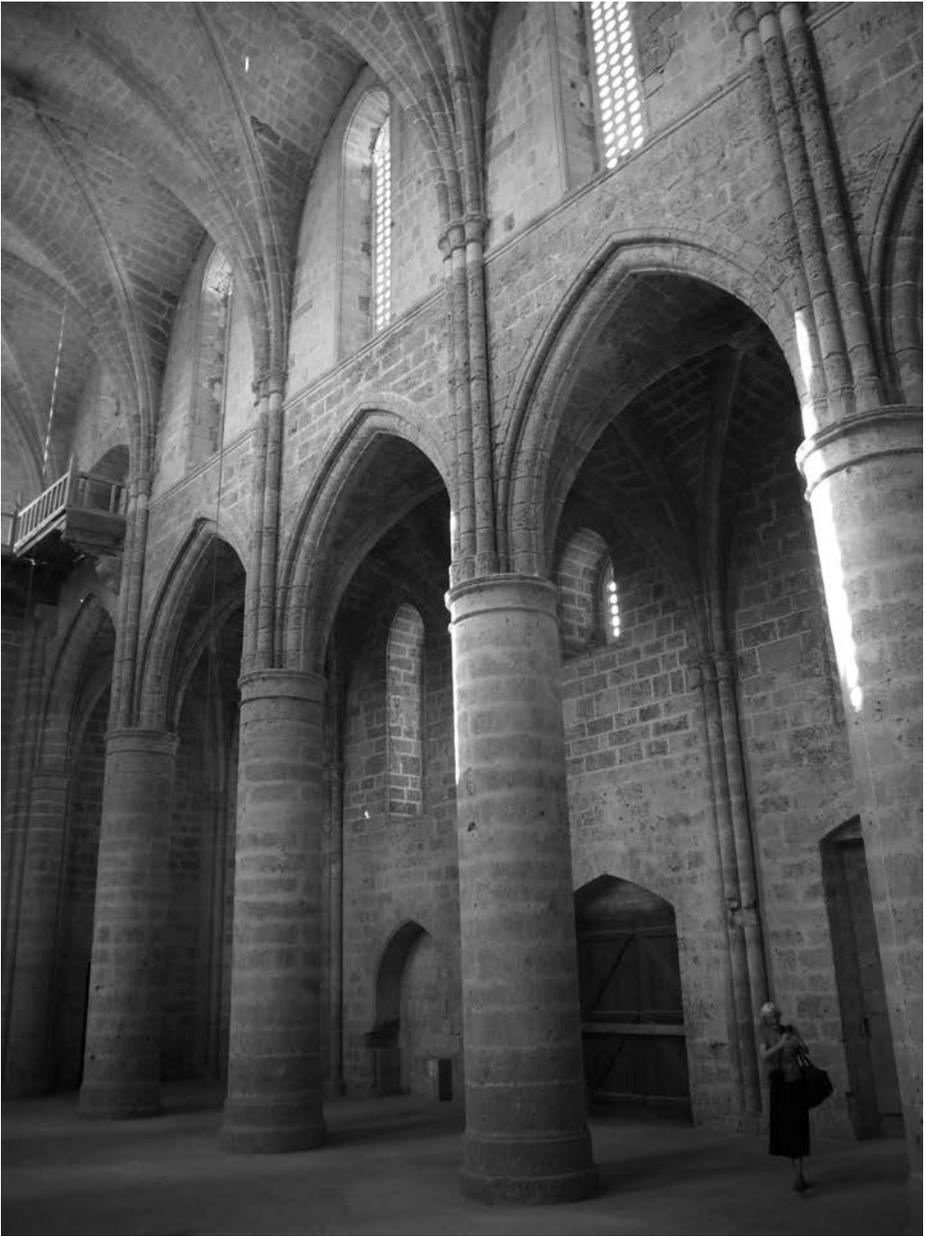


FIG. 5. SS. Peter and Paul, view of the nave elevation. (Photo: Tassos Papacostas).

architectural motifs and royal heraldry into a Greek Orthodox church is an expression of some all-encompassing (albeit urban) Cypriot identity of Frankish Cyprus, wherein the king saw himself as king of all of Cyprus.

However, since the goal of this paper is to explore what Wallace-Hadrill's ideas have to offer the Late Medieval period, I wish to disregard the last possibility for the moment. In addition, Wallace-Hadrill's statement on monumental buildings continues '...even when supported by imperial patronage, major public buildings are likely to represent a communal expression of communal identity.'³⁶ Thus, we are still left with the difficult question of this monument expressing Orthodox identity. But perhaps that identity was no longer one that focused on expression in this context through Western or Eastern style anymore, but instead through grandness. This could possibly be explained by Wallace-Hadrill's second point regarding emblematic style. To explore that explanation, a discussion of style and identity is needed.

Style and identity

One of the main challenges in making the connection between identity and/or the expression thereof – whether this is conscious, unconscious, or subconscious – and the material culture of a particular group is determining which aspects and which pieces of that material culture are relevant. As Mullen shows in her paper, sociolinguistics has identified the very same set of challenges. Looking at how this issue has been addressed in other fields of study as well as how similar issues have been tackled presents a number of useful references that can be applied to the traditional archaeological approach. One field that seems particularly relevant is the study of style. Here the most relevant information comes from studies examining the communicative function of style and the kind of information it can provide.³⁷

Style can have a number of functions in a cultural context, and I would argue that one of these is to act as a symbol. As Ortner notes: 'Anything by definition can be a symbol, i.e. a vehicle for cultural meaning, and it seems from a survey of the literature that almost anything can be key.'³⁸ In addition, she notes that symbols can be words, things, and even events. These symbols

36. Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 103-4.

37. This is most convincingly argued in the work by Wiessner. Wiessner 1983; 1990. Both of these, along with the rest of the field, are following on from Wobst 1977.

38. Ortner 1973, p. 1339.

can function to sum up or synthesize complex matters tied to a culture, or they can do the opposite.

In many ways, the study of style and its meaning is much like the study of identity in that they can both be complicated. Much like what we are learning is true concerning identity, styles can be hard to pin down because they can change over time. A number of studies focus on style as a form of communication and many of them follow the ideas first expressed systematically by Martin Wobst in 1977.³⁹ In what is now known as the 'information-exchange theory', he described style as functioning as an avenue of communication. This granted style an active role as a carrier and signifier of information. Subsequent research has sought to refine Wobst's ideas and has also attempted to specify the kind of information that style conveys.⁴⁰ Refinements include an understanding that efficiency (in production) is not always a primary concern lying behind the use of a particular style; that style is not limited to simple messages but can also convey complex or even ambiguous ones; and that visibility can be, but does not have to be, of primary importance.⁴¹ Of course, group or ethnic boundaries are often marked by uses of style that are quite visible, as in the case of Wallace-Hadrill's point about monumental architecture. In fact, in her study of archaeological research on style, Michelle Hegmon even used similar language to make the point: 'Material visible only in private is more likely to convey messages about ritual or belief systems, whereas highly visible material often indicates group or ethnic boundaries.'⁴²

Further nuances have narrowed down the definition of style to those choices or variations that convey information. In addition, Wobst's theory has come to be seen as one that has a place in the toolbox together with additional approaches that focus on aspects such as tradition and perpetuation.⁴³ Style has also come to be seen as something that, like identity, is inextricably linked to social, cultural, and historical context.⁴⁴ Another similarity to the study of identity is the difficulty of interpreting the messages that past styles (and instances of code-switching) were meant to communicate.

39. Wobst 1977, pp. 317-42; Hegmon 1992, p. 519.

40. Hegmon 1992, p. 520.

41. Hegmon 1992, with multiple examples of each of these refinements.

42. Hegmon 1992, p. 521.

43. Hegmon 1992, p. 521, again with further examples.

44. Hegmon 1992, p. 525, for examples, although somewhat dated. Lian 1982, for a discussion of this idea related to identity. See also Mullen this volume, for her discussion of the importance of context for understanding code-switching.

Regardless of these refinements, style has been interpreted by archaeologists in numerous and various ways as representing a particular way of doing things in a particular chronological and spatial context; as communicating information about the identity of those who created and use it; and as representing the thought processes, feelings, and existence of the producers.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, as different as these interpretations may seem on the surface, they all hold at their core the notion that style is a particular way of doing something. Moreover, the “particular way” of any given context is also the result of a series of choices.⁴⁶ In regards to material culture then, style represents both a decision to produce an artifact in a particular manner as well as at least one decision NOT to produce that same artifact in another manner(s). Viewed in this way, style can then become for archaeologists a component of material culture that can in turn tell us something about that material culture. The question of interest to the study of identity then becomes, of course, what those decisions “to do” or “not to do” represent. An additional question that I am proposing we spend more of our time on, is what those decisions do not represent, or whether they actually represent anything at all. Once again, the study of bilingualism presents a number of interesting parallels.

In terms of how this discussion of style relates to the topic of this paper and the second of Wallace-Hadrill’s ideas, we are fortunate in that a number of methodologies have been developed to try to make sense of the extreme variability of style and the choices made by groups and individuals from this variety. One of these methodologies, and the one that seems most promising for the study of identity, is that proposed by Polly Weissner.⁴⁷ She divides style into two categories, emblematic and assertive. Emblematic style is that which communicates information about a group. Assertive is more passive and serves more of a role in distinguishing an individual’s personal identity. Both styles communicate certain types of information, but it is only emblematic style that provides information about a particular group’s identity. Put in other words, not every style that can be identified is linked to conscious expressions of identity, group or otherwise. Weissner relates this distinction to material culture in the following way:

‘The same applies to material culture – artifacts may be made in a certain way for functional reasons, communicative reasons, or both. However, the fact that functional and communicative aspects of form may be interrelated does not remove the need to determine which

45. Hegmon 1992, pp. 517-518.

46. Hegmon 1992, pp. 517-519, for a discussion of the development of these ideas.

47. Weissner 1983; 1990, which also lists further bibliography.

parts of an object are important functionally and which communicatively in certain contexts. Such an understanding is critical to any interpretation.⁴⁸

Interestingly, this notion of certain examples of style bearing more meaning or message than others is matched in studies of identity that identify core identities as well as role identities. These may also be known as cultural identities and social identities, respectively. The idea behind these distinctions is that the role or social identities may change over time and are therefore more fluid, while the core or cultural identities will be defended much more vigorously as they form the heart of an individual or group's self-definition or essential definition of reality.⁴⁹ Put another way, a social identity might be one of any number of identities put on for the sake of interacting with others, but may have little to do with the core aspects of one's identity or their world outlook. Once again, here the parallels that can be seen in Mullen's discussion of code-switching are striking.

Conclusion: an example of dynamic change

So, how would such an interpretation help us understand the Gothic architecture of St. George of the Greeks as an expression of group identity? Does it indicate a change in Orthodox religious identity? It is expressing something else? Or is it functioning more like an assertive symbol or expression of a social identity?

As mentioned above, the specific urban context of Famagusta in the late 14th century was unique. The city's fortunes were rising and its inhabitants were enjoying the resulting wealth. What we would call Gothic architecture and would associate with Western or Frankish identity had been in use on the island for at least five generations and would most likely have been viewed as local architecture by most of the city's Orthodox inhabitants.⁵⁰ This seems especially the case when one considers just how many of the city's 14th-century ecclesiastical buildings were making use of it.⁵¹ As suggested, the patrons may have identified with the style used in the Latin churches and employed "French" Gothic for their church as a local style (or even THE style for those who had never travelled off the island) without regarding it

48. Wiessner 1990, p. 106.

49. Lian 1982, pp. 44-46; Brittan 1973, pp. 147-159.

50. Papacostas 2010, p. 129 articulates this point brilliantly.

51. Olympios 2009

as exclusively Latin or Western. Again, the association that modern scholars tend to make between Western artistic styles and Western identity may have ceased to exist at this point. This also means that we should not understand the Orthodox population as changing their religious alliances, only that these alliances were now being expressed in new ways that reflected new priorities. Although there may be a conscious association with the ruling class or the members of the city, the architectural elements used in St. George of the Greeks do not serve to separate the Orthodox patrons from their faith.

So if the architecture of St. George is not representing the resistance to intrusive Western styles, or a change in religious identity, or even an instance of bilingualism or code-switching, what does it represent? In this new context, I propose that the expression of identity had changed accordingly and previous emblematic architectural styles were replaced.⁵² As a result, previous elements of material culture tied tightly to the core religious group identity of the Orthodox population (or at least those involved in the planning and construction of the cathedral), such as what we would call Byzantine architecture, were also replaced. In the particular context of 14th-century Famagusta, new priorities appear to have included the adoption of an assertive style visibly indicating their membership and participation in the city's newly found wealth and status.⁵³ Thus, the scale and architectural style of the building that took on a new role and expressed a social identity as opposed to a core identity. It still served to communicate something about the city's Orthodox community, but in this particular context, that message had changed from one of religious affiliation to one of association with the other wealthy patrons of the city. And what is more, that the Orthodox community was associated with these others on more than equal footing.

What can the identification of similar issues in the field of linguistics offer the study of identity through the monumental architecture of the past? For one, a reassurance that the complexities related to identity expression that are seen in material culture are often echoed in language. More importantly, it offers independent reassurance that among these complexities are situations where a particular choice is not indicative of or laden with an expression of identity. And as we continue to increase our understanding of the expression and use of identity in the past, learning about where identity is not to be found, is just as important as learning where it is.

52. On group identity as fluid over time, see Pitts 2007, for a discussion coming from Roman archaeology, and Fennell 2003, for an example from American Historical archaeology.
53. See also Schryver 2006; Papacostas 2010.

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