

Narrating the postcolonial landscape: archaeologies of race at Hadrian's Wall

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This paper presents research completed as part of an interdisciplinary project entitled 'Tales of the Frontier'; both between the disciplines of geography and archaeology; and on the landscape narratives of Hadrian's Wall. In particular, the paper unravels the currency of race-geographies present in the collaboration, material interpretation and dissemination processes which included the curating of a public exhibition 'An Archaeology of "Race"'. In public museums and popular narratives of Roman Britain, black and African residents and cultures on the frontier are seemingly discordant with narratives of Hadrian and Roman Britain. In the paper, using critical antiquarian and classicist accounts, Roman history and culture as practised in Britain's northern landscape is interrogated and as a result emerges as multicultural, particularly through the re-narration of the Roman heritage of the Wall centred on Emperor Septimius Severus, the African Emperor. This recovered set of narratives sits as counter to narratives along heritage sites at the Wall and perceptions in the public sphere as well as enabling the critique of narratives of archaeology employed in justifications of political ambition, rule and governance of the British Empire, in the 19th century. The postcolonial orientation taken in this paper therefore contributes, first, to an evaluation of narrative as a post-colonial politics of praxis; and second, to a means of critiquing popular accounts of this landscape's history. Here, the postcolonial narrative mode also provides a framework for producing the exhibition and a teaching pack to represent Roman British cultures of citizenship in this landscape. Overall, narrative operates as an important political tool of *doing* postcolonial history and heritage that is inclusive and that can be used to engage in public geographies, both materially and intellectually.

key words landscape narrative race exhibition heritage Hadrian's Wall archaeology

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revised manuscript received 9 July 2010

Introduction

Various narratives are embedded in the landscape of Hadrian's Wall, some privileged over others in popular heritage, archaeology and other academic histories. The aim of the paper is to demonstrate how a critical postcolonial approach is taken in developing an exhibition of the archaeological and geographical narratives linked to this national landscape. The paper reflects on the new narration that emerges and the ways in which a postcolonial, anti-racist geography can be embedded in the form of an exhibition as a means to enrich British landscape heritage narratives. Privileged in this re-narration of

the Wall as a heritage landscape is an account of the multicultural history of the Wall. The re-narration is informed by critiques of 19th century archaeology and classical antiquity. Romanness in the paper is unravelled as multicultural, as evidenced through archaeological and antiquarian scholarship. The postcolonial account of the heritage value of the Wall has attempted to disturb the elisions between Roman and European, and indeed Europeaness and *whiteness*, through the example of Septimius Severus and the narrative of the African Emperor of Rome who ruled Britain. The collapsing of Romanness and Britishness, and indeed Romanness and Europeaness has, occurred through a

19th century account of the monument's heritage, where narratives of Emperor Hadrian's legacy overshadow the account of Severus as the rebuilder of the Wall as we now encounter it and the material cultures that evidence multicultural exchange and residence. A postcolonial narration of Hadrian's Wall is presented here, alongside an account of its dissemination in the form of a public exhibition entitled 'Archaeology of "Race"' held between July and October 2009. The paper presents the research that underpins the exhibition, and situates the exhibition as an example of doing anti-racist geography in the public realm.

Exhibiting archaeologies of race, blackness and the 'aethiope'¹

The exhibition 'An Archaeology of "Race"'² was curated by Claire Nesbitt and myself. This major exhibition was linked to the AHRC-funded project entitled 'Tales of the Frontier: postcolonial readings of Hadrian's Wall'³, where the geographical and archaeological landscape cultures of this monument were interrogated using a postcolonial lens. The exhibition embodies a political project of public engagement and public geographies in practice (Fuller 2008). In summer 2009, 11 000 visitors attended the exhibition and the website received over 500 hits a week. The exhibition in practice attends to a narrative of British landscape by embracing a postcolonial frame, which embodies heritage for all (DCMS 2009). There is a politics to linking theories of anti-racism into a publicly engaged practice (Bennett 2004; see also Channel 4 2010). As Madge *et al.* (2009) argue, academics whose expertise is built on postcolonial, critical race-theory or indeed radical cultural geography do need to extend their politics beyond the page, towards an 'ethics in praxis' (Raghuram *et al.* 2009; Tolia-Kelly 2010). Here, what is presented is an attempt at keeping heritage dynamic and live (Stone and MacKenzie 1994), a politics of doing public geographies (Ward 2007) with care (Fuller and Askins 2007; Fuller 2008) and responsibility (Jazeel and McFarlane 2010). This commitment has enabled the narrative events on which the museums, curators and scholars have collaborated in 'An Archaeology of "Race"' to be kept alive through the teaching on citizenship in schools, the free web access to the exhibition panels, as well as the touring exhibition that continues in Durham University museums in October 2010.

The exhibition evidences the mobilities and presence of international personnel, including the black African presence, situating this UNESCO World Heritage Site as part of an *international Roman limes*. Also presented are the movement of technologies, materials, peoples and cultures within Roman territory (see Webster 1996 2007). 'Black' in this paper refers to the political definition of black as 'other', non-Occidental, and in terms of history and heritage the narration of those histories that are marginalised, occluded and often re-presented. The exhibition's narrative addresses questions of nation and race (Crampton 2003). Narrative is considered here as always *interpretive*, partial and in-process (White 1978). Through narrative, the exhibition counters interpretations of the landscape through an Imperial British identity in the 19th century, particularly an Orientalist account (Said 1979 1993): '[T]he main battle[s] in imperialism ... were reflected, contested, and even for a time decided in narrative' (1993, xiii), thus narrative becomes a tool for a political, historical and cultural ideology in the recording of landscape history.

'An Archaeology of "Race"' aims to address how a postcolonial engagement with the material cultures, landscape and iconography can unravel the layering of narratives of 'strangers', 'others' and 'blackness', a project at the heart of Hall's (1999) call for a renewed cultural heritage narrative of nation that challenges those valorised cultural narratives that subsume the 'other' (Said 1983, 12), sometimes violently (1983, 47). The intention has been to avoid the compounding of contemporary notions of 'race' with Greco-Roman political and representational culture. The politics of landscape and race are represented within the exhibition panels, each written by scholars in the field. My aim has been threefold. First, to attempt a recovery of the fact of black presence in an early British landscape of the north-east, thus disturbing those accepted notions of this landscape as being one that is homogeneous and remote both culturally and geopolitically. The figuring of Septimius Severus as an African Emperor of Rome living in the North and rebuilding the Wall as part of his consolidation of the northern frontier recovers a story for the public imagination, local landscape history and contributes to a schedule of teaching on Roman Britain as part of the citizenship curriculum in schools. Severus here is positioned as a black figure in British history. Despite the several great museums within the region, both national and international perspectives on the empire have been

consolidated within a representational field that privileges 'whiteness' (Bonnett 1997; Dyer 1997). Romanness as both black and African are seemingly discordant within this regime of heritage narratives. To rearticulate this multicultural history and to reclaim some ground here, citizenship, race and Roman history have been developed into a teaching pack for schools and scheduled on their 'citizenship' curriculum. These were sponsored by Durham City Council's inspector for geography and history in schools (Ron Rooney) and written by the race equality in schools team (EMTAS).

Secondly, the postcolonial lens unravels the link between the role of archaeology as being instrumental in shaping narratives of the Wall and part of a national programme of inherited and rightful Great Britishness in the 19th century. The establishing of the discipline of archaeology in this period was contemporary with the aligning of a culture of British Imperial greatness with the narratives of a successful Imperial Rome (Hingley 2000). The cultural and political process of coupling these in the national imaginary effectively conflate the British Imperial occidental project with that of Roman notions of citizenship and civility. Overall, elisions are implied between those active geopolitical race hierarchies in the 19th century and Roman narratives of civic superiority. This is despite the dominant Classicist interpretation of Greco-Roman societal relations as being devoid of racial hierarchies (Snowden 1970 1983). Figures of blacks proliferate throughout the Classical texts and material cultures; however, '(T)he Greek and Roman profile of Ethiopians remained basically unchanged from Homer to the end of Classical literature – that image was essentially favourable' (Snowden 1983, 55). 'Ethiopians' in Snowden's terms designates persons of varying degrees of blackness, applied by Greeks and Romans to types of 'the Negroid race' (Snowden 1970, 7). Thompson also attests that

Roman attitudes towards *Aethiopes* even at their most negative, have nothing to do with the familiar modern phenomenon of race and are of a kind very different from those commonly described by social scientists by the terms 'racist', 'racial prejudice', 'colour prejudice' and 'racism'. (1989, 157)

Thompson states that

[T]he relevant iconography contains an element of caricature of blacks but in general the representations of blacks (found mostly on small utilitarian objects like earrings and terracotta lamps) suggests an absence of

anti-black xenophobia and a tendency on the part of owners and users of these objects to take blacks for granted, at least in those localities where blacks were actually a familiar part of the social scene (in other localities the dominant suggestion would be a vogue for the exotic). (1989, 7)

Unravelling in Snowden and Thompson's cultural frameworks are definable forms of race stereotyping in their discourses of *strangers* (Ahmed 2000), *others* (Said 1979), and the *exotic* (Hall 1997). Alongside these examples are several critiques of Classical antiquarianism being implicated in a particular set of interpretations of artefacts through a 19th century racialised lens (Bernal 1987; Isaac 2004).

Over time, the developing iconography of the Wall has come to define this as a national monument built by Emperor Hadrian, where the particular formation of ethnicities of Romanness undergo a whitening narrative occluding 'other' ethnic histories embedded in this landscape. Interestingly, both Hadrian and Severus are marked in terms of ethnicity and culture; Hadrian had Spanish links and held a deep love of Greek culture and Severus was born an African in Libya, with all the education and training necessary to be seen to be of Roman (Latin) culture and citizenry (Birley 2008 [1988]). Both are celebrated Imperial civilisers in their own right. As the formerly painted busts of Hadrian lose their aesthetic signifiers of identity, the narrations of Roman Britain too become pale. This slow denudation of the complexity and diversity privileges certain 19th and 20th century cultural values as part of a new self-fashioning of Britishness. The effect of this enables Hadrian to be ubiquitously celebrated as Roman Emperor and builder of the Wall, rather than a memory of a Severan legacy of military rule and residency.

The role of archaeology in securing heritage and national landscape narratives is not benign. This fact is exemplified in the consolidation of Israel as described by Nadia Abu El-Haj:

In producing the material signs of national history that became visible and were witnessed across the contemporary landscape, archaeology repeatedly remade the colony into an ever expanding national terrain. It substantiated the nation in history and produced Eretz Yisrael as the national home. (2001, 280)

The frontier landscape of Hadrian's Wall is one where accounts of 'English' and 'British' heritage, landscape and national culture are encountered in the Roman heritage tourism literature, in media

images of Hadrian's Wall and the British Museum's own national touring exhibitions. The national landscape cultures of the Roman Wall garner questions of who is 'civil' and who is 'barbarian'; who is savage and who is not. These are intrinsic to the history of Roman rule and the identities within this region; these have relied on colonial accounts of 'fixity' of identity (Bhabha 1983), i.e. narrow accounts of 'Briton' and 'Roman'. Narrations of nation are interwoven with systems of representations (Hall 1997) forming historical 'regimes of truth' (Foucault 1980, 131). The focus on race here is inevitably partial, yet remains an essential narrative, given the effect on the British population when alienated from encounters with exclusive accounts of British history. Livingstone (2002, citing Gadamer) describes the moment of non-recognition thus: '[W]hen we encounter meanings not accessible or recognisable, [this] results in a state of alienation' (2002, 79; see also Hall 1999). The recognition of the detrimental effect of these fissures has given rise to several government policies in this area and initiatives such as 'Black History Month' and 'heritage for all' (Tolia-Kelly and Crang 2010).

Romanness in narrations of the national past is often wrongly perceived to be a homogeneous culture explained through a (now contested) process of Romanisation (Haverfield 1905). Celebrations of Roman Imperial strength, and of both nation-building and imperial civilising, are consolidated through historical and antiquarian accounts as well as in pictures, dioramas, re-enactments and heritage publicity. These public historiographies are distinctly bound up with the development of antiquarian societies themselves and of archaeological evidence becoming foundational to British history (Freeman 1997, 45). Often when Romans are presented to us in the public sphere they are mediated through a particular British Imperialist ideological lens. However, there is contradiction between dominant accounts and other scholarship (Hingley and Unwin 2005), which has evidenced Romanness to be varied, challenging historical accounts and presenting competing historical accounts (Gosden 2006; Harrison 1998; Mattingly 1994 1997; Millet 1990; Tenney 1916). Included in these variations are notions of the Roman Empire as having 'core' and 'periphery' cultures, or even a 'colour-blind' approach to cultural difference (race, religion, language and social background). These colour-blind versions of Roman culture are also challenged by writers (Bernal 1987; Díaz-Andreu 2007; Isaac 2004).

Webster promotes a postcolonial theorisation in her account of creolisation that figures the cultural exchanges and expression between coloniser and colonised as being bound up in a process of 'resistant adaptation', where 'new ethnicities emerge to accommodate old and new' (2001, 218). Creolisation is radical in its attentiveness to the material cultures as well as those bodies outside of the lens of Roman archaeologists that have gone before. Webster (2001) challenges 19th century interpretations that ignore cultural exchange (Haverfield 1905) as those that are figured around the elite (Hingley 1997 2000).

Scholarly accounts, texts and narrations of Roman society have themselves reflected the political context within which they are recorded; their histories are as significant as the history being told. Thus the role of British Imperialism itself has shaped Roman history and, as with any account of historical narration, the history told is one narration of many that could be told. Despite published evidence (Allason-Jones 1989) and scholarly works such as Anthony Birley's (2008 [1988]), accounts of ethnicity and migration continue to be buried in dominant narratives in the public domain. The exhibition's narrative attends to these processes of folding, loss and burial of accounts of mobility of peoples during Imperial rule and during colonisation, as a means to record a postcolonial race-geography of this British (UNESCO) World Heritage Site. Narrative in this regard is central to the presentation of history in the museum space, especially when there are contrary, complex accounts within academic scholarship.

Narrative and national history

Tourist landscapes, archaeological sites and national identity are intrinsically co-narrated as part of national *history*, narrative that powerfully operates beyond the economic and material site (Tuan 1991; see also Longley 2009). Contemporary writers on these processes using a postcolonial approach (Harvey 2003 2007) have argued that the 'national' and 'history' often get skewed to fit a cultural reaction to a society's place in the world. Hazbun, reflecting on Carthagoland (a Hannibal-inspired theme park) in Tunisia, argues that cultural spending is driven forward to claim a national identity using mythology to ensure 'a distinctive, territorially rooted identification for the nation's external image' (2008, 70). The mythology here is that Hannibal has suited a current

pluralistic agenda on national identity, which veers away from the definition of nation through 'Arab' or 'Islamic' identities. In Britain too, both geography and archaeology have been at the heart of narrating national history, which includes mythologies; their disciplinary histories have also been consolidated as part of their role in this process, in the 19th century in particular. Archaeology's role in narrating a national past through Roman military landscapes has been at the heart of its own formation and prominence as a discipline nationally (Freeman 1997). The excavations of the Roman Wall by Henry Pelham, Theodore Mommsen and Francis Haverfield popularised the conception of Romanisation as a positive phenomenon: 'Romanisation was the process by which the uncivilized Briton (or European) achieved civilization' (Hingley 2000, 4) under imperial guidance. Mommsen (cited in Mattingly 1997, 31) argues for a Roman Empire that did not crave world dominion but that saw itself as a benevolent governor of the earth. This narration of a Roman past rendered this landscape of civilised and barbarian as a metaphor for a notion of the greatness of Britishness abroad in its own colonies. Narrating the Wall as part of a British legacy re-orientated Roman culture towards a synthesis with British Imperial 'ways of seeing' the world.

As Daniels (1993) states, the process of affirming a national landscape involves the rejection of constituencies of national subjects who are not culturally deemed part of a national citizenry in terms of language, origins, genealogies and territorial roots and routes (Ahmed *et al.* 2003; Gilroy 1991; Hall 1999; Nash 2005).

Since the eighteenth century painters and poets have helped narrate and depict national identity, or have their work commandeered to do so; scholars and professionals have been enlisted too: historians, map makers, geographers, engineers, architects and archaeologists. (Daniels 1993, 5)

Hadrian's Wall has engendered scholarship that has celebrated this site as integral to the currency of national landscape. The narration of Hadrian's Wall has shifted over time and its place in national heritage has been secured through these varied landscape archaeologies (Witcher *et al.* 2010). Narrative is therefore an important tool in 'storying our worlds into shape' (Daniels and Lorimer 2009). In this research narrative does not sit benignly in service to the material landscape or artefactual

evidence, but actively shapes the encounter, experience, cognition and comprehension of the landscape (Kong 1999). Narrative is understood and becomes phenomenon through a synergistic binding between representations, narrations and the embodied practical experience of landscape, and is often orientated through national historical framings (Said 1990).

Critical narratives

The historical values and chronologies of the Wall have been recorded by Spartian, Bede (Gidley 1870), Herodian (Echols 1961), Camden (1806 [1586]), Skinner (1978 [1801]), Hutton (1802) and Thatcher (1921). There are continuous contentions over who built the Wall over time: Hutton in 1802 reflects on the contrary historical narratives associated with the building of the Wall, and states 'Agricola's name was lost in Hadrian's, so Severus, being superior to both, nearly eclipses both, and the whole is frequently called Severus's Wall' (1802, 27). From being Severus's Wall, in the later 19th century the Wall's storying resonated with British Imperial ambitions (Bruce 1996, 2). Contextual to this is the Romanticisation of heritage landscapes, what Darby has termed 'cultural comodification of landscape' (2000, 16). It is in this period that the Hadrian's Wall Pilgrimage was begun in 1848 by John Collingwood Bruce. Recounting his journey to fellows at the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, his descriptions of the magnificence of the Wall was met with doubt. Bruce proposed a communal journey; so began the social journey that was to become known as the Hadrian's Wall Pilgrimage. Birley termed it 'a sociable gossiping affair' (1961, 26), rather than to suggest a sacred journey. Bruce's speech at the beginning of the second pilgrimage is an example of the role of this frontier landscape to evoke a sense of greatness through proximity to the achievements of the Roman Empire:

The Roman Empire was an Empire of strength. As they [the pilgrims] run along the Wall they will learn, not only somewhat of the character of mind of that people, but they will be stimulated to follow the example of their patience, perseverance, and their indomitable vigor ... He could not help feeling that we are the successors of the Romans. (1886, 2)

Both narrative and landscape are constituted through and made meaning of in historical

writing. De Certeau (1988) unravels the workings of historical narrative, which can assist our readings of the history of the Roman Wall. He attends to process, the inevitable contradictions in historical representations and the limitations of the writing form or an *écriture* (1988, 86). Narrative for de Certeau is

controlled by the practices from which it results; even more it is itself a social practice which establishes a well-determined place for readers by redistributing the space of symbolic references and by pressing a 'lesson' upon them; it is didactic and magisterial. ... It creates these narratives of the past which are equivalent of cemeteries within cities; it exorcises and confesses a presence of death amidst the living. (1988, 88)

In the case of Hadrian's Wall, the contemporary historical narrative has celebrated a particular historical narrative of Emperor Hadrian and a residual Romanness that belies the role of Severus and the nature of the presence of soldiery from across the globe based at the frontier (Breeze and Dobson 2000). However, the form of historical narrative compounds these exclusions in the landscape encounter at the frontier; the visitor experience is about being in the footsteps of Hadrian; see the advertisement below (Plates 1 and 2).

These representations of Hadrian use a particular aesthetic; through the lighting and colour used, the Emperor is encountered as a positive being of greatness, with timeless power. Breeze argues that

Hadrian's Wall was built on the orders of Emperor Hadrian, who visited Britain in AD 122. His biographer states it was to separate the Romans and the Barbarians. It certainly did that. ... from about 160 for 250 years it remained the north-west frontier of the Roman empire. (2006a, 3)

This empire stretched 1500 miles south to the Sahara desert and east to modern-day Iraq. The Wall or international *limes* was a politically built artificial frontier, to assert sovereignty, rule and governance, and to prevent breach from those 'others' who were not part of the 'civilised' citizenship of Rome. The whiteness of the marble compounds the narrative of Hadrian as closer to the culture of civilised Englishness as recognisable now.

Narrative is helpful in my postcolonial critical account of the landscape history of the Roman Wall (see *Writing on the Wall* 2006), in that it allows and enables a plural account in historical representation. Within archaeology authors such as Gosden (2004 2006) and Hingley (2000) use a postcolonial critique. Mattingly (1994) in particular is useful here as he approaches Roman Africa and produces a substantial thesis based on empirical detail. The narrative form is of course one that enables oppositions that can be encountered yet remain compatible. In 'An Archaeology of "Race"' the landscape history of the Roman Wall is extended to think through the frontier as a whole, the histories of which are interwoven. The frontier and the Wall are separate but are co-narrated to



Plate 1 Get closer to Rome. Head north. Discover Hadrian's Wall country, Britain's biggest Roman experience (*Guardian Weekend* 2 August 2008)

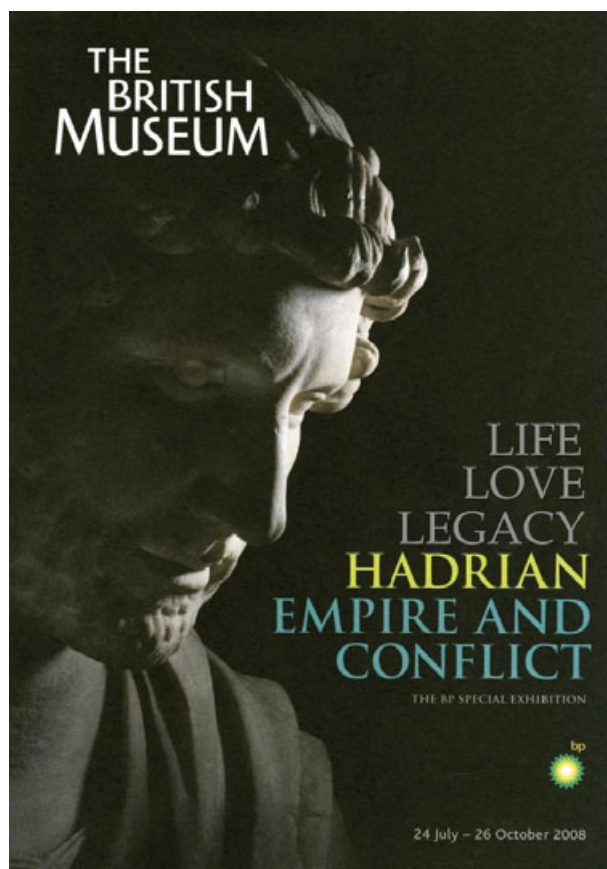


Plate 2 The British Museum flyer for 'Hadrian: Empire and conflict. Life, love, legacy 2008'

enable a geo-political postcolonial narration that signifies the race-geographies of the frontier, and narrated with responsibility (Raghuram *et al.* 2009). This counters the means through which the heritage narratives of this site have been collapsed into a singular notion of Hadrian's military landscape in the region's heritage narratives. The exhibition narrates the frontier as a lived landscape (with exhibition panels on food, drink, clothing and African building techniques), using archaeological evidence to situate a postcolonial translation. The research by archaeologists on life, culture and identity have been privileged (Allason-Jones 2001 2005; Croom 2007; Huntley and Stallibrass 1995; Swan and Monaghan 1993) alongside political critiques of archaeology as a colonial discipline itself (Gosden 2004; Hingley 2000) with prejudiced orientations (Isaac 2004; Bernal 1987; Orser 2001). The aim here is not a

simple erasure of all other established narrations of this landscape, but a tactical re-narration informed by antiquarian and archaeological scholarship.

Contraries are therefore compatible within the same text under the condition that is *narrative*. ... narrative preserves the possibility of a science or a philosophy (it is heuristic); but, as such, it occupies their place and hides their absence. (de Certeau 1988, 89)

Postcolonial landscape narratives

Non-linear narratives are a critical tool for postcolonial theorists who have challenged definitions of themselves and the problematic of using the language of the coloniser, since the 1980s, to re-tell the world, through their voices, texts and reformulations of narrative (Ashcroft *et al.* 1989; Gandhi 1998; Loomba 1998; Said 1990). Scholars who seek to chal-

lenge neat colonial histories, knowledges, taxonomical framings and appropriations of cultural and material production have done so through the challenging of the linear form of narrative (Spivak 1988). This has been both a tool to disrupt a sense of the neatness and singularity of language through acknowledging *difference* and reclaiming the power to narrate histories, cultures and shape new formations within a postcolonial world. For some there is a rupture with pre-colonial self expression, and for others there is imposed a gap between the use of 'English' and the pre-colonial language (Ashcroft *et al.* 1989, 10). Postcolonial literatures thus employ strategies to 'subvert the imperial cultural formations' (1989, 11).

The re-presencing of black figures in national history, whether through text, artefact or image, is important in postcolonial approaches to cultural studies, theory and history-writing. Harris, on considering the institution of British cultural studies itself, argues

that the excision of black and brown Britons as social actors is not a matter of blame relating to individuals, but part of a deeply ingrained tradition of considering British culture while ignoring the presence of black and brown people. (2009, 485)

In the *Empire Writes Back* (Ashcroft *et al.* 1989), the authors argue that the oppressive act of being defined as 'other' to the 'occidental' and inferior to the colonial subject was executed using the tool of language and texts. Therefore, the battleground for recovering histories, cultures and subjectivities is the site of the text itself; in form and language.

[t]he text's relationship with the historical subject is an *active* one. It is the text which transforms the historical subtext which it draws up into itself and this transformation constitutes what Jameson characterizes as the 'symbolic act' of the narrative. So the text paradoxically, 'brings into being that very situation to which it is also, at one and the same time, a reaction'. (Jameson 1981, 81–2; quoted in Ashcroft *et al.* 1989, 172)

In the arena of writing race-histories and geographies, the value of narrative is manifold. For Toni Morrison writing is 'a kind of literary archaeology' (1990, 302). Morrison's work has a political ambition. Her project is to counter contemporary values of black history by acknowledging the role of scientific racism in editing the historical narratives that had gone before.

David Hume, Immanuel Kant and Thomas Jefferson, to mention only a few, had documented their conclusions that blacks were incapable of intelligence. ... Hegel in 1813 had said that Africans had no 'history' and couldn't write in modern languages. (1990, 305)

Morrison also reflects on how Kant disregarded a perceptive observation by a black man by saying '[T]he fellow was quite black from head to foot, a clear proof that what he said was stupid' (Kant 1991, 113). In archaeological terms, although we cannot recover the comprehensive and foundational evidence of black history, we can re-narrate the absences, omissions and rupture the uneven accounts of African history, subjectivity and capacities to be valuable within archaeological scholarship and landscape histories.

Challenges to the embedded and accepted hierarchies of occident and orient have been recently interrogated in Shanks and Tilley's (1987) account of archaeology; 'however poor its data, archaeology provides unique access to the past as "Other" as a means of holding in tension the universalism of the present' (cited in Rowlands and Kristiansen 1998, 2). Also Gosden (2004 2006) outlines how British Imperial prejudices based on racial taxonomies have been woven into archaeological scholarship; as a result, he seeks to disrupt their pervasiveness through a fundamental account of material culture. However, in undertaking this non-textual intervention, it must be remembered that the archive is always partial; material cultures have been destroyed and occluded from the museum space and national history as a result of imperial undervaluing of 'other' cultures. Material culture has been at the interface of the violences of imperial narratives and regimes of truth. Absences thus serve to compound historical mythologies and mistruths.

In the case of the Roman Wall, the aim here is to use the postcolonial reading of landscape and historical narrative to privilege the race-geographies that are materially evidenced at the sites and in the scholarly accounts. What are important are the ways in which certain peoples and territories are exiled as 'other' within academic thought, influenced by 19th century notions of taxonomy (Anderson 2007; Winlow 2001 2009; Young 2007). This, for example, is evidenced namely in the cultural identity proffered to those civilisations resident in the African continent. Rowlands and Kristiansen (1998) highlight the disciplinary

assumptions that shaped figurations of other cultures and the emergence of 'Africa' conceptually. They argue that, '[F]or more than thirty years historians and archaeologists have worked to counteract primitivist ideas about the absence of change, cultural backwardness and technical failure of Africa' and address the resulting challenge to the Hegelian view of Africa as not being 'an historical continent' (1998, 361). These regimes of truth negated, denuded and misrepresented 'others' in archaeological and historical accounts. The exhibition addresses the ways in which this over-arching dominant view also conferred a loss of status and visibility to Severus. Birley's profiling of *The African Emperor* (2008 [1988]) has not been popularised in heritage representations.

In earlier accounts of Severus' rule, these occlusions exist. Bruce (1996) argues that repair began of the damage done to forts throughout the North and to the Wall, where work was in progress in AD 205–208. The work was so extensive that Severus came to be described as the actual builder of the Wall,

and the reputation is deserved to this extent, that in many places his engineers did in fact reconstruct it from the very foundations. The punitive campaign was delayed until 208 ... [I]n 209 ... he advanced against the Caledonians. The campaigns lasted three seasons, with more success than historians admit ... Accounts of these Caledonian wars are written to give an impression of failure, but it seems that their main objective was achieved. (Bruce 1996, 5)

The effect of the occluded account of Severus' role in the national history and the landscape itself is to smooth a notion of a cultural history of Britain where Romanness folds into an Englishness and a sense of a nation built on a particular link to 'Europeaness' in terms of bodies, practices and moral landscape.

Bruce highlights the ways in which there has been a 'smoothing' of narration to render Severus as a lesser actor in the creation of the Wall as we see it in the 21st century; the physical presence we celebrate as the northern frontier in representation, narration and encounter is material evidence of Severus' determination to consolidate the breaches from the barbarians. In Britannia under the Roman Empire, mobility from across the southern and eastern empire occurred and Roman citizenship was a synthesis between cross-cultural flows and the values of the system of governance (Rowlands

and Kristiansen 1998). The Empire as we know, was not a homogeneous society, in fact scholars have argued that the strength of Romanness and its ability to expand rests with its tolerance of 'other' cultures and its ability to civilise and urbanise these cultures in synthesis. The re-presenting of a black history of Roman Britain through the panels highlighting Septimius Severus, Barates and Saturninus, as well as the mobilities of personnel, technologies and other artefactual evidence is at the core of a postcolonial conceptualisation of the northern frontier as exhibited in 'An Archaeology of "Race"'. Also recognition of the fact that Hadrian's Wall is a small section of an international border-scape enables the exhibition to include the *Limes Germanicus* (Rhine to the Danube), *Limes Tripolitanus* (South Libya to Tunisia) and *Limes Arabicus* (running 1500 km, from Syria to Palestine), all of which are protected by UNESCO as a *world limes*. This account disrupts the seemingly 'national' grammars of the Wall through taking an inclusive approach to an internationalist account of Roman archaeology and landscape research.

Representation

To do justice to both archaeology and postcolonial theory in the curating of the exhibition, it was important to think what a postcolonial archaeology of Hadrian's Wall would look like. Much of the work of postcolonial theorists has been to address the effect of colonial representations and discourses (Bhabha 1994; Said 1990; Spivak 1988). Using the narration of an exhibition to counter the shaping of this landscape's story in a colonial narration was one way in which both the grammars of the dominant narration and the 'ordering' of the museum space itself could be disrupted (Crang 1994). One of the few accounts of archaeology engaging with postcolonial theory is where Gosden (2004) argues that postcolonial theory is absolutely relevant to challenging the 'pernicious influence' (2004, 20) of 19th century colonialism on the discipline.

As Crang (1994, 29) has affirmed, 'the universalism that museums claim masks power relations' and as such their narratives have often given coherence and meaning to their contents through a discourse of linear and 'known' narrative structure. In this sense 'An Archaeology of "Race"' disrupts on several levels: first, by offering a re-narration through a postcolonial account;

second, by the very fact of being an installation by a non-museum actor, it effectively offers different grammars and discourses that themselves shift the usual technologies of knowledge in the museum space; and finally, the exhibition espouses an interpretation by adding a biographical narrative of a landscape dominated by African Emperor Septimius Severus and the objects employed in its telling. The narrative structure in this context is not an innocent tool (Crang 1994, 39), but a strategic one. In the exhibition the new narrative as owned by the curators and contributors takes up the powerful role of making a *differentiation* between this narrative and others that have gone before in Roman studies. As de Certeau states, this creation of a differentiated narrative 'presupposes the rupture that changes a tradition into a past object' (1988, 45). This at once makes narrative empowering for the postcolonial strategy and also enables the contrariness of this new narration to sit comfortably alongside others.

'An Archaeology of "Race"' embraces the complexities of postcolonial narration in practice. The exhibition is not a simple narration of the subaltern story; Severus and his landscape is one where he is a violent imperialist oppressor. Any postcolonial reading of this landscape can only make sense in light of British Imperialism and its own drive to develop a narrative that underplays him and his rebuilding this lasting material monument that makes legible the frontier landscape today. Situating the subaltern (in this case both a subaltern lens and figure of black history-making and presence in the British landscape), is not enough. Instead of being only reliant on the rupture of colonial discourses and produced hierarchies (whether they are based on race, culture and/or material culture), 'we must also think about the crucial relations *between* these hierarchies, between forces and discourses' (Loomba 1998, 200). These fissures between colonial effects and postcolonial scholarship remain in the postcolonial oeuvre. However, it is important to consider how we may continue to reflect on these foreshadowed tensions that are present in contemporary re-narrations and disruptions. This reflection should not be a debilitating course; instead the legitimacy of institutions (museums, galleries, disciplinary scholarship) underpinned by colonial ideologies cannot be taken for granted, and there must be moves to critique *and* more importantly to strive for a cultural sphere that is colour-blind and not determined by colonial

regimes of truth, values, discourses and narrations (Araeen 2000, 18).

Postcolonial narration in practice: Severus

In Hall's (1997) account, one method of challenging an ethnocentric regime of representation is to contest this by reversing stereotypes. One aspect of the exhibition 'An Archaeology of "Race"' is to present a figure that is normally discordant with our notions of rulers, kings, Emperors and colonisers: this account of the frontier landscape places a black man centre stage in a discourse of Rome and English landscape simultaneously. There remains, however, a continued problematic of self-determination versus a political imperative; race and historical context are complex in this narrative of Hadrian's Wall. For Severus did not consider himself 'black', other or indeed marginal. He, like others of his elite society, held a deep-rooted belief that blackness was linked with death and the underworld (Snowden 1983, 92). Severus himself, after successfully defending against incursions in the north-west of Britain, saw an 'Ethiopian' soldier; the presence of a black or *Aethiope* enraged Severus, and it is reported that he ordered that the Ethiopian be removed (Snowden 1970, 179).

One element of the neo-conservative challenge to the premise of the exhibition was posited by both a member of English Heritage and a scholar of the Roman Wall: 'How do you know he was a Negroid?' There are several layers to this question that expose the complexities of race in Britain today; the conservatism of archaeological scholarship on race categories and, of course, of the pervasive racism that hides behind calls for legitimacy, evidence and a lack of recognition of the influence of racism on scholarship itself. One element of this layering is that my use of the word 'black' intended to mean politically 'other' and usually misrepresented in history, was on this occasion translated as 'negroid'. This response evidences a lack of awareness and engagement with critical race theory, where race is not a biological essential; it is a cultural categorisation (Gilroy 1993; Hall 1990; Young 2007). Even in the contemporary era of the scientific re-emergence of biologism (Gilroy 2000), scientists struggle to separate social and biological determinants (Fullwiley 2008). A second layering is the assumption of a colour-blind archaeology; an assumed unrevised account of evidence, truth and knowledge, untouched by cultural, or

political and social contexts. This account is of course flawed. As Moralee's (2008) and others' scholarship has highlighted, far from being a singularly colour-blind society, Rome and historical writings on Rome have used racial terms to highlight race difference. When reflecting on Herodian's *Historiae Augustae* (Magie 1922), Moralee argues that Emperor Maximus Thrax (235–238 CE) is similarly positioned as a perpetrator of the subversion of Senate's authority by being a 'half-barbarian from the periphery of empire' (2008, 55). Terminology such as 'Punic' and 'barbarian' has been upheld as evidence of the language of differentiation between the Roman ideal and the 'other' savage, uncivilised. These referents become indexical with what is counted as Roman; a metonymical index of Rome's status itself (Isaac 2004; Moralee 2008, 535). Moralee also gives evidence of Herodian views of Roman fears of loss of racial purity in the form of a letter advising against racial contamination, that is fabricated by Herodian to lead us to conclude that 'only a bad emperor would have considered such transgression' and that Maximus's integral cruelty was a result of his consciousness of racial inferiority (Moralee 2008, 59–61): 'Just as becoming emperor failed to erase that "barbarian element" in his father, education failed to erase the racial stain on the son' (2008, 63). The historical context of the various authors' accounts of Thrax as barbarian are laid out by Moralee evidencing fears of this profile in the later narratives of the 4th, 6th and 20th century, including being linked to the political thesis in Nazi Germany of racial purity (2008, 76).

In Birley's (2008 [1988]) account, Severus is described as 'Punic', often referring to him as being of Phoenician decent from ancient Carthage. These peoples and their cultures were considered predecessors of modern-day Berbers, and their language was closely related to Hebrew (Birley 2008 [1988], 2). Severus's 'hometown where he spent the first seventeen years of his life, was a very exceptional place, and the "three cities" markedly different from the rest of what the Romans call "Africa"' (2008 [1988], 1). Tripolitania the region was a hybrid between the Mediterranean and the Sahara. The ethnicity of Severus is of consequence in contemporary times (Spielvogel 2003 2006). In contemporary society the idea of an 'African' head of state in Britain is seemingly only possible in theory. However, in AD 193 Severus was proclaimed Emperor of Rome and its Imperial territories. Severus was born

in Lepcis Magna, which is modern-day Libya; he died in York in AD 211. In AD 208 Severus arrived in Britain, largely to militarily consolidate the difficult frontiers of the northern territory. Under Severus, 'Britannia' was also split into two: Britannia Superior and Inferior, to secure his power. Incursions from 'savage' lands at the edges of Roman rule were constant. Another World Heritage Site, the Antonine Wall, is a modern-day remnant of Rome's early ambitions to conquer the known world. Severus's military cruelty earned him the nickname 'Punic Sulla', referring to his African origin and his vengefulness. Other historical texts reference his 'Punic' roots, 'swarthy complexion' and proclaim him 'The African Emperor'. Throughout history, Severus's identity has been a point of commentary, despite movement from around the Empire not being unusual. Roman rule witnessed several units of soldiery from all over the Roman Empire, including North Africa, Eastern Europe and the lands surrounding the Mediterranean, who were stationed across the Empire. In Britain, these populations lived and contributed to 'native' life on the frontier of Hadrian's Wall and beyond, leaving material cultures that they inspired, including coins, African cooking pottery, seeds, fabrics, gravestones, inscriptions and texts.

There are complexities to Severus's status and situation, as is always highlighted when using an ideological frame such as a postcolonial lens. Although Severus's birth and ethnicity give him a special place in modern history that has had occlusions and exclusions, it remains that he was an elite member of Roman society and a perpetrator of Imperial colonisation and violence. In this story, however, are traces of how ethnicity, birthplace and cultural proximity to a Latin profile was paramount. Despite the seeming colour-blind nature of the empire, Severus and others of his society worked hard to *become* Roman. One early aid to his success was the status of Lepcis itself. In AD 78, Lepcis had become a *municipium*, a chartered town with the 'Latin right'; formal recognition of the Latin nature of this formerly alien community, *civitas pergrina*. In particular, the new status automatically conferred full Roman citizenship on those annually elected as magistrates (Birley 2008 [1988], 16). This shift in status followed with people changing their names from Punic to Latin, and the recession in the use of Punic language and inscription (Birley 2008 [1988], 17). At the same time as having political capital and access to Rome, the

Septimii had lands near Rome, and Severus himself was 'educated with the sons of the great'. He completed his education by studying with 'the great Qutilian, first holder of an imperially endowed chair of rhetoric' (Birley 2008 [1988], 18). Throughout his time, however, the description 'Punic' was a derogatory mode bolstered by the memory of the Hannibalic war. Around AD 100 Lepcis was granted the rank of *colonia* and all its inhabitants became Roman citizens, conjoined with the cultural citizenship and governance of Rome. The contextualisation of Severus's identity in history suffers a 'treatment' based on the historical context in which he is written about, and the dominant ideologies of that period. In the 21st century, it is important to highlight to residents of the frontier in Carlisle, Cumbria, Newcastle and Durham the multi-ethnic roots and cultures of both Emperor and personnel on the frontier, as contemporary memory-history in the region has little public recognition of it. These issues are outlined in the exhibition panels entitled: 'Septimius Severus', 'Roman Citizenship' and 'Severus versus Obama'.

The positioning of race within Roman scholarship reflects much of the contextual social politics of the day within which records are made, and thus scholars such as Isaac (2004) are keen to encourage us to situate scholarship on difference. Moralee (2008) argues that the racial profile of Severus and others shifts in the 6th century as 'barbarians' become legitimate players in the Western Empire. In the 19th century, hybridity in its colonial sense came to be of primary concern in terms of being a threat to humanity and civilisation themselves. Using these critiques Moralee (2008, 62) states that 'No longer is Romanisation seen as a steam roller, flattening locals into toga-clad mandarins', instead of being a racial category, 'hybrid' is the location and site of cultural intersections at the edges of where the coloniser flows into new territories. The cultures at the edges are thus creative, empowered and productive for the Imperial mission, as they enable a move away from notions of Roman and Barbarian *per se*.

The frontier as a multicultural landscape

The centrepiece of the exhibition is a lenticular image (a filmed version of the bust at the British Museum's front entrance, made by Spatial Imaging) of the African Emperor, who like all others before him is pictured in white marble. The discordancy

between 'white' marble and African Roman is at play here. The centrality of the bust in the room is a statement about the monument of the Wall and landscape as a legacy of his rebuilding it in the form we see it today. Draping each side of Severus are two lengths of brightly patterned cloth, 5 metres long and 2 metres wide, one from Syria and the other from Egypt, which would normally be found in the Imperial household (Croom 2007). The aim here is to disrupt the usual grammars of the Romans as usually encountered at the museum; the colours and textures of the fabric, which are hung against a purple Wall space, are intended to draw you into a new narration. An exclusive 'English' sense of heritage landscape is unsettled.

The role that Hadrian's Wall played in the securitisation of the frontier extended well beyond that of Britannia. The northern frontier marked the Roman Empire through Europe, Asia, Arabia and Africa. This community of borders connected up societies from the whole Empire. It was a site of mobility and of residence of auxiliary soldiers recruited from all over the world. As Figure 1 shows, the geographical places of 'origin' of soldiery was extensive; thus auxiliary units often took the name of the ethnic community from which the soldiers were originally recruited. They were usually posted to provinces far from their homes. These included modern-day states such as: Switzerland, Romania, Macedonia, Germany, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Morocco, France, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and many others. In time, these units kept their 'ethnic' names but also later recruited local personnel in Britain (Mann 1983).

In Thatcher's 1921 account of his walk along the Roman Wall, it is clear that he imagines the cultural legacy of the Roman occupation. Thatcher describes the intertwining of the English with an international community of soldiery from other countries and the continual depletion of British natives employed to secure the *limes* elsewhere.

As vacancies occurred they were supplied by drafts from different countries furnishing men to the particular garrison, while discharged veterans were not sent back to their native country, but were settled and provided for in colonies in Britain of their own countrymen. ... all the rank and file came from some conquered country or other on the continent, none of them were British ... the Roman policy seems to have been to recruit the army from the natives of conquered countries, but always to draft them into some legion stationed far away from their own country ... the Wall

Mobilities on the northern frontier

Hadrian's Wall was not garrisoned by Roman legionaries, but by auxiliary soldiers. These were usually non-citizens who were recruited from around the Roman Empire.

Auxiliary units often took the name of the ethnic community from which the soldiers were originally recruited. They were usually posted to provinces far from their homes.

A silver coin of Hadrian
Soldiers display their loyalty
to the emperor

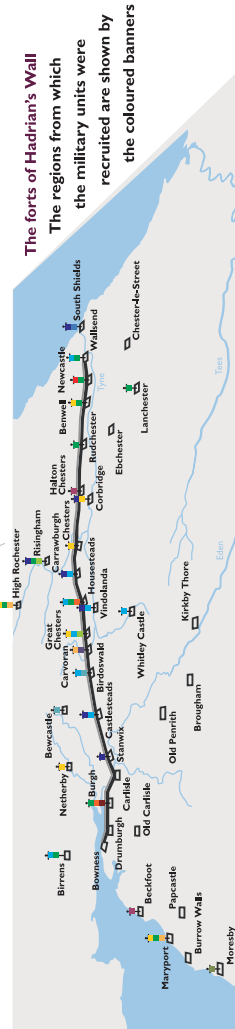
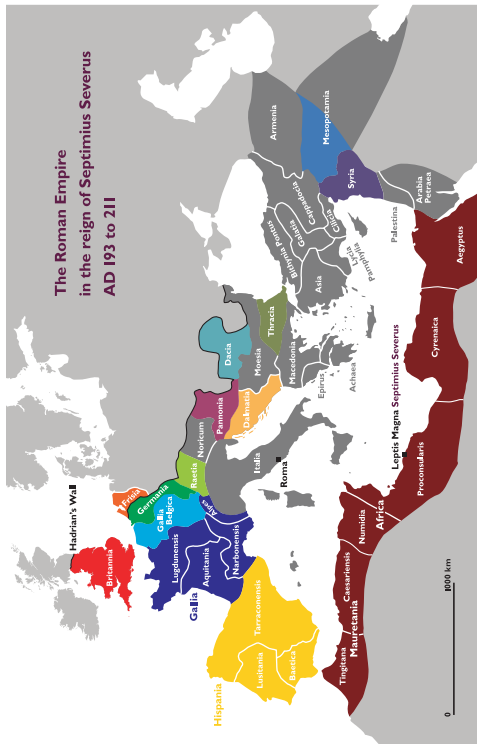


Figure 1 Exhibition Panel showing mobility of personnel on Hadrian's Wall.
Source: Designed by Christina Unwin based on a schedule provided by Rob Witcher.

was garrisoned by men taken from almost every land known to the civilized world except Britain itself. (Thatcher 1921, 12)

Many of the chroniclers traversing the Wall make comparisons between Roman and British Imperial values and achievements. The Reverend John Skinner is one who questions the humanity of the Romans toward their colonies: 'How curious is the term Barbarians, bestowed on all who were not Roman. In our Indian regiments, we soften the term by calling the officers of our auxiliary, native cavalymen or infantry' (1978 [1801], 41).

A full account of the origins and stationing of soldiery from overseas at the Wall is outlined in the *Notitia Dignitatum*; it is the best record of stationed garrison at the Wall before AD 420. Figure 1 is an original production for 'An Archaeology of "Race"', which is based on the *Notitia Dignitatum* and evidences the presence of Iraqis, Syrians, North Africans and many others the first legions of migrants populating the frontier. Early evidence has been found of garrisons from all over the Empire stationed at Hadrian's Wall and of their influence and exchanges with local populations (Bruce 1875, xiv). Roman society in Britain can be argued to have been formed from a number of diasporas from across the Empire, whose presence translated the nature, landscape and cultural practices in Britain (Eckardt 2010).

Included in the exhibition are several panels, not able to be discussed here, showing the scale of mobilities of foods, fauna and flora, technologies and cultural praxes that are transferred to Britain in the form of an ecological and cultural portmanteau (Tolia-Kelly 2004a 2004b 2004c). Roth (2003) has argued that the greatest insight into the transfer of culture in the vernacular modes of society is through considering identity and power in the material cultures, and through these the *habitus* of the producer and consumer are made co-present. The exhibition itself aims to reflect a notion of bricolage, in Roth's terms, where imbued in the aesthetics, content and grammars of the space are social geographies and relations in Roman Britain that may have not been made present before (Roth 2003, 44). However, in any postcolonial account of ethnicities it is important not just to focus on food, fabric and cultures. Intellectual and technological exchanges are also present on the frontier landscape and are incorporated in the exhibition. Cooking technologies such as North African pottery braziers are found

regularly on the Wall. These have been reconstructed in the exhibition alongside the pottery equipment of Ancient Britons. It is clear that native potters learned to produce African-designed pottery braziers for the local market; these had built-in space for burning wood under the casserole, which sat above. In the same way that contemporary cooking utensils are 'nativised' from 'foreign' sources such as woks and coffee machines, in Roman times these braziers were likely to be absorbed into the local culture, but given their fragility no clear evidence remains. African vaulting tubes are also found in the construction of structures along the Wall, which show the engineering exchanges across the Empire; Africa as a continent was a source of innovation and design in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, which in turn shaped this landscape.

Conclusions

The narrative approach presented here has disturbed 19th century accounts of the Wall, on which much heritage literature is based. The narration of a black historical account of this national landscape enables a plural account of the Wall's heritage, which is circulated in the public realm. The politics of curating here are about taking seriously our academic responsibility towards public engagement and dialogue. 'An Archaeology of "Race"' brings to the public realm a set of artefacts that link it to both contemporary and historical issues of citizenship, race, imperialism and culture. The aesthetics, grammars and texts embedded in the exhibition are formulations of a postcolonial interpretation of a national heritage landscape. As an exercise in public geography, it incorporates a non-nationalistic orientation (Beck and Sznaider 2006) and a transparent knowledge production process of narrative writing (Noxolo 2009). The archival records and artefacts show that Roman culture was not homogeneous, and that there has been a tendency to present a binary between Romans aiming to civilise an uncomplicated 'native' population. These binaries have tended to skew universalist interpretations of the past (Fitzjohn 2007). What 'An Archaeology of "Race"' has sought to do is to enrich material accounts of the relations between 'native' and 'Roman' as well as reconsider the geographies of mobilities of peoples, technologies, goods and cultures. A postcolonial interpretation of Hadrian's Wall enables us to see a dynamic,

multi-cultured society, and thus challenges a seemingly benign white Imperial Romanness; 'In the case of York, the Roman population may have had more diverse origins than the city has now' (Eckhardt 2010a). The exhibition rejects a narration of Roman Britain based purely on a Victorian sensibility about an Imperial Englishness that aspires to an Augustinian/Hadrianic Roman picture rather than a Severan one. Severus is brought forward here to celebrate black presence. However, 'Severus' does not stand as benevolent Emperor, but as a violent Imperialist, and is compared with current US President Obama's own positioning. The exhibition also enables the archaeological and classicist critique of a 'colour-blind' Roman citizenship.

The paper has attended to a revitalisation of a narrative approach to postcolonial accounts of heritage landscapes. The narrative approach was taken forward into the public realm, enabling a multicultural perspective on Hadrian's Wall and Roman Britain. As part of the process of doing both collaborative, interdisciplinary research and curating the exhibition, productive tensions and differences emerged that enabled this new narrativisation. An archaeological approach to race narratives was made possible, adding to the scholarship on critical race theory in the social sciences. Geographical orientations towards race in historical narratives and accounts of material cultures were also enriched. Critically, Isaac (2004) and Moralee (2008) inform a new location from which to think about the interpretation of the material cultures and Sherwin-White (1967) critiques the narrations of historians such as Strabo, Pliny and Tacitus, who freely use caricatures of 'barbarians', stereotyped in terms of physique, culture and capability. These scholars have informed my narrative approach to doing black history, understanding Roman mobility and identity (Dobson and Mann 1973; Gardner 2007) and evidence of 'syncretism' in the day-to-day (Webster 1997). Overall, the paper reflects the ways in which the research enabled public engagement with postcolonial archaeologies and landscape narratives of Hadrian's Wall. In particular, the paper evidences the race politics that are present in both the scholarship on the Wall and public understandings of Britain's Roman heritage.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Mike Crang for his invaluable support and the superb reviewers' comments.

Notes

- 1 *Aethiope* is the term used in Roman and Greek culture that refers to an individual of dark complexion or indeed African origin. It has also been used to refer to the African 'Negroid' in Greek and Roman Classical accounts. There are variations in its use in these classical accounts and thus it can be considered as a referent to non-white, non-European or *other*. Snowden (1970) uses *Aethiope* as a category for considering the presence of blacks in antiquity.
- 2 'An Archaeology of "Race"' was funded by the AHRC and Durham Geography, it was exhibited in Segedunum Roman Fort and Museum between 3 July and 19 September 2009 and Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery between 19 September and 25 October 2009, where it attracted over 11 000 visitors. More information can be found on this exhibition at its website <http://dur.ac.uk/geography/race/> [Accessed 1 November 2010].
- 3 More details are available at <http://www.dur.ac.uk/roman.centre/hadrianswall/> [Accessed 1 November 2010].

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