General Anthropology

Volume 26, No. 1 *Bulletin of the General Anthropology Division* *Spring, 2019*

Distinguished Lecture

Anthropology and the Search for Home: Reflections of an Immigrant Ethnographer

By Ruth Behar
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When Professor Robert Myers wrote to me in 2017 asking if I would deliver the 2018 GAD Distinguished Lecture, I was incredibly honored. And to be honest, I was also very surprised. I've always seen myself as an outsider to anthropology, someone who found a niche in the margins of this expansive and generous discipline. I was allowed to cling to my personal, poetic, vulnerable approach to anthropology only because there were plenty of "real anthropologists" carrying out the serious theoretical, comparative, and politically committed work we were supposed to do.

So I'm not sure if I'm here today because I'm no longer an outsider or if it's precisely my condition as an outsider that might make my voice relevant at this moment when vulnerability seems to define everyday life.

This is a time of acute awareness and distrust of outsiders. It is a vehemently anti-immigrant era, frightening in its hatred of those "Others" who have gone in search of a home beyond the borders of the nations they come from.

Deportation is a word that has become sadly commonplace in the United States. For those undocumented immigrants from Mexico and Central America who live with the anxiety and fear of experiencing this expulsion in the flesh, theirs is a state of unspeakable terror, beyond what most of us can comprehend. And they are the "lucky ones." A yet more dire situation confronts immigrants fleeing for their lives, trying to reach the border to seek asylum, and being greeted by hunger, thirst, and violence that bring them to the edge of death. Coming together in a

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Campus Inequality

Using Campus Ethnography to Reveal Social Inequality

By Susan B. Hyatt and Paul R. Mullins
IUPUI

In 1944, 70 year-old Ira Johnson settled in a home at 311 Bright Street in Indianapolis, Indiana. By the time of his death 30 years later in 1974, a university had acquired most of the property around Johnson's home, leaving his house as only one of two still standing amid a sea of parking lots. As his obituary, published in the *Indianapolis Recorder*, Indianapolis' African-American newspaper, noted, the noise and other disruptions necessitated by the construction of a new law school adjacent to his property had made it unpleasant for Mr. Johnson to continue spending his days sitting on his front porch and watching the world go by. "He did not like the noise, the machinery or the people moving about" the author of the obituary wrote. "So he refused to sit on the porch and watch progress. He liked it even less when a parking lot came up to his back fence. The house offered him security and comfort, so his last days were spent in his home, his last hours in his chair. As he sat there, he entered into eternal sleep."

This poignant story is one of many we have uncovered that reveal the history of our campus, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, and its legacy of displacement. Our multi-method project elicited oral histories from surviving African American elders who were forced to relocate by campus expansion. The project resulted in a 2010 collection edited with a community elder,

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Bioarchaeology

Situating Roman Bioarchaeology Between Anthropology and Classics

By Kristina Killgrove
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Roman bioarchaeology is perhaps a strange topic for an essay in a general anthropology journal, but it is also out of place in most classical studies publications. That's a problem – not just for the job prospects of its practitioners, but for a full understanding of the humans who inhabited the ancient world. For the classical world we have historical records, almost all of which were written by educated, wealthy, powerful men. Just the *known* "lost works" of Greek and Roman antiquity fill an entire Wikipedia entry! And yet, more than one reviewer of my anthropology grant proposals over the years has reminded me of the old role of classical archaeology as a handmaiden to history. Archaeology can help fill the

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spatial expansion" (Mullins and Jones 2011, 251). IUPUI has recognized the importance of our work in a number of ways; for example, an exhibit now installed on the ground floor of our new Science Building, entitled, "Welcome to the Neighborhood! Recognizing Those Who Were Here Before," tells some of the stories of previous residents. The exhibit, however, is rather anodyne, eliding the actual violence of the removals of these same individuals from what is now campus space. Mullins is a popular speaker on campus who often shares his research on campus history in public forums. A recent presentation to incoming and prospective students, however, inspired a visit from an administrator who was concerned that the presentation sent the wrong message to that particular audience.

Hyatt left Temple for IUPUI at the end of 2004. As far as she knows, the university never recognized the "Death and Rebirth of North Central Philadelphia" project and, as indicated, conflicts with the neighborhood have continued to escalate since that time. IUPUI is now part of a new nascent initiative called "16 Tech," a planned "innovation district" that will extend the footprint of the school to the northwest, into another predominantly Black neighborhood called Riverside. It remains to be seen whether the university has heeded the lessons of the past as it implements this new development. Whatever happens next, this new initiative offers our students yet another opportunity to examine and document how an institution's expansionist development affects another urban neighborhood, and to call attention to what are likely to be its multiple and complex consequences.

References

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Photos

Photo #1: Mr. Johnson's house at 311 Bright Street, surrounded by parking lots being constructed for the IUPUI campus. (Photo courtesy of the IUPUI Special Collections and Archives)

Photo #2: Students involved in one of the summer digs sharing their findings with neighborhood residents.

Photo #3: Coalition to Stop the Closing of 13th Street Flier. (Image courtesy of the RCDC Archives)

Photo #4: The Re-entry Board Game designed by students in the "Cultures of Incarceration" class. (Photo courtesy of Angela Herrmann)

(**Bioarchaeology** Continued from page 1)

gaps of history, but the material remains we typically find in our excavations are architectural elaborations, mosaics, frescoes, and coins created and distributed by elite men. The field of classical studies has been short-sighted when it comes to bioarchaeology—a subdiscipline that is centuries younger than the study of the Greco-Roman world. The place of classical bioarchaeology is woefully unclear in American academia, and this rootlessness impacts our collective engagement with Greco-Roman skeletons, our understanding of the past, and our contribution to the current cultural zeitgeist.

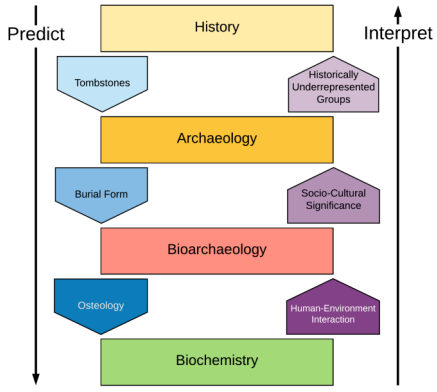
In my research specialty of Roman bioarchaeology, there are only a handful of practitioners in the U.S., which leaves us floating in interdisciplinary space. We are almost always in an anthropology department. A century ago, the vagaries of American higher education created a disciplinary divide between Boasian, theoretical, four-field anthropology and the field of classical archaeology, residing in classics departments. This separation was painfully obvious to me when, nearly done with my undergraduate Latin and classical archaeology majors, I began to apply to graduate schools. I realized then that my plan to study Roman skeletons would have to be situated in anthropology, a field in which I had taken only a handful of courses, but one that taught the techniques that would allow me to answer questions I had been pondering since I was a kid. Bioarchaeology of the classical world, at least in the U.S., is an interdisciplinary rarity matched only by Egyptology, another discipline that grew out of European explorers' and historians' desire to understand the mysteries of a powerful ancient civilization. This disciplinary divide means that degree plans for students who want to study classical bioarchaeology are typically cobbled together and shepherded by a sympathetic advisor, as were my own degrees. Courses in Roman burial traditions or Roman bioarchaeology are rare, if they exist at all in American universities, as anthropology programs tend to focus on research in the Americas, and classics programs consist of courses in art, archaeology, history, and language studies.

It is perhaps not surprising that much of Roman bioarchaeology currently is being taught and undertaken in Britain. Easy access to vast collections of Romano-British skeletons, a university and disciplinary structure focused more strongly on European archaeology, and a solid pool of funding are factors that allow

British bioarchaeologists to lead the way in understanding what life was like on the edge of the Roman Empire. They have shown that migration was common, and diversity was the norm. They have investigated dietary practices throughout the island and have ably critiqued longstanding ideas about acculturation. Although this research is useful, it has been insufficiently incorporated into classical studies. Because ancient Britain was near the periphery of Ancient Rome, it has been easy for core-focused classics scholars to dismiss it.

For several reasons, less bioarchaeology has been done in Italy, and in Rome specifically than in Britain. Because Italy offers less money for research, fewer Italians study and do research in bioarchaeology. The archaeological superintendencies can be insular, and their organization confusing to navigate; and the work done on skeletons is often in service to a larger archaeological or CRM-type project that fails to fully integrate the resulting data. But the skeletons are there: tens of thousands of them in storehouses around Rome and throughout Italy. In thinking about Roman bioarchaeology, it has become clear to me that research projects that are both interdisciplinary and multiscalar may point the way toward a subdiscipline that is better integrated within both classics and anthropology.

As an example of how a Roman bioarchaeology research program can integrate new lines of evidence, allow me to summarize my own work on suburban cemeteries of Imperial Rome. Starting from the uncontroversial assumption that neither Roman histories nor Roman archaeology provide the full picture of daily life for all social classes, I created the following model to help me visualize ways to generate and test hypotheses about heterogeneity:



In the processual tradition of model-making, it is possible to enter the model at any point, depending on the data set(s) the researcher has at hand – texts, archaeological context, skeletal remains, or biochemical data. Texts can include ancient literature, architectural inscriptions, tombstones, and other philological data that can aid the researcher in situating the material culture and biological information. The archaeological context includes objects such as buildings, cemeteries, and infrastructure, along with site plans and other publications. Another data set comprises the bodies themselves, or the physical, skeletal remains of past people. Each individual person is recorded separately, but interpretations usually cannot be drawn until the individuals are situated within the context of the overall population. Once the relationship between the individual and the population is understood through osteology, a further level of research involves chemical or destructive analysis of samples of the remains. Entering the model with at least one set of data suggests a path that the researcher can take to learn more about an individual or a population.

The model further suggests ways in which it is possible to answer high-level theoretical questions about individual identity, group identity, acculturation, alterity, structural violence, and intersectionality using lower-level data. For example, the combination of biochemical data from destructive analysis, plus the demographics and pathological lesions of the individuals sampled, may allow inferences about human-environment interaction. Combining information from skeletons with archaeological context may facilitate an understanding of identity. Osteological information can help reveal which people were subaltern within society. This practice of multiscalar analysis and interpretation is longstanding in American bioarchaeology, but it has been employed far less in classical bioarchaeology.

I used this model to undertake a bioarchaeological study of migration to Imperial Rome. The first task was to identify skeletal collections that might contain migrants. Because individual migrants are seldom named in Latin texts, I sought out tombstones. One cemetery just outside the city walls of Imperial Rome, Casal Bertone, was identified as a potential location of migrants based on the presence of two tombstones inscribed with the names of slaves or freedmen of Greek ancestry. Investigations in this cemetery might also focus on artifacts and burial styles for evidence of potential population heterogeneity. From a predictive standpoint, the differential burial styles and Greek inscriptions both suggest cultural and/or biological heterogeneity within the population buried there.

A Roman archaeological analysis focused on identifying heterogeneity could, and unfortunately often does, stop here. After burials are identified based on grave style, orientation, or location, interpretations are drawn about those people. Cultural objects like grave goods often reflect biological qualities such as age or sex. However, we cannot assume that grave goods or burial style alone accurately indicate the deceased's sex or identity. Therefore, analyzing the bodies in the graves within the context of the cultural and historical background – or bioarchaeology – should become a normal part of anthropological research on Roman skeletal collections. At the very least, non-destructive analysis can provide data on sex, age-at-death, stature, health and diet, disease, activity patterns, and biological relationships that can lead to further in-depth research. This nondestructive data collection was for me the largest and most time-consuming step in understanding Roman migrants.

Bioarchaeologists do not take destructive analysis lightly, choosing to sample as little as possible in order to preserve ancient human skeletons for future work, or because of the wishes of the descendant communities. However, in order to understand the experiences of, in this case study, individual voluntary and involuntary migrants to Rome, it was necessary to test physical remains. Techniques such as nonmetric cranial trait analysis can predict who may be biologically different and, therefore, an immigrant, but currently only destructive analysis can confirm such predictions. Because biochemical analyses are expensive and require scientific training to perform, and statistical understanding to interpret, only half a dozen sites in Imperial Italy have been used so far to investigate past migration.

Through strontium and oxygen isotope analysis, hierarchical cluster analysis, and statistical and geographical modeling, I identified eight individuals out of about 100 who were likely immigrants to Imperial Rome. While eight is not a very large number, considering the scale at which migration and movement were occurring within the Empire, this number did represent the first physical evidence of individual migrants to Imperial Rome.

Making sense of such data points at multiple scales is challenging for bioarchaeologists. While we take the skele-

tons as our primary unit of analysis, a single skeleton cannot be fully interpreted until data are gathered from multiple skeletons from that population. Interpretations are best drawn when archaeological and/or historical context is available. Isotopes or DNA may be added to an already massive collection of data.

The data I obtained in my Roman migration research project have been marshaled to investigate heterogeneity at multiple scales. The summary that follows demonstrates the new information about the Roman Empire that can be obtained by interpreting skeletons, which remain an underutilized data set. Specifically, bioarchaeological analyses are key for understanding human-environment interaction, sociocultural behaviors, and historically underrepresented groups.

Human-environment interaction. Combining biochemical and osteological data makes it possible to investigate whether migrants to an area suffered from greater frequencies of disease than did local people. Although the number of immigrants identified in this study was insufficient to consider disease ecology systematically, the data did provide new information on human-environment interaction in Imperial Rome. Although past interpretations of physiological stress have rested largely on the idea of endemic malaria, the combination of oxygen isotopes, carbon isotopes, and pathology frequencies revealed that the heterogeneity of health within these populations is likely a result of people living in different environments, e.g., marshy, low-lying areas versus the seven hills. Contrasting environments would have offered differential access to clean water and nutritional food. Figuring out the varied causes of ancient health differences is a current challenge for Roman bioarchaeology. My work has shown that it is impossible to use a single metric, such as frequencies of porotic hyperostosis or length of the femur, to fairly represent the important topic of human-environment interaction in the past.

Sociocultural behaviors. Combining biochemical and osteological data with archaeological context allows us to uncover past sociocultural behaviors. For example, my isotope work demonstrates that diet varied among immigrants to Rome. A change of diet reflecting a change of place is not surprising, but the fact that I could see evidence of acculturation in Roman skeletal remains was completely novel. This aspect of the analysis raised additional questions: Were these immigrants forced to change their diet because of slavery or because previously consumed foods were no longer available? Or did these individuals choose to acculturate, adopting a Roman-style diet because of a sociocultural obligation? These as-yet unanswered questions get at the heart of the study of identity in Imperial Rome, demonstrating the utility of isotopes, skeletons, and burials in generating information about the past.

Historically Underrepresented Groups. One of the ultimate goals of my research project was to add to the literature on slavery during the Empire, as information about slaves has been notoriously difficult to obtain historically, epigraphically, and archaeologically. Most scholarship on migration to Rome has been done by historical demographers. Only recently have bioarchaeological data been included in these analyses. To understand the experiences of slaves and free lower-class people in Imperial Rome (whether we want to classify those experiences in terms of identity, alterity, acculturation, or structural violence), it is necessary to move beyond texts and material culture. My research model demonstrates the multiscalar levels of understanding when osteological and biochemical data are integrated with texts and archaeology.

Bringing the model full circle, however, requires engaging deeply with chemistry, osteology, archaeology, and textual sources. To date neither I nor other scholars have done this work. Ultimately, researchers who focus on the classical world share the same goal: to make sense of the heterogeneity that we see in our data sources. How can we understand alterity, if not through bodies plus texts? How can we talk about structural violence if not through traumatic injuries to bones, plus demographic data such as gender and immigrant status, along with an historical understanding of social structure and discrimination? If intersectionality is a theory only applied to philology, are we missing out on the potential of skeletons to reify that approach? Alterity, intersectionality, and structural violence are valid concepts in understanding historically underrepresented groups. It is necessary, however, to move beyond the textual sources and include burials and bodies for a multiscalar approach to the past. Such a multiscalar, interdisciplinary model may also have value for modeling historical bioarchaeology beyond the Roman Empire.

The field of bioarchaeology, at least as it exists within American anthropology, has been grappling with the intertwining of physical and ideological bodies for decades, resulting in theoretically complex studies that approach ancient cultures through a 21st century lens. Roman studies, however, has no comparable theoretical background. Part of the reason is simple gatekeeping: many anthropologists perpetuate an image of Roman archaeologists as hopelessly antiquated, even though a number of projects reveal it is anything but (e.g., Gabii Project); and many classicists dismiss anthropologically inspired research as irrelevant if it does not radically impact written history (e.g., M. Beard, *A Don's Life*, 18 Oct 2018). The result of this divide, which I have been trying to bridge for nearly two decades, is that both disciplines have missed advances made in the study of the past.

I remain hopeful that classical bioarchaeology will one day find its place in American academia. Classicists have shown a willingness to open a long-needed conversation about white nationalism and colonialism following certain racist acts at the 2019 meeting of the Society for Classical Studies, and to negotiate the ethics of classics going forward. Anthropology began grappling with its past far earlier than did classics, but both fields have considerable work to do in addressing internal and external critiques of their practitioners and their work.

In the 20 years since I graduated from college, I have seen the field of Roman bioarchaeology grow, and I have contributed to that growth through work in Rome, Gabii, and Oplontis. Bioarchaeological research continues to be in demand in ancient Italy. The data it generates are useful for addressing questions about identity, acculturation, alterity, structural violence, disease ecology, and intersectionality that cannot be investigated fully through history and material culture alone. One of the reasons bioarchaeology lends itself well to answering these questions lies at the heart of the discipline: the feedback loop between individual skeletons and the larger population.

Bioarchaeologists often negotiate this dialectic and employ methods drawn from the hard sciences, social sciences, and humanities in order to make sense of overlapping, multiscalar data sets. This is not to say that bioarchaeologists have all the answers, but rather to strongly encourage all anthropologists and all scholars of the Roman world to ask one another questions; to collaborate more; and to write coauthored papers and presentations that dive deeply into disparate data sets. We learn more about past people when we leave our disciplinary silos and take a comparative approach to understanding the human past.

