space. But not in all areas are they represented equally strongly, and they are certainly not as strongly represented as men are. The quality of the appropriation of space also differs greatly. In particular, we should not overlook the mechanisms of displacement of women from the public space that have manifested themselves in the discourse around spaces of threat. Here it is suggested that women who dwell in certain 'spaces of threat' have to reckon with being the target of violence. There is no discursive perception of a comparable threat for men. A – precarious – safety of some sorts is created when women make themselves 'invisible' in these spaces. The latent or overt culture of 'victim blaming' leads to women in effect being denied the right to safety, because 'they only have themselves to blame'. But in this way women are also denied an equal appropriation of public space.[68]

Despite the paradoxical and precarious visibility of women in the public space, it is not an exclusively male one, but rather a heterosocial space. 'Gender' can here at least partially lose some of its significance as a structural and subject category. The individuals are no longer addressed as gender-specific subjects and no longer subjectivate themselves exclusively as a genderized subject: here 'gender' is situatively deconstructed. This is, however, only successful if the public space is also understood as a political space of the deconstruction of identity. This is not an entirely novel idea (see Degele 2010). In many respects it is already being put into practice. For instance the explicit appropriation by homosexual, trans- and intersex persons – e.g. on Christopher Street Day or IDAHOTI (*International Day against Homo-, Trans- and Interphobia*). But so far this is as yet more of a programme than everyday reality. We can nevertheless establish that the boundaries between the male and the female subject position in the public space are becoming increasingly blurred, creating a deconstructivist and complex borderland of encounters (see Baltes-Löhr 2003: 96f.).

5.4 Identity Constructions and Regionalization: Commemoration of the Dead in the Treveri Region (2nd/3rd century AD) – Family Identities on Tombstones in Arlon

Andrea Binsfeld

Family and kinship are the fundamental social orders of Graeco-Roman societies. Families can fulfil diverse functions within these societies: they can be life partnerships and economic entities, they transmit values and traditions and integrate future generations into society. Families are not rigid structures but

68 | For Ruhne (2011: 208f.), the insecurity with which women move around in the public space – and which has been instilled into them – is a symptom of the exclusion of women from the public space and of the persistence of a gender-specific separation of spheres.

rather subject to change. By adapting to the general economic, social, political and cultural conditions, families equip subjects with a specific family identity (Bührmann/Schneider 2008: 68, footnote 27). Representations of families thus provide an ideal field of research for examining the question of subjectification and subjectivation as well as the visualization of identities. The representations of families on tombstones in the Roman provinces show in an exemplary way which models these recur to (subjectification), which pictorial formulas are used, how they are modified and which self-conception of the subjects they express (subjectivation).

This case study will primarily examine identity constructions using the example of family representations on Roman tombstones of the *civitas Treverorum,* i.e. the region that encompasses what is today Luxembourg and the neighbouring areas in Belgium (Arlon), France and Germany (Trier). The analysis of a few selected examples aims at identifying the processes of self-definition, the subjectivation techniques and the identity constructions embedded in them. The centre of focus here are practices of remembering and the material form given to them in tombs. These artefacts are part of a visual discourse that generates identities and spaces. This contribution in this way connects two important fields of research: the construction of social and cultural identities taking the example of tombstones as well as research on the Roman family. The focus of the analysis will be on the Arlon tombstones of the 2nd and 3rd century AD that are compared with representations of various regions, in particular Metz and Trier. The paper builds on the work of Hannelore Rose and Henner von Hesberg who are also conducting research on family representations on Gallo-Roman tombstones. Rose (2007: 207ff.) however examined in particular the Metz tombstones, while von Hesberg (2008: 257ff.) analysed general family representations and role models on tombstones in the northwest provinces. The areas of family representations and the construction of social and cultural identities are dealt with in number of other studies this case study draws on. Yasmine Freigang's (1997) research on the tombstones of the Gallo-Roman civilization in the Moselle region has been of fundamental significance for the aspect of self-representation in Gallo-Roman society. In subsequent years, a series of colloquia were also devoted to this particular subject (see Fasold 1998; Heinzelmann 2001; Walde 2007). The romanizing and transformation processes of the Treveri region and the northern border provinces have furthermore been subject of independent research projects (see Haffner/von Schnurbein 2000; Scholz 2012).

For the research on the Roman family, the *Roman Family Conferences*, originally organized by Beryl Rawson, were of great importance. The *Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman World*, published in 2011 by Rawson, covering a broad range of topics, methods, disciplines and sources and also treating aspects of the remembrance culture of household and family, constitutes a comprehensive repository of hitherto conducted family research.

Generally, one can detect a tendency towards studies on the regional level: after the examination of house and family had concentrated in particular on the family in Italy and Rome (see for instance Huskinson 2011: 521f.; Dasen/Späth 2010), it is now the provinces that are receiving more attention. An example for this is the volume published by Michele George with the programmatic title *The Roman Family in the Empire. Rome, Italy and Beyond* (2005a). In this context, the tombstones in particular are very much focus of attention, because especially family images offered the local elites "an effective image through which they could display their social ascendancy and lay claim to a public profile, albeit one conditioned by practical and cultural limitations" (George 2005b: 37f.).

Behind the questions of subject constitutions through subjectifications and subjectivations there is the fundamental question of Romanization and acculturation, since Romanization research devotes itself to the problem to what extent Roman precepts were received by the population of the conquered territories. Notions about the cultural transfer between Romans and the local population in the provinces have changed greatly since the Romanization concept was developed in the 19th century, a process particularly associated with Theodor Mommsen and Francis Haverfield (see Rothe 2005: 1ff.). Initially the focus was on the aspect of subjectification. Romanization was understood as a one-way adoption of Roman culture. More recent research has been focussing on the process of subjectivation, that is on diversity and heterogeneity; points of interest are now the local, variety and plurality (see Deppmeyer 2005: 57ff.; Hingley 2010: 54ff.; Hodos 2010: 9; Scholz 2012: 1ff.; Schörner 2005: Vff.).

5.4.1 Representations of the Roman Family

Examples from the urban Roman context and northern Italy, such as the tomb relief of the family of the Servilii from the 1st century BC (see Fig. 1) in the Vatican Museum in Rome (Kockel 1993: 14f.), show on which models, i.e. on which "patterns of the desirable" (Reckwitz 2008: 140) the cases I will be dealing with here could build on.

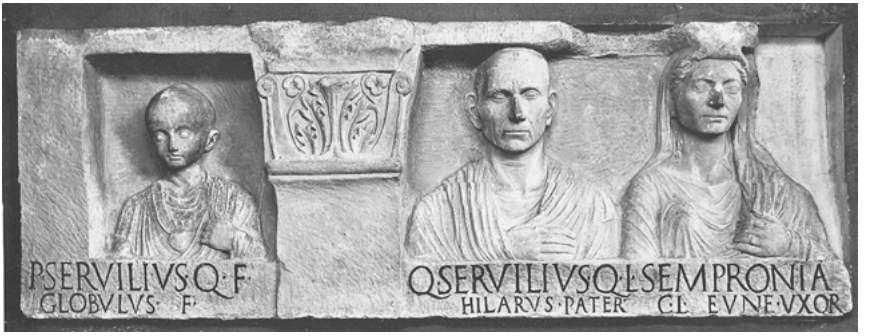

Figure 1: Tomb relief of the Servilii, Rome; Museo Gregoriano Profano inv. 10,491 (Kockel 1993: plate 51b)

The inscription indicates that this is a family of released slaves, generally referred to as freedmen or freedwomen.[69] The family members are strictly frontally aligned. The inscription and the attribute, i.e. the *bulla* the boy is wearing around his neck, serve to highlight in particular the son of the family: the inscription refers to the boy twice explicitly as son, the *bulla* identifies him furthermore as the first free-born of the family (see ibid.: 53). Each family member is assigned a function: Hilarus is explicitly addressed as father (*pater*), Sempronia Eune as spouse (*uxor*). As slaves the Servilii had neither the right to marry nor start a family. It is therefore particularly important to them to record and visualize through inscription the civil rights they have acquired with their release. In their self-representation the freedpersons appropriate pictorial forms typical for a family of Roman citizens: the *toga*, the representation as matron and the free-born offspring (see Huskinson 2011: 526f.). The men indicate their status by wearing the *toga*, while women wear the *tunica* and as outer garment the *palla*, which in some cases covered the head. In the *pudicitia* gesture, the women reaches into the *palla* and pulls it slightly in front of her face, suggesting the virtue and modesty of a Roman matron. The grave relief also reflects the particular pride of the freedpersons of their free-born son. The visual representation thus serves not so much private but public purposes. Even though this type of representation of the family is particularly frequently chosen by freedpersons, it is not limited to this group (see George 2005b: 37ff.; Zanker 1975). In addition, the number of depicted family members can be extended by further individuals, as an example from Ravenna from the 1st century AD shows: besides the couple with their child, we also see the women's sister together with her husband as well as two freedpersons (see Pflug 1989: Cat. No. 8).[70] In this case, the tombstone visualizes the complex structures of the Roman family. The term *familia* is thus not limited to blood relations but also comprises slaves and freedpersons who could be granted the right to be laid to rest in the family tomb. Affiliation to a family is connected with rights and duties, such as burial. In this sense the Ravenna tomb also represents a public document, since it visualizes this affiliation. Here too, the documentary character is underscored by the rigid frontality. Another form of family representations can be found on sarcophagi, in particular childrens' sarcophagi that

69 | Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL) VI 26410: P(ublius) Servilius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Globulus f(ilius), Q(uintus) Servilius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Hilarus pater, Sempronia C(ai) l(iberta) Eune uxor (personal translation: "Publius Servilius Globulus, son of Quintus, the son, Quintus Servilius Hilarus, freedman of Quintus, the father, Sempronia Eune, freedwoman of Gaius, the spouse").

70 | CIL XI 28: P(ublius) Arrius P(ubli) f(ilius) Montanus, Mocazia Helpis uxor, P(ublius) Arrius Pollux; Q(uintus) Decimius Dacus, opt(io) de (triere) Pinnata, Moca(z)ia Iucunda u(xor), P(ublius) Arrius P(ubli) l(ibertus) Primigenius, P(ublius) Arrius P(ubli) l(ibertus) Castor (personal translation: "Publius Arrius Montanus, son of Publius, Mocazia Helpis, the spouse, Publius Arrius Pollux, Quintus Decimius Dacus, Optio of the trireme Pinnata, Mocazia Iucunda, the spouse, Publius Arrius Primigenius, freedman of Publius, Publius Arrius Castor, freedman of Publius").

illustrate the child's life history. Even though at first sight 'private' aspects seem to predominate here, such as the parents' mourning over their deceased child, the selection of visual themes transmits values and defines norms and areas of function. The mother's purview is birth and child care (together with the wet nurse); particular importance is placed on the representation of the child's education. Cases where the active involvement of the father in the education is depicted are the exception, such as helping the son with putting on the *toga*, symbolizing the transition from child to young man. While these representations certainly offer the possibility to express emotions, such family cycles can also be embedded in the representation of the *pater familias*' achievements and public work for society and thus be a part of the public presentation (see Huskinson 2011: 528ff. and 534ff.). It is however doubtful in how far these portraits represent the actual composition of the family, in particular because on the majority of tombs only one child is depicted, mostly a son. This suggests that the purpose of these family representations was not a truthful reproduction of a nuclear family or an extended family, but rather primarily the representation of rights, values and social status (for issues of demographic research, see Krause 2003: 23ff.; Huskinson 2011: 533; Huebner 2011: 73ff.). The importance of the family as an identity-generating institution appears particularly clearly by the grave reliefs of freedpersons. By having themselves represented as citizens, sons, parents and spouses, they furnish themselves with a specific family identity.

5.4.2 The Arlon Tombstones

Whether and how these identity models were in turn adopted by the population of the northwest provinces of the Roman empire and shaped self-conceptions there is something I will examine by taking a closer look at the tombstones of the Roman *vicus* Arlon. The *vicus* of Arlon was created after the conquest of Gaul in the course of the development of the road network under Emperor Augustus or under the governorship of Agrippa. Arlon was located at the intersection of the roads Reims-Trier and Metz-Tongeren. As with the Roman freedpersons, we also have to ask ourselves here in what way the population of the province of Gaul absorbed influences of Roman civic life. A number of selected examples representative of the most important subject models will serve to illustrate which aspects predominated in the representation of the Arlon families. These examples all date from the 2nd and 3rd century AD, i.e. from the time of consolidation of Roman rule in Gaul.[71]

Professional Success and Wealth

In the first example, the so-called *Pilier aux jeunes époux* (see Musée archéologique 2009: No. 57), a couple is depicted (see Fig. 2a and b).

71 | It is not possible to provide here a comprehensive catalogue-style overview of family representations on tombstones. For this, readers are referred to the publications by Mariën (1945), Lefèbvre (1978) and the current museum catalogue (Musée archéologique 2009).

The woman is wearing a local variety of the cloak: a "cloak-like shawl"[72] (Freigang 1997: 302) that is put around the shoulders and over the arm so that the shawl hangs down in front in a point. The man is also wearing an 'indigenous' form of the *tunica* and the *paenula*, i.e. a cloak with a V-collar and hood.[73] They are turned to each other, the woman is holding a cloth, the *mappa*, in her hand, and a small bottle, a *balsamarium* which is closed with a cork, while the man is holding a scroll. On the right side, there is a dancer with *krotaloi* (castanets), nude but for a cloak that is sliding off her shoulders. Such depictions from the Dionysian realm reflect the aspirations of the tomb owners for an eternal life in happiness after death – a motif very common in funerary art from the 4th century BC onwards until the late imperial era (see Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986: 115ff.). On the left side, one also sees a nude woman putting a wrap around her body below her breast. She has deposited her clothes next to her. Very similar to these depictions are for instance bronze statuettes showing goddesses with breastwraps, like the Venus from Hinzerath-Belginum in the Hunsrück[74] or the statuette from the museum Burg Linn which originates from a 3rd century grave from Krefeld Gellep.[75]

On the front side of the tomb of the *Pilier du drapier* (Musée archéologique 2009: No. 109; Mariën 1945: 30ff., No. A1; Freigang 1997: Trev 80; Lefèbvre 1978: 71ff., No. 47), three persons are depicted: a woman between two men (see Fig. 3).

The woman is wearing a full-length *tunica* with tassles, over it a shawl; in the left hand she is holding a *mappa*, in the right a round glas bottle with a long neck whose shape coincides exactly with the sphere-shaped *balsamaria* such as they also occur frequently as burial objects (see Goethert-Polaschek 1980: 8). The *balsamarium* suggests wealth and luxury, while the the *mappa* characterizes the woman as a matron. The two men wear knee-long tunics lined with tassles and a *paenula*. The man on the left is holding a *codex* made of wax tablets in his hand, as well as a stylus, the man on the right a purse (*marsupium*), items pointing to a successful activity in commerce and trade. Since the heads of the three individuals represented are badly damaged, we lack clues for drawing conclusions about the relationship between them (a father and a couple?). What is also lacking here are body language and explanatory gestures. Possibly one has to imagine the scene as in an example from Metz: on the tomb stele for Marcus Maturicius Maternus and Marcianus, a woman is also flanked by two men. According to the inscription the wife Mariana had had the monument erected for the two male deceased, perhaps

72 | Personal translation of: "Mantelartiges Umschlagtuch."

73 | The Latin terminology draws on Freigang 1997. For the problems regarding terminology see Rothe 2009: 34ff.).

74 | Present location: Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, see Massow 1940.

75 | My thanks go to Franziska Dövener of the *Centre National de Recherche Archéologique de Luxembourg* for pointing this piece out to me. Present location: Museum Burg Linn, Krefeld, see Pirling 1986: 73 and Illustr. 48.

father and son.[76] She is turned to the younger man on her left, while the man on her right is characterized as an older man by his beard style and wrinkles (see Rose 2007: 216).[77] The sides of the Arlon tomb show scenes from the life of a cloth merchant: the right side features a coach ride and a scene of transport, the left two scenes involving a cloth probe and a payment.

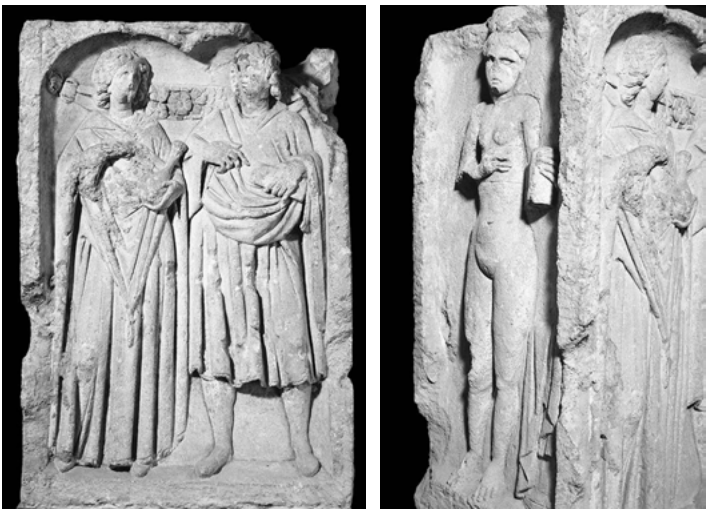

Figure 2a: Tomb depicting a young couple (Le pilier aux jeunes époux), IAL GR/S 028 (© Institut Archéologique du Luxembourg, Musée Archéologique d'Arlon); Figure 2b: Left side of the tomb pillar depicting a Venus (© Institut Archéologique du Luxembourg, Musée Archéologique d'Arlon)

A comparison of the two examples with the Roman models reveals distinct differences. The subjects cannot primarily be said to represent Roman citizens – instead of *toga* and *palla* they are wearing local dress. As in the case of the Roman examples, the realms of man and woman are clearly separated and precisely defined by the attributes: wealth and beauty are attributes of the woman, men by contrast are assigned to the world of business, the public-legal sphere and the area of education. This is conspicuously visible in an example from Trier, the so-called 'parental couple pillar' (see Fig. 4): the left side shows the woman engaged with her morning toilet, assisted by four female servants who are most probably slaves. The right side shows the master hunting and conducting his business. The slaves' number, their activity and their well-groomed appearance also serves the purpose of visualizing their master's and mistress' wealth.

76 | Année Epigraphique (AE) 1976, 479: M(arco) Maturi[c]io M[ate]rno/et Marcia [no(?)---]/Mariana Mari[---]/defunctis.

77 | Metz, La Cour d'Or, inv. 75.38.60; found in Metz, Ilot-St. Jacques.

Figure 3: Tomb depicting two men and a woman (Le pilier du drapier, previously: Le Marchand de draps), IAL GR/S 047 (© Institut Archéologique du Luxembourg, Musée Archéologique d'Arlon)

Figure 4: Parental couple pillar from Neumagen, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier Nm 184a (© Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, photo: Th. Zühmer)

But the role of the woman is here also geared towards representation of status: in these two examples from Arlon, her duties as a mother were obviously not deemed worthy of specific illustration, in contrast to the Roman models. However, Roman pictorial formulas such as the *balsamaria*, the representation of Venus and motifs from the Dyonisian sphere are used to visualize the socially appreciated values and norms. The way how subjects deal with the Roman precepts becomes clear above all in the clothing, which is interpreted sometimes as a Romanized variant of a Gallic costume (see Freigang 1997: 304ff.) and sometimes as a genuinely indigenous garb that 'modernized' under the influence of Romanization (see Rothe 2009: 54ff.). In their adaption of themes, such as education, the Arlon memorials can refer to Roman models. But in contrast to the latter, the focus here is on economic aspects of self-representation: in its self-conception the family presents itself primarily as a unit of economic provision.

Family Bond

But familial attachment as well as the importance of marriage and children can also be found in Arlon. They inform the self-conception of the subjects as, for instance, in the case of the monument of Attianus (see Musée archéologique 2009: No. 52; Mariën 1945: 78ff., No. D3; Lefèbvre 1978: 46ff., Nr. 22; Freigang 1997: Trev 82). Here the inscription helps us to identify the depicted persons (see Fig. 5).

It indicates that Matrausus had the monument erected for his wife and son. The inscription says: *Secundius Attianus et Censorinia Matrausus (*or *M. Trausus) co(n)i(ugi) (et) fili(o) def(unctis)*[78](AE 1986: 497). The closeness between mother and son is underlined twofold: mother and son are holding right hands. In addition, the mother is resting her left hand on her son's shoulder. A man, characterized as an older man by his beard, is standing on the right, slightly turned to the group. The son is holding a scroll in his left hand, the father the *codex*, which here has a handle, and the stylus. The sides show a philosopher and a muse – a representation modelled on urban Roman sarcophagi to visualize the deceased's claim to education. There too, the deceased are portrayed in the circle of philosophers and muses.

The main side of the *Pilier au satyr* shows two couples (see Musée archéologique 2009: No. 48; Mariën 1945: 104ff., No. E2; Lefèbvre 1978: 38f., No. 17; Freigang 1997: Trev 81) (see Fig. 6); the men are wearing a knee-length *tunica* and above it a *paenula*, the women a long *tunica* and a shawl. The left couple is turned to each other and extending their right hands to each other, the man is holding a scroll in his left hand, which can be interpreted as a sign for a claim to education, as a testament scroll, a marriage contract, a document of citizenship or as a professional

78 | Personal translation: "Secundius Attianus and Censorinia. Matrausus [or: Marcus Trausus] for the deceased spouse and the deceased son."

attribute (for the interpretations, see Freigang 1997: 313), the woman is holding a *mappa*. The second couple is also turned to each other but without joining hands. The woman is holding a *balsamarium* in her hand; the man's left hand is damaged; possibly he also held a scroll in his hand. Above the two couples a length of cloth has been draped on which the shanks of two cupids are resting. The cupids have been interpreted as an indication of the emotional tie of the couples (see Rose 2007: 217). The sides portray a dancing naked bacchante and a satyr.

Figure 5: Tomb of Attianus, IAL GR/S 022a (© Institut Archéologique du Luxembourg, Musée Archéologique d'Arlon)

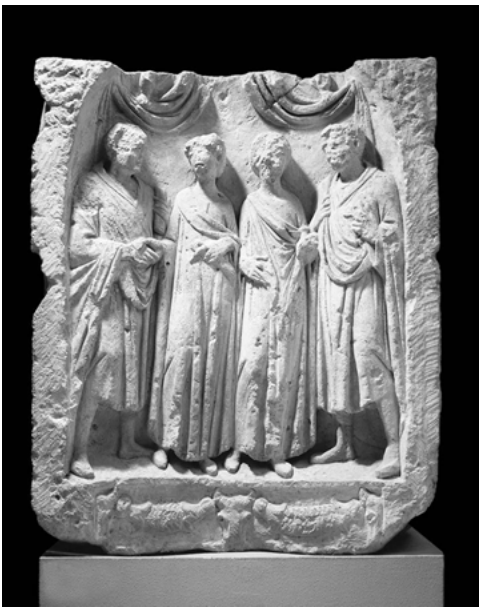

Figure 6: Tomb representing two couples (Le pilier au satyr, previously: Les mariés et leurs témoins), IAL GR/S017 (© Institut Archéologique du Luxembourg, Musée Archéologique d'Arlon)

The scene is interpreted as the portrayal of a wedding with witnesses (see Musée archéologique 2009: 101) or, somewhat less boldly, as two couples with however only one pair joining hands. It is also conceivable that two generations of married couples could be united in one scene here (see Rose 2007: 216f.). For this tomb too, there is an equivalent in Metz, which is unfortunately very badly damaged, but it shows a very similar arrangement of figures.[79]

A representation equally unusual for both Gallo-Roman and Roman monuments can be found on the *Pilier de la femme à l'anneau* (see Musée archéologique 2009: No. 53; Mariën 1945: 41ff., No. A.4; Lefèbvre 1978: 48ff., No. 23; Freigang 1997: Trev 83; see Fig. 7): it shows a couple, the woman is turned to the man; she is holding a ring between thumb and forefinger. She is wearing a girdled *tunica* and a cloak, the *palla*, which she has pulled over the back of her head. In the other hand she is holding a small box. This is not the kind of local costume that we have seen in the other examples from Arlon discussed here, but the typical costume of a Roman matron.

79 | Metz, La Cour d'Or, inv. 95.10.1; found in Metz, St. Nicolas.

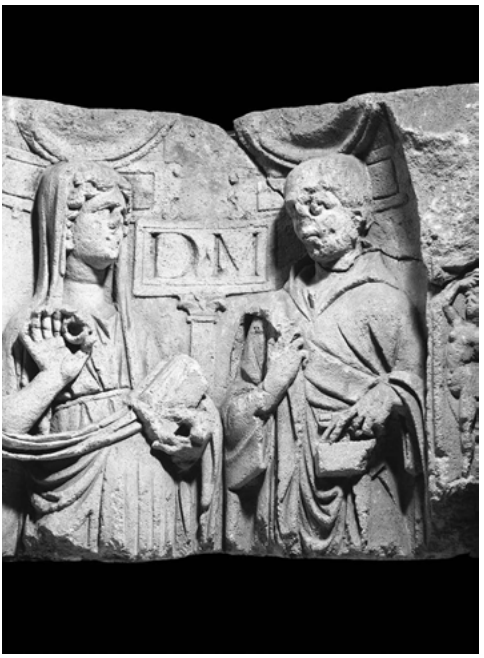

Figure 7: Tomb of the woman with the ring (Le pilier de la femme à l'anneau, previously: La dame à l'anneau), IAL GR/S 023 (© Institut Archéologique du Luxembourg, Musée Archéologique d'Arlon)

The woman with the ring is not the only example for the adoption of Roman costume in the provinces. It is, however, notable that in Arlon only women are portrayed – if at all – in Roman dress, while the men choose exclusively local garb (for further examples, see Rothe 2009). The ring, which is here unmistakably presented to the partner, could point to an engagement or a marital relationship and not only to a symbol for the wealth of the deceased, since the ring is handed over to the woman at the engagement (see Iuvenal 6,27; Digesta 24,1,36; Plinius, Naturalis Historia 33,12). The woman has put the cloak over the back of her head, exactly as in representations of weddings. The man, bearded, is wearing a *tunica* and a *paenula*, in the left hand he is holding a wax tablet and a stylus. The sides are also interesting: the right one shows a young man in a *tunica* and a *paenula*; he is holding a scroll in his hand. The left side is less well preserved; here a young woman was portrayed – maybe the children of the couple?

5.4.3 Conclusion

The representation of the nuclear family or a slightly expanded family circle on the Arlon tombstones serves to visualize the self-image exhibited to the outside world. However, the limitation to the nuclear family reflects not so much the true (archeologically documented) everyday culture, but is used as a visual motif for 'family' and for wealth. We have to assume that only wealthy families were able to afford to have a tomb erected and have their sons run a household of their own, instead of living with their familiy in their father's house (see Huebner 2011: 73ff.). The family presents itself via the tombstones as a nucleus of economic success. Nevertheless, particularly in the case of the Arlon tombstones, there is no lack of emotional gestures, references to an affective attention between married couples, parents and children. This relatedness has not only been understood as an expression of a local style, but also of emotional attachment, additionally underscored by cupids, as in the case of the four-figure stele, as well as erotic motifs (nude dancers, portrayal of Venus) (see Rose 2007: 216f.). In this sense, the portrayal of Venus with the breast wrap as a lateral relief of the stele of the young couple (see Fig. 2) is possibly not only to be interpreted as a positive expectation of the beyond or a general symbol of beauty, but also as an indication for the relation between the partners of the couple. Also the affection for the children is visualized through body posture and gestures, as we have seen in the example of the mother joining hands with her son and putting her other hand around his shoulder (see Fig. 5). Our comparative examples from Rome and northern Italy also portray children in the circle of the family, but these portrayals have more representational purposes and more or less ignore the aspect of emotional attachment between parents and children. In the Gallic province, by contrast, privacy acquires a public value (see Rose 2007): children symbolize the future and the hope of their parents. This is, again, particularly evident on the reliefs of the freedpersons which repeatedly emphasize the civic status of their children by wearing the *bulla* and by referring to the sons as *filius*, as the example of the Servilii clearly shows. That also in the case of the tombstones of *Gallia Belgica* the hope of the parents rests in the children is illustrated by a stele in Metz[80]: mother and son are holding hands – the attachment between son and father is shown in the fact that the son is portrayed as a miniature of his father; he is wearing a *tunica* and *paenula* and has, like his father, grasped the wax tablets at the handle. The wax tablets repeatedly appear on tombstones in scenes of monetary transactions, as an indication of successful professional activity.[81]

80 | Metz, Musées de Metz, inv. 75.38.58; found in Metz, Ilot-St.-Jacques; see Freigang 1997: 432f., Med 199, tab. 41. AE 1976, 478: [---]iolae Silvici filiae Sacuri[us ---]/[---]s uxori et Sacer fil(ius) vivi posuerunt.

81 | Metz, Musées de Metz, inv. 75.38.58; found in Metz, Ilot-St.-Jacques.

As in Rome, men and women were assigned to different spheres. It is, however, notable that men never let themselves be portrayed in the *toga*, but rather in a local costume, which does not necessarily mean that they did not possess Roman civic rights. This is disproven by the Metz stones (whose inscriptions have frequently survived) which indicate that the portrayed did indeed possess civic rights. From this we can conclude that there was no obligation to wear the *toga*, that on the contrary the portrayed consciously and self-assuredly presented themselves in local dress. In this the tombs of Arlon and Metz differ from those of Trier: the percentage of individuals letting themselves be portrayed in Roman dress is in Trier, the main city of the *civitas Treverorum*, significantly higher than in Arlon, the second urban centre of the Treveri region (see Rothe 2009: 114, Illustr. 12) and in Metz (see Freigang 1997: 301ff.). The difference between the two main cities of the neighbouring *civitates*, Metz and Trier, is indeed remarkable. Also for Metz, one would expect a higher percentage of *togati*, but here too local dress predominates.

It has already become clear here that, on the one hand, Roman values and Roman pictorial formulas are adopted, but that these show regional variation. Even if the Arlon monuments primarily show a local form of dress and not the *toga* as an emblem of the *romanitas*, one nevertheless cannot interpret the choice of the local dress as an act of dissociation. What predominates in the Arlon monuments is the civil sphere of craft, commerce and trade and not the public-political realm represented by the *toga*.

Besides the representation of family wealth and professional success, wedding and marriage as well as a close attachment between family members are themes that inform the self-conception of the families of the Arlon tombs. These elements determine the social identity of these families. They use pictorial motifs that are clearly taken from the Roman visual repertoire: family, marriage, muses, philosophers, Venus, Dionysian pictorial themes, and, partly, female dress. Also attributes such as glass *balsamaria* are typical Roman burial objects. The motifs are Roman, Roman social values are adopted – but not exclusively. In Arlon, a very unique manner was found in the way these motifs were used and varied, finally developing a visual language which is an expression of a distinct local cultural identity. The creative way of dealing with the Roman models shows that these merely constitute choices and not obligatory norms. What we have here then is not a unilateral transfer of culture, which would correspond to the notion of subjectification or the old notion of Romanization, but instead a differentiated way of treating pictorial motifs. In their manner of expression, the Arlon monuments are much closer to the tombs of Metz than to those of Trier, where Roman motives still predominate. What emerges here are cultural spaces – through regionally shaped and visually represented subjectivation processes – that need not necessarily overlap with the territorial borders of the *civitas Treverorum*.