The Archaeology of Plural and Changing Identities

Beyond Identification

Edited by

Eleanor Conlin Casella and Chris Fowler

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To the memories of

MARY AGNES CONLIN
1908–2004

ELIZABETH 'NANCY' HILTON
1911–2002

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Chapter 1

Beyond Identification

An Introduction

ELEANOR CONLIN CASELLA AND CHRIS FOWLER

Beyond Identification

> Union jacks were emblazoned on the backs of grubby parka anoraks or cut up and converted into smartly tailored jackets. More subtly, the conventional insignia of the business world—the suit, collar and tie, short hair, etc.—were stripped of their original connotations—efficiency, ambition, compliance with authority—and transformed into 'empty' fetishes, objects to be desired, fondled and valued in their own right. (Hebdige 1979: 104–5)

Questions of identity have plagued the field of archaeology since its earliest antiquarian origins. The ability to discover, recover, or uncover a past culture required the assumption of a direct relationship between its material remains and social identity. Artefacts and architectural features alike have been conceptualized as "signatures" or "representations" of specific cultures—from the "Beaker People" of the European Neolithic to the "Georgian" world view of eighteenth century Colonial America. Thus, archaeologists have employed an explicitly material focus in their examinations of identity. Yet, as people move through life they continually shift affiliation from one position to another, dependent on the wider

contexts of their interactions. Different forms of material culture may be employed as affiliations shift, and the connotations of any given set of artefacts may change. In this volume the authors explore these overlapping spheres of social affiliation. Social actors belong to multiple identity groups at any moment in their life. It is possible to deploy one or many potential labels in describing the identities of such an actor. Two main axes exist upon which we can plot experiences of social belonging—the synchronic and the diachronic. Identities can be understood as multiple during one moment (or the extended moment of brief interaction), over the span of a lifetime, or over a specific historical trajectory. The papers collected together here explore the materiality of such plural and changing social identities through a series of international and archaeological case studies. They explore the potential for studies of material culture (including the materiality of the body) to expand our understandings of this complex, temporally situated, and socially nuanced process. The contributions illuminate how the various axes of race, ethnicity, sexuality, age, class, gender, personhood, health, and/or religion contribute to both material expressions of social affiliations, and transient experiences of identity. This volume includes contributions from a wide range of temporal and geographical contexts. Several key issues in the study of identities can be traced through these collected studies.

The Negotation of Identity through Different Material Media: Architecture, Landscape, Text, Body and Object

O'Keeffe makes the observation that people in the medieval town of Fethard used texts to convey senses of identity in a different way to their manipulation of the built environment. Jamieson also considers how textual records present identities in one way, while the physical presentation of the household supported a host of alternative discourses about identity. Moving between text and space, like O'Keeffe, Jamieson considers overlapping geographies of race, kinship, status, gender and caste that mapped residential neighborhoods within the colonial towns of seventeenth century Ecuador. Transformations of social affiliation could be enacted through physical movement of the household—such as migration between regions, or relocation between rural and urban zones.

Within prehistoric contexts, forms of identity were not negotiated through textual records. Instead the distinctive archaeological remains from each period and region attest to different opportunities for the negotiation of identities. For example, Fowler suggests that relationships between bodies and substances formed a complex arena through which communal and personal identities were mutually negotiated in the British Neolithic and Bronze Age. Jones illustrates the role of architecture in the Orcadian Neolithic as presenting new opportunities for the

expression of kinship and belonging. Indeed, a number of the volume contributors acknowledge the spatial location of identities by addressing the role of built environments in the production of social affiliations. These studies interrogate a diverse range of architectural types within both historic and prehistoric periods, ranging from domestic dwellings to places of worship, and from recreational venues to monumental castles.

Space and scale are often deployed in rather different ways. As Jones illustrates, architecture may in many contexts be inseparable from landscape. Furthermore, distant places and conceptual regions like countries and homelands are often core to the negotiation of identity. In his classic speculation on *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre observed the ability of places to "... interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another" (Lefebvre, 1991: 86). Building an analogy from hydrodynamics, Lefebvre imagined the interactions among co-existent places as an issue of scale—while immense waves would collide with force, smaller movements could rhythmically intermix within the ocean currents. Within this volume, similar attention to dynamics of scale can be found in Insoll's consideration of identity politics within the Arabian Gulf. By contrasting previous interpretations of archaeological sites, Insoll demonstrates the strategic permutations of identity that navigate simultaneous spatial affiliations of region, tribe, nation, language, and religion.

Alongside these material media from texts to bodies and even landscapes (whether constructed through local materials or evoked by allusion to practices and material culture from further away) lies the potential to interpret different aspects of identity. While the authors dealing with historical periods illustrate how it is possible to map intersections between class, caste, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and/or religion, by contrast the prehistorians studies tend towards studies of different forms of relations and ways of being. Brück, Fowler, Jones and Schmidt each map out the distinct shapes of past fields of identification—fields of gender and personhood, for instance. In so doing they illustrate a growing concern among prehistorians' with the intersection between fixed and relational identities that corresponds with historians' interests in the contextual presentation of some features of personal biography or affiliation above others. Some of these narratives of belonging are negotiated through highly material means—as in Jones' study where layers of meaning are built up in the composition and decoration of each pot. At the same time, forms of material culture may appear physically unchanged by the narratives in which they are mobilized, even when they pass from one cultural field to another, and, as Russell puts it, become "entangled" in different identity discourses. Architectural space may remain equally physically "untransformed" by variations in contextual use, as Brück reminds us. The uses of space and material culture are, in the end, polysemic, as these studies demonstrate.

Polysemic Variations

An archaeological perspective on the process of social belonging requires an appreciation of the multiple meanings invested in material culture. As the various case studies of this volume demonstrate, similar forms of material culture (and sometimes the exact same artefact) can communicate multiple, different, and contextually-dependant identities. Polysemy can occur as a "biographical" process, as artefact types become reinvested with multiple forms of identity over time. Exploring issues of memory and memorialization, several chapters explore monumental forms of the built environment in the production of multiple and changing identities. Jones's chapter explores such temporal layering by linking changes in Neolithic Orcadian pottery production methods to different biographical relationships of belonging to surrounding landscapes and communities. The monumental stones themselves serve as mnemonic devices—materially enduring statements of belonging that fabricate a polyvalent biography for the built environment of the Orkney Islands alongside the construction, circulation and deposition of pottery, and the relocation of human and animal bodies after death. Similarly, O'Keeffe explores the multiple identities forged as time and metaphoric meanings entangled through his object of study, a medieval Irish fortified town house, locally presented as a "castle". Networked relations of proximity, access, ownership and memory created plural social identities through such urban civic structures as the church, castle, market, almshouses, and town walls.

Reaching beyond the basic archaeological recognition that material culture retains different meanings at different times, these papers argue that the process of social belonging, even over long periods of time, is a reflexive process. Later identities are frequently created and communicated in response to previous ones. Casella's study of a nineteenth century American seaside venue argues that the exotic gardens and majestic baths of this dramatic landscape served as an elegant memorial to a fabricated (white, élite) European heritage, as much as a kitsch appeal to the recreational tastes of working San Franciscans. She draws out the trajectory of distinct biographies of the same place over time, each associated with the ongoing mutations in senses of identity among separate social groups. Biographies may therefore be incremental, but may also revise the histories of objects and persons as they move through different social contexts. Fowler argues that this applies equally to the transformation of the dead as to other material things–presentation of one biography or identity could be seen as a selective and temporary way to narrow down polysemy. In Fowler's account of early Bronze Age burials the bodies of the dead are as heavily bound up in contextual narratives about community concerns as the presentation of a specific identity for a deceased individual.

The identification of space as monumental, domestic, funerary, or the application of any other label, is, however, also problematic. Reflecting on the concept of

a "home" to question our understanding of domestic activities within the Middle Bronze Age, Brück interprets the formation of gendered identities as a cross-referencing of people, places, objects and activities to create networks of social meaning. In attempting to move beyond the traditional structuralist associations of house interiors and women, Brück notes that a Bronze Age roundhouse may well have simultaneously existed as a set of overlapped, but contextually-shifting places, depending on the gender, age, and kinship experiences of occupants. Jamieson's study also complements Brück's in cautioning against the simple correlation of household possessions with social identity because of the multiple occupancy of these domestic environments by parents, marriage partners, children, lodgers, or servants—typically representing a variety of ethnic, regional, status, gender, age, and caste affiliations. Furthermore, spaces may be visited by a range of people, and used in ways simultaneously public and private, as Voss' reflections on previous studies of nineteenth century American brothels demonstrate. Voss also exemplifies how such realisations can be brought to bear in other contexts, highlighting a close relationship between the material elements of a household and the diverse social affiliations of its occupants among Native American Hidatsa or Zuni communities. Drawing on previous studies of human remains, associated mortuary artefacts, and household architectural elements, Voss argues for the archaeological presence of plural social identities as formed through a constellation of gendered, sexual, ritual, (non)reproductive, and occupational attributes. Her case studies demonstrate that spaces, such as the central lodge posts of Hidatsa earthlodge dwellings, or Zuni plaza architecture, may be designed to accentuate non-binary means of identification in a variety of ways.

Tracing polysemy is also a political issue, as is the limitation of polysemy through identity narratives, as Insoll's explorations of the dynamics of suppression and emphasis that maintain the complex experience of multiple simultaneous forms of belonging around the Arabian Gulf illustrates. Russell's chapter considers the emergence of creolization through culture contact in nineteenth century South Australia. Drawing on the concept of *bricolage* first developed by Claude Levi-Strauss (1966), Russell interprets the creative fusion of European and Aboriginal forms of material culture as a powerful subversion of acculturation pressures during colonization. The *bricoleur* creates polysemy through intentional relocations, as explained in Dick Hebdige's classic sociological study of British youth subcultures:

> . . . they appropriated another range of commodities by placing them in a symbolic ensemble which served to erase or subvert their original straight meanings. (Hebdige 1979:104).

Casella also offers a case study of material *bricolage*, suggesting the parallel existence of multiple class identities within the same seaside venue on the western edge of San Francisco. Her close reading of the facilities and adornments provided

to attract recreating urban workers to the privately developed venue demonstrates an intentional intermixing of both high and low cultural elements by the élite philanthropic owner. Significantly, all of these authors offer alternatives to oppositional models of identity relations (such as acculturation or class struggle) by adopting concepts of hybridity, parallel existence, and fusion.

Russell also introduces the crucial realisation that just as material culture supports polysemic interpretations, so it may be difficult or even impossible to decide completely between competing interpretations of them. Fowler argues that the presentations of early Bronze Age bodies in Britain could be seen to support ideas about lineage and individual identity, but equally to accentuate a broader sense of community and a dividual understanding of the composition of person and community. He questions the degree to which statements about identity might have been effective, and the extent to which the enduring nature of material culture, relic remains and monuments opened up such forms of identity to instability and continual revision. As political fields change, so the histories, relevance and impact of pre-existing places and practices become transformed.

Mutability

In his chapter on mortuary evidence of identity formation in the Southern Scandinavian Mesolithic, Schmidt introduces *mutability* as the ability of an individual to shift, switch, or move between gender categories. This concept is a central component for all studies of multiple and changing forms of social belonging. For a number of authors, a dissatisfaction with binary identity classifications (white/Aboriginal, male/female, domestic/productive, urban/rural, Muslim/Christian, etc.) has led to a focus on the interstices between identity labels, and the ability of social participants to move between and among these categories. Thus, for Voss, such taxonomic frameworks should only be used as entry points, and not assumed relevant to the experiences or perspectives of people in the past. Other authors follow Russell and Insoll in suggesting the binary taxonomic system be discarded as an analytic tool. For Brück, sharp distinctions between categories obscure the production of different types of self as a continuous process. Classification schemes, whether for places (like Bronze Age roundhouses) or persons associated with those places (women), constitute a discourse of static uniformity that prevents us from appreciating the transformations of personhood that create social belonging. By turning to explore enduring patterns in *practices* through which identities were transformed we can begin to explore the ways that social activities constitute a sense of belonging.

Alongside the recognition that identities shift, are polyvalent and mutable, Brück and Fowler both query the extent to which archaeologists should focus on a persistent individual identity for past people. A sense of an enduring self is often

cross-cut by repeated transformations in personhood, as people adopt and discard key facets of identity at different stages in life and after death. For instance, Okeley's (1979) study of gypsy mortuary practices illustrates how a shift in personhood—from healthy to sick, from living to dead—marks a shift in ethnic identities as the dead are expelled from gypsy society and moved into the world of *gorgios*. In appealing to relational understandings of personhood, Brück and Fowler each illustrate that changes in identity are not simply replacements of one "badge" with another, but may be effected through changes in the most fundamental status of the person. While in the west a person is either alive or dead, and an entity is either a person or not, in other contexts there may be many phases and conditions of personhood, not all of which are solely reserved for human beings. Even this most basic feature of identity is mutable, and states of personhood activated in distinct ways through practices that show up people, things, animals and places as sharing key features of personhood. At the same time, personhood and gender are not endlessly mutable, nor are such features of identity best understood in definitive terms at any moment in their activation—as Brück reminds us "When a girl plays with a toy sword, this does not mean that she has become 'a boy' or that she is trying to do so. Rather, swords evoke certain qualities that are associated with 'manliness', for example courage, strength and violence." Nevertheless, when the sword is relinquished, other gendered identities may come into play as the girl sets to weaving or singing, for instance. Identities are therefore relative to activity—but to what degree?

Conclusion: Practice Is Not Identity, but Neither Is Form

To some extent studies of identity have become underscored and in some cases supplanted by studies of entity, of ways of doing and being. Forms of identification like "male" and "female" are ultimately becoming less significant areas of study than modes of social relations based directly on archaeological observation: practices in which bodies were fragmented, monuments were built, pots were assembled, stone or glass tools were produced, relationships formed between husbands and wives, religious communities perpetuated, processions were carried out, censuses compiled, etc. One concern that might be raised here is that a certain slippage could occur between practices and identities, so that the presence of a certain cultural practice is taken to indicate the appearance of a specific identity. In a sense such a perspective has its uses—it is through shared cultural practices that individuals trace their sense of belonging within a cultural group. But practices are not identities, and while people may adopt practices affiliated to one group, that does not signal their automatic membership of that group. There exist different social strategies of identification, then, each potentially inhabited by specific social groups, but there also exist broad processes through which identities are

articulated out of these different strategies—for instance, through Russell's allocation of *bricolage* as a process through which any agents could mediate between different identities. The process of the negotiation of identity becomes precisely what archaeologists observe. We do not often see any pristine single identities reflected in the material deployed in such negotiations. Even though some people become saddled with identity labels that are reiterated in many contexts despite all attempts to correct or evade them, identity is endlessly deferred. No single identity can ever be pinned to a person other than as a momentary valorisation of one aspect of their social relations with others over all else. Just as we cannot look to a form of material culture and attest the presence of a certain cultural group, so we cannot look to the adoption of specific practices and know the identity of the practitioner. If we accept that identities are temporary and relational, prior knowledge and experience are still brought to every experience. And even if we recognise identities as biographical, those biographies may be contextually revised, so that some moments from the past are activated in the present, yet not others. Ultimately, then, there is a sense in which the term identity has become if not redundant, then at least overstretched. In relational modes of identity, practices do enable people to acquire temporary identities. But these practices, no matter how closely they might engage in mimesis of a particular kind and allow identification with a human or non-human other, are not quite identities in themselves. Simultaneously, taking on a certain form does not allow complete identification either, and the shape of a body or object is not its identity. Identity, it seems, is as elusive for social scientists as it is in the everyday world.

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Part I

Identity and Social Change

Chapter 2

Medieval Towns, Modern Signs, Identity Inter-spaces

Some Reflections in Historical Archaeology

TADHG O'KEEFFE

Introduction

One of the most impressive medieval buildings to survive in the small, walled, medieval market town of Fethard in southern Ireland is a two-storeyed—or three-storeyed, if you include loft space—stone-built house from c.1500. Emblazoning the top of one of its walls for several years in the early 1990s was a hand-made, white-painted, timber sign in two parts, the top part, mounted on a pole, spelling out the word "FETHARD" and the bottom part, hammered into the actual wall, spelling out the word "CASTLE". By the time the photograph in Figure 1 was taken in the first half of 1994 a strong wind had blown down the top part.

The origin of the sign, as reported to me in the town, lies in a lecture to the town community by a colleague several years previously. He had explained, rather pedantically given the context, that while this fine building is popularly known as "Fethard Castle" it is better described as an example of the "fortified town house" category of building. Umbrage was apparently taken, as "castle" is clearly a more prestigious designation than "fortified town house", so the next

Figure 1. Medieval buildings on the east side of the churchyard in Fethard, county Tipperary: "Fethard Castle" is centre-left; a second building of c.1500, called "Edmond's Castle", is on the right.

morning or thereabouts the then-owner of "Fethard Castle" set her sons the task of constructing the sign and, in a public rebuttal of the scurrilous suggestion that this was just a house, sticking it as high up on the building as possible!

Ironically, the building in question was not widely known as Fethard Castle, at least not until its status as a castle needed to be defended just over a decade ago. In the nineteenth century that particular name was attached to a prominent though not especially habitable mural tower on the Town Wall's circuit (Figure 2), rather than to any particular building within the town, as one might expect. The building to which the sign was attached was known in the 1800s as Court Castle, possibly reflecting its use, or alleged use, as a venue for courts convened under the authority of the earls of Ormond. Critically, it was always known as a castle, so it is appropriate that the part of the sign blown down by the wind was the part that was incorrect!

As a throwaway item, this story of the erection of the Fethard Castle sign has served me well in lectures over a number of years. Delivered with slightly more colour from year to year, and with the obvious references to neon lighting, God's windy wrath, and the great, crooked, white sign in the Hollywood hills, it invariably draws laughter in a way that other signs mounted at or on other

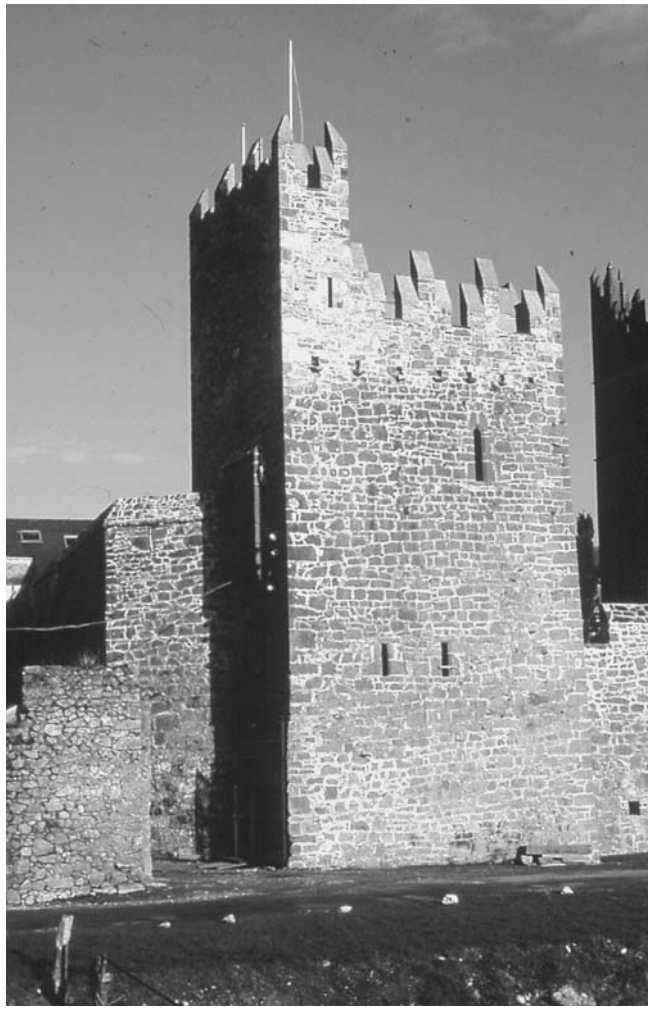

Figure 2. The mural tower on the Town Wall at the south-west corner of the medieval churchyard in Fethard.

historic sites or buildings would not. Every year I use an image from 1986 of a longer and more obviously explanatory sign at the entrance to famous Wharram Percy deserted settlement site to introduce an undergraduate lecture on the English medieval landscape, and it never gets any particular response.

While signs such as those on display at Fethard and Wharram serve basic functions of information-provision, albeit with different degrees of detail and with different target readerships, to regard them as simple vehicles for information—and

easy targets for critique—is to misunderstand their character and therefore to undersell their value as archaeological objects. One could take any number of "heritage-information" signs at archaeological sites anywhere to make this point, but let us use the Wharram sign. As a physical object that sign is self-evidently as much a part of the history of the site as the deserted village's ruined church, and it is as revealing of parts of the site's history as the church is of other parts. Indeed, just as a specialist in medieval architecture could use that church as a starting-point for a discussion of a whole range of matters external to Wharram itself, the informed student of the post-Seebohm (1883) historiography of medieval English nucleated settlement could use the Wharram sign—both the fact of its erection and the text that it carries—as a starting-point for a discussion of rural landscape-studies and their entwinement with notions of national identity, from Hoskins' romanticised England (1955), to Pounds' essentialised English (1994), to the pro-hunting lobby. So, far from being a neutral product of some preceding deliberation about the place at which it is situated, this heritage-information sign is an intrusive, politically active, object, and its seemingly innocuous narrative arguably sustains the complex agendas—most of them orbiting around issues of identity—possessed, even unbeknownst, by its authors and/or by the communities to which its authors are affiliated.

The one lecturing venue in which I have never drawn attention to the sign on the castle is in Fethard itself, so as not to risk insult all over again. The sign possesses its humour when viewed from *outside*, literally and metaphorically, its place of birth. It is from here that the amateurism of its form is on display, making its explicit and determined proclamation seem even more trifling. The risk of insult lies in the possibility that an insider audience might, not unreasonably, misconstrue any attempt to generate laughter at the sign itself as a trivialising of what the sign articulates about, or even mirrors within, its place of birth. Let me clarify this. When we think that the sign is displayed on a building *inside* a walled medieval town, the still-extant wall of which had been built by the town's medieval community both in self-expression and to control access by outsiders, and that the sign, while the work of private initiative, defended and proclaimed its right to be what the private owners and their fellow townspeople themselves always knew it to be, a *castle*, we realise that it surmounts more than a building's parapet. The sign and the fact of its erection may be mere footnotes in Fethard's history but are also entrées to a set of deeply-rooted and criss-crossing sub-texts of historical-archaeological interest. Those sub-texts might be discussed under any one of a number of familiar if unalike headings, such as history, metaphor, ownership, identity: identity rooted in history, and expressed and materialised in ownership, the ownership of history and of identity, the ownership of "scholarly" knowledge, the physical environment as metaphor, the metaphor of the "extra-mural" commentator, and so on in many permutations. This paper explores these sub-texts with a view to generating some ideas about the simultaneously contextual, pluralist and processual nature of one of them, identity.

The Borough of Fethard

Fethard is located in county Tipperary in southern Ireland. It is sited in the loop of a small tributary of the large river Suir which reaches the sea at Waterford, one of the Ireland's two largest medieval ports. It is among Ireland's best known medieval towns, thanks in large part to the survival there of significant numbers of medieval structures, including an 85%-complete town wall. It further stands out from other towns in having had a considerable amount of documentary and architectural research carried out on it (see most recently O'Keeffe, 2003; primary sources for the information contained here are listed in that publication), and in having active local community involvement in the protection and promotion of its heritage (see http://www.fethard.com/index2.html).

In the middle ages Fethard was principally a market town through which agricultural produce from its fertile hinterland was redistributed, some of it through Waterford to an international market. Today that hinterland is mainly cattle-grazing and horse-rearing land, but when the town was founded in the thirteenth century there was a considerably higher rate of arable cultivation than at present. The town's medieval inhabitants were doubtless engaged in secondary and tertiary industries, practises by which urbanism is frequently defined, but they also farmed the town-fields or burgagery, which was the land belonging to the town and located around all sides of it.

The town was certainly in existence by 1208 when William de Braose, an Anglo-Norman lord who had been granted land in southern Ireland in the period after the invasion of 1169, specifically referred to it as his *borough*, suggesting that he was its founder. This term refers to the fact that the settlement at Fethard was, by virtue of a charter which he issued for it, legally designated a town, and that its inhabitants, whom he would have described as burgesses had he mentioned them, enjoyed a range of privileges which basically gave them governmental autonomy.

To put this in context, town foundation was an important enterprise in the high middle ages (the twelfth century onwards), necessitated by combined rises in population and productivity. In certain situations, such as Ireland, or in the Slavic lands immediately east of modern Germany, town foundation also served a colonial purpose. This was partly because new colonies, such as those of the Anglo-Normans in the former or of the Germans in the latter, needed them as economic central places, but it was also because towns could be attractors of settlers to the most inhospitable or dangerous of medieval environments. The reason towns attracted settlers was because it was customary for their dwellers to be granted, by charter, certain privileges unavailable to rural inhabitants, especially to those of lowest social ranks. These privileges varied from place to place but in any one instance they might include freedom from certain levies or taxes, the right to be tried by one's peers and the enjoyment of fixed penalties if convicted, and the right to pass on property within the town to the next-of-kin. Such privileges came in

return for the payment of an annual rent. A community could not simply designate itself "town" for the purpose of enjoying these and other conditions of living. Rather, a settlement required a charter from the lord who held the lands in which it was located, and that charter bestowed on the settlement an urban consitution in which these rights and privileges had legal guarantee.

Urban constitutions varied in detail from one place to another, but certain standardised constitutions were used regionally; that which was formulated originally for the town of Breteuil in Normandy operated in Anglo-Norman Ireland (including Fethard), for example, while those of the towns of Magdeburg and Lübeck operated in Germany, with the latter being the urban law common to the towns of the Hanseatic league (Lilley, 2001: 78–93). The benefits of town-dwelling when towns had such constitutions were obvious for all to see in the middle ages, so colonising lords anxious to settle people from their own homelands on newly-acquired land used charters liberally, either to promote existing settlements to town status or as opening gambits in the foundation of new towns.

Paradoxically, a charter effectively insulated a town and its people against the very social system—feudalism—in which the granter of the charter possessed his authority. Before proceeding I must stress that feudalism is a construct, the value of which has been debated since Elizabeth Brown's exocet paper three decades ago (Brown, 1974); indeed, what follows here could be redesigned as a critique of the construct. But the point I wish to make is that while medieval society was hierarchical and possessed an operating system involving chains of labour and military service (upwards from the serfs to the king and of land grants and protection downwards in the opposite direction), urban charters exempted town-dwellers from participation in the practice of feudalism, even though the towns themselves were a necessary part of that system's economic engine. Furthermore, while the regulated conditions of town habitation promoted the sort of entrepreneurial or merchant capitalism in which one can see the seeds of feudalism's own demise, feudal lordship depended on urban artisanship and mercantilism for many of its practical and symbolic appurtenances (Hilton, 1992: 16–18). What I characterise here as a paradox can also be characterised as a duality: towns were simultaneously places of feudalism and places outside feudalism, their inhabitants simultaneously proletariat and bourgeois, and to attempt to define towns and their inhabitants as one or the other surely misses the point.

Back to Fethard. It is not clear how thoroughly developed was this town in de Braose's time. He appears to have had a church there, because he is recorded as having impropriated one (granted the revenues and the rights to appoint the priest, in other words) to a monastic community, as was normal practice among lords in this period. Following a dispute with the king in 1208, de Braose's lands in Ireland were confiscated, and Fethard, with them, became part of the royal demesne for a few years. Around 1215 the town was granted to the region's archbishop, and he endowed the community with (additional?) farmland in return for an annual

rent. The town was certainly well developed by the close of the 1200s. It and its lands remained part of the archepiscopal estates until the sixteenth century when the townspeople stopped paying rents to the Church, and the rise of a secular élite within the town accelerated after that (O'Keeffe, 2003).

Metrology and Procession in the Medieval Borough

There is very good evidence of metrological regularity in the thirteenth-century town, with blocks of residential space laid out using the standard medieval perch (sixteen and a half feet) as the basic unit of measure. This metrology locked the town into a spatial conception of the landscape around it, since the number of town-dwellers was often—and certainly in Ireland—quantitatively connected to the acreage of the land which they owned. To elaborate, we know that the burgesses of Fethard were granted two and a half carucates (ploughlands) for their own farming needs by the archbishop of Cashel around 1215, and it seems that this was the only land they possessed outside the town. Given the evidence elsewhere in contemporary Ireland that one carucate sufficed as farmland for thirty-two burgesses (Empey, 1983: 443), one can calculate that early thirteenth century Fethard had about 100 burgesses. Assuming each burgess to have had possession of a plot of ground two perches wide within the town, there was room within the walled area for about that number. Significantly, perhaps, a 1635 inquisition relating to the property of the town's ruling family in the seventeenth century tells us that they possessed three castles, 84 messuages or tenements, and 100 great gardens, suggesting a fairly static demography over four hundred years.

The laying out of a town using a predetermined metrology also had the practical value in the middle ages of ensuring tight control on the relative sizes of the different planned elements of the urban area. Spatially, the church was central to the organisation of this metrology, just as it was central to the town's organisation as a processional space, at least in the fifteenth century but probably also earlier (O'Keeffe, 1998). To clarify this point, let us briefly visit the town in the late middle ages (Figure 3), cognisant that its spatial elements and the choreography of movement around them had probable thirteenth century antecedents.

Entering the medieval town required one to pass through one of its gateways (Figure 4). The routes from the gateways to the middle of the town—the market area—were as circuituous as possible, relative to the town's very simple plan; in almost every instance one had to turn once or twice in making the trip from gateway to market. The town's metrological consistency also meant that all the routes were of comparable length. The market area was geometrically the centre of the town. It was also a ritual core, since its commercial activities were tied into the Christian calendar—there were Trinity and Michaelmass fairs, for example—and were overseen by the now-destroyed market cross.

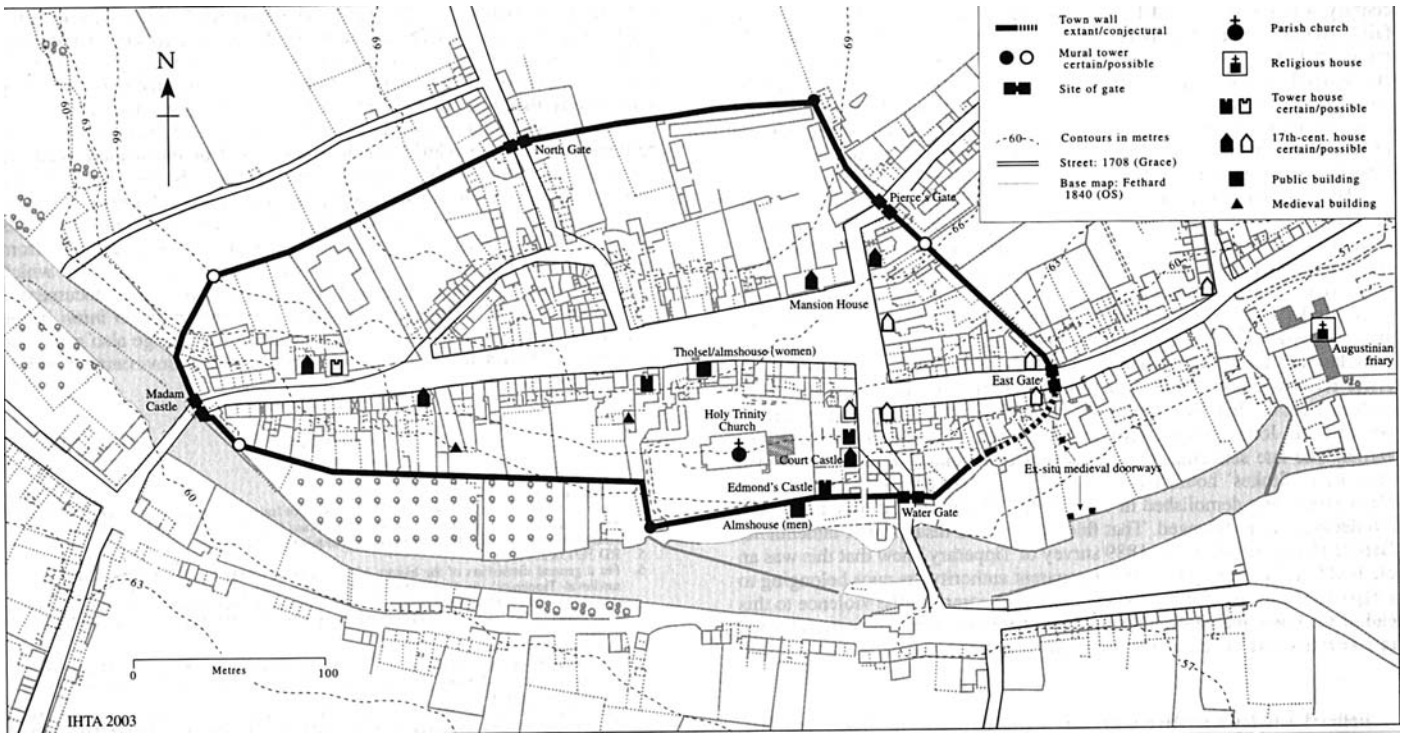

Figure 3. Plan of Fethard town, with Town Wall and medieval and early modern structures indicated (after O'Keeffe 2003, Figure 2).

Figure 4. North Gate, the sole surviving town gate in Fethard, viewed from outside the Town Wall; the tower of Holy Trinity medieval parish church is in the background.

The churchyard, on the south side of the market place, constituted a geometrically-parallel open-space, home to more explicitly Christian rituals. Some members of the town's ruling élite of the late middle ages could enter the churchyard directly from their own houses, as we will see below when we discuss the

castle with the sign. But public access to that churchyard was apparently limited to a single gateway opening off the market place (Figure 5a), and that gateway was associated, at least at the end of the middle ages, with a tholsel (Figure 5b) in which there were judicial assemblies. That the point of public entry into the churchyard should, at any stage of the town's history, be a place where matters of secular justice are decided is inherently significant.

Accessways through the churchyard and into the church itself were apparently encoded according to social or political rank, so that the urban élite, stepping out of its own property in many cases, had direct and exclusive access to the eastern parts of the church (Figure 5: c, d, e), often via doorways on the warmer side—the south—of the building. The church itself, of course, occupied the deepest spatial layer within the town (Figure 5: f). It was the town's central or final destination; one could travel no more deeply into the town, geographically or metaphorically, than to it. And yet it too embodied the idea of the town as a place of movement, of ritualised, socially-encoded, choreography. As a building designed to accommodate processional activities, as were all churches of the middle ages (see Harper, 1991, for context), it could even be argued that townspeople were less familiar with the church as a place of static liturgy (which is probably how we see churches today) than as a processional space used by the clergy and by themselves on different occasions in the Christian calendar.

The Walling of Fethard

The town's success as a market centre in the middle of the thirteenth century is indicated by an order to its community from the justiciar, the king's representative, to clear woodland in the vicinity because various travellers and merchants were ambushed on their way to it. Half a century later, in 1292, the king allowed money levied over a period of seven years from items sold in the town—silk cloth, wine skins, sea-fish, coal, nails, timbers and salt—to be used by the burgesses of Fethard for the "the inclosing of their vill and the greater security of Ireland". Given the reference to security, it is tempting to connect this, the first record of the town being enclosed in any way, with the sort of antisocial activity which was recorded in the nearby countryside and which is known from various sources to have become more common in Ireland by the end of the 1200s.

Crenellated town walls with protected gateways operated at several levels in the middle ages. They demarcated and contained the space within which the privileges of urban life were enjoyed, and regulated outsiders' access to those spaces: all classes of visitor to walled towns were directed to the small numbers of entry gates where their comings and goings could be controlled, and their trading fees and other levies collected. Using the same architectural "grammar" as contemporary castle architecture, they were also physical barriers to unauthorised entry. Their

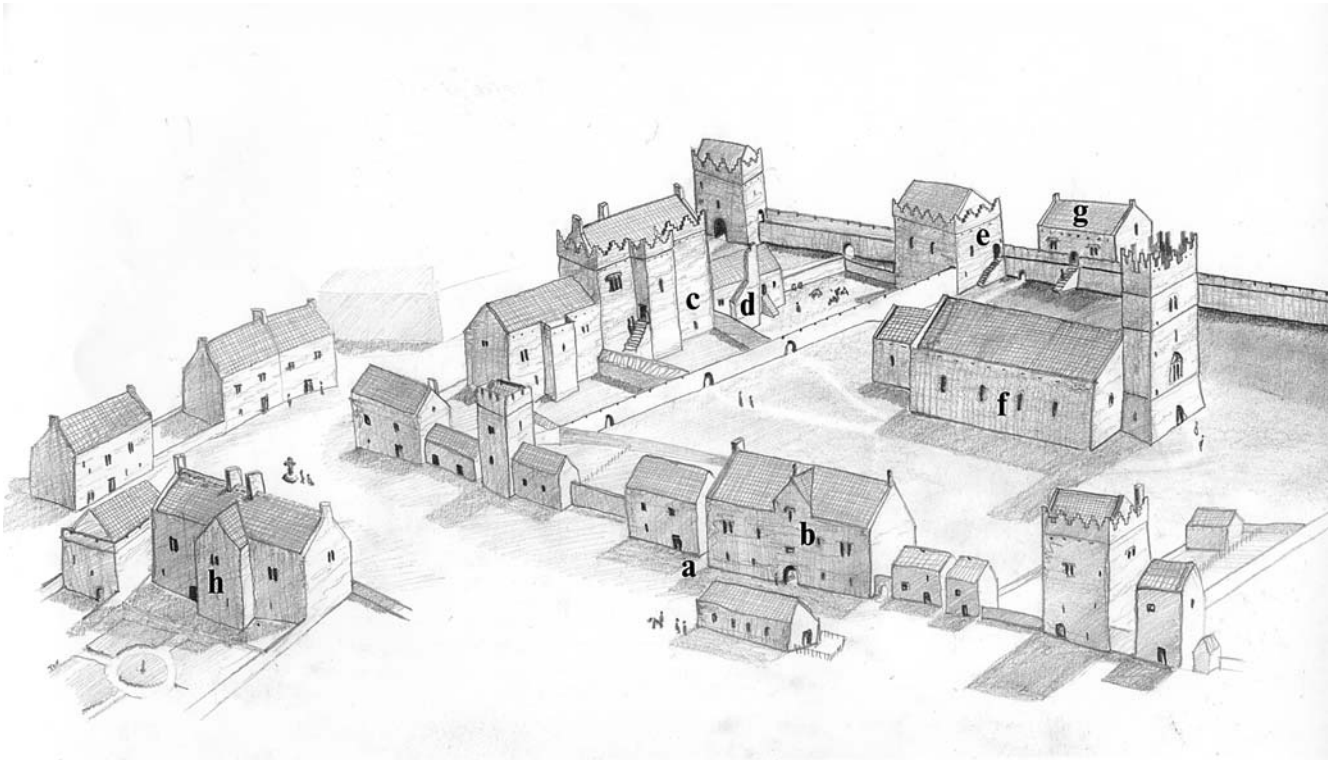

Figure 5. Author's impression of the area around the medieval churchyard as it may have appeared c.1650, looking south-eastwards (after O'Keeffe, Plate 1): a—the entrance into the churchyard; b—the tholsel; c—"Fethard Castle"; d—a small early seventeenth-century house, unnamed; e—"Edmond's Castle"; f—Holy Trinity church; g—almshouse for men; h—Everards' mansion.

effectiveness in this regard depended to no small extent on those who sought entry: casual troublemakers could be kept out, but only the most substantial walls, manned by large forces, could hope to keep out armies. In fact, during the mid-seventeenth century wars in Ireland the Fethard townspeople surrendered their town to Oliver Cromwell's forces in the belief that they could not withstand his assault.

The spatial relationships between town and country, and the social relationships between townspeople and countrypeople, changed everywhere with the building of town walls. This is true also of Fethard and its town wall. Indeed, in the case of Fethard such spatial and social relationships were reinforced in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when, for periods of ten or twelve years at a time, the townspeople were exempted from paying royal taxes so as to pay for further building work on the wall. By the year 1500 their town was completely walled in stone, and its points of entry marked by impressive gate-towers.

Reflecting the town's success, a new charter—the second, after William de Braose's—was issued by Edward VI in 1552–3, allowing it in perpetuity a corporation comprised of one Sovereign, one Provost, Burgesses and inhabitants. The sovereign and provost, elected annually, were empowered to deal with all matters of law within the town. Apart from setting this structure of local government in place, the charter essentially copper-fastened the conditions granted to the town several centuries earlier but at a new cost: the townspeople were free to pursue their own affairs without fear of interference from the crown by paying an annual rent of 11 marks to the king.

By the mid-1500s the townscape inside the walled area had changed from how it had appeared a century and more earlier. That change began in the later 1400s. The nature of the town's housing back in the thirteenth century is unknown to us (so it is difficult to compare the structures and patterns of housing between, say, 1250 and 1550), but from the second half of the fifteenth century fairly substantial stone-built "castles", as they are described in contemporary records, began to appear along its main street and around its churchyard. One of those castles is the "Fethard Castle" to which the sign was attached a decade ago.

"Fethard Castle" in Focus

Although I can find no medieval references which relate to this building specifically, there is no doubt that it is one of the "castles" referred to in the town's written sources of the middle ages; consequently, it is my colleague's claim that it is properly described as something other than "castle", rather than its former owner's claim that it *is* a castle, which seems more at fault. It had no particular name, as far as we can judge, but from the early 1500s, when it was a new building, it was possibly known locally by the name of its owner, whom we can confidentally identify as a member of the town's wealthiest and most powerful family of the period, the Everards. Its labelling as "Fethard" Castle in common-speak within the

town is most interesting, since its appropriation of the town's name insinuates that it has a greater corporate significance than the other buildings of the same type. The label may be very modern: I am not sure that the building *was* widely known as Fethard Castle before the sign was erected!

That Fethard Castle was a building of high status is evident from its architecture. In common with other non-ecclesiastical stone buildings of the same late medieval date in the town, its lower storey faced the street and accommodated commercial activity and its upper storey, which was residential, had a separate entrance which faced the churchyard in the middle of the town. To access the upper level from the street one had to enter the lower storey, walk through it, exit the building, and then ascend a stair; one could not go directly from lower shop to upper chamber inside the building. To access that upper level from the church one simply walked to the foot of the stair. That stair itself was exposed to the elements in its lower part, and then disappeared inside a turret, deliberately articulating an ascension from public view to private audience. At the top of the stair was a cross-shaped window—did the shape have iconographic value, given that the access was from the churchyard?—through which the resident might inspect a visitor, and inside the doorway at the top of the stair is a laver in which both residents and visitors would wash their hands (Figure 6). The act of washing here is fascinating. Household members and visitors who washed their hands in this Fethard building may have been adhering, even unconsciously, to a simple

Figure 6. Interior of upper floor of "Fethard Castle" showing entrance doorway from the stair on the left, the spaly of the cross-shaped window in the centre, and the laver on the right.

regimen of manners, such as one occasionally finds codified for the élite in medieval manners books (Elias, 1939 [1978]). The practice may have had a hygiene value, as one was entering a space wherein greetings were presumably exchanged through bodily contact and where food was consumed. But it is the symbolism of cleansing oneself—purifying oneself, even—upon entry as the final stage of the journey from the foot of the stair to the inner sanctum of the house that probably explains the laver's presence and position, and one is inclined to see this as an appropriation into a secular context of an act with an explicit Christian dimension: members of monastic communities, for example, washed their hands before they entered the refectories or dining halls.

Fethard Castle has, then, a dual orientation, with its lower part facing the commercial world and its separate and more private upper part facing the church. Its physical duality was choreographed architecturally to a social dualism, as two worlds looked in opposite directions. It probably had other, archaeologically more fugitive, architectural and social orientations as well: our categorisation of it as a dual-orientation building does not accommodate the individual who, halfway up the stair at the rear of the castle, is neither inside nor out, and whose social identity is in flux during those moments of occupying what I describe below as a "space between".

Returning to the sign erected in the early 1990s, we can make several observations, each encouraging a meditation on how the sign pulls the medieval building and its social (and gender) geography inside-out. First, it did more than simply claim this building to be a castle; by prefixing "castle" with the town's own name it made a claim for the building's status within the town in both its medieval *and* modern incarnations. Second, and more significantly, the sign was erected by a woman (or so it was reported to me). Women are virtually absent from Fethard's historical records; they were not represented on the corporation. It is ironic that a woman should seek to uphold the reputation of a building-type which is normally associated with masculinity (O'Keeffe, 2001) and of a particular building which almost certainly had particular male associations in the history of Fethard's patrilineal society. Finally, and even more significantly, the sign was erected on the parapet facing the churchyard, not that facing the street. This suggests, in a sense, that the building retains its medieval dual orientation, but possibly in reverse. As a form of advertisment it should face the street, which is the traditional side for such display, but had it been placed facing the street it would have announced its status as "castle" to the townspeople among whom it is recognised as a castle anyway.

Textual Identity and the Rise of an Élite in Fethard

One of the consequences of an urban charter such as that issued for Fethard in the early 1200s was the generation—overseen and regulated by a cast of

administrators or town officials selected from within the community itself—of an urban social structure with greater homogeneity of rights than was found in the contemporary countryside. So, charters and other instruments of self-government suggested to most contemporary townspeople, and indeed suggest to us as modern commentators, that towns were places of social equality. This was/is further nourished by spatial and material articulations of an apparent equality in and around towns, first through the process of town-planning itself, in which residential plots were carefully measured and marked out, secondly through the organisation of co-operatively-run rotational systems of cultivation in commonly-owned town-fields, and thirdly, through the erection of town walls as communal efforts. But, responsibility for urban self-government was not actually self-government at all but government by an urban élite, comprised of successful merchants; those élites often metamorphosed into fraternities or gilds which, through their adoption of quasi-religious trappings and ceremonies, not only subverted the traditional role of the Church as provider of charity and enemy of poverty but manoeuvred themselves into the positions of practical and ideological power which were hitherto restricted to those with aristocratic blood lines or Christian vocations.

Equality is an unsafe concept for the middle ages, even for those urban communities with their protected rights. But some comprehension of the principle of equality resided in the shared tenurial conditions of town-dwellers, or at least in the formulation of those principles in the charters themselves. This latter qualification is important. Whether or not the practical realities of townpeoples' lives diverged from any principle of egalitarianism enunciated in the charters (and the rise of the gilds, for example, suggest that they did), the charter itself needs to be considered on its own terms, as an object with its own rules of discourse. If lived experience did not tally with what a charter offered, it was neither a failure of lived experience nor of the charter but a consequence of the difficulty of synchronising, then and now, different forms of discourse.

This discussion of the urban charter raises a matter of particular concern in Historical Archaeology: textual identity, in which text is understood in the conventional sense of "something as written" rather than in the post-structural sense in which the word has been applied to material culture and landscape. There exists a body of textual material about each of us, either generated by us (like letters and diaries) or by others (such as birth certificates, passports, tax records). Expressed very simply, we have identities within these written con*texts*, and we have identities thrust upon us by these written things. Moreover, because textual material constitutes historical source material, we have the promise of having historical identites after our deaths. The people who are the subjects of Historical Archaeology are people of whom the same may generally be said, although as we go backwards in time the individuals who possess levels of "textual identity" comparable with our's tend to be clustered at the élite level, while lower social levels have only their most generalised social identities textualised.

We know from the preceding discussion that identities which are articulated in writing in historical-source-material contexts are complex and overlapping, but we know also that those textual contexts themselves often require our complex selfhoods to be reduced to simple, normative, categories: filling in boxes marked "sex" or "nationality" on an application form is not the time, after all, for prevarication or self-analysis. Arguably, it is only in narrative con*texts* that we reveal the complexities of our identities, but even then it is debateable whether our narrative devices are capable of fully articulating such complexities: I doubt, for example, if I could narrate the road-map of my own sense of identity.

The challenge of Historical Archaeology, and specifically of an Historical Archaeology of Identity, is not to factor "textual identity" into the mix of identities—gendered, religious, political, racial, and so on—which are held simultaneously by individuals and collectives. Rather, it is to evaluate how, through time or at any one moment in time, those other identities mediate or are mediated through, and transform or are transformed by, textualisation. If we adopt the view that identity is performative, there is clearly a tension between people's improvising of their own identities and the identity-categories which are fixed within texts. The resolution in a medieval town like Fethard was for burgess identity to exist in textual form and for burgess equality to have its fictive reality within the context of textuality.

The Seventeenth Century Urban Élite and the Almshouses

At the time that this castle was built Fethard possessed an urban élite. We know this from the written records, because one family in particular—the Everards—appear repeatedly whenever the town is mentioned in the late middle ages. We would know it anyway from the architecture of individual buildings like Fethard Castle, and from the location of such dual-orientation buildings as it around the church. In fact, the churchyard formed a sort of courtyard at the centre of the town, with the high-status upper-floor rooms of "dual-orientation" buildings facing it.

If this social topography is initially a feature of the 1500s, it becomes even more pronounced in the 1600s and 1700s. In 1608 a scion of the Everard family, Sir John, secured from the crown a new charter—the third—for Fethard. It provided for the renewal and enlargement of the Corporation, and the endowment of whatever liberties and privileges as were needed to draw more people to the town and increase its trade and commerce. The Corporation was directed to build "a Tholsel (common Hall) for assemblies" (Figure 5b; Figure 7). This building was erected between the market place and the churchyard, thus restricting access to the latter (and indeed to the church itself) to a narrow passageway which either the Corporation or the church body could conceivably have closed off. In a perpetuation of the spatial principles of the earlier buildings, the lower part of the tholsel building faced the street and served as a roofed-over market area, while the upper part, which was the

Figure 7. The tholsel, built c.1600.

assembly place (and later the court-room), had two doorways facing the church. Thus the social geography of the town's important residences since the early 1500s was transferred to the town's new public and administrative building.

A gender geography, hitherto undetected, also manifested itself at this time in the location of two new almshouses, established by the gift of Sir John Everard, the town's leading politican, between which the sexes were divided. We know from cartographic sources that the house for men was a two-storey building on the south side of the churchyard and built against the outside the town wall, while that for women was on the north side of the church and, as seems certain from eighteenth century sources, occupied the lower part of the tholsel building.

Apropos of the latter, it is perhaps surprising that women should be housed in *so* prominent a building in the town, not least because women are fairly anonymous in the historical record of this period in Fethard. Moreover, the fact of their eligibility for accommodation of an almshouse nature in the first instance indicates that these women were not of the same social rank as the spouses of those who possessed private houses backing onto the churchyard. The establishing of an almshouse at a point of entry to a churchyard is not unique—the contemporary almshouse in Youghal, county Cork, for example, is similarly located—and it underlines the connectedness of Christian worship in the consecrated space of the church with Christian charity in the secular space outside. Thus we can understand how Fethard's almshouse for women was positioned at the intersection of the market place, with its cross to remind merchants of God's watchful eye, and the

churchyard. Its positioning beneath the town's common hall, wherein its corporate business (including the judicial) was conducted, is more curious. Sir John was clearly behind this venture. Did he intend his munificence to be especially well regarded by virtue of his generosity towards women? Or was there a subtle implication in his foundation of the almshouse that women required the symbolic purification assured by residency at the point where the market, the church, and court intersected.

The other almshouse, which was for men, was technically-speaking an extra-mural building (Figure 5: g). It was two-storeyed. The presence of a stair leading directly from its first floor into the churchyard meant that this upper floor was *de facto* within the walled area. We do not know whether the entire building or one of its two storeys constituted the almshouse, nor do we know if the two storeys were internally connected. Whatever the case, it is fair to describe this as yet another dual-orientation building. If this almshouse, in contrast to the other one, included the upper storey, its male residents would have had the same sort of access to the churchyard as had the contemporary urban élite. Were this the case, one could not charge Sir John, the founder of the almshouse, with attempting to subvert the architectural-spatial order in which elements of the town's élite had their power manifested, since Sir John and his family were probably the principal architects and beneficiaries of that architectural-spatial order. Rather, Sir John may have deliberately placed the almshouse for men facing the eastern parts of the parish church, thereby reinforcing through a spatial association the connectedness of charity and salvation.

Incidentally, in the eighteenth century there seems to have been little new building work. However, maps of the town were produced at this time under Everard patronage (and then under the patronage of the Bartons, who succeeded the Everards as the town's ruling élite). These maps illustrated the power of these families by depicting *their* properties very prominently, and given that they would have been displayed in the tholsel, beside the entry to the churchyard, they formed a new, cartographic, layer of representation within the system of élite power. Moreover, the men who made up the town's governing body or corporation, created by a new legal charter at the start of the seventeenth century, also met in the tholsel during the 1700s. The town's corporation was abolished (along with other urban corporations) in 1840. By that time its minute books were fairly bereft of information about the town, and even the hand-writing had deteriorated markedly to a scribble; it is clear that the corporation officials were meeting out of a sense of historic duty rather than a concern for the town's well-being. By the end of the 1800s the Everards and Bartons were gone, most of the stone "castles" were in disrepair, the Town Wall had lost all of its entry gates but one, the seventeenth century mansion belonging to the Everards (Figure 5: h) was converted into a military barracks, and the church's Protestant congregation dwindled in size.

Moving Out from Fethard: Theorising Material Correlatives of Identity

So far, this chapter has largely been about the topography and materiality of a medieval town, but textual identity has featured, and other forms of identity have emerged *inter alia*. We have encountered and started to probe in an implicit way some different categories of non-textual identity (or, as I prefer, contextual "being"). Those categories are articulated by qualifying adjectives which range from ethnic and gendered, to religious and political, to self and social, and are manifest materially and spatially.

We have already observed, for example, the matter of *gender* in the constitution of the medieval urban élite just as we observed it in the authorship of the sign. There were *ethnic* identities at play in the town: it was founded and occupied by Anglo-Normans, but there were also medieval townspeople whom one would describe as Gaelic-Irish. There were divisions of *class* identity materialised in the upstairs and downstairs architectures of the building on which the sign was erected, and those divisions spilled over into the churchyard and the street respectively. The church itself was a locus of identity. The class divisions within castles like "Fethard Castle" were manifest in the subdivisions of its architectural space: the urban élite may have entered the church from the *south* side, an observation relevant to a structuralist reading of gendered identity, and the space which they occupied within the church was certainly closer to the high altar than that occupied by other townspeople. The church was also about *religious* and *ethnic* identity, in life and in death: for example, its accommodation of a Roman (or Catholic) population until the sixteenth century and a Protestant population thereafter meant that its use or non-use as a congregational or burial space at any one moment made it a communicator of ideas of identity.

Now, this account of material correlatives is inadequate. In drawing attention to prestige or high-visibility structures and locating particular identity manifestations in each, it undersells the real complexity of the system of correlatives. There is a greater range of spaces and objects in which identity materialises than I can account for here. In mitigation, there are gaps in our information: the absence of information about lower-grade houses within the town, for example, means that we can say little about how notions of identity were articulated in these particular spaces. Also in mitigation, there are practical problems of narrativising here. The network of criss-crossing lines of identity permeating town spaces and objects at different resolutions and different moments in time simply cannot be captured in words; communicating that network's multiple dimensionality requires us to invent multi-dimensional representational forms.

These problems notwithstanding, there are some important points arising from the material correlatives indicated above. The first is that different notions of identity could be located within the same material contexts. The second is that

conceptualisations of individual identity-forms (like gender, class, and so on) existed in symbiotic relationships with material objects and environments. The third is that these conceptualisations existed in relationships of contingency with each other, so that in eighteenth century Fethard, for example, there were connections between masculinity (in gender identity), social power (in class identity), and Protestantism (in religious identity). Finally, these conceptualisations of identity revealed themselves in the practical actions of social agents.

This paper started with the story of the sign on the castle, a material object in and of itself, and an object that occuped a space from which it took meaning and to which it added meaning. It is debateable, though, whether one could ever retrieve identity's work in the story of the Fethard sign by simply writing a checklist of types (or forms, or expressions) of identity in both the past and the present, setting against it the history of Fethard, and ticking off (as I have done above) those identities as they come into focus individually or in combination through that unfolding history. One could argue that supporting this volume's contention that identity operates in multiple and contingent guises involves more than simply presenting the ticked-off checklist as a kind of empirical proof. The problem with the check-list approach is, I think, that it leads us to see multiple identities as reducible to a set of simple category-headings, and then to reduce the relationships of those category headings to binary oppositions: male *versus* female, Catholic *versus* Protestant, upper class *versus* lower class.

One can certainly understand how binarisms operate in the negotiation of the world, but this is not because the world is necessarily constructed of binary relationships but because we conceptualise our world to be negotiable by binarisms. We can see this, for example, in notions of selfhood as understood in medieval philosophy and eschatology: selfhood was essentially dualist, being materialised through the body, and actualised through social relationships and self-reflexion. Following Classical precedent, this dualism resolved itself into a distinction between *anima* and *corpus*, soul and body (Bynum, 1999: 250–1; see also Benson, 2001: 79). So, selfhood was about simultaneously being a physical object *in* the world and an essence—it is difficult to choose an appropriate word here—which observed (and, in Christian doctrine, outlived) the world from the outside.

But there are always "spaces between" the poles of every dualism. These are spaces—literally *spaces*—where an individual or a group of individuals can knowingly resist, knowingly play with, or unknowingly transgress, the fixed boundaries of behaviour which define "male" and "female", "Catholic" and "Protestant", or "upper class" and "lower class". In other words, while we know that such behavioural boundaries can be crossed—that men can dress as women, for example—such "crossings" always have spatial settings. Market places, churches, private rooms, "molly houses" (of which Fethard had none, alas!), are spaces in which such crossings take place, and obviously certain types of space lend themselves to certain types of crossing. Such spaces are also sites of what one might call identity-stress, sites where an individual's sense of identity—of being "male" or

"upper class", for example—might be undermined. So thoroughly and deliberately encoded for identity was medieval and early modern Fethard's topography, for example, that by taking a wrong turn, or by entering the wrong door of an apparently public building, an uninformed visitor of some social standing elsewhere might find his claim to social standing undermined.

These under-theorised spaces in the middle of every dichotomised identity are not only essential to the definition of the identity categories themselves but are the spaces in which we operate as social beings. Edward Soja designed the term "thirdspace" as a conceptualisation of mental, emotional, moral, political *loci*, so I wonder if we might use the phrase "fourthspace" to convey the even more abstract notion of identity inter-spaces, the spaces where identity is in flux, even in danger.

Some Final Thoughts

Identity, as an overarching category, cannot be conceptualised as existing in isolation from other categories (such as those of history, metaphor, and ownership, listed earlier) which we use in archaeology to describe the conditions of being human or the consequences of human action: identity exists within, and is a product of, historic time, it can be understood through metaphor and it has itself metaphoric value, and it can be owned or can be used to claim ownership. Such are the entanglements of identity with categories of object ("castle", "sign", body), time (history), and meaning (sign, metaphor), that concepts of identity can surely never be starting positions—items on a check-list—which one can bring to the analysis of a body of material. This is not a controversial position: colleagues in other human sciences, for example, do not consider forms of identity in the contemporary world to be closed systems immune to alteration, but recognise instead the fluidity of the boundaries of identity, and how concepts of identity shape, and are shaped by, categories of object (including the body itself), notions of time, and subjectivities of meaning.

In a reflexive archaeology the identities of subjects in the past and of the writer in the present are only revealed, or only reveal themselves, through engagement with the material world in which identities find their outlets. So, rather than start our enquiries with identity as a pre-defined category or set of categories, we must define the retrieval or recognition of its complexity as a goal; rather than bring our check-list of identities to the body of material in which we are interested, we wait for the material to illuminate what notions of identity are at work.

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Chapter 3

"Either, or, Neither Nor"

Resisting the Production of Gender, Race and Class Dichotomies in the Pre-Colonial Period

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Preface

The desire to categorise the past into black and white; European invader and Aboriginal owner; men and women, is a feature of Australian archaeological discourse. In this paper I suggest that such binarisms fail to recognise the emergence of new social formations and their material culture correlates that are much greater than the sum of their constituent elements. Using early nineteenth century Kangaroo Island, in Southern Australia, as my case study, I argue that it is virtually impossible to tease apart Kangaroo Island society into its constituent racial, gender and class elements. Furthermore I suggest that such attempts to breakdown the society into its preformation constituents of Aboriginal and European ignores the reality that within a very short time of arriving on the island this relatively new social entity would have undergone substantial change. Concurrent with this transition I suggest that the identities of the social agents would have been likewise in flux. Unlike the dichotomous categories of resistance or accommodation repetitiously used in archaeology, the material culture (and indeed the people) of Kangaroo Island at this time and place resists the essentialising categories of race—Aboriginal or

European and for that matter male and female. If we were to use the traditional paradigms for assessing the archaeology of Kangaroo Island we might be moved to suggest that the stone tools found around the sealers' camps were made by Aboriginal women resisting their servitude and maintaining their cultural traditions. This is the subtext of many of the archaeological interpretations. Indeed very little exploration is given to alternate views as most archaeologists have assumed (unproblematically) that the women were responsible for manufacture (and probable use) of the stone and glass scrapers which are found at these sites. In this paper I explore alternative explanatory models, which draw, in particular, on the theoretical work of Jacque Derrida and Michel de Certeau, and offer a new means for breaking free of the constraints of simplistic binarisms and a past that is described in terms of either/or.

Introduction

Historical studies, including historical archaeology, tend to be dominated with binaristic terminology including the apparently simple male and female; men and women; native and newcomer; settler and Indigene; invader and traditional owner; victim and victor; slave and slaver, and so on. Such dichotomies seamlessly lend themselves to the development of interpretive paradigms such as invasion and resistance; resistance and accommodation. Dichotomies are reassuring—they categorise the world into a black and white comprehendible pseudo-reality, by simplifying and homogenising complexity, variability and uncertainty.[1] In the early days of Australian historiographical and archaeological research such a simplification was a necessity, today it hampers our understanding of the past. As Isabel McBryde (2000: 241) notes, homogenising of complexity has allowed Indigenous people to be "dismissed as passive recipients rather than active effective agents in colonial encounters". Jacques Derrida (1997: 137) reminds us there is an alternative to the either/or binarisms. Dichotomies are programmable and formalizable–in order to break free of their hold we can opt for another view that of "undecidability". Undecidability refers to the (im)possibility of deciding between discrepant and often contradictory orders of meaning and yet it should not be confused with indecision. In Derrida's terms historical actors can be either/or *and* simultaneously be neither/nor.

This chapter emerges from a research project that considers cross-cultural cross-gender relations in nineteenth century Australia. It has as its focus an analysis of the theoretical construction of key paradigms that dominate nineteenth century Australian Aboriginal historiography. These are the mutually dependent notions of resistance and accommodation and the recently emergent discourse of creolization. The binaristic-twin conceptions of resistance and accommodation have had a profound influence on archaeological interpretations of the contact period. In this paper I will examine and attempt to disentangle resistance and accommodation by

considering creolization and post-colonial theory as an adjunct to an analysis of archaeological and historical research, which has focussed on coastal Aboriginal people in the earliest phases of European contact. The first part of the paper outlines the theoretical issues while the latter part considers a specific case study, that of Kangaroo Island, South Australia.

Contact Relations

Australia was settled by Europeans in 1788 when Captain Arthur Philip established the penal colony of Port Jackson, Sydney. Although ostensibly governing all of the country this tiny settlement was, in reality, unable to exert control beyond the boundaries of the Sydney region. This meant that, in the 1790s, when the plentiful sealing grounds of south eastern Australia (later known as Bass Strait island group) were identified these were able to be exploited with scant regard to the authorities. Thus for the southern aspect of Australia's coastline the first wave of European contact commonly consisted of transient populations of sealers and whalers (see Stuart, 1997; Townrow, 1997; Taylor, 1996, 2000). These men[2] frequently maintained semi-permanent bases on small peninsulas and off-shore islands. Dealings with local Aboriginal people ranged from hostile and violent to co-operative and negotiated. Many whalers and sealers took Aboriginal women as "wives". These women worked alongside their "husbands" and their labour was an integral part of the industry. Aboriginal men also commonly worked with the newcomers in both their sea and land-based activities (e.g. Gibbs, 1998). Archaeological and historical research into these interactions has stressed the exploitative nature of the Europeans (e.g. Ryan, 1981; Haebich, 2000: 71–80; James, 2001). This has resulted in the creation of a heuristic model, which depicts the Indigenous historical actor as dis-empowered victim of the colonial encounter. This approach has led to a further devaluing of the subjectivity of Indigenous actions.

My research, enmeshed in and engaged with the theoretical writings of Derrida, de Certeau, Bourdieu and Bhabha, seeks an alternative view, which disrupts the idea that contact relations can be categorised as either exclusion or incorporation and the subsequent responses of resistance or accommodation. I suggest, along with the rejection of dichotomies, a new model that might account for alliance formations and gender relations, and thus provide a nuanced understanding of the ambiguities of cross-cultural encounters in the early-contact period.

The aim is to give a new account of contact, one that stresses ambiguity, hybridity, perhaps even merger and negotiation which sharply contrasts with the demands of traditional narrativist history and archaeology for increasingly detailed accounts of the past; as such my model also contrasts with the ever present demands of universalising philosophy for general explanations. The model I intend to develop will only ever be useful as an interpretive tool, a means with which to focus our impressions of the past, to offer possible explanations for "what it was

like back then" (these words were uttered to me by a Kangaroo Island local and Pallawah descendant when visiting significant sites in December 2001).

A Discussion of Definitions

Within Australia the resistance model of frontier history documents the variety of innovative and conscious means by which Aboriginal people resisted and adapted to European invasion. This model was first elaborated by Henry Reynolds who remains its leading proponent. Reynolds' history has stressed Aboriginal agency and (re)action, and as a direct consequence of his early work "resistance" has become a common and popular model for viewing Aboriginal-European contact relations (Reynolds, 1972, 1982, 1992). The resistance model is formulated on a deliberate rejection of the mythic peaceful conquest of Australia and was heralded as breaking what anthropologist W.E.H. Stanner had referred to as the "great Australian silence", destroying "the [previous] cult of forgetfulness practised on a national scale" (Stanner, 1968: 25, 1977). Key in these studies has been the desire to get perspectives on "the other side of the frontier."

Concomitant with the changes in historical discourse there has been, as observed by Torrence and Clarke, "within archaeology . . . a mirroring of these changes in historical scholarship in the desire to hear and understand voices other than those of colonial authority and to recognize the on-going nature of cross-cultural engagement" (2000: 2). Resistance has come to be widely used throughout Australian archaeology and historiography, yet it has often been held to a relatively narrow and unnecessarily restrictive meaning. Aboriginal agency and action are central to the frontier-resistance models of the contact period, however this is an agency that appears most often to be re-acting to European imposition. In this paper I use the terms resistance and contact in very specific ways. Far from being locked into a rigid unchanging culture, the resistance model of Aboriginal response that concerns my research sees indigenous culture as dynamic, capable of both overt and violent and covert and subversive forms of resistance (eg. sorcery).

The term contact is recognised as problematic not least because is homogenises a range of complex and often geographically and chronologically context-specific events into a "concentrated moment of historical time" (Torrence and Clarke, 2000: 13; see also Colley and Bickford, 1996: 16–17). Contact, therefore, is used to refer to the very earliest European-Indigenous interactions. Interactions outside of the contact period are referred to as encounters (Dening, 1980, 1992, 1995; Rogers and Wilson, 1993; Rubertone, 1989, 1996; Cusick, 1998). Torrence and Clarke eloquently suggest "negotiated outcomes" (2000: 16) as the appropriate terminology. Negotiation is a conceptual category that underpins cross-cultural and inter-cultural contact—negotiation explicitly implies a two-way exchange.

Negotiated encounters leading to negotiated outcomes provides the basis for creolization theory, popular in American and Caribbean archaeological-studies (see chapters in Cusick, 1998; Thomas, 1990; Deagan, 1983). Creolization theory has however, been much less commonly explored within Australian archaeology. Its importance should not be understated as it offers "an alternative approach to understanding the cultural interactions during colonization" (Birmingham, 2000: 362).

> Creolization theory models circumstances in which cultural resistance takes innovative and creative forms by adopting much of what is relevant and useful from the incoming, retaining many elements of what is traditional, and then creating a new vigorous blend or hybrid culture involving speech, technology, music, art and religion, craft and institutions. (Birmingham, 2000: 362)

Within Australian contact history/archaeology creolization theory has tended to be applied to mission and other sites of interaction that post-date the contact period. Although Birmingham's ground breaking work has attempted to use creolization theory it has not so much provided an opportunity to develop a new paradigm; but rather a new name for the accommodation model. This has led to an accommodation/creolization model that provides an explanatory framework for materials/ideas travelling from the "newcomers" to the "natives". Although Birmingham's work is of immense value, I use the term and concept of creolization in a very different manner. In the following study I explore the dialectical process of colonisation and consider the movement of ideas, materials, language and even identities, back and forth between the categories of coloniser and colonised, ultimately challenging the very categories themselves (cf. Singleton, 1998: 178). As will become evident it is of the utmost importance that careful and explicit definitions are offered.

Importantly, I argue that careful definition of terms emphasises that the nature of contact was neither one sided nor the exclusively controlled by the colonisers. As Nicholas Thomas demonstrated, in relation to his work in the Pacific, we should not think of "colonised places as *tabula rasa* for the European power and European representations" (Thomas, 1991: 36). He further notes that to do so has erroneously allowed previous researchers to "misconstrue power relations" which has led to the assumption of the "subordination of native people" (1991: 83–84). This perceived subordination fails to recognise that the

> character of early contact was often such that foreigners were in no position to enforce their demands; consequently, local terms of trade often had to be acceded to; and even much later . . . intrusive Europeans frequently found that they could not make laborers of unwilling islanders. The partial intransigence of indigenous societies in the face of both imperialism's sheer violence and its more subtle ploys must be recognized. (Thomas, 1991: 83–84)

Similarly Birmingham, working in an archaeological context, notes contact in settler colonies is often characterised as a "mostly unequal struggle between invaders empowered with superior technology, ideology and language, and the invaded who, armed only with an appropriate lifestyle and familiarity with local conditions, reacted by resistance" (2000: 360). Recent archaeological research has attempted to engage in a meaningful way with the previous mono-dimensional readings of contact and in particular deconstruct resistance as it relates to settler-colonies (e.g. Adams, 1989; Cusick, 1998; Deagan, 1990; Colley, 2000, 2002; Rogers and Wilson, 1993; Rubertone, 1989,1996; Torrence and Clarke, 2000). In each of these examples researchers have shown that cultural interaction and contact is invariably a complex dialogic process, which neither one side nor another entirely directs or controls.

There is no doubt that from an archaeological perspective the impact of contact is often difficult to assess. Aboriginal people grappled with the newcomers as they attempted to incorporate them into their material and spiritual worlds. Some have argued that the application of "traditional" techniques to new materials can be interpreted as a form of resistance, a maintenance of traditional activities (see Birmingham, 1992; Farnsworth, 1992; Leone and Potter, 1987; Singleton, 1998). However, trade and exchange were important mechanisms for establishing and maintaining alliances. New materials were incorporated and inculturated into Indigenous social realms in a process Nicholas Thomas calls "entanglement" (1991). Each entangled object needs to be understood in terms of the social relationships which it mediates. Seeing post-contact rock art and other forms of ritualised expression can provide unique understanding of the complicated coloniser/colonised relationship. For example many would argue that the incorporation of firearms into rock art designs is a signifier of European violence and Aboriginal retaliation. It could also be merely a representation of a new technology, one that needs to be incorporated into the Indigenous world view, one that is becoming entangled. The representation of the gun is the metaphor, which non-Indigenous-readers of rock art recognise as a signifier for frontier violence (see McNiven and Russell, 2002; cf. Barthes, 1968).

Australian historians and anthropologists (e.g. Barwick, 1985; McGrath, 1987; Reece, 1987; Fels, 1988; Attwood, 1989) have, over the last two decades, developed a very different view of contact relations with a paradigmatic development known as the accommodation model. This model developed in conscious opposition to Reynolds' work on resistance and retaliation. Rather than focus on violence and resistance these historians looked for examples of co-operation and negotiation between European and Aboriginal people. Consequently Aboriginal history articulates along the dichotomy of resistance and accommodation—it is essentially a binary field.[3] However the accommodation model is not a paradigm with clear and unambiguous specificities, but rather a mechanism to account for the apparent absence of physical resistance. As Nathan Wolski notes, accommodation "is the

'default setting' when no physical resistance is to be found" (2001: 218). Within archaeology the difficulty in identifying resistance has lead to a much greater emphasis on notions of accommodation, acculturation and more recently creolization.

From an archaeological perspective, the idea that *resistance* will lead to the maintenance of Indigenous material culture (both fabric and manufacturing technique) and *accommodation* will lead to the adoption and use of aspects of the newcomers' culture, further perpetuates the simplistic binarism (Farnsworth, 1992: 22–36; Singleton, 1998; Wolski, 2001; cf. Birmingham, 1992).[4] When looking for resistance in archaeology we need to be wary of "essentialist" notions of the "pure native" (Smith, 1987: 17–118, cf. Birmingham, 1992: 175, 2000), particularly avoiding concepts such as contamination=diluted=inauthentic and pristine=traditional=authentic. In a study of Indian-White trade in colonial America, Miller and Hamell observed:

> Indians did not perceive European copper or glass as something new. Rather, imported copper goods and glasswares were assimilated into traditional native ideological systems alongside native copper, exotic siliceous stones, and shells as material components of great ritual significance. (1986: 314)

Archaeology and in particular material culture studies do, however, offer us the opportunity to rethink resistance and accommodation models and contemplate a new and dynamic view of contact period relations. Archaeologists both in Australia (e.g. Birmingham, 1992; Godwin, 2001; McNiven, 2001; McNiven and Russell, 2002; Wolski, 2001) and the United States (e.g. Deagan, 1983; Fairbanks, 1972; Farnsworth, 1992; Ferguson, 1977, 1991; Leone and Potter, 1987; Singleton, 1998) have shown that resistance is frequently observed in archaeological contexts simultaneously with accommodation. Indeed the archaeological interpretation of material manifesting evidence of either of these states is often an ideological one.

Bricolage, Incorporation and Acculturation

Within American anthropology acculturation as a concept has been much maligned over the last two decades; deemed problematic as a result of being "steeped in the colonialism and anti-immigrant fervour of nineteenth century America" (Cusick, 1998: 127). Similarly within Australia the term is often used interchangeably with the politically charged and racist doctrine of assimilation.[5] However, as Kathleen Deagan (1983) has observed in her study of eighteenth century St Augustine, acculturation is a most appropriate framework for a study which involves creolization and the to and fro of information/material between colonisers and the colonised. Building on the work of Deagan and others, James Cusick (1998: 139) in an historical overview of the concept "acculturation" and its value

in archaeology, has noted that "Acculturative models and ideas retain utility as heuristic tools in studies of non directed contact and of the emergence of new peoples and cultural systems through syncretism". In order to take advantage of these heuristic tools we need to ask if, from an archaeological perspective, acculturation is the same as accommodation, and does the take up of new materials equate to an accommodating of colonisation? Would these two actions leave identifiably different archaeological signatures? Homi K. Bhabha recognises the problematic nature of the accommodation/acculturation/resistance relationship when he alerts us to the apparent contradiction of accommodation and resistance being virtually indistinguishable: he notes that one of the most effective means of resistance available to the invaded or oppressed is the capacity to subvert or interpret features of the coloniser's culture in unexpected ways. Here Bhabha is referring to the process of *bricolage* whereby the refuse of one culture is reinterpreted in another, and inculcated with "spirit that is one's own" (Rao, 1938: vii cited in Ashcroft, Tiffin and Griffith 1989, see also de Certeau, 1984: xviii). Jacques Derrida, in a reinterpretation of Levi-Strauss' *The Savage Mind*, notes:

> The *bricoleur* is someone who uses "the means at hand" that is, the instruments he finds at his disposition around him, those which are already there, which had not been especially conceived with an eye to the operation for which they are to be used and to which one tries by trial and error to adapt them, not hesitating to change them whenever it appears necessary, or to try several of them at once, even if their form and their origin are heterogenous. (Derrida 1978: 33)

Bricolage within Australian archaeology is probably the most common form of resistance, yet ironically it is often interpreted as accommodation. The bricoleur is the Aboriginal person who uses bottle glass to create "glass stone tools". Likewise the process is observed when European nails are fastened to the end of a pole in order to create a fishing spear (cf. Miller and Hamell, 1986: 315 see also McNiven and Russell, 2002). As such one can also interpret bricolage as a form of creolization.

Bricolage is not confined to the material world and can be seen in song, literature and oral-narratives. On a mission in Victoria (South Eastern Australia) I have been told of hymns into which the Aboriginal people inserted their own language terms, which sounded both melodic and poetic and seemed to fit with the European meaning (see also Birmingham, 2000). To the missionaries these songs sounded both celebratory and sacred, however the terms were actually references to sexual intercourse and were intended to mock. The "colonised" seemed to sing the song of successful conversion but were in fact, steadfastly resisting through creative bricolage. As Wolski (2001: 223) notes: "The bricoleur is able to escape the system imposed upon him/her without leaving it" (see also de Certau, 1984: xviii). For the bricoleur the problem would seem to be the impossibility of overthrowing the

coloniser's imposition and thus the archaeological presence of bricolage shows us the impossibility of remaining within the resistance/accommodation binary paradigm.

From an archaeological perspective, bricolage and the problem of the bricoleur demonstrate that to disentangle resistance from accommodation through material culture might well be an impossibility (cf. Wolski, 2001: 223). However we can reconfigure the binaristic models to account for the possibility of creolization. If we turn again to Derrida perhaps we can consider the possibility that bricolage and its relationship to resistance and accommodation is an instance of the undecidable (and I stress this does not mean indecisive). Bricolage can be either resistance or accommodation at the same time as being neither resistance nor accommodation. Creolization and the emergence of a new creolised culture can be constituted of actions that are both resistive and accommodating. By recognising the undecidable we are forced to revisit our conceptual categories and reflect again on why we are asking the questions we have deemed to require answers.

In the next section of the paper I will consider the application of some of my theoretical concerns using Kangaroo Island as a case study. Both the resistance and accommodationist models of early contact postulate Aboriginal culture being over run and overtaken by the incoming Europeans; and while this is certainly the case for the period immediately after the early contact phase, I believe that it is possible to further dis-aggregate the contact period. As the motivating objective for the European occupation of Kangaroo Island was economics rather than politics I have termed this phase pre-colonial.

The Pre-Colonial on Kangaroo Island, South Australia

In Bass Strait and the along the southern Australian coast in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, groups of men set up occupation in order to undertake whaling and sealing (see Townrow, 1997; Gibbs, 1998). For the most part these men were anti-authoritarian and avoided government interference and control. As such, they have been characterised as lawless and violent, although, as Iain Stuart points out, such characterisation suited the purpose of later government officials (1997: 54; see also Taylor, 2002).

Sealers first settled Kangaroo Island in the early 1800s (Cumpston, 1970). Some of the sealers brought with them Aboriginal (Pallawah) women from Tasmania and shortly after arriving were joined by women from Aboriginal tribes on the adjacent mainland (mainly Ngarrindjerri). Whether these women were abducted or exchanged as part of alliance formations is open to debate (James, 2001). However a close reading of the archival sources suggests that the means by which the women's lives became entangled with those of the sealers are as complex as they are heterogeneous.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century a society developed on Kangaroo Island that was an amalgam of European and Aboriginal. The women raised children and worked on the sealskins preparing them for sale. They also supplemented their families' diets with hunting and gathering. They took part in hunting the seals using their traditional waddies, which the men also took to using. One might ponder whether this was bricolage, resistance or accommodation on the part of the men. Historical references to the islanders note that the European men "smelled like foxes" and it was difficult differentiate them from the "natives"; they lived in bark huts reminiscent of Aboriginal humpies and they wore skins for clothes as did their "wives" and children (SA Govt, 1836: 8–9; see also Taylor, 1996, 2002).

These men who had rejected civilisation were described as "worse than savages" and one sealer, the well-known Nat Thomas, was even attributed a creolised/hybrid status, being described as: "A compound of sailor, sealer, farmer and wildman, he possesses all the resources of a sailor, combined with the instincts of the aboriginal native" (*The Adelaide Observer*, 15 January 1853). Nat Thomas, the other sealers and the Pallawah and Ngarrindjerri women who occupied Kangaroo Island defied (and continue to defy) the essentialising (and dichotomous) markers of race and even gender. Herbert Basedow, recording information from the late nineteenth century noted that the women undertook what were perceived to be traditional male activities when they formed "hunting parties" and they combed the hinterlands of the Island in order to kill their prey (1914: 162). Likewise these women worked alongside the men in the sealing industry in jobs that might well be perceived as masculine, in a European sense only as it is well known that in traditional Tasmanian Aboriginal society women hunted and killed seals (Plomley, 1987: 996). However as Haraway reminds us:

> Gender and race have never existed separately and never were about preformed subjects endowed with funny genitals and curious colors. Race and gender are about entwined barely analytically separable, highly protean, relational categories. Racial, class, sexual, and gender formations (not essences) were, from the start, dangerous and rickety machines for guarding the chief fictions and powers of European civil manhood. To be unmanly is to be uncivil, to be dark is to be unruly: These metaphors have mattered enormously in the constitution of what may count for knowledge. (Haraway 1997: 30)

Gender as an analytical category has received significant attention within archaeological discourse over the last 15 years. Much of this material has grown out of the second wave of feminism and is underpinned by a concern with the role of women in the discipline of archaeology in particular, and society in general. My use of the term gender is informed by the philosophical and historical work of Donna Haraway (1989, 1997), Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1990) and Anne McClintock

(1995). I do not use "gender" as a descriptive (or prescriptive) term for a series of binarisms with male being counterpoised against female. Within my research, gender is

> always a relationship, not a preformed category of beings or a possession that one can have. *Gender does not pertain more to women than men*. Gender is the relation between variously constituted categories of men and women (and variously arrayed tropes), differentiated by nation, generation, class, lineage, color, and much else. (Haraway, 1997: 28, my emphasis)

In my analysis of cross-cultural and cross-gender relations in the nineteenth century references to gender are not based on an assumption of chromosomal sex, but on the social constructions of the categories male and female (as well as the social construction of black and white, native and newcomer). As Sedgwick argues:

> "Sex" . . . [or] "chromosomal sex"—is seen as the relatively minimal raw material on which is then based the social construction of *gender*. Gender, then, is the far more elaborated, more fully and rigidly dichotomized social production and reproduction of male and female identities and behaviours—of male and female persons—in a cultural system for which "male/female" functions as a primary and perhaps binary model binarisms affecting the structure and meaning of many, many other binarisms whose apparent connection to chromosomal sex will often be exiguous or nonexistent. (Sedgwick, 1990: 27–28)

Intersecting any discussion of race and gender is the often-ignored category of class. On Kangaroo Island (and amongst the nineteenth century sealing industry more generally) the presence of socio-economic class is presumed as the sealers are popularly thought to have derived from the lower classes (see Plomley, 1967; Cumpston, 1970; Murray-Smith, 1973). The entangled nature of these categories is explicated by McClintock, who notes that

> race, gender and class are not distinct realms of experience, existing in splendid isolation from each other; nor can they be simply yoked together retrospectively like armatures of Lego. Rather, they come into existence in and through relation to each other—if in contradictory and conflictual ways. (McClintock 1995: 5)

Kangaroo Island in the pre-colonial period enables an exploration of the interconnected nature of the categories of race, gender and class, indeed I argue that this interconnectedness means that it is virtually impossible to tease apart Kangaroo Island society into its constituent parts. Furthermore I suggest that such attempts to break down the society into its preformation elements of Aboriginal and European ignores the reality that within a very short time of arriving on the island this relatively new social entity would have undergone substantial change.

Like all societies, the pre-colonial period of Kangaroo Island was a complex amalgam of constituent elements. As is any culture Kangaroo Island was much more than the sum of those parts. Unlike the dichotomous categories of resistance or accommodation, the archaeology of this time and place resists the essentialising categories of race and gender—Aboriginal or European and for that matter male and female.

The nineteenth century archaeology of Kangaroo Island consists of the remains of sealers' camps (eg. consisting of stone and timber structures, glass bottles fashioned into scrapers and other various stone tools, ceramics and some metal objects for processing seals etc). If we were to use the traditional paradigms for assessing the archaeology of Kangaroo Island we might be moved to suggest that the stone tools found around the sealers camps were made by Aboriginal women resisting their servitude and maintaining their cultural traditions. This is the subtext of many of the archaeological interpretations. Indeed very little exploration is given to alternate views as most archaeologists have assumed (unproblematically) that the women were responsible for manufacture (and probable use) of the stone and glass scrapers which are found associated with these sites (Campbell and Noone, 1943; Draper, 1999; Harvey, 1941; Marsden, 1991).

Kangaroo Island and other pre-colonial sealing communities provide the opportunity to explore the process of creolization in which "indigenous and adopted cultural elements blend[ed] into a new mixed culture, of extreme vigour, which differs from its predecessors" (Birmingham, 2000: 362). Using this model, and arguing for ambiguity, I would like to consider the possibility that the implements (and hence the archaeology of the pre-colonial period) are not so easily explained, not least because we do not know who made them or who used them. The women might well have made and used the stone artefacts. Early European observers in Tasmania recorded Aboriginal women working with stone (Roth, 1899: 151; Robinson, 1834 cited in Plomley, 1966: 897) and it would appear that there was no cultural prohibition for women using stone tools. However it is equally possible that the women made but did not use the artefacts or perhaps they even taught their "husbands" the techniques for stone knapping. One could also tend similar arguments for knapped glass tools. Did the men make these items, or did the women? Were the artefacts used by or made by their offspring? In which case what ethnic designation should we ascribe to the objects? In addition, perhaps a much more important intervention is to ask why we would want to ascribe an ethnicity at all? Are these objects signatures of accommodation: the women using the newly acquired raw material, that of glass, and adapting it to fit their traditional suite of tools? To recall Derrida perhaps these objects can tell us more if we considered them to be *undecidable*. Rather than label the objects Aboriginal or European (if they were made and used by the men) it may well be more useful to consider these artefacts as belonging to a new creolised category that of "pre-colonial Kangaroo Island"; or, for the want of more appropriate word, hybrid.

Arguing for a creolised society I am not suggesting that the Pallawah women gave up their identity as Aboriginal women but that aspects of their identity in particular that which relates to their daily lives can be considered to be creolised. Early settler George W. Walker noted, of Aboriginal women living with Bass Strait sealers, that they were not heard to speak English and they continued to practice their "ancient customs" (cited in Plomley, 1987: 282). Walker referred to the women dancing naked and practising their traditional rituals. The Pallawah women living on Kangaroo Island most likely maintained similar traditional activities, possibly out of sight of their European "husbands", perhaps even doing so while undertaking the hunting parties mentioned before by Basedow (1914: 162). Importantly the theoretical construction of a creolised society should not be seen as replacing all aspects of the constituent cultures.

Clearly much of what I propose to explore is speculative and perhaps even risks being labelled unanswerable. However, by not asking these complex questions we risk replicating simplistic dichotomous narrativist histories. By failing to explore the undecidable within archaeology we are almost certainly condemned to reproducing binaristic paradigms. The recent juxtaposing of the women as either "slaves" or "wives" (James, 2001) fails to engage with the possibility that the women's roles were undecidable; that is, they may have been either slaves or wives but they were also neither wives nor slaves. Furthermore, this simple binarism lacks historical specificity as the women's lives would have undergone significant change throughout the up to 40 years they worked and lived with the men.

In the absence of unambiguous trade goods (such as glass beads) we are greatly hampered in studying the impact of contact on Australian Aboriginal culture. Australia was, for most of its history, readily divided into the categories of coloniser and colonised: European and Aboriginal and, therefore these racial/ethnic categories do have some crude meaning as signifiers of different cultural groups. However in the very earliest phase of contact (that which I have called the pre-colonial) these categories become misleading. The boundaries around the native and the newcomer were, in this period, vague, ambiguous and most importantly they were also unstable. Interpreting the archaeological materials from sites that date to this phase present a great challenge to the archaeologist.[6] However these materials also present us with a unique opportunity to explore a set of unique cross-cultural interactions, which produced a hybridised and composite mix of cultural traits. Care needs to be taken not to privilege the mediation of cultural difference—we also need to recognise that Kangaroo Island in the pre-colonial period represents a new society modified, blended with aspects from several other groups. It may well be that it is our first multicultural society; one in which the search for cultural difference is less important than the exploration of search similarities. Perhaps by developing theoretical models which are sufficiently fluid, so as to account for a range of possibilities, we might approach a more comprehensive understanding of the past.

In this paper I have tried to disentangle some of the binaristic-conceptual categories that frequent archaeological discourse in Australia. My concern is to develop a series of flexible heuristic devices that assist archaeologists in understanding that the agency, subjectivity and identities of historical actors is never as clear-cut and well defined as we might have once believed it to be. By embracing the undecidable and celebrating the ambiguous I suggest we have a much great chance to move inexorably closer to appreciating "what it was like back then".

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Notes

1. My interest in binaries is both personal and professional. Elsewhere I have discussed at length how establishing that I have Aboriginal heritage created in me a new and entirely uncertain identity (Russell 2001a, b, c, 2002). This is an identity that states emphatically I am neither one thing nor another. For me, the binaries of Indigenous: Non-indigenous, Native: Newcomer are meaningless. Instead, I have found myself reaching for the possibility of a hybrid space or, perhaps, two spaces each mutually occupying the same locale. My interest in the question of binaries as these relate to identity was further developed a number of years ago when I attended a family funeral, and met my father's cousins. Like my father these men were of Aboriginal and European descent; their maternal great-grandmother was a Pallawah (Aboriginal Tasmanian) woman who lived on the of the Bass Strait Islands and undertook sealing activities with her European 'husband'. I was quick to characterise her as a victim of the colonial encounter, a virtual slave. This was not however the view of her descendants who pointed out that such a characterisation disempowered her and ascribed the moniker of slave-owner to their great-grandfather. This simple interaction convinced me of the need to further develop this issue in relation to the early contact period.
2. It appears that only male sealers arrived in southern Australia in the early nineteenth century. As despite extensive archival research I have not yet located references to women sealers, apart from one 'Bengali' woman who accompanied her husband and those Indigenous women (of Australia and New Zealand) who were enticed to join the European sealers.
3. For a more detailed discussion of these twin fields of Australian Aboriginal historiography see my *Savage Imaginings* (Russell, 2001).

4. When contemplating the notion of resistance I have found the work of Homhi K. Bhabha particularly useful. Bhabha's resistance though not immediately translatable into an archaeological context is nonetheless constructive. He reflects on resistance from within the framework of subaltern studies embedded within the colonial-British oppression of India, and notes:

> Resistance is not necessarily an oppositional act of political intention, nor is it the simple negation or exclusion of the 'content' of another culture, as a difference once perceived. It is the effect ofan ambivalence produced within the rules of recognition of dominating discourses as they articulate the signs of cultural difference (1994: 110). (See also Wolski, 2001).

5. Although regionally specific to Queensland the reader is directed to Rosalind Kidd's (1997) excellent study of governmental policies towards Australian Indigenous people.
6. The problematic nature of binaries can also be extended to the actual way in which we conceptualise the discipline itself. In her recent book Sarah Colley (2002, see also 2000) explores the tensions between Aborigines and archaeologists and considers the basis for competing knowledge claims. This is a tension that was perhaps most intensely observed in the 1980s with a more conciliatory and negotiated approach to Aboriginal archaeology developing in the 1990s (see Moser, 1994, 1996). Out of this tension there has emerged a new community based archaeology, which sees Aboriginal people as the 'owners' of their culture and archaeological-research designs constructed in consultation with, and under the direction of Indigenous-communities. Recent research has emphasised this approach and subsequent publications frequently include Indigenous perspectives (e.g. Hemming, et al., 2000). Thus the differences between archaeologists and Aboriginal people are not nearly as pronounced as they once were. In many ways these changes mirror changes within the archaeology of North America, where it is now commonplace for Indigenous scholars to undertake training in anthropology and archaeology (e.g. see Biolsi and Zimmerman, 1997; Watkins, 2001). These shifts in the practice of archaeology mean that the simple binaries of Aborigines and archaeologists no longer have currency.

   In 1998 as part of a larger project for the Museum of Melbourne I interviewed a number of Aboriginal people who worked with archaeologists and/ or were themselves trained archaeologists. The results of this exercise revealed that there is no simple division that can be made asserting Aborigines think one thing and archaeologists another. In one instance the most hard-line scientific approach to the study of human skeletal remains was espoused by an Aboriginal archaeologist who was opposed to repatriation except in circumstances where the remains were those of a known individual. This research demonstrated that the over use of binaries within Australian archaeology has led to a homogenisation of Aboriginal voices, which are drawn as an obligate-contrast to the views of archaeologists. I suggest that just as in the past there is no such neat distinction.

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Part II

Identity

Category and Practice

Chapter 4

Sexual Subjects

Identity and Taxonomy in Archaeological Research

BARBARA L. VOSS

Introduction

As archaeologists increasingly engage with research questions related to sexuality, how we conceptualize sexuality takes on great importance. Whether implied or explicitly stated, ideas about what sexuality *is*, and how sexuality and identity are interconnected, are the fundamental building blocks of any archaeological study of past sexualities.

This chapter discusses some of the models of sexuality that are being used in some archaeological studies of social identities. I am interested in tracing the ways that certain theories of sexuality are mobilized in archaeological discourse, and what the strengths and limitations of these theoretical frameworks are. Of particular concern to me are the ways that interpretations of the archaeological past may unwittingly serve to naturalize present-day sexual identities, ideologies, and politics. My aim is not to critique the pioneering research on sexuality that has emerged within archaeology in the last decade or so, but to promote dialogue about the implications of this research by reflecting on the intellectual genealogies that support it. I begin this exploration by broadly discussing three dominant

theoretical models of sexual identities, then move into a close examination of how these models are deployed in two archaeological research topics: prostitution and Native American two-spirit identities. I close by briefly discussing what I see as the liabilities and the productive tensions inherent in these theoretical models of sexual identities.

Taxonomies and Subjectivities

Like all archaeological research, investigations of sexuality interpret the past through the lens of the present: deliberately, through the use of ethnographic analogies; and less consciously, through the ways that present-day sexual norms, politics, ideologies, and identities affect researchers' conceptualizations of the past. The language used to discuss sexuality today can appear so self-evident and commonsensical that terms such as "heterosexual," "homosexual," "masochist," or "cross-dresser" are often taken to be universal, trans-historical identity categories. Archaeological researchers without specific training in the field of sexuality studies may not be aware of the extent to which these modern, largely Euro-American, sexual identity categories are relatively recent cultural phenomena. Here, I briefly discuss three of the major intellectual projects that have shaped present-day conceptions of sexual identity: sexology, the sex/gender system, and gender performance theory.

Sexology

All modern academic studies of sexuality, including archaeological ones, are a legacy of the discipline of sexology, a science that emerged in the late 1800s as part of the general expansion of taxonomic and medical sciences in Europe and America during the mid-nineteenth century. Although the research goals and practices of sexologists were diverse, a shared premise of sexology was that sexuality was an essential, enduring determinant of a person's character or identity. While religious and civil frameworks of the time focused primarily on the regulation of sexual acts and sexualized behaviors, sexologists argued that sexual acts and practices were the symptomatic expressions of durable underlying sexual dispositions. Further, these sexual dispositions were thought to cause not just sexual desires and behaviors but non-sexual preferences, habits, and behaviors as well.[1]

Sexological researchers generally used the medical case-study method, in which interviews and examinations of afflicted patients are used to build profiles of the symptoms and progressions of specific diseases. These profiles provide benchmarks to aid others in diagnosing these medical conditions as they appear in other patients—and, within sexology, were particularly geared towards diagnosing whether a patient's sexual behavior was rooted in perceived congenital or situational causes. Observations gathered from multiple case-studies were analyzed to develop elaborate sexual typologies. Common variables that sexologists evaluated

when constructing these typologies included the patient's apparent genital sex at birth, the physical attributes of the patient's adult genitalia and other parts of the body, the patient's degree of conformance to gender norms in appearance and behavior, and the patient's sexual behavior and desires, with a specific focus on the gender(s) of the patient's real and desired sexual partners. While the case-studies used were primarily drawn from urban European and American populations, the resulting typologies were also informed by the findings of early ethnographic studies of non-Western societies and by the observations and reports submitted by colonial officials and missionaries working abroad (e.g., Casella, 2000). The resulting typologies were thus generally presented as universal and trans-historical categories that had been discovered through scientific research, resulting in a speciation of sexual subjects loosely parallel to the Linnaean speciation of plant and animal organisms.

Three legacies of sexology are of critical concern for archaeological researchers. First, the very conceptualization of sexuality as a distinct area of archaeological investigation is intellectually tied to the founding premises of sexology. Second, the notion that an individual sexual disposition is a determining component of social identity is a relatively recent social phenomenon. Third, the categories of sexual identity that are widely used today (e.g., transvestite, homosexual) are also recent phenomena, the enduring legacy of medical typologies that were developed to address the particular needs of industrialized European and American urban societies and the administration of their colonies.

Anthropology and the Sex/Gender System

If sexology provided a universalizing model of sexuality, cultural anthropology studies throughout the twentieth century (and continuing today) have provided an alternative legacy that highlights cross-cultural variation in sexual behaviors and identities. Many anthropological researchers adopted the language of sexology to discuss the sexuality and sexual identities observed in the populations they studied, but their observations were also oriented towards understanding the cultural specificity of sexual identities and practices. In particular, anthropological research on sexuality has to this day focused on how individual sexual subjectivities are constituted through specific cultural systems or practices. While sexologists argued that sexuality was central to individual identity, the work of anthropologists—from Mead and Malinowski onward—expanded this premise to argue that sexuality is implicated in "almost every aspect of culture" (Malinowski, 1929: xxiii).

These anthropological studies provided the empirical basis for the second dominant model operating today in sexuality studies: the sex/gender system. First articulated in Rubin's 1975 article, "The Traffic in Women," the sex/gender system at its most basic level argued for a distinction between sex (biological—male, female) and gender (cultural—man, woman, masculine, feminine). More pointedly, Rubin proposed the sex/gender model specifically to challenge the position

that unequal power relations between the sexes are the inevitable result of biological difference. Countering that the roots of women's oppression lie in social relations, not biology, Rubin argued that the sex/gender system provides a mechanism for studying the ways that culture functions as "a systematic social apparatus which takes up females as raw materials and fashions domesticated women as products" (Rubin, 1975: 158). Subsequent anthropological research inspired by the sex/gender model focused initially on documenting the cross-cultural variability of gender roles and the similarities and differences in the ways that women are oppressed.

Within the sex/gender model, sexuality lurks uncomfortably in the interstices between nature and culture. Studies of sexuality within this framework have primarily focused on the ways that cultural attitudes towards men's and women's sexuality and the power dynamics of sexual relationships have contributed to women's oppression. In 1984, Rubin herself articulated the limitations of the sex/gender model in this regard. Intoning, "The time has come to think about sex" (1984: 267), Rubin called for historical and political analyses to demonstrate how sexuality in general has been constructed as a stigmatized aspect of modern life, and how specific sexual practices have been constructed as benign or malignant. Through reference to sexological research, Rubin advocated for a "concept of benign sexual variation" in which differences in sexual practices should be viewed through an appreciation of "variation [as] a fundamental property of all life, from the simplest biological organism to the most complex human social formations" (Rubin, 1984: 283). As in the sex/gender system, this conceptualization of varied sexualities that are suppressed or lauded through cultural mechanisms embraces a nature/culture duality.

The theoretical prominence of the sex/gender system within anthropological and archaeological studies has specific implications for the ways in which sexuality has been conceptualized to date in archaeological interpretations. Most positively, the sex/gender model has countered the dominant tendency in archaeology to conceptualize sexuality as a biological function related to human reproduction, and has encouraged research on cross-cultural variability on sexuality, especially non-reproductive sexuality. However, within this rubric, sexual practices and sexual identities have been treated predominantly as a function of gender rather than as a distinct aspect of social relations. For example, many archaeological studies have examined marriage primarily as a locus of the gendered organization of labor but not as a mechanism for the social regulation of sexuality. Additionally, the conceptualization of sexuality as the product of a biological/cultural duality has unwittingly supported a tendency to treat reproductive, heterosexual sexual acts as natural and constant while emphasizing the cultural production of non-reproductive sexual practices and identities. This effect, of course, is wholly counter to the *spirit* of the sex/gender system, but nonetheless it is an outcome that has been supported by the rhetoric of biological/cultural dualism.

Performing Gender, Performing Sexuality

It is precisely this biological/cultural duality that has been challenged by the third dominant conceptual framework used in archaeologies of sexuality, namely, Butler's theories of gender performativity. First outlined in her landmark text, *Gender Trouble* (1990, reprinted in 1999), and further elaborated in various articles (e.g., Butler, 1993b, 1994) and the book, *Bodies that Matter* (1993a), Butler's theory of gender performativity challenges both the analytical distinction between gender and sexuality and the biological/cultural dualism of the sex/gender system model.

Butler's performance theory is complex and multifaceted, and cannot be briefly summarized; however, I will attempt to briefly outline a few of her key points for those readers who may not be familiar with her work. First, most feminist analyses have made, as discussed above, a distinction between gender and sexuality, and have generally viewed sexuality as an outcome or consequence of gender roles. In contrast, Butler argues that both gender and sexual identities are mutually produced through a discursive heterosexual matrix (Butler, 1999: Chapters 1 and 2). The dominant discourse of heterosexuality requires a division of persons into two gender categories and simultaneously legitimizes sexual desires for the opposite gender. Through this matrix, those with non-normative gender identities *and* those whose sexual desires and practices deviate from heterosexuality are simultaneously constructed as abject persons. While the sex/gender system implicitly takes heterosexual reproduction and the distinction between male and female as stable, biological constants, Butler argues that this matrix is in fact very unstable and that its appearance of stability is only maintained through the constant policing of the discursively constructed boundaries between subject and abject (Butler, 1993a: 2–4). In other words, heterosexuality only exists by defining itself against those practices and identities that it stigmatizes, and thus relies on the abject for its own existence (Butler, 1993b).

Butler also argues against the distinction between biological and cultural aspects of sexuality and gender, positing instead that gender and sexuality are materialized wholly through cultural discourse. The sex/gender system rests, for example, on a claim that certain aspects of being a woman or a man are natural, and therefore irreducible and prior to culture; yet this claim is made through a discursive practice which itself is culturally situated, so that what is "natural" is delineated and fixed through cultural practices (Butler 1999: 7–12). Butler argues that it is perhaps more productive to see the distinction between natural and cultural as a disciplining practice that seeks to establish certain aspects of identity as irreducible and unchangeable. "This is not to say," Butler qualifies, "that the materiality of bodies is simply and only a linguistic effect . . . Such a distinction overlooks the materiality of the signifier itself" (Butler 1993a: 30).

A third, and perhaps the core, element of Butler's theory is that gender and sexual identities are not stable and unchanging but are continually produced through

social performances. Although gender and sexual identities may appear stable, the appearance of continuity and stability is an illusion created by an endless series of mimetic repetitions, each repetition separated by a gap, or risk, of loss (Butler, 1999: 40–43). If this seems confusing, imagine going to a movie matinee and watching the characters move across the screen. Of course what you are really seeing are a sequence of still images being projected at a rate so rapid that you do not consciously observe the gaps between each image. The illusion of continuity is produced only because each frame is nearly (but never exactly) identical to the one that came before. It is important to emphasize that Butler does not view these gendered and sexual performances as volitional in the sense that an actor might assume the identity of a character she is playing; rather these performances are "a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame" (Butler, 1999: 43–44). It is within the gaps between these repetitions that Butler identifies potential for agency, as subjects may be able to subtly transform these mimetic performances through subversive practices like mimicry, satire, drag, exaggeration, and so on (e.g., Butler, 1993a: 121–140, 1999: 173–177).

It would not be an understatement to note that Butler's theories of gender performance have transformed the fields of feminist/gender/sexuality studies and have shifted the terms of sexual and feminist political and social activism. One of the key effects of Butler's theories has been a profound change in sexual identification practice, especially the reclamation of the word "queer" (de Lauretis, 1991: v). Broadly conceptualized as being oppositional to the normative heterosexual matrix, queer practices of identification generally celebrate fluidity and instability in both gender and sexual identities. Many people who previously identified (or would have been identified) as gay or lesbian or bisexual or trangendered/transexual have adopted the moniker "queer" as a form of resistance to the taxonomic sexual identity categories that were codified and given medical and legal legitimacy through sexology (Warner, 1993).

Within archaeology, Butler's performance theory has been most widely utilized by researchers who use textual and pictorial lines of evidence in their interpretation of the past (e.g., Casella, 1999, 2000; Gilchrist, 2000; Joyce, 2000a, 2000b; Meskell, 2000). Such texts and representations lend themselves well to Butler's focus on cultural discourse, while applications of gender performance theory to the analysis of non-discursive material remains and residues has been less common to date.

In Practice: Archaeological Studies of Sexual Identity

These three bodies of sexuality theory—sexology, the sex/gender system, and performance theory—have provided important foundations for archaeological investigations of sexual identities. In my opinion, the pertinent question is; how

do archaeologists actually use these theories in practice? How do these models enable or constrain certain kinds of research and interpretation? And, what happens when these theories of sexuality, which were developed specifically to address the peculiarities of late nineteenth and twentieth century life in European and American societies, are used to study the near and distant past, and to conduct research on non-Western and well as Western cultures?

In North American archaeology, two topics dominate the arena of sexuality studies: Victorian-era prostitution and Native American two-spirits. Research on both of these topics has been underway now for well over a decade and has involved case studies that are both geographically dispersed and that have been conducted by researchers aligned with a diversity of theoretical standpoints in archaeology (although, not surprisingly, most have been associated to some degree with feminist or gender-focused archaeology). A review of these two fields of study thus provides good examples of how the above-outlined theories of sexuality are influencing archaeological research.

Brothel Archaeology

Archaeological studies of prostitution in North America have been spurred by the discovery of deposits from Victorian-era and turn-of-the-century brothels, parlor houses, and cribs.[2] In most cases these sites have been identified and excavated as part of cultural resource management projects associated with urban development. Significant studies include an analysis of brothel sites in East Blairmore, Alberta (Lawrence Cheney, 1991, 1993), studies of several brothels in Washington, D.C.'s Hooker's Division (Cheek and Seifert, 1994; Seifert, 1991, 1994; Seifert, et al., 2000), and recent excavations in the former Los Angeles red light district (Costello, 2000, 2002; Costello, et al., 1998, 1999; Costello and Praetzellis 1999).[3] In nearly all cases, these investigations have focused on the recovery of artifacts and other remains from hollow features such as privies and kitchen waste pits that are known through historic records to have been associated with houses of prostitution. In some cases the structural remains of buildings have been recovered and recorded as well.

All of these studies share a core methodological approach. Generally, archaeological data recovered from non-brothel households (often in the same neighborhood) are used as a baseline to identify the archaeological profile of the typical material culture, foodways, medicinal practices, alcohol consumption, etcetera, of working-class family life. Materials recovered from the brothel deposits are compared in various ways against this baseline in order to identify the unique archaeological characteristics of brothel deposits and to measure the similarities and differences between brothels and working-class family life. The Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. studies in particular have used this comparative approach to examine the working conditions of prostitutes and their relative economic status compared to non-brothel households. For example, materials recovered from Los

Angeles indicate that parlor house prostitutes enjoyed a substantially higher standard of living than their working-class neighbors, while the material record of crib prostitutes reflects spartan, non-residential working conditions (Costello et al., 1998, 1999). Studies in Washington, D.C. have shown that initially, in the late nineteenth century, the living conditions of brothel prostitutes were roughly identical to that in adjacent non-brothel households. However, by the early 1900s, the relative economic status of prostitutes had increased (Seifert 1994). Archaeological studies have also documented the occupational hazards of sex work through the recovery of panel medicine bottles that once contained "cures for venereal disease and pain-numbing tinctures of opium and morphine" (Costello, 2002: 177). The economic and occupational emphases in archaeological research on prostitution are suggestive of feminist organizing around sex work as labor from the 1970s to this day (Bell, 1987; Kempadoo, 1998).

Archaeological studies of prostitution have also problematized conventional scholarship about gender ideologies of the Victorian era, noting the permeability of the "separate spheres" usually associated with the female cult of domesticity (Poovey, 1988; Smith-Rosenberg, 1985). For example, Seifert has noted that for white working-class women in Hooker's Division, economic well-being and sexual activity were intertwined through marriage, on-the-job sexual harassment, sexual reciprocation for gifts from male friends, and sex for pay. Likewise, until the 1890s, kin-based households, boarding houses, and brothels formed a continuum that is archaeologically visible: in Washington, D.C., deposits from late nineteenth century white brothels and white working-class non-brothel households were more similar to each other than they were to brothels and non-brothels from neighborhoods populated by other races and classes (Seifert, 1991). Both Costello and Seifert have also considered the social paradox of the Victorian-era brothel, which was often run as a family business and provided homes for single young women; these buildings were commercial spaces that were simultaneously public, private, and neither.

Overwhelmingly, however, these archaeological investigations of prostitution sites have focused on the economic aspects of prostitution. What are curiously sidestepped are the sexual subjectivities of the people who lived at, worked in, and patronized these businesses. Recent studies of present-day commercial sex work in the urban United States have begun to explore the erotics of commercial sex transactions for both client and sex worker, and have opened dialogues about the ways that prostitutes' sexuality is engaged with, rather than divorced from, their role as sex workers (for examples, see Califia, 1994; Dangerous Bedfellows, 1996; Nagle, 1997). Consequently, feminist studies of sex work have broadened to include issues of sexual agency as well as sexual oppression, and have increasingly focused on the self-defined experience of sex workers (e.g., Delacoste and Alexander, 1987). An example of how archaeological interpretations are radically changed when sexual subjectivities are included is provided by the performance

piece, "Red Light Voices: An Archaeological Drama of Late Nineteenth Century Prostitution" (Costello, 2000). Performed by the author and her colleagues at several archaeological conferences in North America, "Red Light Voices" is a spoken-word archaeological narrative that juxtaposes historic photographs and images of artifacts from Los Angeles brothel sites with selections from oral histories and letters of prostitutes, johns, and pimps. Costello's aim in producing this drama: "to expose the human face behind our data [. . .] to arrive at a deeper understanding of past events by humanizing them" (Costello 2000: 163).

"Red Light Voices" is notable within the genre of archaeological studies on prostitution not only in its humanistic approach, but also because the drama engages with the experiences not only of women prostitutes but also of their male clients. With this one exception, archaeological studies of prostitution have focused on women—the standard of living and health practices of female prostitutes, and the business acumen of madams. These studies have also presumed that the sexual transactions at brothel sites were wholly heterosexual. It is here that I believe we see the shadow effect of sexological studies. With very few exceptions, sexologists confined their discussions of prostitution to diagnosing the underlying causes of female prostitution; male patronage of female prostitutes was not pathologized and instead was framed as a normal, unremarkable outgrowth of men's naturally vigorous sexual drive. Female prostitutes, on the other hand, were variously characterized in sexology as degenerate and immoral, as evidence of evolutionary atavism among the lower classes, and as the female equivalent of the male born criminal.[4]

Both historical studies of prostitution in the nineteenth century United States and research on more contemporary sex work have challenged the assumption that prostitution can be assumed to consist wholly of women who are paid for sexual services to male clients. In the sex trade, women are not always the sellers (Davies and Feldman, 1997; Longo, 1998; West 1993), men are not always the buyers (Nestle, 1987; Watanabe, 1998: 120), and gender transgression itself is often a sexual commodity (Kulick, 1998; Slamah, 1998). In recent years, some scholars and activists have cited Butler's gender performance theories in calling for research that focuses on "acts rather than identities" to challenge heteronormative assumptions about commercial sex transactions (Dangerous Bedfellows, 1996: 14).

When applied to archaeological investigations this "queering" of prostitution studies has opened up the study of commercial sex beyond the physical limits of identified brothel sites. A prime example is Casella's archaeological and historical investigation of the Ross Female Factory, a nineteenth century women's prison in Australia (Casella, 1999, 2000). Her excavations there revealed evidence of a black-market sexual economy—one in which both "heterosexual" and "same-sex" sexual exchanges were complicated by the participation of transgendered and transsexual individuals. These sexual interactions and relationships existed within the contradictory intersections between romantic love, commercial sex,

and sexual harassment, and could neither be defined wholly as prostitution nor as non-commercial. Further, within the context of the prison's sexual economy, the sexual "identities" of the participants in the black market were highly contextual and unstable.

Native American Two-Spirits

The study of North American indigenous two-spirit identities is another area where archaeological researchers first engaged with issues of sexuality. Two-spirit (also berdache or third- and fourth-gender) is a term used to generically describe Native American identities that reference both masculine and feminine characteristics.[5] Because two-spirit identities lie outside the binary gender system dominant in Western culture, within anthropology they often have been championed as evidence of the cultural construction of gender. Two-spirit identities are also contested academic sites for theorizing about the interplay between biology, culture, and sexuality, as two-spirit identities are often also associated with same-sex sexual practices, hermaphrodism, and transsexuality.[6]

It is beyond the scope of this essay to consider the ways that two-spirit identities have been treated in anthropological and historic literature as a whole, but I do want to examine how two-spirits have been considered in archaeological research. In the early 1990s, the concept of third and fourth genders in Native American cultures was repeatedly advanced by archaeologists to demonstrate the potential diversity of sex/gender systems in the past (Claassen, 1992b; Duke, 1991; Hollimon, 1991, 1992; Whelan, 1991). In particular, Claassen (1992b) and Duke (1991) used the example of two-spirit identities to illustrate conceptual problems with certain methodological approaches to "finding" gender in archaeological assemblages, especially the use of the direct historical approach in task-differentiation frameworks and gender attribution studies.[7] As Claassen wrote in 1992:

> Berdache individuals of Native American cultures are arguably a third gender, or a between-gender, but their material culture is indistinguishable from that stereotypically assigned to women or men. [. . .] We archaeologists currently have no way to recognize gender independent of sex and sex roles. (Claassen 1992b: 3)

At the same time that two-spirit identities were used to challenge both an assumed transhistorical binary gender system and the gender attribution methods being used in feminist archaeology, Whelan (1991) and Hollimon (1996, 1997) undertook studies of human remains and associated mortuary artifacts to increase the archaeological visibility of gender diversity. Whelan's analysis of a nineteenth century Dakota burial site revealed patterns of artifact clusters that suggested that gender categories were not always not ascribed on the basis of biological sex, and indicated that gender status was also age-dependent. Hollimon's study of

prehistoric Chumash burials combined analysis of skeletal pathologies with distributional analysis of associated artifacts to identify a possible *'Aqi* (two-spirit) burial. These approaches to "finding" two-spirits in the archaeological record emphasized transsexuality as the determinant characteristic of two-spirit identity.

More recently Hollimon has re-examined the Chumash burial case by using ethnohistoric sources to consider the relationship between gender, sexuality, religion, and occupation in *'Aqi* identity. Noting that the Chumash *'Aqi* are members of an undertaking guild that involves occupational, spiritual, and kin-based obligations and privileges, Hollimon suggests that designation as an *'Aqi* may not be seamlessly linked to transsexuality or same-sex sexual practices. Instead it is abstinence from procreative sex acts and fictive or biological kinship relationships that allow an individual to be initiated into the *'Aqi* guild. Ethnohistoric sources suggest that this could include biological males who are transsexual, men who have sex with other biological men, men without children, celibates, and post-menopausal women (Hollimon, 2000). Thus sexuality (but not just homosexuality), spirituality, and craft specialization together support *'Aqi* identity.

Using an ethnohistoric approach similar to Hollimon, Prine (1997, 2000) has examined the two-spirit Hidatsa *miati* through close readings of ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and archaeological records. Her research indicates that *miati* individuals, who were identified as male at birth, were differentiated from their age and sex cohorts in six ways: they changed their gender at adolescence, they had or acquired kinship relationships with people in specific spiritual roles, they were highly respected, they created households focused on same-sex relationships, they were highly productive, and they were cultural innovators (Prine 2000). *Miati* also played a key role in earthlodge building ceremonies, mediating the tension between feminine earth and masculine sky by raising the central lodge posts (Prine 1997). Prine thus finds archaeological indicators of the *miati* through a study of architectural remains, identifying a double-posted earthlodge that might have been a *miati* household. It is both the unusual architectural features of the earthlodge and its small size that suggest its occupation by cultural innovators who had a smaller household because of their non-reproductive sexuality (Prine 2000). The role of space and architecture in the maintenance of two-spirit identities has also been recently examined by Perry (1999), who examines how plaza architecture may have participated in the social performance of occupational and ritual aspects of Zuni *lhamana* identities.

These recent archaeological considerations of *'Aqi*, *miati*, and *lhamana* identities illustrate how sexology, the sex/gender system, and theories of gender performativity have influenced archaeological interpretation in at times contradictory ways. In particular, Prine, Perry, and Hollimon demonstrate how the treatment of two-spirit identities as either third or fourth *genders* and/or as distinct *sexualities* reduces the complexity of social identities that are formed through a constellation of gendered, sexual, ritual, occupational, and spiritual attributes. Especially within

sexological research and the sex/gender system, gender and sexual identities are viewed as core structuring aspects of personhood that influence other, more transitory identity components such as occupation. Within some indigenous cultures, two-spirit identities may be configured primarily spirituality, kinship, and/or occupation, suggesting that in some cases sexual and gender identities may be the "by-products" or outcomes of other identification practices.

To develop this point further: the notion that sexual identities are deeply installed or innate "essences" abound in modern narratives such as coming out stories where puzzling non-sexual behaviors are later "explained" when the narrator realizes that he or she is "really" gay, lesbian, bisexual, transsexual, etc. This concept that sexuality is the underlying cause of non-sexual behaviors can be traced back to sexology's postulate that sexuality is a central determining force of character and behavior. In most modern Western societies, it would be ludicrous, and even injurious, to suggest that a man *became* gay because he chose to be a hairdresser, or that a woman started having sex with women *because* she was elected CEO of a major financial corporation. But Hollimon's research suggests that among the Chumash, for example, it could be acceptable for a person to change their gender identification or sexual practices because he or she joined a mortuary guild. This shift in perspective is perhaps less difficult to apprehend if one considers the vows of celibacy taken by some Christian religious in Medieval Europe (see Gilchrist, 1994, 2000 for further discussion of this point) and even to present-day Catholic priests, nuns, and monks. I think it is important for archaeological researchers to resist the assumption that gender and sexuality are necessarily constitutive cores of social identities in the cultures they study, unless substantial evidence exists to the contrary.

The archaeological investigations of two-spirit identities discussed above also illustrate a potential limit to the utility of gender performance theory in studying sexual identities in the past. The queering of sexuality studies has shifted the grounds of discourse away from the study of fixed, taxonomic identity categories to a focus on identification practices. As discussed above, the identification "queer" is increasingly being used as an inclusive, flexible description of identities and practices that are situated in opposition to the (usually heterosexual) norm. The example of two-spirit identities illustrates the need for archaeologists to make a critical, firm distinction between *social* deviance and *statistical* deviation.

To date, most archaeological investigations of two-spirit identities have shared a common research strategy, one that draws heavily on the direct historical approach (Steward, 1942). First, a normative archaeological pattern (of architectural remains or of grave-good distribution, for example) is determined. Next, attributes of the archaeological record that vary from that norm are examined as possible evidence of two-spirit practices and identities. Ethnographic and ethnohistoric textual sources are then used to substantiate the researchers' hypotheses that certain non-normative practices can be reasonably presumed to be evidence of two-spirit identities.

When this methodology is used, it is of vital importance that archaeologists be very clear that variance from a *statistical* norm does *not* necessarily indicate that two-spirit people were in some way transgressive, oppositional, or in a relational stance to *cultural* norms. According to Hollimon, the Chumash *'Aqi* were members of a high-status spiritual-occupational guild. Likewise, Prine presents ethnohistoric evidence that Hidatsa *miati* were highly respected and valued by their communities. In other words, *'Aqi* and *miati* were as "normal" as individuals who were gendered male and female and who practiced reproductive heterosexual sex. It would be a grave ethnocentric error to presume that difference from heterosexuality is always marked as deviance. If archaeologists fail to consider the ways that transgendered or non-heterosexual sexualities can be "normative" within specific cultural contexts, they may overlook the ways that sanctioned non-heterosexual identities might participate in creating other stigmatized or abject sexual practices. For example, Epple's ethnographic studies of contemporary Navajo two-spirit *nádleehí* indicate that Navajo "traditional" cultural values restrict *nádleehí* from having sex with other *nádleehí* (Epple, 1998: 271). Hollimon's ethnographic and archaeological study of the Chumash *'Aqi* presents another set of regulatory practices that prohibit undertakers from engaging in procreative sex acts (Hollimon, 2000). Thus it is important to consider not only whether or not historically specific non-heterosexual or transgender identities might have been normative, but also how such identities or practices might have contributed to the regulation of gender and sexuality.

Sexology, Sex/Gender, Performance: Pitfalls and Productive Tensions

The examples of prostitution and two-spirit identities illustrate how archaeological research on sexual identities operates within the triple legacy of sexology, the sex/gender system, and gender performance theory. These models provide a necessary foundation that begins to define what sexuality is, why it is important, and how it can be studied. It would be perhaps be easy to focus on the shortcomings and contradictory aspects of these models, and to emphasize the pitfalls awaiting archaeologists who are bold enough to study sexuality as part of their research agenda. I will note that, for archaeologists, the greatest liability of these theories is that they were all developed to address present-day (or at least very recent) conditions in European and American cultures. However, this shortcoming can also be seen as an opportunity. Archaeological studies of sexuality may be particularly important precisely because they may illuminate the assumptions and limitations of modern theories of sexuality—and in doing so, aid in developing a discipline of sexuality studies that more accurately engages with the full range and potentials of human subjectivity.

I conclude by outlining what I believe are four "productive tensions" in theoretical models of sexuality that simultaneously enable and constrain archaeological research on these topics. They are listed in no particular order, nor is this list exhaustive.

1. The Tension between Gender and Sexuality

In an articled titled, "Against Proper Objects" (1994), Butler warned against assuming that gender is the proper object of feminist theories, and sexuality, the proper object of queer studies. Reflecting on Rubin's 1984 article, "Thinking Sex", Butler reflected, "If sexual relations cannot be reduced to gender positions, which seems true enough, it does not follow that an analysis of sexual relations apart from an analysis of gender relations is possible" (Butler, 1994).

Chicken-and-egg debates about "which came first" are more likely to derail archaeological studies of gender and sexuality than encourage them. I believe that Butler's gender performance theory provides a useful framework for beginning to understand how both sexual and gendered identities are mutually constituted and inseparable: a "normal" woman is both heterosexual and compliant with the gender roles of her culture; likewise, the sexological invert was diagnosed both through same-sex sexual preferences and through behaviors deemed to be gender deviant. One interesting avenue of archaeological inquiry could include diachronic investigations of the changing extent to which sexuality and gender identities were merged or separated within a given culture.

What has been demonstrated by a large body of archaeological work is that taking either sexuality or gender as a starting point in an investigation can lead to interesting, productive research on both topics. The key, I think, is to remember that this distinction may be only heuristic, and that in practice social identities will always be more complex than the study of one axis of identification could ever reflect.

2. The Tension between Universal and Culturally Specific Sexual Identity Categories

The legacy of sexology is a language of taxonomic categories of sexual identities, practices, and proclivities that has been so naturalized through modern medical and social discourse that it may at times seem universal and self-evident. The sex/gender system, in contrast, resists these universalizing tendencies in favor of attention to the cultural specificity of sexual identities. Performance theory calls attention to the political project inherent in any sexual identity category—namely, the policing of the borders of what is normative and what is abject, and the social reproduction of the cultural matrix. Performance theory also teaches us to be suspect of the apparent stability of sexual identities.

Many cultural anthropological studies have stepped away from the legacy of sexology by using only the culturally specific terms revealed through ethnographic

observation of a society or culture. However, unless archaeologists are studying a culture for which abundant documentary and ethnohistoric information is available, they are unlikely to ever know what sexual categories and terms were used by the people they studied. Even when such evidence does exist, the ethnohistoric and documentary records may be biased in ways that distort or mask such categories. What remains is the classic tension between etic and emic perspectives that is inherent in any anthropological, archaeological, and historic endeavor.

In my opinion, universal taxonomic frameworks of sexual identities and sexual practices (e.g., the categorization between heterosexual vs. homosexual practices and identities) can be useful beginning points for archaeological research on sexuality, as long as it is remembered that the terms and categories being used may have absolutely no relevance to the experiences and perspectives of the past peoples being studied. These terms should be used as entry points only; in a manner akin to Wylie's bootstrapping methodology (1986), diverse lines of archaeological evidence should be used to test and refine the terms and categories that form the basis of archaeological research on sexuality.

3. The Tension between Biological and Cultural Models of Sexuality

The question of how much biology, on one hand, and culture, on the other hand, shape sexual identities is highly contested both in modern society and in social theory. For example, in recent years, popular and scholarly publications have carried headlines examining controversial evidence of "gay genes" (e.g., Wall Street Journal, 1993; LeVay 1991; Painter 1993; Risch, et al., 1993). These claims for a biological origin of same-sex sexuality—based on an apparent correlation between certain physiological traits and sexual identity (for gay men, an enlarged hypothalmus; for lesbians, differences in the configuration of the inner ear)—have yet to provide specific evidence of the chromosomal transmission of homosexuality (Wickelgren, 1999). Other researchers have examined same-sex sexual behavior among non-human species to develop other models of the adaptive functions of homosexuality (e.g., Baghemil, 2000; Dixson, 1998; Vasey, 1998). However, regardless of the technologies and methods being applied, the search for a biological, universal (trans-historical, trans-cultural) "cause" of homosexuality (or of other sexual practices) is in many ways an extension of the sexological project of medical classification and diagnosis of sexual practices that deviate from social norms.

Archaeological investigations of sexuality have been shaped by this analytical tension between culture and biology and the theoretical models that engage with it. Nineteenth and twentieth century sexologists varied widely in the degree to which their diagnoses attributed certain sexual conditions to congenital or to social origins. Rubin's sex/gender model continues to work within this tension, arguing for a cultural elaboration of a biological template, in which the biological aspects of sexuality consist both of those aspects of sexuality closest to reproduction and a concept of universal variability in sexual desires and practices. Butler (1990,

1993a) challenges the presumption that there is a natural or biological component of sexual identities that can ever be said to be outside of cultural discourse, and argues that what is perceived as "natural" is signified and materialized through language and repetition.

I would like to suggest that for the purposes of archaeological research, the question of whether or not a sexual desire, proclivity, or identity "originates" in culture or in biology (e.g., genetics, heredity, or physiology) can detract us from more interesting and productive research topics.[8] From a biological perspective, any aspect of sexuality that is shaped by genetics would consist not only of its genotype, or genetic coding, but also of its phenotype—the specific manifestation of that genetic coding in response to physiological and environmental conditions. The "environment" within which human phenotypes are shaped includes culture, in both its discursive and material aspects. Archaeological investigations of sexuality can work within the tensions of the nature/nurture debate by exploring, as we do best, the cultural specificities of how sexualities are manifested in particular historical moments.

This methodological stance is nothing new to archaeology. For example, archaeologists investigate dietary practices and foodways in our studies of the past. Few would argue that food consumption is unrelated to biology or lacks an adaptive function; yet archaeologists also investigate how human culture—including social organization, economic relationships, ethnic identities, gender ideologies, and religion, to name a few—shape the way that social groups and individuals produce, process, prepare, and consume food. Likewise, cultural responses to sexual desires and behaviors are so profound and varied that even if a sexual desire or behavior is conditioned by biology, its practice is so shaped by cultural context that the relationship between biology and a specific sexual identity is at most likely to be correlative rather than determinate.

I believe that archaeological research can play an important part in further exploring this ongoing tension between biological and cultural models of sexuality—not necessarily with the goal of reaching any particular resolution, but rather of coming to terms with the possibilities and limitations of specific stances within this broader debate. In particular, archaeology provides an opportunity to add time depth and cultural breadth to our knowledge of human consistency and variability in sexual practices and identities. Archaeology probes deep beyond the limits of written records in its study of human culture and also provides methodological alternatives to discursive evidence of sexuality. With this in mind I am particularly intrigued by archaeological investigations of sexualities in the deep prehistoric past (e.g., Schmidt, 2000, 2002).

4. The Methodological Tension between Empirical and Discursive Models of Sexual Subjectivity

The tension between empiricist and discursive epistemological frameworks in archaeology is not, of course, limited to studies of sexual identities. But in

archaeological studies of sexuality, this tension has had a particular effect. Generally, sexology and the sex/gender system both take as their starting point an empiricist perspective on knowledge production, while Butler's performance theory is rooted in discourse analysis—for Butler and other post-structuralists, there is no "real", only discursive claims for realness.

In the short time that sexuality has been an explicit topic of archaeological investigation, a methodological divide has begun to emerge. Generally, researchers studying the archaeological remains of cultural discourses, such as imagery and texts (e.g., Joyce 2000a, 2000b; Meskell 2000), have tended to more readily work within performance theory. Those working with the non-discursive residues of the past, such as faunal or botanical remains, material culture, and skeletal remains, have tended to work more within the sex/gender system and its correlate postulates about sexuality (the archaeological studies of prostitution discussed earlier in this chapter are a good example of this). Butler herself, in her role as a discussant in a symposium at the November 2000 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, remarked on the challenge of applying performance theory to non-discursive remains of past societies:

> . . . the question which it seems you pose, and must pose, has to do with how to interpret the traces of gender that are left at sites, material sites. And so I imagine, from the outside, the kinds of forensics that must be involved: the identifying of the trace, the figuring out whether any old mark is a trace, and if so, how it can be read so that we might know that of which it is a trace, a reminder. It is particularly difficult for me to imagine how one derived something like a gender performance from a trace, since one must, on the basis of some remain, possibly small, infer from its various physical and knowable features what social life it was taken up in, and in what form. (Butler 2000)

The question of how material practices intersect, constitute, produce, and are produced through social life is precisely where archaeological research has a strong contribution to make to theories of sexual identities. Regardless of whether sexological categories, the sex/gender system, and/or gender performance theory are taken as the point of entry, archaeological research is contributing to a better understanding of the materiality of sexual identities and the relationship between material and discursive practices in sexual identity formation.

Closing Thoughts

The title of this volume, *The Archaeology of Change and Plural Identities*, is nowhere more appropriate than when thinking about sexuality and how it can be best studied through archaeological research. I have emphasized earlier that is important for archaeologists to be aware of the potential fluidity of sexual subjectivities and to be open to the likelihood that both sexuality and gender

could in some cultures and in some situations be more strongly imbricated with occupation, or spirituality, or age class, than with each other. While using theories of sexual identities as an entry point, I think we should be careful to interrogate these theories through research designs and methodologies that allow "non-reductive and non-causal accounts" (Butler, 1994) of the connections between gender, sexuality, culture, and identity (Wylie, 1992).

Archaeology has a unique role to play in stretching theories of sexuality in new chronological and cultural directions. The very nature of our disciplinary practices highlights methodological and epistemological challenges related to the limits of evidence, inference, and the discursive production of the present through reference to the past. By engaging with the tensions located within social theories of sexual identity, archaeologists are contributing to a more nuanced, complicated understanding of sexuality both in the past and in the present.

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Notes

1. A full review of the field of sexology is beyond the scope of this essay; a comprehensive overview is provided by Bland and Doan's two-volume compendium, *Sexology Uncensored: The Documents of Sexual Science* (1998) and *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires* (1998).
2. Brothels are both boarding houses and places of business; the employees of the establishment live and work in the building and entertain their clients in their rooms. The term 'parlor houses' historically referred to higher-class brothels that, in addition to sexual services, offered other amenities such as dancing, live entertainment, drink, or food. Cribs were small rooms rented for use as a place of business by prostitutes who lived elsewhere (Costello 2002).
3. At the time that I am writing this (May 2003), a thematic issue of *Historical Archaeology* ('Sin City') on the topic of prostitution is in preparation for publication by the Society for Historical Archaeology; unfortunately it will not be in press soon enough to be included in this review.
4. See Greenway (1998) and Caplan (1998) for further discussion of these points.
5. See Epple (1998) for an insightful discussion of this topic. Although in recent decades some Native Americans have begun to widely use the term 'two-spirit' for political and social purposes (Gay American Indians and Roscoe 1988, Roscoe 1998: Ch. 1), this and terms such as berdache and third gender have also been criticized because they generically lump together social identities and practices which actually varied considerably from tribe to tribe. Most anthropologists and archaeologists studying a specific tribe usually use terms from tribal languages, as there are rarely English equivalents that match indigenous terms with any accuracy.

6. Pertinent sources on this topic include Blackwood (1984, 1999) Callender and Kochems (1983), Herdt (1994), Gutmann (1997), Jacobs et al. (1997), Lang (1998, 1999), Roscoe (1991, 1998), Trexler (1995), Whelan (1993), Whitehead (1981), and Williams (1996).
7. See Conkey and Spector (1984) and Spector (1991) for a discussion of these frameworks.
8. My thanks to Deb Cohler for sharing her thoughts with me on this point.

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Chapter 5

The Contribution of Gender to Personal Identity in the Southern Scandinavian Mesolithic

ROBERT A. SCHMIDT

Introduction

In the western world, gender has long been seen as a fundamental structuring principle of identity formation, if not the most important defining characteristic of personhood. This view of the centrality of gender to personal identity has become increasingly widespread over recent centuries. Western folk notions of the overweening importance of gender influenced the development of nineteenth and twentieth century scholarly, medical and scientific discourses about gender. During the same period, western conceptions of gender were projected onto non-western societies as well. Thus the belief that gender—narrowly conceived as a set of precisely two non-overlapping categories of bodies—must be inherently central to identity has achieved remarkable scope and influence throughout the world in recent times. Marginalization has been the fate of alternative definitions of gender

that utilize non-physiological criteria (e.g., occupation, dress, religious/spiritual factors, personal temperament, interventions by adults during development) as well as physiological criteria.

Archaeology has hardly been immune to the hegemonic sway of western gender ideologies. Prior to the 1980s, perspectives on gender in archaeological contexts were unidimensional and reductionist. Gender was understood to be just another word for (biological) sex in all societies comprised of anatomically modern humans, and the conflated category of sex/gender was understood to be indisputably binary in nature. While they were seen as sharing many traits, the purported behavioral, temperamental, and other differences between the two sexes were naturalized and thus biologized. One of the principal corollaries of this perspective was a widespread faith in the notion of an essentialized division of labor between the sexes/genders, in which women were "naturally" responsible for the "domestic sphere" of childcare, home and hearth, while in their "public sphere" men hunted, created art and trade, etc.

Important aspects of this hegemonic perspective on gender began to be challenged for archaeological contexts in the 1980s (Conkey and Spector, 1984; Gero and Conkey, 1991). The number and scope of such challenges accelerated dramatically in the 1990s (e.g., Claassen, 1992; Claassen and Joyce, 1997; Hollimon, 1997; Walde and Willows, 1991). Nevertheless, some aspects of western beliefs about the nature and necessary scope of gender remain under-examined in archaeological contexts, although some notable and highly useful work has recently been emerging (Gilchrist, 1999; Joyce, 2000a; Yates, 1993). In particular, those aspects of the ontology of gender that remain under-examined in archaeological contexts include *number*, *mutability*, and *intensity*.

Number and mutability refer to properties of categories within a sex/gender system[1]. Informants within some sex/gender systems recognize precisely two sexes and two genders; other systems may contain differing numbers of sexes and genders and are not limited to two (Herdt, 1994b). For example, many native American and northern Eurasian groups recognize four distinct gender categories (Schmidt, 2000). Mutability refers to the aspect of gender whereby an individual may shift between gender categories. In many contexts, the acquisition of fully adult gender status is an accomplishment demanding years of active intervention by the subject and others (see, for example, Herdt, 1994a; Joyce, 2000b). In other contexts, a supernatural or religious experience, or other factors may prompt one to switch gender (Roscoe, 1991; 1994; 1998).

Intensity refers to a property of sex/gender systems, in contrast to number and mutability, which refer to properties of sex/gender categories. Sex/gender intensity cannot be gauged in terms of an absolute frame of reference, but relies upon comparison with another sex/gender system. In essence, sex/gender intensity may be considered "high" where sex/gender categories are culturally recognized as rigidly defined and non-overlapping, and "low" where such categories are porous and fluid. It must be pointed out that several axes of comparison may be relevant.

Sex/gender intensity may be said to be "high" in contexts where sexes and genders are considered fixed at birth and never fully mutable; in contrast, sex/gender intensity may be considered low where the opposite holds. Sex/gender intensity may be high with precisely two, non-overlapping categories, and low in non-binary contexts with more than two categories that share some characteristics.

The potential relevance of sex/gender intensity to the constitution of identity should be obvious: in cultures where sex/gender intensity is high, sex/gender status may be the most important single aspect of personal identity. In cultures with low sex/gender intensity, sex/gender categorical status may not be the first and most fundamental aspect of the constitution of identity.

In this chapter I examine mortuary and other evidence from the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic period in order to interrogate the constitution of personal identity in light of these aspects of sex and gender. While I would expect to find that both sex and gender influence the development of personal identity in this as in other periods, I do not assume that these factors were necessarily the most important or fundamental single aspect of identity. Instead, I consider the comparative sex/gender intensity of Mesolithic southern Scandinavia in order to have a basis upon which to judge the relative importance of sex/gender categories in the creation, negotiation, and regulation of personal identity for this period.

I begin with a capsule description of southern Scandinavia during the Mesolithic period, followed by a brief discussion of how sex and gender in this time period have been characterized by archaeologists in the past. I then summarize in some detail the remarkable variability of mortuary evidence from this period. Returning to the topic of sex/gender, I report results from a multi-faceted analysis of mortuary treatment of biologically sexed bodies in graves from this period. I then consider several potential causes for the patterns discerned in this body of evidence. I suggest that a biologized and dichotomized view of gender may not provide the explanation that is most congruent with the evidence of how individual bodies were treated in these mortuary rituals. In fact, most of the remarkable variability in southern Scandinavian Mesolithic mortuary behavior appears to have nothing to do with sex/gender categories. Thus one might argue that sex/gender need not have been the most important single factor in personal identity formation and negotiation in the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic. By extension, one might further conclude that the hegemonic western view of gender may be inappropriate or unhelpful in other archaeological contexts. In fact, the binary view of gender may constitute an obstacle to understanding the construction of identity in a number of contexts.

The Southern Scandinavian Mesolithic and the Division of Labor

The southern Scandinavian region is comprised of the area encompassed by the modern nations of Denmark and the southern tip of Sweden, i.e., the province

Table 1. Chronology of the Southern Scandinavian Mesolithic

	Date	Southern Scandinavian Period	
Time (absolute dating)	9000 BC		
		Maglemose Period	
	6800 BC		
			Early Kongemose
	6200 BC		
		Kongemose Period	Middle Kongemose
	5800 BC		
			Late Kongemose
	5300 BC		
			Early Ertebølle
	4800 BC		
		Ertebølle Period	Middle Ertebølle
	4300 BC		
			Late Ertebølle
	3900 BC		

of Skåne. During the first half of the Mesolithic, environmental conditions in the region underwent radical changes as the Ice Age ended. Due to the dynamic processes associated with glacial retreat from the beginning of the Holocene, including changing sea levels and the phenomenon of isostatic rebound[2], the coastline of the region—dominated today, of course, by the Baltic & North Seas—only began to stabilize into a configuration resembling the modern pattern by the middle Kongemose period (see Table 1).

With the development of a measure of environmental stability, southern Scandinavia became an area relatively rich in exploitable resources. Dating from this period of stabilization, we begin to see a trend toward an emphasis upon coastal as opposed to mixed coastal and inland settlement, with increasing reliance upon marine resources[3]. Isotope ratio studies of burials from the Vedbaek fjord north of Copenhagen suggest that the diet of some groups was comparable to that of Greenland Inuit populations, for whom marine resources contribute as much as 70–90% of diet (Price, 1989, 1991), although similar studies from other sites do not yield such extreme results. Nevertheless, the point is that mid-to-late Mesolithic peoples of southern Scandinavia developed an apparently stable lifestyle, based upon a relatively rich and reliable resource base that allowed their culture to flourish for many centuries.

During the last half of the Mesolithic period, from the middle of the Kongemose to the end of the succeeding Ertbølle period, i.e., the second half of the Mesolithic in this region—the timeframe addressed in the following analysis—the region appears to have constituted a more or less discrete cultural area. Especially well-known is the Ertbølle culture. Ertbølle peoples were the immediate

predecessors to the first Neolithic groups in the region, but there is evidence of contact over more than a millennium between southern Scandinavian Mesolithic peoples and Neolithic groups in loess-covered areas of central Europe, some of which were as close as 200 km from the southernmost Scandinavian groups.

In the 1980s, when some archaeologists and anthropologists were attempting to destabilize notions of unilineal social evolution, southern Scandinavian Mesolithic peoples became archaeological "poster children" for the existence of a phenomenon touted as a "complex" hunting-gathering way of life. While the idea of variability among hunter-gatherer groups is an important one to pursue, several of the early enthusiasts for interpretations of social complexity during this period have been unable to find compelling evidence for the existence of heritable social ranking, which is, of course, one way to define complexity. So despite the spate of comparisons with Northwest Coast groups and other demonstrably socially "complex" groups who do not farm or herd mammals, most students of the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic today would disagree with those arguing for the existence during this period of ascribed hierarchy and other attributes associated with social complexity.

Interestingly, however, the issue of the absence/presence of cultural complexity has not meaningfully intersected with the issue of gender, because (with some partial exceptions—see Tilley, 1996) virtually every archaeological interpretation of this cultural period—"complex" or otherwise—has presumed a universal division of labor based upon sex/gender. The presumed universality of the gender-based division of labor among archaeologically known hunter-gatherers rests upon analogical comparisons with ethnographically described hunter-gatherers that were informed by western notions of the "nature" of gender. Beyond the general point that sex/gender concepts need to be interrogated in each cultural context, and not assumed based upon presumed "universals" of behavior, there are two more specific justifications for questioning the presumptive universality of the division of labor for the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic. The first point is that archaeologists have used ethnographic studies of hunter-gatherers that did not seek to find, document or characterize variability with regard to sex/gender divisions of labor, so archaeologists have "found" what they expected to find—no more and no less—with regard to this variable. The second point relates to the observation that all ethnographically known hunter-gatherers exist only in marginal environmental contexts (O'Shea and Zvelebil, 1984), and were incorporated within expansive regional and world systems well before anthropologists could begin to examine these societies (Schrire, 1980). Thus these societies may be of little help in imagining the potential scope of hunter-gatherer societies in environmentally rich zones that had not been incorporated as marginal parts of larger socio-economic systems. Perhaps, then, the scope for variability in manifestations of gender in Mesolithic Europe may be far greater than what archaeologists have been used to imagining.

Southern Scandinavian Mesolithic Mortuary Contexts

Prior to the 1970s only a handful of sites had produced human skeletal material in Sweden (Gejvall, 1970) and in Denmark (Bennike, 1993) that predated the Neolithic. This situation began to change dramatically in 1975 with the excavation of the Vedbaek-Bøgebakken site just north of Copenhagen on the Danish island of Zealand (Albrethsen and Brinch Petersen, 1976). Some 22 individuals of all age groups were found in 17 graves, and there were several indications pointing toward the likelihood that other graves had previously been inadvertently disturbed or destroyed (Albrethsen and Brinch Petersen, 1976: 6). While comparable sites had been discovered decades earlier elsewhere in Europe, Vedbaek-Bøgebakken was the first large Scandinavian Mesolithic "cemetery" excavated, and its discovery alerted Scandinavian archaeologists to the possibility that other grave fields might be discovered in the region. And this has indeed proven to be the case. It is now generally thought (often based upon reports of stray finds of human bones nearby) that those sites where individual skeletons were recovered prior to the discovery of Vedbaek-Bøgebakken (and even afterwards—for an example see Grøn and Skaarup, 1991) probably had contained other unrecovered graves as well.

In the early 1980s Skateholm was the next large grave field to be excavated. To date it remains the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic site with the largest number of individuals recovered. It is comprised of two separate but adjacent grave-fields. Skateholm I (dated to between 4340±95 BC and 3980±125 BC) is almost exactly contemporaneous with Vedbaek-Bøgebakken (dated to between 4330±90 BC and 3860±105 BC), and lies no more than 80 km distant from that site (Larsson, 1989). 63 human individuals (and seven dogs) were excavated at the Skateholm I site. Only 200 meters to the southeast of Skateholm I, Skateholm II contained 22 graves within which 22 human individuals and two separately buried dogs were excavated. Both sites were located on what had been small islands in a lagoon along the coast of southern Scania during the Mesolithic occupations (Larsson 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984a, 1984b, 1988, 1990a, 1990b, 1993). Both artifact comparisons and carbon-14 datings (4480±140 BC to 4140±180 BC) indicate that Skateholm II is, on average, roughly 200–300 years older than Skateholm I (Larsson, 1989). The most likely scenario is that the earlier site, the lower of the two in elevation, was abandoned in favor of the later, higher site due to marine transgressions.

Nine other sites from the period have each produced considerably fewer individuals than Vedbaek and Skateholm. These include the Scanian site of Tågerup, almost directly across the strait from the Vedbaek fjord (Karsten and Knarrström, 2001), the sites of Vedbaek-Gøngehusvej 7 (Brinch Petersen, 1990; Brinch Petersen et al., 1993) and Strøby Egede from northeastern Zealand (Brinch Petersen, 1990; Strassburg, 1997), Melby in northern Zealand (Hansen et al., 1972), Dragsholm in northwest Zealand (Brinch Petersen, 1974), Korsør Nor on the southwest coast of Zealand (Norling-Christensen and Bröste, 1945), Møllegabet II

on the island of Aero (Grøn and Skaarup, 1991), as well as Fannerup (Rasmussen, 1990) and Nederst (Brinch Petersen, 1989, 1991, 1992) in the Danish peninsula of Jutland.

The Cemetery Question

The word "cemetery" has been applied by many researchers to the proliferating numbers of southern Scandinavian Mesolithic sites with large numbers of burials (e.g., Champion et al., 1984; Clark and Neeley, 1987; Larsson, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1993; Meiklejohn and Zvelebil, 1991; Newell and Constandse-Westermann, 1988; Price, 1991; Price and Gebauer, 1992). Recently, however, Kannegaard Nielsen and Brinch Petersen (1993) and Meiklejohn, Brinch Petersen and Alexandersen (1998: 205) have questioned whether this term is appropriate. If, as is customary in archaeological practice, the term "cemetery" refers to "a formal and delimited disposal ground for the dead" (Meiklejohn et al., 1998: 205), then in the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic, the use of this term may be considered as inappropriate, misleading and anachronistic. The reason for this is that it appears that human graves were not segregated from habitation areas in most cases.

> A burial is just another feature on a Mesolithic habitation site. On some sites they are as common as hearths (for example, as at Gøngehusvej 7). It is evident that the number of burials on a site is a direct function firstly of length of occupation and secondarily of site size. We therefore question the way in which the term has been used . . . Far from segregating the dead in a specialized site or structure, people were clearly living between and on top of their recently deceased. (Meiklejohn et al., 1998: 205)

It must, however, be noted that this pattern may not hold for every southern Scandinavian Mesolithic grave field, such as the Scanian site of Tågerup, a case which suggests that Mesolithic burial places "were not always part of the settlement sites but could also be separate units" (Kjällquist, 2001: 66).

Nevertheless, this insight regarding the relationship between burials and occupation areas puts into a new perspective the interpretations of some that the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic "cemeteries" may have served to mark "a territory where the existence of antecedents' remains motivate the society's claim to traditionally-owned rights" (Larsson, 1984a; Larsson, 1990a: 154). While the interment of individuals within settlements does not eliminate the possibility that mortuary practices could have served to establish and maintain the legitimacy of group claims, neither does such interment necessarily support the establishment of group claims in the way that a formal, separate and delimited disposal ground might do. It may well be that the impulse to identify cemeteries as territorial markers in the Mesolithic is a case where archaeologists have sought antecedents to later Neolithic patterns that may have little or no direct relationship to Mesolithic cultural forms.

If, as I argue below, it is true that that the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic was characterized by a remarkable diversity in burial treatments, it is also possible that this period could have been characterized by variation in the use of burials as markers for legitimation of familial or group claims to resources, just as there may have been variation in terms of whether burials were located within or outside of settlements. One might speculate that this range of variation could be related to variability in the ways in which the dead figured in social life more generally (including ongoing expressions of emotion, as suggested by Tarlow, 1999), such that the relationships between burials and occupation areas may have varied dramatically. Such variability would also be congruent with the suggestion of Strassburg (2000) that some individuals may have been perceived as ritually "dangerous," requiring different mortuary treatments than others.

In summary, I incorporate the critique of the term "cemetery" here by employing other terms to refer to southern Scandinavian Mesolithic sites with human burials, because I regard the interpretation of these burial sites as unsettled, and I do not wish to foreclose the interpretive possibilities that might otherwise be ignored.

Mortuary Variation in the Southern Scandinavian Mesolithic

It is only in the last generation that the richness and diversity of southern Scandinavian Mesolithic mortuary treatments have begun to be appreciated. The most common form of burial is the "classic" inhumation mode of single individuals, although considerable variation exists within this type of mortuary treatment. Most notable is the variety of bodily positions in which the deceased were laid to rest, which included "supine, sitting, extended, flexed, and more" (Price, 1991: 223). At Skateholm, one individual laid out in supine position was buried lying on his stomach rather than on his back.

In addition to diversity within the classic inhumation mode, "there are pit-burials, possibly only of children, on wooden 'plates'" (Meiklejohn et al., 1998: 205), as at the site of Vedbaek—Gøngehusvej No. 7 (Brinch Petersen, 1990; Brinch Petersen et al., 1993). In addition, various types of cremation features have been discovered, some of which contained multiple individuals, and others that contained cremations of single adults. There are also empty graves, e.g., grave 11 at Vedbaek-Bøgebakken, and graves where some skeletal elements are missing, as well as others where skeletal elements are not in anatomically correct positions—all of which may be interpreted as evidence for secondary mortuary treatment or ritual.

Hence it appears that, in addition to the "primary" deposition of the dead, several alternative modes of handling deceased bodies evidently existed in the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic, including cremation, dismemberment prior to interment such that not all body parts would be buried together, burial in multiple episodes (which is defined as the deposition of human remains that have

gone through a process of decomposition prior to final burial—see Nilsson, 1998), removal of part or all of a body after burial, and various combinations and permutations of this list. Despite this variability, it is important to note that most burials seem to have been primary depositions of the deceased, as documented at Skateholm (Nilsson, 1998). Thus, as regards the handling of deceased bodies, as with other aspects of mortuary treatment discussed in this chapter, the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic was characterized both by remarkable variability and by a commonly chosen, but far from ubiquitous, mode of treatment.

One of the most interesting aspects of mortuary variation across the region is the phenomenon of multiple inhumations (i.e., graves with more than one occupant, including double and triple graves, and one with eight individuals), which are not infrequent, although single inhumation graves are decidedly more numerous. In their survey of the later Mesolithic population of the island of Zealand in Denmark, Meiklejohn, Brinch Petersen, and Alexandersen ask:

> There is also the intriguing question of the multiple burials: who was the main person in these burials? What was the relationship of this person to the others, and why were they all buried together? (Meiklejohn et al., 1998: 206)

Although the second part of this query makes sense—the relationship between the interred individuals comprises the central issue, as this would likely explain the simultaneous inhumation multiple bodies—the first part of the query may inadvertently and inappropriately project contemporary values into the Mesolithic. I suggest that the assumption that there must be a "main person" in these multiple person graves may or may not have been intelligible to those who interred the deceased. From our contemporary perspective, where we take both individualism and social hierarchy for granted (Tilley, 1996: 61), the question can appear inevitable.

Meiklejohn, Brinch Petersen, and Alexandersen are not alone in making this assumption. Strassburg's (1997) analysis of the well-known eight-person grave at the site of Strøby Egede (just south of modern Copenhagen) is based upon this assumption—the remarkable thing about his analysis is that the candidate for the "main person" is the oldest woman in the grave. This is remarkable because candidates for the position generally seem to be men, if a male candidate is available. In fact, I suggest that the search for a candidate for the position of "main person" not only projects the idea of social hierarchy onto the past, it also tends to reproduce versions of contemporary social hierarchies within the past. This is the reason why Strassburg's nomination of a woman beyond childbearing as "main person" was a self-consciously radical analytical assertion. Nevertheless, I believe that it is important, especially in deep prehistoric contexts, to pose—and not assume we already know the answer to—the fundamental question of whether considerations related to social hierarchies necessarily govern or influence issues such as who is buried with whom.

Furthermore, it is important to question whether, and to what extent, a contemporary ideology of individualism can help us to understand processes that produced multiple burials. In a number of ethnographically documented cultural contexts, the dead—or at least some of them—may "lose" their individuality postmortem (Humphreys, 1981: 10). Thus it seems reasonable to propose that familial and/or group affiliations might have been more important than differential statuses in making such decisions.

Moreover, sheer chance could certainly produce a chronological clustering of deaths of unrelated or distantly related individuals, who might have been considered eligible for similar mortuary treatments. For example, seasonality could help explain some of the multiple inhumations, as the difficulties involved in digging grave pits when the ground freezes during winter in northern latitudes might give rise to the practice of storing bodies until the ground thaws (Rosemary Joyce, personal communication).

Another interesting aspect of mortuary diversity is the use of wood products associated with several burials. At Skateholm II, for instance, there are two burials in which chemical analysis has established traces of decomposed wood, which have been hypothesized as wood linings for the grave pits, rather than coffins, as that word is usually construed (Nilsson, 1998: 11–12). A remarkably well preserved example of a similar, yet not identical sort of treatment—the deceased was enclosed, above and below, within layers of wood bark—is the grave from the site of Korsør Nor (Norling-Christensen and Bröste, 1945). The pit-burials of children on wooden "plates" constitute another form of mortuary treatment using wood (Brinch Petersen, 1990; Brinch Petersen et al., 1993; Meiklejohn et al., 1998).

Perhaps most striking with regard to the use of wood products—and the association with the sea as well—is the "boat burial" from the underwater site of Møllegabet II (Grøn and Skaarup, 1991). In this case, the deceased was buried in the badly burnt rear part of a dugout canoe, which was placed in what at the time would have been shallow water close to the coastline, and held in place by stakes thrust into the mud. The body appears to have been at least partly wrapped in, or covered by, sheets of bark. A row of large boulders adjacent to the boat were deliberately placed, and may have served as stepping-stones from the shore to the burial. Several artifacts, including antlers and a possible double-bladed paddle, appear to have been associated with the grave. This burial could be interpreted as being congruent with Zvelebil's (1997: 38) assertion of the importance within the ritual landscape of water/ the sea, and of passage to the "sea of the deceased" or of "burial beyond the water" as expressed within the northern Eurasian hunter-gatherer cosmology/ideology, for which he posits a *longue durée*.

In addition to the intentional mortuary treatments of humans, the Skateholm grave fields contained ten separate dog burials, as compared with 77 human interments (Larsson, 1990a; Larsson, 1990c). In addition, dogs co-occur with human interments in seven cases. Even within the class of canine mortuary treatments,

there was considerable diversity. One of the separate dog burials was richly furnished, which is remarkable given the fact that so many of the human burials at Skateholm contained no grave goods at all. In another of the canine burials red ochre was strewn over the corpse, in a fashion similar to the treatments of most human burials in the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic. At the opposite end of the scale, at least two dogs were apparently killed and thrown into a human grave in the process of refilling, and further evidence of the occurrence of single skeletal canine parts in the filling in human graves suggests that the animal(s) could have been dismembered (Larsson, 1990a: 156–7). And dogs have been found not just at Skateholm, but at sites in Denmark as well (Brinch Petersen, 1990). Hence the role of the dog in a "symbolic language" of southern Scandinavian Mesolithic mortuary practice may have had several aspects: the dog as an individual in its own right, possibly with gradations of prestige accorded thereto; as a "stand-in" or placeholder for a human being; as a companion to a deceased person; and as a sacrificial object, the role of which was connected with rituals associated with grave refilling (Larsson, 1990a). Moreover, as with boat burials, canine burials may be interpretable within the framework of the northern Eurasian hunter-gatherer cosmology/ideology proposed by Zvelebil, in which water and creatures associated with water (e.g., waterfowl) play crucial roles.

A new technique of taphonomic mortuary analysis "imported" from France to Scandinavia (*anthropologie de terrain*) has been applied by Nilsson (1998) to the Skateholm II burials. This technique uses taphonomic principles to infer the state of the human remains and the structure of the grave at the time of the burial, offering a rigorous archaeological approach for reconstructing the original position of bodies, the arrangement of clothing and grave goods, and the overall architecture of the grave. As applied at Skateholm II, the technique has allowed the identification of some details of grave composition that had not previously been recognized, including the placement of perishable grave goods. For example, the detection of "external secondary empty spaces" has been inferred as revealing the presence of materials of organic composition next to the corpse, which in the process of rapid decomposition and soil infilling had disturbed the distribution and orientation of skeletal elements in the grave. This information complements the reports of finds of fish bones adjacent to bodies in a number of graves at Skateholm (Larsson 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984b), and these finds remind us of the existence of lost information from materials that have not preserved in graves.

The aspect of southern Scandinavian Mesolithic mortuary diversity that may have received the most attention is the "puzzle" of richly furnished child graves, which are not an uncommon phenomenon (Meiklejohn et al., 1998). In many multiple graves with both infants and adult bodies present, the infant was provided with the richest set of (nonperishable) grave goods. Some researchers argue that a system of ascribed status would account for the association of presumably high

prestige grave goods with individuals who could not yet have achieved high status through personal effort (e.g., Newell and Constandse-Westermann, 1988), although this argument has not been widely accepted (e.g., Larsson, 1993). Other plausible explanations for this phenomenon exist, e.g., the bestowal by grieving survivors of grave goods (Tarlow, 1999) might be constrained by societal expectations regarding the appropriate recipient of rich funerary items in graves where both adults and non-adults are present. Or this phenomenon could derive from some aspect of burial ritual unrelated to the social persona(s) of the deceased. For example, it might be understood that helpless children/infants "need" tools that non-adults do not require, or can produce for themselves in the afterlife. The key principle to remember is that there is no necessarily straightforward or inevitable correlation between mortuary treatment and the social persona of the deceased.

In summary, mortuary practices in the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic demonstrate an extraordinary diversity. Moreover, evidence from the burial sites around the vanished fjord of Vedbaek north of Copenhagen seems to support the view that diversity in burial patterns extends throughout the middle and late Mesolithic periods that are the subject of this chapter (Meiklejohn et al., 1998: 205). Given the coarseness of present levels of archaeological resolution for this period, we cannot rule out the possibility of waxing and waning styles of mortuary behavior within the period (i.e., Kroeber, 1927), such that various practices might have succeeded one another, instead of being practiced contemporaneously. Nonetheless, at present it would appear that the claims for mortuary diversity throughout the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic are well supported by the available evidence.

While this characterization of diversity in mortuary practices is helpful to understanding an important aspect of the organization of cultural practices in this time and place, it would be desirable to be able to more concretely quantify this diversity. For example, it would be helpful to be able to compare the numbers of burials of intact bodies to the numbers of cremations. We might further wish to know if there were differences in the age or sex of inhumed versus cremated individuals, etc. Unfortunately, most such determinations remain beyond present capabilities. However, for a small but significant percentage of the human remains from this period, we can correlate a number of mortuary treatments with biological sex.

Gendered Patterns in Southern Scandinavian Mesolithic Mortuary Contexts

Human skeletal remains from more than 300 individuals have been recovered from the area and time period addressed in this chapter. Of these, the skeletal remains of only 85 individuals were sufficiently well-preserved and biologically old enough at death to permit osteological sexing with a degree of reliability[4]. Elsewhere I have conducted an analysis of statistical correlation between various

mortuary treatments and sexed individuals from southern Scandinavian Mesolithic graves (Schmidt, 2001). Three sites dominate the sample: from Skateholm I a total of 38 individuals could be osteologically sexed, from Skateholm II the number is 18 individuals, and from Vedbaek-Bøgebakken the number is 13—leaving just 16 individuals from other sites to fill out the full sample. Thus more than 80% (69 out of 85) of the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic mortuary sample examined derives from three sites within 80 km of one another, dating from a period of approximately half a millennium in length.

Using nominal scale variables of biological sex (male/female) and presence/absence of a list of mortuary traits in connection with each individual, I conducted chi-square tests to determine whether these traits were randomly distributed with respect to biological sex. The mortuary traits investigated included a variety of grave good types (stone tools, tooth "decorations," non-human bone tools, antler, axes of various materials), as well as other mortuary treatments such as bodily dispositions or posture (supine, hocker left side up, hocker right side up, sitting, etc.), compass orientations of bodies, and presence of ochre in graves generally, as well as associations of ochre with specific areas of bodies (e.g., head, chest, pelvic region, arms, legs). In addition to analyzing the largest sample of 85 sexed bodies, I also conducted chi-square tests on a variety of sub-samples, in part to confirm that patterns in the three largest grave field sites (Skateholm I, Skateholm II, and Vedbaek-Bøgebakken) would not introduce, or mask, patterns in the larger sample of which they each comprise a disproportionately large share, and further to confirm that patterns appearing in the larger sample reflect similar patterns in the sub-samples. This would also provide reassurance that the results obtained are not the product of "blurring" due to an inappropriate lumping together of non-contemporary data.

I can only summarize the findings from this analysis here, but this is a straightforward task, since I found that most mortuary characters are remarkably evenly distributed with regard to biological sex (Schmidt, 2001). Because of this consistency, in the summary below I report on a selected set of those mortuary characters.

As demonstrated in Table 2, the presence or absence of at least one grave good demonstrates no statistically significant correlation with biological sex, or to put it another way, I can assert with a level of confidence of 95% that grave goods were distributed between the sexes in a pattern that is consistent with the hypothesis that biological sex was not a factor that influenced whether an individual was furnished with at least one grave good. The presence or absence of at least one bone grave good provides an example where biological sex appears irrelevant to the distribution of a particular type of grave good (Table 3).

Tooth "jewelry" constitutes a particularly interesting and unexpected example of this pattern of even distribution. A common assertion in texts that describe mortuary behavior in the Scandinavian Mesolithic is the statement that, as decoration, teeth included as grave goods are most commonly associated with women,

Table 2. Grave Goods: Absence/Presence

	A	P	All
	15	28	43
F	34.88	65.12	100.00
	57.69	47.46	50.59
	13.15	29.85	43.00
	11	31	42
M	26.19	73.81	100.00
	42.31	52.54	49.41
	12.85	29.15	42.00
	26	59	85
All	30.59	69.41	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00
	26.00	59.00	85.00

Chi-Square = 0.756, DF = 1, P-Value = 0.384

Cell Contents: Count
% of Row
% of Column
Expected Frequency Count

Table 3. Bone: Absence/Presence

	A	P	All
	32	11	43
F	74.42	25.58	100.00
	50.00	52.38	50.59
	32	10	42
M	76.19	23.81	100.00
	50.00	47.62	49.41
	64	21	85
All	75.29	24.71	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Chi-Square = 0.036, DF = 1, P-Value = 0.850

Cell Contents: Count
% of Row
% of Column

Table 4. Teeth: Absence/Presence

	A	P	All
	30	13	43
F	69.77	30.23	100.00
	49.18	54.17	50.59
	31	11	42
M	73.81	26.19	100.00
	50.82	45.83	49.41
	61	24	85
All	71.76	28.24	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Chi-Square = 0.171, DF = 1, P-Value = 0.679

Cell Contents: Count
% of Row
% of Column

who are presumed to have valued them as a form of personal adornment (e.g., Larsson, 1990c, 1993), even though it has also been suggested that teeth could also have been used to mark familial or other group affiliations. Yet in the first contingency table to cross-classify biological sex with the presence or absence of at least one tooth as a grave good (Table 4), it is abundantly clear that this feature was absolutely evenly distributed with regard to biological sex.

However, it is true that some individuals were provided with an abundance of tooth grave goods (in several cases there were hundreds of teeth interred with an individual), while others were buried with just one, two, or a handful of teeth—a consideration that was invisible in this table, where all individuals provided with one or more teeth were lumped together. To test further the distribution of teeth as a grave good, I created Table 5, where the first column reports individuals provided with no teeth (absence), the second column reports individuals with between one and ten teeth, and the third column reports individuals with more than ten teeth. As is clear from a brief perusal of this table, we need not even look at the chi-square calculations to see the pattern of even distribution confirmed. The "common knowledge" among archaeologists of the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic about the association of females with teeth adornment is clearly incorrect.

Most mortuary behavior traits displayed a clear pattern of even distribution with respect to biological sex. This was true even for some characters that had been proposed for association with one or the other sex, such as an association between ochre and the female pelvis.

In only three cases was this pattern of even distribution challenged. Most prominently, in the case of Table 6 the calculated chi-square value of 14.979

Table 5. Tooth Frequency

	A	S	G	All
	30	6	7	43
F	69.77	13.95	16.28	100.00
	48.39	54.55	58.33	50.59
	32	5	5	42
M	76.19	11.90	11.90	100.00
	51.61	45.45	41.67	49.41
	62	11	12	85
All	72.94	12.94	14.12	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Chi-Square = 0.477, DF = 2, P-Value = 0.788

Cell Contents: Count
% of Row
% of Column

Note: A = 0 teeth; S = 1–10 teeth; G = 10 teeth

Table 6. Stone Tools: Absence/Presence

	A	P	All
	35	8	43
F	81.40	18.60	100.00
	67.31	24.24	50.59
	17	25	42
M	40.48	59.52	100.00
	32.69	75.76	49.41
	52	33	85
All	61.18	38.82	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Chi-Square = 14.979, DF = 1, P-Value = 0.000

Cell Contents: Count
% of Row
% of Column

exceeds the relevant tabular value of 3.8416, indicating that we must accept the hypothesis that the presence/absence of at least one stone tool demonstrates a statistically significant pattern of correlation with biological sex. Males were more likely, and females less likely, to have been provided with at least one stone tool in

southern Scandinavian Mesolithic graves. It must be pointed out that this pattern of correlation is far from absolute. In fact, only three-fifths of males were furnished with at least one stone tool, while roughly one fifth of females were so furnished.

Another trait that challenged the general pattern of even distribution was the presence/absence of axes (of three material types: antler, chipped stone, and ground stone). Nearly one quarter of biological males were provided with at least one axe, while no biological females had an axe. Because the entire population is small (N=85), and this was a trait of relatively low incidence—only 12% of all individuals had at least one axe—a mathematical confirmation of statistical significance is not feasible. Nevertheless I suggest that this pattern is an unequivocal challenge to a pattern of even distribution of axes.

As indicated above, it is important to consider the possibility that the patterns (or lack of patterns, for the most part) discerned for the entire southern Scandinavian Mesolithic may be an artifact of "blurring" produced by collapsing non-contemporary data into a single data set. To check for this, I conducted chi-square tests for several sub-samples of the entire data set, including individual tests of the three largest sites: Skateholm I plus II, and Skateholm I, Skateholm II, and Vedbaek-Bøgebakken each individually. Tables 7–10 analyze the presence/absence of at least one tooth grave good for these four specific sites, and the reported results are representative of other mortuary characters found to be evenly distributed for the entire southern Scandinavian Mesolithic sample.

Although the chi-square test of the sample including Skateholm I & II only (Table 7) is the sole test whose sample size facilitates a mathematically reliable test of significance, I submit that the data in the other three individual site samples (Tables 8–10) faithfully reproduce just the same (lack of) patterning as we find in the full southern Scandinavian Mesolithic sample. When considering stone tool distributions (Tables 11–14), we can discern a similar relationship between the full southern Scandinavian Mesolithic sample and four site-specific subsamples (albeit reversed in the sense that with stone tools there does exist a statistically significant pattern of distribution with regard to biological sex).

Once again, we see that the patterns of the site subsamples reproduce the pattern in the entire Mesolithic sample, for both those tests with a sufficiently large sample size for statistical reliability, as well as for tests with smaller sample sizes. Thus the analyses of both the teeth and stone tool subsamples support the analyses presented above for the entire southern Scandinavian Mesolithic mortuary population.

In summary, while most mortuary characters were remarkably evenly distributed between the sexes in southern Scandinavian Mesolithic graves, in several cases we do find a pattern of distribution that correlates to a significant degree with biological sex. In light of these findings, and the overall pattern of diversity in forms of mortuary behavior, what conclusions can be articulated with regard to the contribution of gender to categories of identity in this time and place?

Table 7. Teeth (Skateholm I and II Only): Absence/Presence

	A	P	All
F	21	7	28
	75.00	25.00	100.00
	51.22	46.67	50.00
M	20	8	28
	71.43	28.57	100.00
	48.78	53.33	50.00
All	41	15	56
	73.21	26.79	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Chi-Square = 0.091, DF = 1, P-Value = 0.763

Cell Contents: Count
% of Row
% of Column

Table 8. Teeth (Skateholm I Only): Absence/Presence

	A	P	All
F	15	4	19
	78.95	21.05	100.00
	50.00	50.00	50.00
M	15	4	19
	78.95	21.05	100.00
	50.00	50.00	50.00
All	30	8	38
	78.95	21.05	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Chi-Square = 0.000, DF = 1, P-Value = 1.000
2 cells with expected counts less than 5.0

Cell Contents: Count
% of Row
% of Column

Table 9. Teeth (Skateholm II Only): Absence/Presence

	A	P	All
F	6	3	9
	66.67	33.33	100.00
	54.55	42.86	50.00
M	5	4	9
	55.56	44.44	100.00
	45.45	57.14	50.00
All	11	7	18
	61.11	38.89	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Chi-Square = 0.234, DF = 1, P-Value = 0.629
2 cells with expected counts less than 5.0

Cell Contents: Count
% of Row
% of Column

Table 10. Teeth (Vedbaek-Bøgebakken Only): Absence/Presence

	A	P	All
M	5	2	7
	71.43	28.57	100.00
	50.00	66.67	53.85
F	5	1	6
	83.33	16.67	100.00
	50.00	33.33	46.15
All	10	3	13
	76.92	23.08	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Chi-Square = 0.258, DF = 1, P-Value = 0.612
3 cells with expected counts less than 5.0

Cell Contents: Count
% of Row
% of Column

Table 11. Stone Tools (Skateholm I and II Only): Presence/Absence

	A	P	All
F	25	3	28
	89.29	10.71	100.00
	67.57	15.79	50.00
M	12	16	28
	42.86	57.14	100.00
	32.43	84.21	50.00
All	37	19	56
	66.07	33.93	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Chi-Square = 13.462, DF = 1, P-Value = 0.000

Cell Contents: Count
% of Row
% of Column

Table 12. Stone Tools (Skateholm I Only): Presence/Absence

	A	P	All
F	18	1	19
	94.74	5.26	100.00
	62.07	11.11	50.00
M	11	8	19
	57.89	42.11	100.00
	37.93	88.89	50.00
All	29	9	38
	76.32	23.68	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Chi-Square = 7.134, DF = 1, P-Value = 0.008
2 cells with expected counts less than 5.0

Cell Contents: Count
% of Row
% of Column

Table 13. Stone Tools (Skateholm II Only): Absence/Presence

	A	P	All
F	7	2	9
	77.78	22.22	100.00
	87.50	20.00	50.00
M	1	8	9
	11.11	88.89	100.00
	12.50	80.00	50.00
All	8	10	18
	44.44	55.56	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Chi-Square = 8.100, DF = 1, P-Value = 0.004
2 cells with expected counts less than 5.0

Cell Contents: Count
% of Row
% of Column

Table 14. Stone Tools (Vedbaek-Bøgebakken Only): Absence/Presence

	A	P	All
F	6	0	6
	100.00	—	100.00
	75.00	—	46.15
M	2	5	7
	28.57	71.43	100.00
	25.00	100.00	53.85
All	8	5	13
	61.54	38.46	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Chi-Square = 6.964, DF = 1, P-Value = 0.008
4 cells with expected counts less than 5.0

Cell Contents: Count
% of Row
% of Column

Interpretations

In the first place, it is important to be clear that biological sex categories do not necessarily equate with emic sex or gender categories. Moreover, on the basis of the evidence presented above, I do not believe that it is possible to support a strong argument for the presence of a prescribed number of emic sex or gender categories in the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic. The same applies to characterizations of the degree of mutability of sex/gender categories in this context. We simply do not yet know enough to support hypotheses that would represent a significant advance beyond speculation about these matters (but informed speculation has its place—see the next section).

This need not constitute cause for pessimism, because the situation could easily change as new types of evidence become available. For example, as DNA sexing of Mesolithic skeletal materials become available, we may discover gendered patterns in the ways that sub-adult individuals were treated, or others who could not previously be sexed osteologically. Or, as the sample of Mesolithic graves continues to grow in the future, larger sample sizes may facilitate analyses that are infeasible today. In sum, I am optimistic that such new evidence may support specific hypotheses about sex/gender categories in this context.

Moreover, I believe that there is presently sufficient evidence to characterize the general constitution of the sex/gender system of the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic as compared with other societies. I suggest that, in comparison with the "intensity" of the sex/gender system of the West in the twentieth century, the sex/gender system of the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic can be characterized as displaying a lower level of intensity. I submit that the low profile of sex/gender categories is suggested by the remarkably even distribution of most mortuary traits with regard to etically-determined biological sex. While biological sex cannot inflexibly determine sex/gender categories, neither is biological sex irrelevant to these categories. For the archaeologist it remains the best entrée to emic sex/gender categories in many if not most prehistoric contexts. So the pattern of even distribution of most mortuary characters with regard to biological sex constitutes support for the low prominence of sex/gender issues in this culture.

This point is reinforced by comparison with the remarkable range of mortuary practices we find in the Mesolithic data. Given the broad scope of the palette or repertoire of mortuary treatments "available" for expression, one is struck by the narrow scope of sex/gender categorical information being conveyed in graves[5]. This contrast underscores the impression of a low level of sex/gender intensity in southern Scandinavian Mesolithic culture.

Even those aspects of mortuary behavior that correlate with biological sex—stone tools and axes—display patterns of distribution that are far from being absolute or inflexible associations. Certainly the situation in the Mesolithic is very different than in most subsequent periods of European prehistory and history,

where we see much higher levels of correlation between biological sex and various types of mortuary treatments.

Thus, comparisons with mortuary practices in subsequent periods of European history and prehistory suggest two things: 1) that overall levels of mortuary diversity were greater in the Mesolithic than during those later periods, and 2) that levels of correlation of mortuary treatments with biological sex were lower during the Scandinavian Mesolithic than during later periods. Together, these comparisons strongly suggest a lower level of sex/gender intensity during this period as compared with subsequent periods.

Two additional lines of evidence can be construed as being consistent with an interpretation of lower sex/gender intensity in the Scandinavian Mesolithic. The first of these refers to the phenomenon of sexual dimorphism. Although relatively few of the physiological differences between males and females that manifest within living bodies can be measured in skeletal remains, one straightforward way to measure sexual dimorphism in our species, and in primates generally, is via stature or height. Modern human male stature ranges between 104% and 111% of female stature (Stini, 1985). When using this criterion, sexual dimorphism throughout Mesolithic Europe (Frayer, 1980, 1981; Meiklejohn et al., 1984), as well as specifically within Mesolithic southern Scandinavia (Bennike, 1985; Meiklejohn et al., 1998), was lower than during previous as well as all subsequent periods, including the modern period. In other words, female stature was proportionally closer to male stature during the Mesolithic than what we find for our own period, and all periods subsequent to the Mesolithic.

There are a variety of mechanisms that could account for such a finding. One such mechanism refers to the propensity of bony tissue to be modeled and modified by functional stresses. In other words, levels and types of activities can leave traces upon bones (Stini, 1985: 221), because as bodily tissue, bone is adapted throughout development and during adulthood so as to efficiently resist mechanical forces to which it is subjected (Larsen, 1981: 489). Thus the human skeleton can be seen as a dynamic, complex system that responds to a variety of challenges throughout the lifespan. This perspective supports the contention that differential patterns of physical activity within a population may be related to divisions of labor within that population, divisions that may or may not be related to sex/gender status. For example, Hollimon (1991, 1996, 1997) has documented skeletal health consequences of sex/gender based differential patterns of activity for the prehistoric Chumash people in southern California.

A plausible explanation for this pattern of reduced sexual dimorphism in the Mesolithic is that patterns of activity of both females and males may have more closely resembled one another than during any other time period. To put it another way, the division of labor between females and males may have been less marked during the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic than during other periods. It must be stressed that there are several other mechanisms that could account for the pattern

of reduced sexual dimorphism that characterizes the Mesolithic (Schmidt, 2001: 191–200). Nevertheless, this intriguing possibility cannot be ruled out, and it does fit nicely with the proposed pattern of low sex/gender diversity in the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic.

An additional line of evidence that is consistent with the hypothesis of low sex/gender intensity during this period derives from representational evidence or "art" of the period. Nash (1998) has noted a marked decline of anthropomorphic representations on portable art during the Kongemose and Ertebølle periods, as compared with the previous Maglemose period. Although it could by no stretch of the imagination serve as a crucial line of evidence, I suggest that the absence of depictions of the human body during this period is at least consistent with the hypothesis of low sex/gender intensity.

Neither of these two supplementary lines of evidence can be persuasive in themselves. They gain meaning from their context, such that they are understood to supplement the mortuary evidence and analysis presented here. In summary, they are consistent with an interpretation of low sex/gender intensity for the Scandinavian Mesolithic, as compared with our contemporary high sex/gender intensity culture.

Speculations

Is it possible to go further in characterizing gender in the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic, and its effects upon identity formation? Even if I cannot present additional well-supported conclusions about gender in this time and place, there remain certain intriguing issues within the above analysis that deserve further mention. These considerations may offer starting points for further research.

One of the more interesting facets of southern Scandinavian Mesolithic mortuary variability—one that is only mentioned in passing above, due to the necessary focus upon individuals who can be more of less reliably sexed osteologically—is the not infrequent circumstance whereby infants would be provided with various forms of material wealth, to a degree rarely seen with adults. These goods often include a large flint blade, something that infants clearly could not have used in their short lives. As DNA sexing of sub-adults becomes available, we can hope to determine how infants and the young may (or may not) have been seen to participate in gender in mortuary practice. If we were to find, for example, a statistically significant correlation with biological sex whereby male infants were more likely to provided with flint blades than female infants—a situation essentially reproducing the correlation between stone tools as grave goods and osteologically-sexed adults—we could interpret this finding as being congruent with the hypothesis that gender was a consistent factor across the entire social field in the Mesolithic.

On the other hand, combining DNA sexing of sub-adults with sexing of adult skeletons not amenable to osteological sexing may provide sufficient information to examine the mutability of gender with respect to age grade transitions.

To modify the previous example, if we were to find no pattern of correlation between sexed infants and flint blades, or stone tools more generally, and in addition we were to find a similar pattern of no correlation with an expanded sample of sexed adults aged 60 or older (expansion is desirable because in the sample of 85 osteologically-sexed adults or near-adults referred to in this chapter, only 5 individuals were 60 years or older, and this number is simply too small from which to draw any conclusions), we might argue that gender was a socially relevant consideration only with relation to child-bearing. Various permutations might account for such results. We might infer a system of prescribed mutability of gender across age grades (gender neutral infancy to fully gendered adulthood to gender neutral old age), or even a system where gender would be a matter of individual choice and/or attainment for qualified adults, with infants and the elderly being gendered neutral.

A final point worth considering is the question of the one-fifth of adult females in the current sample who were provided with at least one stone tool—and the two-fifths of males who had no stone tool grave good. While there are a huge number of hypotheses that we could generate to account for this pattern, I will mention just two. Perhaps the most straightforward hypothesis is that there was no rigidly defined and prescribed division of labor in the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic. From this perspective, something like one-fifth of biologically female-bodied persons (of whatever gender) pursued specialized activities culturally associated with stone tool creation and/or use, and about three-fifths of biologically male-bodied persons (of whatever gender) also pursued those activities.

An alternative scenario would hold that a culturally defined division of labor did exist in southern Scandinavian Mesolithic society, organized along gender lines. In this case, we could hypothesize the existence of four or more genders, where gender would have been at least partially defined by patterns of labor. More specifically, we would posit at least two genders for female-bodied persons, one of which would be associated with stone tool creation and/or use. Similarly with male-bodied persons, we would posit at least two genders, one being associated with stone tool creation and/or use. This gender system could have been organized in ways congruent with the gender organization of ethnographically described northern Eurasian groups (Schmidt, 2000; Zvelebil, 1993, 1998), or of native North American groups (Roscoe 1994, 1998), where gender is defined not solely by anatomy, but also by a suite of other factors, as described above. Moreover, such a gender system need not be incompatible with the hypothesis advocated in this chapter of the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic being a culture characterized by low sex/gender intensity, because the number of sex/gender categories in a cultural context has no necessary relationship with sex/gender intensity of cultural systems as I define it here. In fact, sex/gender intensity would be lower for a gender system with overlap between cultural definitions of gender categories, as could be the case for this admittedly speculative scenario.

Conclusions

I am suggesting in this chapter that sex/gender statuses and categories were not as central to the formation of personal identity in southern Scandinavian Mesolithic society as such statuses and categories have been in our own society. In a sense, I am arguing that sex/gender statuses and categories were less "important" in the Scandinavian Mesolithic than we take them to be in the twenty-first century. It is difficult for us to imagine this, given that we are products of a culture that tends to privilege sex/gender over other aspects of identity formation. The first piece of information customarily asked about a newborn child is its sex/gender. But this particular question may not have the cross-cultural universality that we have been used to assuming it must have.

Let me be clear that I do not mean to say that Mesolithic Scandinavians failed to notice external physiological differences between human bodies. Nor do I imagine that they failed to find meaning in those differences. I am instead suggesting that these differences were accorded meaning and significance in ways that modern people would at times find unfamiliar. This could manifest as nothing more complicated than a different mix of ingredients of identity, where sex/gender would simply be another ingredient in a list of ingredients.

Joyce (2000a) has found it useful to employ Paul Connerton's distinction between embodied and inscribed practices. Embodied practices are sensually and individually experienced; inscribed practices are shared as social, conscious, symbolic practices that have longer-lasting representations (Stark, 2003). From this perspective, sex and gender are ingredients in both the repetitive activities of daily life, and in the repetitive activities of special events such as funerals. I argue in this chapter that the ways in which sex and gender were inscribed in mortuary evidence suggest that the meanings attached to the practices that created, maintained and regulated personal identities in the Mesolithic would be unfamiliar to us in at least some fundamental ways, particularly in the contribution of sex/gender categories to identity.

Maintaining sensitivity to cultural differences in the past is an indispensable aspect of the practice of archaeology, for if we fail to cultivate this trait we will only ever see twisted reflections of ourselves in the archaeological record. The practice of seeking to understand the lives of people in the past can illuminate aspects of our own identities that we have taken for granted and failed to explore. This feature alone validates the practice of archaeology as relevant to our lives today.

Notes

1. This term was introduced by Rubin (1975) and is one that I have argued elsewhere (Schmidt, 2000) is particularly helpful for prehistoric archaeological contexts where the constitution of sex and gender categories cannot be presumed prior to analysis, but must be investigated. In circumstances where written evidence can supplement archaeological evidence, it may prove feasible to disentangle sex

and gender to some extent. But in prehistoric contexts where written evidence is unavailable, this term reminds us that sex and gender interpenetrate one another, and our interpretations cannot dismiss either factor when attempting to characterize the other.

2. Sea levels were rising due to the melting of glacial ice during the early Holocene, while the retreat of glacial ice sheets from southern Scandinavia—with the resulting absence of the fantastic weight of the ice—caused land levels to rise in the process known as 'isostatic rebound.' The interactions of these processes created an extraordinarily dynamic relationship between land and sea during this period. As a result, the Baltic Sea did not exist prior to the middle of the Mesolithic period. Scandinavian researchers have done remarkable work in documenting the intricacies of the interactions of these processes.
3. Which is not to say that inland resources were ignored; the point is that the marine contribution as a percentage of total resource usage increased markedly.
4. Osteological sexing of the southern Scandinavian Mesolithic population is a complex topic whose parameters I can only sketch here. As a rule, only adult individuals can be osteologically sexed, and certain skeletal elements (most prominently, the pelvis) are more reliably informative than others. Before large numbers of individuals began to be found in the last quarter of the twentieth century, the general skeletal robusticity of this population was insufficiently appreciated, leading to a tendency to misidentify some females as males. However, as the differences between modern and Scandinavian Mesolithic human populations have become better understood, we can have a reasonable degree of confidence in the sexing of the individuals included in the study under discussion. Moreover, an aspect of my previous study (Schmidt, 2001) tends to confirm that this confidence is not misplaced.
5. It is of course also possible that sex/gender information was being conveyed via media that have not preserved for archaeological examination.

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Chapter 6

Identity Politics

Personhood, Kinship, Gender and Power in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Britain

CHRIS FOWLER

Introduction

In this chapter I review the potential diversity of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age identities in Britain, by placing those aspects of identity currently represented in the archaeological literature within a comparative anthropological context. Rather than singling out one arena of identity such as gender or ethnicity, I address several intersecting features of human societies that archaeologists have tried to account for in understanding Neolithic and Early Bronze Age identities: status, kinship, age, sex and gender, and personhood. These are all interrelated in culturally specific ways, yet are often treated as distinct yet equally interchangeable categories of identity. I begin by tracing the development of studies of identity in this field from the 1970s onwards. In the first phase of research increased proliferation of material forms was seen as indicative of increasing cultural complexity and the emergence of important individuals in hereditary positions of power, such as chiefs. From the 1980s onwards the early Bronze Age was perceived as a time when traditional community organization gave way under pressure from individuals able to occupy key positions in the exchange networks conveying prestigious goods due to personal

alliances and/or lineage membership. In both cases an imperative to acquire enduring personal status is arguably assumed as the key motivational force in prehistoric social politics, and the acquisition of material culture interpreted as evidence for the accumulation of "wealth" and individual prestige. In place of this, I suggest a different emphasis on how the politics of identity can be interpreted. I argue that while past deposits can be interpreted as citations of identity, each citation should be understood as a transformation of existing identities at a community level. These can be seen as attempts to temporarily accentuate particular features of identity, rather than to simply reflect a fixed individual identity of a deceased person. Since identities are never truly fixed, it would also be unreasonable to expect archaeological identification of such identities. Temporarily moving away from attempts to locate identity groups (e.g. *elites*, men or women), I suggest that emphasis on strategies of interaction, transformation and the manipulation of substances with differing values provide a fruitful means to conceptualize the major issues in the negotiation of prehistoric identities. These are best approached, I argue, through a recognition of how different forms of personhood and social relations provide frames and motivations for social action.

Introducing Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Identities

The earliest British Neolithic evidence dates from around 4000 BC, including plain round-bottomed bowls, wooden mortuary enclosures or chambers, earthen mounds particularly in eastern parts of the country, and chambered stone cairns in the west. Around 3600 BC large circular spaces with incomplete courses of ditches—causewayed enclosures—were built, most frequently in the south and east, and some pottery was decorated. Activities at enclosures and other monuments frequently involved the comparable deposition of cattle bones, material culture and sometimes disarticulated human remains. Burial mounds from this period covered fewer burials, some of cattle and pig remains, often now left intact and inaccessible. By 3000 BC henge monuments—tightly defined circular spaces hemmed with ditches and banks, timber circles, and palisaded enclosures were being built. Gatherings at these sites, and at older monuments, often involved the deposition of decorated Peterborough wares, Grooved wares, and pig bones. By 3000 BC and through to around 1500 BC single burials, some of inhumations, some of cremated remains, were increasingly frequent, and by c. 2400 BC these were usually accompanied by ceramic beakers, some with fine metalwork and stonework, and sometimes covered with round earthen barrows. Stone circles gradually replaced timber circles, although henges and older monuments either remained in use or were re-used in new ways, including the insertion of human remains. Throughout, the bodies of the majority of the dead were not buried and are largely invisible in terms of an archaeological record.

This historical trajectory was interpreted in social evolutionary terms during the 1970s when studies tended to focus on regions with the richest sets of remains (e.g. Renfrew, 1973; 1979). Within the Wessex region an increase in single burials of intact corpses with rich grave goods buried in small barrows, the disappearance of monuments used to bury the fragmented remains of the dead communally, and increasingly visible personal ornamentation of the dead body have been interpreted as evidence that individual identities of a powerful elite became extremely significant during the later Neolithic and particularly the early Bronze Age (e.g. Clarke et al., 1985: ch. 4). Such perspectives hold that the period as a whole saw an increase in the emphasis on individual identity and the autonomy of male heads of lineage or chiefs controlling resources (like gold, copper and bronze) valued for their intrinsic properties (Renfrew, 1973). The implication of Renfrew's reading of later Neolithic chiefdoms emerging out of loose-knit tribes or clans, and those chiefdoms eventually shifting from "group-orientated chiefdoms" to "individualizing chiefdoms" (Renfrew, 1979), is that this florescence of a heavily individualized self was restricted to a social minority over a relatively long period of time (cf. Piggott, 1938: 52). By the end of the 1970s, the conventional model began with a period of relative egalitarianism among clan members in the earlier Neolithic, followed by hierarchically arranged lineages in the later Neolithic, finally supplanted by influential *elite* groups of autonomous powerful early Bronze Age individuals, implicitly male, and explicitly in control of the centralized exchange of prestigious goods.

Hierarchy and Élites

Recognizing that styles of material culture do not simply reflect pre-existing forms of identity, Neolithic specialists since the 1970s have sought to develop subtle understandings of how material culture was mobilized in the political negotiation of identity. During the early 1980s several models were forwarded that explained the development of the British Neolithic in terms of ideological struggles between different social factions. For instance, Shennan (1982) argued that the earlier Neolithic in Britain was characterized by communal burial practices which were part of an ideological movement masking the true inequalities of status among the living (cf. Shanks and Tilley, 1982). Towards the end of the Neolithic rich "single" burials predominated as the ideological mechanism employed by those of higher status shifted towards the reification of power in their persons (cf. Renfrew's "individualizing chiefdoms"). In effect, the source of authentication for social order had swung from appeal to ancestral powers through communal ritual activity towards the objectification of power in specific individuals or social sub-groups. This latter form of power relations was naturalized through exchange and displays of prestigious goods, including the burial of aesthetically

impressive and symbolically significant objects along with the corpses of members of the *elite* community. Personal power was evident in the fully adorned body of the *elite* corpse.

The idea that both earlier and later Neolithic identities were subject to and part of ideological mechanisms for the attainment or maintenance of power was echoed by Bradley (1982) and Shanks and Tilley (1982), and taken up by Thorpe and Richards (1984) and Thomas (1984), among others. Thorpe and Richards argued that in Yorkshire social competition between lineages drove a prestige goods economy. This economy required ever increasing numbers of stone tools during the mid and later Neolithic (including Cumbrian axes), and led to a proliferation of artifact styles and materials. Since the goods involved in this economy could never be fully controlled by these *elites*, they sought to introduce new prestigious goods to combat the devaluation of previous ones. In effect, the prestige goods would trickle down the social hierarchy and become more widely available, while newer and more exotic items would enter the economy at the top of the scale (see also Bradley 1982; 1984: 46–57, 72). Thorpe and Richards argue that this explains the rapid adoption of Beaker artifacts at the end of the Neolithic. Furthermore, since "active" prestige goods economies like this were taken to be mutually exclusive to "static" ritual authority structures (Thorpe and Richards 1984: 68), they argue that the presence of this economy—and mode of power relations—explains the relative absence of communal monuments and Grooved Ware assemblages in Yorkshire, and the rapid adoption of new prestige goods in the region. By contrast, they observe that lineages vying for position in the Wessex area drew predominantly on communal rituals as a means of legitimization. Towards the end of the Neolithic prestige goods economies increasingly permeated this system, evidenced by the increased incidence of Beakers in a range of deposits including single burials. The large henges built and used at the end of the Neolithic and into the early Bronze Age were described as attempts by some lineages to reassert their hegemony in response to this threat (ibid.: 79). In both regions Thorpe and Richards present a picture of the demise of traditional ancestrally-orientated societies at the hands of "big men" competing for the control of a prestigious goods economy that undermined the existing ritual order.

However, we could question the exclusivity of these two systems—the real issue is the nature of prestige and how it is acquired (Friedman and Rowlands, 1977). The kind of stable or static ritual authority that Thorpe and Richards outline is perhaps best characterized in societies which practice gift exchanges by the control of sacred objects as distinct from prestigious objects (Godelier, 1999). Godelier argues that prestigious objects can be given away by a person or community where sacred things cannot, only their effects can be socially redistributed. Yet prestigious objects are themselves only a step removed from the sacred—they contain spiritual essences, are inalienable from the relations between people (and people and place, etc), and in giving them away people also give a part of

themselves, that which is owed to others through social debts (Mauss 1990: 46). The circulation of such goods (and even mere commodities) may itself be a key ritual activity, and while a different politics to that of systems of inherited ritual authority *may* underlie such activity a wide range of different political systems can be observed in prestige goods economies. Prestigious goods and ritual authority may have been heavily intertwined in the past. Communal ritual activities from the earlier Neolithic relied heavily on prestigious goods and materials—the array of exotic and distinctive plain and decorated bowls, sickles and another fine products recovered from Windmill Hill, for instance, may support this view. Equally, the exchange of prestige goods in the later Neolithic may have been highly ritualized.

The ritual authority structure outlined by Thorpe and Richards (1994: 68) is one based on lineage and therefore claims to lines of inheritance. Such claims are themselves contentious and open to dispute. In Thorpe and Richards' scheme we see the collapse of such a structure when it is faced with a prestige goods economy: perhaps a shift from a situation like Polynesian ranked societies with hereditary ritual authority to a "big man" system like that prevalent in parts of Melanesia. While this is reverses Renfrew's scheme for the replacement of early Neolithic communal ritual authority with inherited lines of status in the later Neolithic, both models invoke the emergence of individual status for a special elite during the early Bronze Age. Both accounts leave us with a picture of the emergence of individuals with great personal power, the nature of which has not yet been fully considered.

Nonetheless these seminal approaches from the early 1980s demonstrate that there were many different social mechanisms through which power relations and identities were negotiated, and illustrate how the same material culture may be deployed in alternative strategies of identification. They also suggest that power relations and forms of social identity in the Neolithic were at least potentially unstable. Any claims to power made through bodily presentation and prestige good exchange in the early Bronze Age were arguably as unstable as those focused on the construction and use of large monuments, if the two can be accurately separated out. The ideological mechanics of the prestige goods economy provides opportunities for some to acquire high-status identities, but the occupancy of such positions may be vulnerable to changes in what prestige goods are *en vogue* (itself a political process that may prove difficult to penetrate). I would suggest it is possible that *both* earlier and later Neolithic communities were composed of plural social positions which many found it a struggle to occupy, and that the organization of feasts, gatherings, rituals, exchanges of prestigious goods and monumental construction was a vital part of that ongoing struggle. At times, such struggles over identity became violent: the palisade constructed around Hambledon Hill causewayed enclosures between c. 3600–3300 BC was burnt down (Mercer, 1980; 1988: 104) and three bodies were found in associated layers, one with a lethal arrow wound (Mercer, 1980: 51; 1988: 104). A similar situation can be observed at Crickley Hill where over 400 arrows seem to have been fired into the final

phase of the enclosure (Dixon, 1988). We might infer that attempts to appropriate sacred spaces on a permanent basis were met with violent reaction as these places were usually reserved for special, short-term occupation associated with cyclical feasting (perhaps with rotating hosts—see Deitler, 1996) or small acts of deposition. This is one example of a case where tensions between temporary and cyclical uses of place, or positions of identity, and the permanent alteration of place and acquisition of identity seem to have been in conflict. Arguably, Neolithic social strategies were not under the control of the elites, but *ad hoc* and contingent throughout each period. The proliferation of material forms and technologies throughout the Neolithic was slippery—it provided further means for restricting access to important symbolic resources, but also opened up such material to many diverse interpretations and re-uses. Status and authority were possibly highly contextual, vulnerable, and only attained temporarily (see below and also Thomas, 2002b). Even analysis of diet from stable isotopes in bone collagen at chambered cairns and the Hambledon Hill enclosure does not resolve the question of whether those buried in long barrows or cairns were "elites" or simply a subsection of society with a similar lifestyle (Richards 2000: 133). Bones from the enclosure ditches at Hambledon Hill showed greater variability than those from the tombs, perhaps due to gathering of bones from a larger community of the dead originating in different regions, each of which seemingly had distinct lifestyles. In the end it is not a question of whether or not there were any *elites*, so much as the changing nature of social differentiation. Instead of tracing a growing trajectory of an *elite* category and their shifting ideological mechanisms, it may be fruitful to consider that social differences of various types became more or less important over time, and that the character of personal identities and modes of personhood may also have varied. I would propose we start by considering the articulation of broad concepts of relatedness in the Neolithic and early Bronze Age, particularly through examining the place of kinship systems in the constitution of identity.

Kinship

Kinship, the organization of social relatedness between people, is a basic feature of all human societies. Kin and non-kin are always treated differently. However, kinship is relational rather than absolute so that, for instance, exogamy is measured in degrees of kinship proximity (exogamy may operate at the level of the clan, the village, the "house", or the immediate family, for instance). One's own identity is only sensible in relation to that of others, and the degree to which one is kin to those others, or may potentially become kin with them. There are a plethora of different ways that kin groups can be arranged (Parkin, 1997). It has often been argued that the earlier Neolithic should be characterised by kinship relations based on clans, and that lineages within those clans became individually

differentiated and increasingly powerful during the course of the period (e.g. Barrett, 1990: 183; Lucas, 1996: 107–115; Mizoguchi, 1993; Thomas, 2000: 663–5). Ethnographic studies suggest that cosmological qualities like life essences, often manifest through human and animal bodily substances, plants, and minerals, may be shared between clan members, and personhood in clans is often highly fractal (see below). By contrast, lineages serve to separate out different lines through which personal qualities have been transmitted, segmenting society and directing lines in the flow of essences. Personhood may still be highly fractal in nature, although key types of persons often mediate the flows of substance and relations through the social world. Lineages trace descent genealogically from identifiable ancestral persons (Parkin 1997: 17–19), often heroic human individuals. Clans trace a communal descent from a mythical ancestral being (ibid.). However, the two ways of reckoning are not mutually exclusive, and clans may be organized into lineages (ibid.: 20). Some events may stress clan ties, while lineages emerge as distinct categories during other spheres of activity. It is not therefore realistic to assess Neolithic kinship patterns entirely in terms of a division between clan and lineage based societies, and degrees of shared and delineated kinship may be expected in any society, teased out contextually. While Neolithic activity may have made claims about clan or lineage identity, we cannot presume that all media or arena were mobilized unequivocally in the same kinds of political action. Furthermore, anthropologists distinguish between descent, inheritance of property and succession of office, each of which may follow quite different patterns in one society—a greater diversity of such systems might be suggested for prehistoric Britain than cited at present.

Settlements may seem like a logical place to start in considering prehistoric kinship patterns. Jones has postulated exogamous marriages between late Neolithic Orcadian villages, suggesting that the composition of communities "occupying" tombs and villages was a mixture of different household groups some with close ties to geographically distant households (2002a: 155). This account illustrates how different practices mobilize a range of materials in activities that identify plural relations between individuals and the community at different scales. Pot composition attests to differing units of basic production, suggesting internal diversity within the village, while shared forms of decoration accentuate communal identity at the village level (Jones 2002a: 130). The social composition of each household may not be obvious (see Brück, this volume, for ethnographic examples of the variable composition of households and a sophisticated rendering of the issue for the interpretation of British middle and late Bronze Age houses). Anthropologically speaking, physical structures like houses and villages may be occupied by families of various kinds, but how cohabitation is organized may have more to do with age-sets or gendered communities than lineages, particularly in cases where such groupings are more fundamental than descent lineages. Elsewhere, many Neolithic houses may have had relatively little to do with family

dwellings or even with daily routines and regular habitation. Dineley and Dineley (2000) have suggested that some such structures were used in making alcohol, while Cross suggests that at least some were "halls"—locales where communal feasts were held. Cross (2003: 201) suggests that Irish Neolithic "... halls were for feasts in communities with a tight lineage structure while the causewayed enclosures [found elsewhere] served similar needs for a looser knit community". But complex relations between many different categories of person are likely to have been brought out through such events. This need not be restricted to geographically aggregated lineages (see Jones, 2002a: 166). Elsewhere houses were seemingly associated with specific activities like quarrying (e.g. Ballygalley hill, County Antrim (Grogan, 1996: 42), Tievebulliagh (Cooney and Grogan, 1994) or Goodland (Cooney and Grogan, 1994: 51)). Groups might be housed temporarily while activities like mining took place, though the kin, age and gender composition of such groups is again open to question. Gwithian in Cornwall, Woodhead in Cumbria, (both described in Darvill, 1996), Goodland in County Antrim (Cooney and Grogan, 1994: 51), and Ronaldsway on the Isle of Man (Bruce et al., 1947) were all late Neolithic houses rich in the deposition of unusual artefacts, particularly stone tools. Some smaller houses like Ronaldsway might have been focal points where key technologies were stored and accessible only to a specific subset of the community. The idea of social groupings like "cults" need not be totally excluded. Bradley (2003) has recently suggested that the larger halls may be amplifications of the use of space in more everyday dwellings, and indicate the explicit ceremonial aggrandizement of the rituals of everyday life (see Bourdieu, 1970; Richards, 1996), and this may be so in some cases. The diversity in house design and use may well be a feature of the diversity in Neolithic habitation patterns, including the variable and contextual organization of communities in terms of kin, age and gender sets. Ultimately, though, large areas of the British Isles exhibited little such permanent Neolithic architecture at all, suggesting a relatively nomadic population with other means through which the everyday spiritual world was amplified, including monumental complexes. This has meant that attempts to understand social organization, including kinship, have largely focused on the politics of constructing monuments or gathering at monuments, and above all on the treatment of the dead.

Kinship and the Bodies of the Dead

The general trend in burial practices throughout the mid and later Neolithic and into the early Bronze Age was towards fewer burials and less corporate treatment of remains (Thomas, 2000; Barrett, 1990: 180). For instance, in the earlier Neolithic of the Cotswold-Severn region corporate burial took place in simple chambered cairns involving disarticulated bodies, while slightly later the whole

body was deposited and left relatively intact at side transcepted cairns. Thomas (1988: 553) has argued that this change is highly suggestive of different kinship systems. His argument is partly based on analogies with mortuary practices, conceptions of the body and kinship in Madagascan societies (Bloch, 1971; 1982), and on Bloch and Parry's anthropological extrapolations of the significance of these (Bloch and Parry, 1982). Thomas suggests that in the subsequent period relations between lineages and the community as a whole were brought to the fore and then resolved during the lengthy process of bodily transformation in transcepted terminal chambered cairns where bones were arranged in complex compartmentalized spaces. Moving into the later Neolithic and early Bronze Age of southern Britain Thomas (1999a: 156–9, 2000) has argued that single burials were part of a linear conception of historical time which removed the ancestral dead from the living community. While we could perceive the bones of the dead in corporate and accessible deposits (e.g. chambered cairns, wooden mortuary enclosures and earthen long barrows) as reservoirs of ancestral energy in places where personhood was transformed, his argument suggests that they were not overly valued as the "ancestors" of specific lineages (2000: 662–4). By contrast Thomas (1999: 156; 2000: 665) states that single burials traced relations of lineal descent rather than clan concerns, although he clearly prefers to see these burials as the work of "fluid and overlapping groupings" rather than distinct *elites* vying for simple individual rank and status (1999: 226; 2000: 665). However, his argument suggests that with the emergence of single or multiple burial traditions, including the construction of oval and round barrows, bodies with an already fixed identity were made inaccessible, removed from social contact and passed into myth in a way that supported the emergence of lineage identities (Thomas, 2000: 663–5; cf. Barrett, 1990: 183; Mizoguchi, 1993). I would suggest that it is equally plausible that such distancing of the dead would open up the mounds and their associated memories to reinterpretation rather than fixing indelible markers of lineage identity on the landscape. Closed and largely featureless monuments were perhaps open to greater contestation not only between differing lineages but a range of social interest groups based in age sets or gender differences or even figures attempting to encapsulate the world of the entire clan from whom they were not habitually distinguished (see below). It may have been possible to revise the significance of these rather anonymous markers more easily on routine and/or ritualised journeys through the landscape than it had been previously by negotiating access to the remains of the dead. Once again key material statements of power were open to contestation. Furthermore, I will suggest that single bodies were also used to trace multiple relations (see also Jones 2002b), and as emblems of community rather than individuality.

Lucas (1996) has also argued that during the early Bronze Age in Yorkshire established kinship systems were eroded by new prestigious exchange networks which relied more heavily on alliance than lineage. In a subtle and stimulating analysis Lucas traces changing treatment of the dead in terms of gift relationships.

In the earlier Neolithic the body was located within kinship relations in a way that required its disarticulation to break kin ties following death. Mortuary structures provided the means for this process, the corpse's journey through the structure representing the movement from life to ancestry. For Lucas in this instance the move to ancestry was a move beyond kinship. However, the living retained their ties with the dead by giving bowls (presumably with contents) to the recently transcended ancestors (Lucas, 1996: 104). In the later Neolithic the dead were prevented from reaching ancestry by burial in pits or by cremation preceding immediate deposition (ibid.: 106–7). Bones were not processed further, and Lucas envisages no lengthy journey of transformation for the dead. After a hiatus between 2900 and 2500 BC in which mortuary practices were all but invisible to archaeologists, the burial of cremated or fleshed remains in pits formed the major evident technology of death. In the case of inhumations the deceased had already been powerful social figures before death and they did not require transformation to be venerated. Grave goods were therefore gifts *to* the recent dead, already of great status, and these gifts might include the bones of the recently deceased or even relic remains. However, increasingly during this period cremated bones were presented *within* early Bronze Age vessels, like gifts, alongside or in place of inhumations. Under Lucas' interpretation, during the early Bronze Age cremated bodies were no longer the focus of a transformation of kin into ancestors, and instead the bones became a valued gift object like any other which could be given and controlled by the living (Lucas, 1996: 114). Early Bronze Age cremations were not, therefore, statements of lineage descent like inhumations had been, but media in exchange alliances between a variety of social groups.

The scenarios outlined by Lucas for Yorkshire, and Thomas for southwestern and southern Britain require consideration of the relation between the earlier and later mortuary practices, and beg the following questions. Firstly, was there a distinction between the transformation of identities through mortuary practices in the earlier Neolithic and the presentation of an already-established value to identity in those of the later Neolithic and/or early Bronze Age? Secondly, should later burials be seen as gifts given by the community while earlier ones were not? And, thirdly, dealt with later in this chapter, should later burials be seen as single, intact burials in contradistinction to earlier burials, overwhelmingly perceived as generally corporate and involving the disarticulation of the body?

Similarities and Differences between Earlier and Later Practices

In discussing the Yorkshire evidence Petersen notes that

> One . . . practice was the multiple burial in the same grave, often involving a burial routine entailing the deliberate re-opening of filled graves and the disarrangement of older interments in a manner strongly recalling the analogous customs recorded for many Neolithic chambered tombs. (Petersen, 1972: 27)

He goes on to consider that what appear disturbed burials may be fragmentary remains buried with intact remains in one event (ibid.: 27, 33). These bones may have been relics, or remnants left behind during the extraction of relics from earlier burials, perhaps as part of an exchange cycle between the living community and the ancestral dead. He relates that Mortimer seemed convinced that burials at Weaverthorpe had been displaced by subsequent interments which were set among the fragmentary remains of human and animal bones. It is also unclear from antiquarian excavations whether such loose bones, and the small collections of cremated bone that characterize many early Bronze Age "burials" were from one or more individuals in each case, and McKinley (1997) notes variability in the completeness and composition of prehistoric cremation deposits. Fragmentary remains of multiple individuals were apparently repeatedly interred within later Neolithic and early Bronze Age burial grounds, much as they had been within earlier mortuary contexts. Furthermore, it should not be presumed that all corporate burials involved the immediate disarticulation of the corpse. At Lanhill skeletons were found to be almost intact in the chamber, and disarticulation may have been a gradual process, or even only occurred in many cases during a period of "re-use" some hundreds of years after initial interment (cf. Cummings et al., 2002, Fowler, 2001). During each period we could argue that parallel traditions existed through which some bodies were disarticulated either rapidly after death, later, or gradually over longer periods of time, while others were not. Equally, where interments occurred, whether under barrows, in chambers or fields of flat graves, they were successive and conceptually corporate. Revisiting the bodies of the dead remained a significant practice, and there is little reason to assume that practices in one period traced lineages while the other did not. In cases where the very rich graves of "Wessex I" became the focus for later barrow cemeteries, we could imagine a similarity between the elaborate bringing together and burial of such a foundational corpse, including materials carried through social relations over great distances, and the drawing together of the community and matter of the cosmos to construct earlier Neolithic mortuary monuments. In each case successive burials would follow. Even Mizoguchi's (1993) or Last's (1998) arguments that the placement of the dead in barrows referenced earlier acts could be applied to earlier Neolithic corporate burial practices. Petersen (1972: 26) also points out that over 140 barrows in Yorkshire did not cover single burials, or even two or three burials in an isolated field, but rather covered portions of earlier cemeteries containing many burials. In some cases the eventual single mound covered more than one smaller mound, each capping a burial. This may support the argument for the creation of lineages, collecting together the remains of several important ancestral figures, but it could equally be seen as the homogenization of the ancient dead in a community of merged ancestors. The overall impression in these later Neolithic and early Bronze Age burial traditions is of the gradual emergence of a community among the dead, rather than the ongoing veneration of a named single

individual. In effect, this is the kind of ambiguous practice that might have been used in the past to support two such opposing claims.

Death as a Transformation

For Lucas those buried in the early Bronze Age were already significant figures within the kin group from whom ancestry would now be traced: they did not need to be transformed to ancestry after death. This relies on the idea that the journey from living mortal to ancestor required a physical spatial process in which humans had a hand, and that pit burial suspended such motion (Lucas, 1996: 103–7). Earlier Neolithic monuments frequently stress the notion of such an horizontal linear movement—for example, cursus monuments or the chambers of long barrows. However, in the later Neolithic linear movement was heavily supplemented by a focus on central points in the form of rings, round mounds, timber and stone circles, and henges (Bradley, 1998: ch. 7). Furthermore, as Lucas acknowledges, pits and shafts become important techniques of burial in later Neolithic Yorkshire. The axis of movement in such a central point might arguably be in a vertical pattern, with transitions between upper and lower worlds supplanting or supplementing that of a movement through this world. The movement into the sky (through cremation) and/or below the ground (in burial) could equally be interpreted as transformative. Arguably, a cosmology that divided the world into three horizontal zones (sky, land and sea and/or underworld) was well-established in northern Europe by the Bronze Age (e.g. Bradley, 2000; Kaul, 1998; Williams, 2001). Movement along a vertical axis may have supplanted movement along a horizontal axis in the later Neolithic, but the dead were still transformed and transferred from one state to another through this process. There is no specific reason to see later burials as reflections of lived individual status and identity while only earlier deposits are seen as transformations. Fundamental shifts in personhood were arguably negotiated repeatedly for the living and the dead during each period.

Bodies as Gifts

Lucas raises the vital idea that the bodies of the dead may be gifts, given by a range of social groups to other groups (spiritual beings, human ancestral communities, parental lineages, or groups with whom alliances are being formed, for instance). Cremation deposits, even those associated with prestigious goods, may be seen as offerings rather than funerals, and Lucas argues that the containment of cremated bones within vessels "packages" them like a gift (1996: 113). This suggests flesh as the matter of kinship. However, this interpretation could be extended in modified fashion to intact bodies too, where the flesh was arguably a valued part of the gift, and to cremation deposits not packaged in decorated vessels. While cremation separated flesh and bone, giving each a separate destination, intact burial kept them together. If we were to postulate a conceptual system in which different

lineages (e.g. mothers' family line and fathers' family line) were to donate these differing substances to each child during conception, then single burial of the body after death could, for instance, be seen as a joint gift uniting the community as a whole. It need not refer to individual identities separate from communal concerns—particularly if bodies were not seen as the project of individual wills, but as belonging to the community. The same could be said of artifacts deposits alongside the corpse—as Fleming (1973: 579) argued "... the wealth displayed in the graves might well be the property of a group as much as the personal wealth of the person concerned". Such funerals may temporarily bring together the deceased as a set of relations evidenced in part by the presence of the mourning community. In the majority of cases the bodies of the dead were also themselves divided up and redistributed for example in cremation or the removal of objects or portions of material culture buried with the corpse and which can been seen as a removed part of the deceased person (see Jones, 2002b; Fowler, 2004: 72–6). Furthermore, while the bodily matter of the majority of the population was presumably recycled into the cosmos—for example through exposure or "river burial"—rather than buried (cf. Brück, 2001a for middle and late Bronze Age examples of such a process, and Fowler, 2003 for an early Neolithic example), these corpses could be seen as extracted from the social collective entirely and offered into another community. The disposal of bodies of the dead, particularly when heavily decorated with materials from many sources might be seen as an unusual communal offering of the bundled components of social life. There is at present no reason to presume that such deposits were integral "single" burials accompanied by fine objects as alienated "wealth" (cf. Chapman, 1996; 2000; Fowler, 2004: ch. 3; Jones 2002b; Thomas 1996: ch. 6).

The politics of gathering and the politics of transforming the dead were highly diverse and open to multiple interpretations. In short, there is a fundamental ambiguity to all of the kinds of evidence that have been interpreted in terms of kin relations, and ways to trace both individualising and community concerns in each set of practices. Kinship cannot be fully understood without postulating how the body was valued, how the substances that composed it were charged, and under what circumstances such qualities could be passed from one social body to another.

Personhood

Kinship and personhood are two sides of the same coin, and kinship can be seen as a means of conceiving how relationships generate people. At the same time those relations can be rearticulated throughout life through exchanges between persons (and communities) in ways that can overwhelm our fundamental understanding of kinship as a human concern connecting separate individuals. The whole cosmos may be composed of kin, affines, allies and enemies, interacted with

through specific codes of conduct that pertain to what it means to be a person of one kind or another. There is insufficient space to review the work that has been done on personhood in prehistoric archaeology here (see Fowler, 2004; for examples directly relevant here see Brück, 2001a and b; Fowler, 2001; 2002, 2003; Jones, 2002; Thomas, 2002a), but it is vital to note that the western concept of the individual person highlights certain features of personhood above others. The individual is conventionally understood as bounded, discrete, self-determining, constant from birth, equal to all other individuals and unique. In particular, the individual person is classically generated from parental kin predominantly through a single act of procreation. However, persons are clearly also "multiply-authored" by social relations with others before birth and throughout their lives. Social interactions all reach into and affect the constitution of the person. McKim Marriott (1976) suggested that persons in the Indian caste system may be considered as highly permeable "vessels" (cf. Busby, 1997) that can be filled with essences each of which has a set value (e.g. alcohol makes a person "hot" and volatile, knowledge is "cool" and calming). Strategies concerning which substances to exchange, with whom, and how frequently, what to give and what to absorb, therefore alter the internal character of the person. Different social groups pursue different exchange strategies in the attainment of personhood, so that frequent exchange of alcohol is, for instance, associated with the lower castes, while the higher castes indulge in rare exchanges of subtle knowledge. These strategies are based on caste identities, but modified according to gender, age/life-stages, cult affiliation and other factors. Busby (1997) characterises this kind of personhood as "permeable" since flows of substances moving between bodies alter the composition of the person, even though the form of each bodily vessel is relatively fixed. Marilyn Strathern (1988) has argued that people in Melanesia are able to externalise relationships that constitute a part of themselves in gift objects that are then taken and absorbed by others. She refers to this process of separation and integration (or de-conception and conception—see Mosko 1992) as "partible" personhood. In its ordinary state as a multiply-authored, multiply-constituted entity, the person is not in a state of partibility, but is rather "dividual" , or potentially divisible. Exchanges of substances or gifts form inalienable relations between people so that a gift object forms an intimate bond between them and also itself emerges as a person multiply-authored by the relations that made it and have exchanged it—it forms a biography like any other dividual person/product. Things are therefore *not* always objects, private possessions, wealth or resources but may have agency and be persons—they are a part of the community. Furthermore, things and essences do not have fixed values in Melanesia as they do in India, but the gendering or charging of each depends on how it is activated in contextual action.

Both Indian "permeable" personhood and Melanesian "partible" and dividual personhood are "fractal" since the person is composed of elements that also exist elsewhere in the world (Wagner, 1991; cf. Chapman, 2000). The same

transformations apply to persons at all scales, from an axe to an individual to a clan, even though they may take different forms. Fractal elements like "ancestral image" can be found in the person of a clan and in the body of shell goods as well as in single human beings, for instance. Archaeological studies of partible and fractal personhood have tended to focus heavily on the fragmentation of objects and bodies, and the extraction of parts from wholes and the rearticulation of fragments in new units as the major mode of social relations through which people and things are constituted (see the seminal works by Chapman, 1996; 2000). However, fractal personhood may rely as heavily on flows of substances as on the separation of distinct parts from wholes—and this is evident as strongly in Strathern's (1988, especially ch. 9) account of "unmediated exchanges" in Melanesian personhood as in Marriott's or Busby's Indian ethnographic analyses. Furthermore, objects deployed in partible exchange in Melanesia—like the shell goods of *kula* exchanges, for instance—are not habitually broken into parts, but tend to acquire new parts as they gather new relations into their biographies. Partible personhood operates through the articulation of composite and whole bodies and objects as much as by fragmenting them, and in some cases far more so. It is not necessary to locate heavily fragmented bodies and things to suggest that past forms of personhood were fractal.

In fact, it could be suggested that a long-term shift in the later Neolithic and early Bronze Age from fractured bodies to more clearly bounded bodies which were heavily decorated indicates an increasing concern with monitoring the flows that permeated each body in social and spiritual relations. Increasingly, decorated pots (from Peterborough Wares to Beakers) and personal ornaments (e.g. necklaces and *lanulae*; cf. Jones 2002b: 170) marked out the boundaries around conduits of social relations, the skins and vessels through which essences were transmitted. This can also be observed in the decoration of passages at passage graves, and exposed rock panels at liminal points in the landscape (see Jones, 2001 on the re-use of decorated stone slabs in burial cists which further wrapped the bodies of the dead in layers of protective images). In Polynesian and Micronesian contexts the shared process of tattooing bodies, pecking rock art and possibly decorating pots covers the potent, sacred nakedness of each type of skin and body, restricting the flow of sacred energies between them (e.g. see Rainbird, 2002). Holistic systems of exchange in which vital essences circulated through the cosmos can be imagined in British prehistory, sometimes accentuating the partible nature of things, at others the flows of essences between permeable bodies. The circulation of personal and cosmic essences in the later Neolithic and early Bronze Age probably became increasingly removed from that in the earlier Neolithic. But in each case forms of fractal personhood should be considered, rather than a simple shift from a communally-oriented dividual and partible personhood to individual identity concomitant with alienating relations and the accumulation of private possessions.

In any cultural context personhood is likely to have featured both individual and dividual facets (LiPuma, 1998; cf. Chapman, 2000; Fowler, 2001, 2004;

Jones, 2002b). Arguably, however, archaeologists have yet to extend their understanding of fractal personhood very far beyond a straight-forward recognition that it may have existed in a dialectic with individual facets to the person. Yet anthropologists have distinguished between communities with different kinds of fractal personhood—in Melanesia and Polynesia, for instance (e.g. Mosko, 1992; Strathern, 1991). A "big man" encapsulates a New Guinea clan and mediates between two social groups—his clan and another. Big men are both supreme examples of highly dividual persons made by and encapsulating other members of the clan, and yet also hold position due to their unique individual abilities (e.g. rhetoric, oratory and organizational skills). "Great men" mediate exchanges within a New Guinea clan where a big man is not present, and there are several different kinds of great men in any community. However, each is less able to stand for the community as a whole and acquire individual prestige, and the positions are hereditary. These roles are differentiated and involve fixed attributes: for example Mosko (1992: 707) records Mekeo "war sorcerers," "peace sorcerers," "war chiefs," and "peace chiefs" each with their own paraphernalia. They are "relatively incomplete persons" (ibid.: 711). Mosko also argues that Polynesian chiefs should be understood as highly partible persons, though he stresses that not all hereditary leaders need be. Unlike "big men" who increase their scale by acting for the whole clan in inter-clan exchanges and prestations, chiefs distribute partible elements of their sacred persons throughout the community (ibid.: 712). Mosko therefore argues that such chiefdoms not only centralize power temporarily in the chief and chiefly centres, but also depend on the ability of the chief to decompose himself and distribute his person among the persons of others.

There are radical implications here for our understandings of later Neolithic and early Bronze Age identities, not least because of the part that has been played by a notion of emergent centralizing and individualizing chiefdoms in archaeological conceptions of early Bronze Age Wessex, and by notions of "big man" systems and prestige goods economics. Renfrew's model of Wessex chiefdoms was explicitly based on analogy with Sahlin's (1958) interpretation of Polynesian chiefdoms and Services' (1962) use of that ethnography in formulating a scheme for social evolution. Contemporary studies of chiefly relations or big men, etc, now consider the constitution of personhood through specific kinds of social relations, and it is here that I believe we should focus our attention in studying British prehistory. It may be that the physical decomposition of the body in the earlier Neolithic is suggestive of one form of fractal transformations overseen by special categories of person, while the exchange of prestige goods in the later Neolithic may be indicative of a different version of such partibility. Equally, it is possible that some Neolithic clan-based societies, whether earlier Neolithic, later Neolithic or early Bronze Age, involved some social figures who were both highly dividual and also noted for their individual characteristics (like "big men"), while others, where lineage segmentation was more pronounced, involved communities of special fractal

persons, few of whom were able to achieve equal predominance or emphasise their specific individual characteristics (like "great men" or "chiefs" caught up in ritual authority structures). It is the transformations and redistributions in each case that will be of the greatest use to us in analysing these past modes of personhood, which are themselves achieved through particular strategies in social and political action.

For instance, Beaker burials both individuated the dead and drew out relational identities. Thomas (1991) has described Beaker burials as based on set "stereotypes"—this may indicate the degree to which identities were *presented as* socially ascribed in the mortuary sphere. The majority contained only Beaker vessels. Among other graves a selection of a few items from a relatively narrow range of objects were buried with the dead, including small vessels like beakers and accessory cups, arrowheads and wristguards, daggers and knives, antler picks, whetstones and other stone or metalworking artefacts, awls and other leatherworking artefacts, and personal ornamentation (Thomas 1999: 161). It is worth noting the kind of transformations and translations that these technologies allowed. Lucas (1996: 114) notes the importance of fire-making technologies like strike-a-lights in activities like cremations or preparing fires for feasts. Accessory vessels, permeable containers often perforated with small holes may refer to transformative process of fermentation and/or intoxication. There are historical accounts of small cups being lowered into vats during the fermentation process (Colley March, 1887: 280–3). Hunting goods may be essential in the negotiation of relations with the world of wild animals and potentially enemy entities (whether human or otherwise), and were even included in cases when the deceased would have been unable to use them (Shepherd 1986: 15; cf. Thomas 1999: 159). Knives and daggers are tools for cutting, separating out parts of bodies before distribution, perhaps cutting umbilical cords, and ultimately of cutting ties between the living and the dead. Presentation of each of these technologies alongside the dead may have made claims on a number of levels—for example, claims about the specific range of transformations associated with the deceased in life, and/or about the transformation of the person after death which also involved transformations among the mourners. In short, objects could be seen as citations of changing relations, and means of transforming social relations. Sets of relations may have been referenced in these deposits, and where individual identity was referenced it was made sense of in terms of location in those relations. As already argued, such bodies may be fractal, and the greater the presence of component parts (including fragments of animal bodies or objects like necklaces—Jones, 2002b) the greater the potential for such fractility. It is also possible that the diverse "transformers" of early Bronze Age society could be seen as a sub-community performing "stereotypical" roles (a little like New Guinea "great men" separating out the aspects of the world in order to redistribute them within the community) cited in these special deposits. Many of the daggers, necklaces and other objects found in graves appear to have been heirlooms (e.g. see Woodward 2002, Bradley 2002: 55–8)—ancient,

worn and repaired goods probably associated with a community rather than a specific individual. These therefore cited the individual identities of the deceased only as practitioners of specific transactions and transformations on behalf of the community.

These and other avenues of enquiry could undermine both the classic narrative of social change that stresses a gradual evolution towards enhanced individual identity and autonomy for *elite* figures—the sequence in Renfrew's model of "individualizing chiefdoms" emerging out of "group-orientated chiefdoms" (Renfrew 1979)—and the idea of an emergent prestige goods economy collapsing traditional authority. At the same time I would not exclude the possibility that, if we are looking at Piggott's (1938: 52) "aristocratic minority" in Wessex I burials, it may be possible that special subgroups of society were emblematic of certain relations while the majority engaged in other kinds of relations valued in differing ways. It is possible that very few people were able to differentiate themselves in special ways during a brief historic period, ways not characteristic of wider social relations (cf. Fleming 1973: 582). At the same time, while contemporary accounts such as Thomas' (1996: 178–82) and Lucas' (1996) do argue strongly for heterogeneous later Neolithic/early bronze Age identities, I am concerned that we implicitly tend to imagine these as autonomous and individually self-determining "optimizing" or opportunistic controllers of exchange without considering other possibilities. Social and spiritual motivations for such exchanges require further analysis, and may assist in fostering a move away from conventional notions of individual needs and desires (see Douglas and Ney 1998). Marriott (1976: 137) describes the motivation of Hindu interactions in attaining personhood as the pursuit of "... power understood as vital energy, substance-code of subtle, homogeneous quality, and high, consistent transactional status or rank" (Marriott 1976: 137). Furthermore, each caste, gender, life-stage group, cult, etc have very different strategies in pursuing this goal. Such reflections on personhood return us to the nature of prestige and the differing ways it is acquired in relation to specific evaluations of people, things and relationships. I would like to take the step towards considering the heterogeneity of past identities further and suggest that *different kinds* of fractal relations and fractal persons may have existed in European prehistory, and that rather than a simple movement from earlier Neolithic dividual to early Bronze Age individual personhood, we have a much more diverse and complex picture. Ideas about what kind of personal identity was desirable and how it could best be attained are arguable highly significant here. This picture can only be mapped out following further detailed research into the variety in later Neolithic and early Bronze Age identities, especially but not exclusively through analysis of funerary remains and gift exchanges, but some general questions can be raised by a preliminary review. In order to begin a re-examination of how these identities were valued we need to return to some mainstays in the study of identity: age and gender in "single" burials.

Age and Gender

Kinship systems, modes of personhood, forms of gender relations and the organization of life-stages are mutually dependent. Age sets and gender sets can be extremely significant factors in terms of cohabitation, shared activities, and shared means for the negotiation of identity. Larick's (1986) study of the Loikop emphasizes how men are organized by age set. Each age grouping selects a common style of spear, the style drawn from neighbouring ethnic groups, and these generational groups exhibit a sense of shared identity distinct from other generations. Among the Nyakyusa boys of the same age group found their own settlements, organized in terms of both kinship and age relations—an "age village" (Wilson, 1963: ch. 2). Gender is also vital to understanding social dynamics, and can be fundamental to the patterning of relations within, for instance, clan systems with few formal hierarchial divisions. Ethnographies of Papuan communities attest to the fundamental importance of male cults and men's houses. Alongside the transmission of personal qualities from one generation to another through kin relations, such transmission may also be carefully controlled through male initiations ceremonies (e.g. among the Sambia; e.g. Strathern, 1988: 208–19). Kinship is by no means irrelevant in such situations, but situations where all members of society are conceptual equals, as "brothers" within a single clan, may easily allow alternative means of social organization along age or gender lines to thrive. Pronounced gender difference is as much a feature of clan societies and fractal personhood as of societies which value individuality.

Increasingly through the mid and later Neolithic and into the early Bronze Age we often perceive a predominance of adult male burials (Last, 1998, Lucas, 1996: 108, Mizoguchi, 1993), although the sexing of remains recovered by antiquarians remains dubious (Fleming, 1973: 572). This begs a closer reading than just stating that men dominated the mortuary sphere, and need not necessarily mean they also dominated social life as a whole. Adult males may have occupied particular positions with regard to male ritual spheres, differentiated by age, life-stages or specific experiences. Mizoguchi (1993: 225–6) notes that 47.8 per cent of all single burials in Yorkshire were of adult males, 14.9 per cent of adult females, and the remainder of immature individuals, while adult males were identified as the primary interment in 66.7 per cent of multiple burials, and 62.5 per cent of all double burials. It would also be a mistake simply to assume that changes in late Neolithic/early Bronze Age gender relations were a matter of men becoming more influential than women: Mizoguchi's figures should not be read in a way that overshadows the proportion of graves containing female and/or child burials alongside adult males, or without adult males, nor the importance of these bodies. Rather, the very significance of gender itself was changing, probably alongside changes in the meaning of kinship, the importance of age-sets, and long-distance exchange partners. These changes were not uniform but displayed regional diversity. The

construction of specific kinds of gender as a presentation of status—a kind of social transformation—was perhaps only temporarily acquired or temporarily drawn out in ritualized events. This would suggest contextually gendered identities. The inter-relations between adult male and other burials in the same barrow are so frequent that they suggest adult male identity can only be understood relationally, not as a distinct sphere. In fact, it is notable that few of the multiple graves contain successive deposits of men (Mizoguchi's account suggests less than 11 per cent, and around 25% of all double burials—the same figure as for adult males followed by adult females) as might be expected if a lineage of descent in a male-dominated social climate were traced. In other words, this is not a case of identifying "male" lineages, activities and identities, but of detecting modes in which an identity was activated—an identity that we would describe as "male" for want of a closer reading of past categories (see Brück, this volume). Such a gender might only be fully attained under specific conditions, one of which was adulthood. It seems plausible that such male identities modulated when interacting with men in single-sex relations, with women in cross-sex relations, and with children in either mode or a third set of relationships (adult-child compared to adult-adult?). Future interpretations could explicitly consider different conceptions of same-sex and cross-sex relations, such as Strathern's analysis of Melanesian dividual identity in which people are inherently ambiguously gendered so that each single relationship brings one gendered aspect (ether male or female, either single-sex or cross-sex) to the fore (cf. Hoskins, 1998: 9–18; Busby, 1997 for other ways of understanding combinations of masculine and feminine characteristics). Again, this is not merely a case of differing expressions of identity, but of fundamental shifts in personhood by practice and context.

This relationality applies to artifacts as well as bodies (see Jones 2002b). The *crème de la crème* of the rich burials with goldwork and ornamental decoration like that adorning the remains found in Wilsford G5 ("Bush Barrow"—Colt Hoare, 1975: 202–5) are rare, and the chronological relationships between them and the poorer burials are not always clear, but it seems that the richest graves (designated as Wessex I) lie at the earlier end of the sequences (Barrett, 1990). Perhaps the greatest obstacle to interpretation has been to see metal as material wealth rather than a substance potentially analogous to human bodily substances and/or luminous ancestral essences (cf. Keates, 2002; Fowler, 2004: 113–5). Such metal objects are located at an intersection between flows of substance and the production of objects mediating relations between persons—metal may be rock, liquid, raw substance and object. The social distribution of metal might be a spiritual matter tied up with the production of gender and personhood (cf. Baselmans, 2002). And of course, it is not only metalwork that composed these "corpses", but jet, amber, shale, faience, and so on—each substance potentially charged in a different way (Jones 2002b), perhaps contextually. These were not necessarily acquired as accumulated wealth, but valued precisely for their substantial and biographical properties. In

many cases the Wessex I graves contained adult male corpses, but by no means all (Fleming, 1973). In some cases gender cults may have been lead by figures who attained a particular presentation of personal identity only in death itself with the transformation of their body into the decorated and dazzling corpse composed of many differently-charged elements (cf. Barrett's [1990, 184] notion of a discarded costume of the dead or mourning).

Indeed, gender, age, kinship and personhood would have been articulated through cosmological discourses that valued practices and substances as well as whole bodies. Many such cosmological schemes, some more loosely defined than others, some adhered to more strictly than others, may have operated throughout British prehistory in differing ways. For instance, two rather different circumstances might explain the diversity in ritual practices from the earlier Neolithic right through to the early Bronze Age. Firstly, there may have been large-scale broad conventions about how each aspect of the material world was charged or gendered. The qualities of the universe (blood, stone, water) may have possessed set values. This would not restrict social and cultural diversity or the polyvalency of meaning, since there may be a range of strategies employed in manipulating these fixed-value substances (see Marriott, 1976). Alternatively, the qualities of things may have been highly relational, so that blood or stone or water was charged or gendered by its use. The situation is, as ever, quite likely to have combined degrees of each. Both cases allow for relational identities: fixed qualities allowing for diversity achieved in the combination of substances; relational qualities allowing for diversity achieved through differing contexts of activity. The diversity and ambiguity of the Neolithic and early Bronze Age material remains across the British Isles is striking. They do not readily attest to any singular system for gendering people and things, or set way to articulate relations through parts and wholes, or set classifications of people and animals. If there were forms of ritual authority, then exercise of this knowledge showed appreciation for contingent situations, a tactic that may actually have assisted in maintaining such a system. Perhaps the value of things was widely known, even if the appropriate ways to combine such things was far more contextually contingent. Such knowledge might be particular to differing social subgroups like age-sets or genders. We are left with a picture of diverse social strategies in the negotiation of personhood, even if operating within some local shared conceptual frameworks to some degree.

Conclusion

The social technologies employed within Neolithic strategies of identification were, I would argue, not only ambiguous but also ultimately unstable. The incorporation of increasingly complex forms of monumentality and material culture into Neolithic discourses on and of identity can be seen as indicative of the

underlying instability and insecurity of these discourses. There were a plethora of arenas in which identity was constructed and transformed throughout life. It is unclear how easily identity in one arena could be carried over into others (cf. Brück, 2001b; Thomas, 2002b). Social strategies may actually have struggled with the forms of materiality on which they relied, and Neolithic monuments should not be interpreted as signs of a stable form of political organization, such as centralizing chiefdoms. Since transformative events—located in special landscapes, and enacted jointly on objects, animals, natural elements and human bodies—were fundamental to Neolithic identity, social, cultural and political change rested on changes in the character of these transformations. The temporary nature of personal identities may well have permeated the political field to the extent that socio-political roles were themselves constantly under threat and open to continual change. Clearly there were large scale and long term traditions in how things should be done (how pots should be made, monuments built, and the dead presented). Yet one generation, having altered the form of a monument they inherited, would be aware of the vulnerability of form and use for any monument they had constructed as well as the extent to which its materials would be venerated by coming generations. While fundamental features of identity like personhood may seem to provide one universal logic to understand the world, there are diverse ways to then operate that logic (cf. Marriott, 1976). Further research could pursue the shape of these different strategies in economies of things, animals, bodies and substances and identify particular "narratives" of identity cited in such interaction and in the key transformations of social life (*qua* Brück, 2001a; Fowler 2003; Thomas, 1996, 1999b). The texts discussed here generally agree that the material remains of the past were mobilized in a series of claims and representations. It is the intersection between such claims that we observe when we seek to move beyond identification, not the ever-shifting identities themselves. Indeed, it is arguable that the decorated bodies in the rich graves of Wessex I were a core element in the negotiation of one political strategy in the attainment of a specific kind of personhood and social power. Other social groups would have pursued other strategies, some intersecting with this, others avoiding it. This does not leave us with a picture of *elites* and commoners, but diverse social groups potentially distinguished along the lines of practices enshrined for varying periods of time in differing kinship systems (even potentially by caste?), religious ceremonies, organizations of life-stages, ethnic identities, gender cults and gender groups, and so on.

There is still far more research to be developed here through closer examination of later Neolithic and early Bronze Age remains. In thinking around the issue I have operated at a rather grand scale, and the diversity of past identities has inevitably been compressed. Little has been said here about the remains and identities of those who were not buried. I have also tended to focus heavily on Yorkshire and Wessex. Obviously, the examination of as many different regions of Britain and Ireland is critical in understanding the diversity of Neolithic and early

Bronze Age identities, as is attention to the many varied local ways of treating the dead, inhabiting space, building and using monuments, relating to animals, and so on. But at the same time the current trend to ignore Wessex in particular as simply anomalous runs the risk of leaving us with a picture of a geographically restricted area occupied by early Bronze Age *elite* "chiefs" or enterprising individuals with continental connections. I believe that it will be possible to map out strategies in the pursuit of personhood for these periods in all regions through closer readings of the precise cultural technologies and processes through which past identities were articulated. This will in turn provide a new lens with which to view the motivations behind prehistoric identity politics.

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Chapter 7

Homing Instincts

Grounded Identities and Dividual Selves in the British Bronze Age

JOANNA BRÜCK

Preface

Since the early 1990s, phenomenology has formed a basis for interpretations of a range of prehistoric buildings and monuments. Such approaches have been argued to provide insights into the interpretation and experience of these structures in the past. Yet, in focusing on the grounded and place-centred nature of human experience, we may be in danger of reproducing in the past particular elements of our own cultural context, notably the centrality of place in the construction of ontological security (as the ideology surrounding the "home" in modern English society demonstrates). Phenomenology emphasises the physicality of architecture in the creation of social identity at the expense of the social networks in which humans are embedded. This strikes a chord with high modernity in which communities and families are fragmenting while the home improvement industry booms. In contrast, this paper will explore how the materiality of the "home" belies its essentially cultural character and how even in our own society, the same house can be quite differently understood and experienced according to context. This paper will challenge the widespread assumption (reflected obliquely in recent

phenomenological approaches) that self identity, as constructed through contexts such as the "home", is necessarily monolithic, fixed and unchanging. Drawing on anthropological studies of the self, a relational conception of the person provides the theoretical backdrop for an understanding of power relations within the domestic world of the settlement. The implications of this for our understanding of the domestic domain and gender relations in the past will be explored, in particular the challenge it poses to the idea that women's identities are inextricably and universally bound up with the domestic context. Ways of approaching the slippery and contextual nature of selfhood, identity and social power will be discussed using the example of British Bronze Age roundhouses.

Introduction

Recent phenomenological accounts of prehistoric buildings and monuments suggest that the materiality of architecture plays a crucial role in shaping human experience of place (examples include Barrett, 1994: Ch. 1–2; Bender et al., 1997; Richards 1993; Thomas, 1991: Ch. 3, 1993b, 1996, Tilley, 1994). Writers within this genre argue that it is embodied encounters with an ordered material world that shape interpretation. For example, the orientation of the human body and the sequence of spaces through which it moves is argued to produce a particular "perspective", both in the visual and social sense of the term. Based on this, it has been suggested that place acts recursively to produce specific types of subjectivity. This has social and political implications. For example, rules of admission to or exclusion from parts of a building may be differentially applied to particular social groups, so that experience of space is intimately bound up with aspects of personal identity.

These points are extremely useful and have been drawn on to underpin novel and valuable interpretations of Neolithic monuments and other forms of architecture. However, to move from generalised discussion of how space influences interpretation to an understanding of the ways in which particular buildings shaped past experience is more difficult. One way in which archaeologists have attempted to do so is by describing their own subjective experience as they themselves move through buildings or monuments—encountering a rise or fall in gradient, a change in orientation or in the way the body must be held, a sudden vista or a new texture to the walls of a building. The assumption here is that experience in the present equates in important respects with experience in the past. The problem with this, as we shall see below, is that it downplays the potential diversity of interpretation. In other words, it is assumed that the materiality of architecture is productive of very particular types of experience and by extension very specific forms of social identity.

In this paper, I would like to focus on one class of building: the Bronze Age roundhouse. In Britain, a number of authors have written about prehistoric houses in what might be characterised as broadly phenomenological terms (e.g. Hingley,

1990; Parker Pearson and Richards, 1994b; Richards, 1990). Although these have produced highly evocative accounts of gender relations in these cultural contexts, I shall argue here that in fact a phenomenological approach does not provide an effective methodology for accessing how people experienced and interpreted houses in the distant past. This is because the materiality of house architecture does not constrain interpretation to the extent that is often assumed. Because the "house" is a cultural construct, archaeologists' imagined experience of prehistoric houses is unlikely to be commensurate with that of their original occupants. Similarly, I would like to explore how a single form of architecture—the roundhouse—may have produced a variety of very different forms of subjectivity in the past.

This chapter will therefore consider the relationship between space and identity with specific reference to house architecture in Bronze Age Britain. In many societies, gender relationships are structured and mediated through the organisation of household space, and the construction of gendered identity will therefore be a focus of interest here. In particular, I would like to examine how despite the apparent "stability" of architecture, buildings do not produce static or unchanging forms of gender relationships. On the contrary, depending on context, gender can be differently constructed in relation to the same architectural space.

Buildings and the Body

The idea that the archaeologist's bodily experience of a building in the present can provide a window into the past is seductive, but it is based on a number of problematic assumptions. Within archaeology, phenomenological approaches take as one of their central tenets the idea that it is through people's embodied encounter with the material world that they come to attain "Being". The human body is the centre of spatial experience, mediating between the individual and the world. An initial problem arises, then, when we recall the anthropological and sociological literature that argues that the human body is a social construct as much as a material entity. Not only is there a recursive relationship between the body and "society", in that one models the other (Douglas, 1970), but so too ideas of pollution and beauty, sexuality and selfhood, substance and heredity vary from culture to culture (e.g. Butler, 1993; Feher et al., 1989; Foucault, 1990; Gatens, 1996; Schilling, 1993; Turner, 1992). Our own notion of what the body is must be contextualised within a largely Christian and androcentric heritage, moreover a context in which reason is separated from emotion and self from other (Thomas, 2002). Although a phenomenological approach contends with these issues, it cannot fully achieve what it sets out to do while the body itself remains unproblematised within these discussions (of those who write from such a perspective, only Thomas engages explicitly with this question). If, as phenomenologists would argue, the body is constitutive of experience, then experience will vary according

to the "type" of body one has. Not only will different bodies in the most material sense—young and old, for example—experience the world differently, but so too the social construction of "youth" or "old age" will have a major affect on how the world is apprehended via those bodies.

A second problem lies in the materiality of architecture. In some cases, we can suggest that a building would have imposed roughly the same physical constraints on the bodies of ancient people as it does on our own today. However, while architecture may make us turn to the left, or stoop, or fall, our actual *interpretation* of this depends on our understanding of that movement or gesture. Here, prior experience, based on culturally-specific ideas about the meaning of, for example, crawling or standing, will have an affect. Likewise, whether we experience apprehension or excitement, joy or fear in a place will depend on the cultural meanings attached to that location, just as in our own society our experience of a street, church or workplace differ because of the different ideas, sentiments and memories associated with these locations. In other words, we cannot directly replicate prehistoric people's experience of an ancient monument or other structure without taking into account the many different forms and sources of cultural knowledge that they would have brought with them into any situation.

It is of course important to point out that these criticisms apply largely to phenomenological approaches within archaeology rather than to phenomenology as a general philosophy. Within other disciplines, writers drawing on phenomenology more explicitly recognise the recursive nature of Being. Although the body is constitutive of experience, it has no primordial existence; rather, it is itself is a product of experiential engagement with the world (e.g. Levin, 1985; Mensch, 2001). This allows for the construction of different types of bodies which may experience the world in radically different ways (e.g. Rogers, 1983: 123–4). It is perhaps because archaeologists have attempted to employ phenomenology as a *methodology* as well as a theoretical framework that these problems arise. In order to reconstruct the ways in which people in the past might have understood a particular building or monument, archaeologists have often made reductive assumptions regarding the nature of the body.

The criticisms outlined above have particular relevance when it comes to considering the interpretation and experience of household space in the past. Circular structures termed "roundhouses" are the main type of domestic building known from the British Bronze Age (Figure 1). However, to attempt to use the architecture of a roundhouse as a means of accessing Bronze Age people's interpretations of settlement space would be problematic for a number of reasons. For example, it is unlikely that different gender groups' experience of domestic space in the past was identical. The body is a primary locus of gender negotiation; gender differences are constructed and represented through the body (e.g. Butler, 1993; Gatens, 1996; Grosz and Probyn, 1995; Jordanova, 1980; Laqueur, 1990). An interpretative framework which presupposes the existence of an ahistorical transcendental

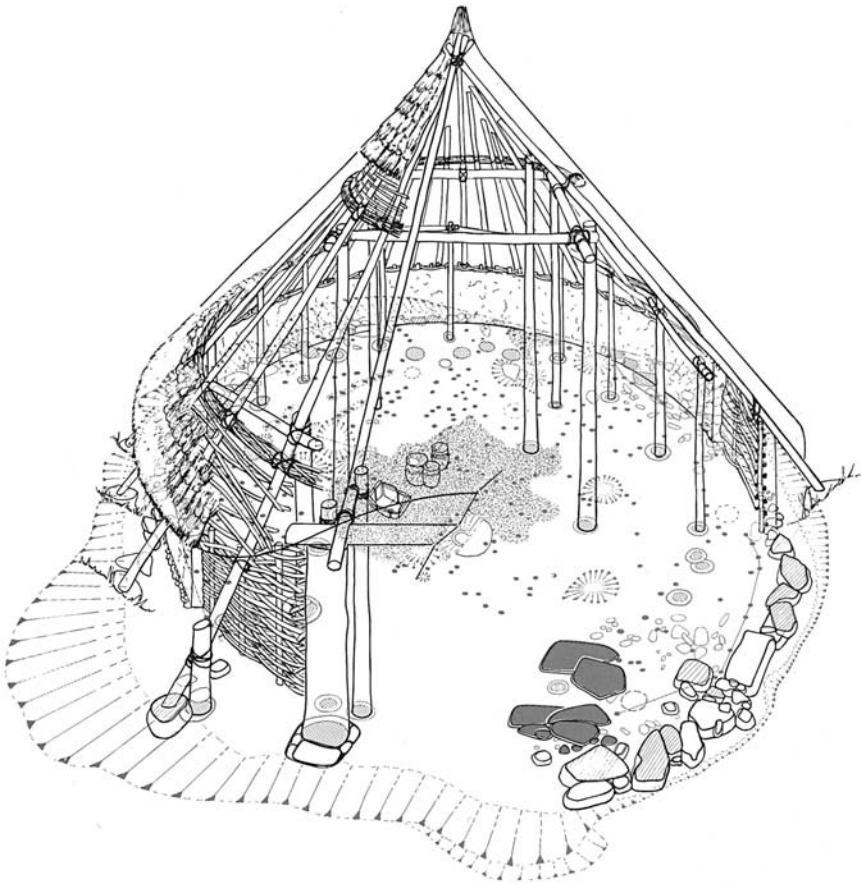

Figure 1. Artist's reconstruction of one of the roundhouses at Trethellan Farm, Cornwall (after Nowakowski, 1991).

body will be unable to explore the different ways in which domestic space could have been encountered. If we assume that the settlement is one of the primary loci within which gendered identities were constituted and negotiated in the past, then it becomes particularly important to take these issues into account.

For other reasons too, a gender-sensitive approach is especially necessary when it comes to studies of settlement. Within our own cultural context, certain forms of discourse have posited a "natural" and universal link between women and the domestic domain (for critique, see La Fontaine, 1981; Moore, 1988: 21–4; Strathern, 1984: 24–6, 30–31; Tiffany, 1978: 42–3, 46; Waterson, 1990: 169–71; Yanagisako, 1979: 190–91). Archaeology, as a form of culture criticism, must therefore be more than usually careful here: it must avoid positing the existence of

a single interpretation of space to the detriment of other sub-groups' experience, yet neither should it assume a uniform association between women and the domestic context in the past (for further discussion, see below). Just as the interpretation of settlement space may have been gender specific in the past, so too the way in which women in the present experience and understand the domestic domain cannot in any way be taken to approximate how women in the past felt about these places.

The argument that the meanings attached to a place will influence people's physical experience of that location is also of primary importance here. As suggested above, if we use phenomenology as a means of accessing past experience, then at one level we must presuppose the existence of an ahistorical material world. Such an assumption would clearly be extremely problematic in relation to settlement. The idea of "home" is richly evocative within our own cultural context, bringing to mind a particular set of activities, social relations and experiences, set within a specific ideological framework (see papers in Benjamin, 1995). Our homes are essential components of personal identity; in the modern western world, people who are described as "homeless" are treated in ways that indicate that they are viewed as less than human, as threatening beings who defy description, categorisation and control in the usual way (e.g. Dear and Wolch, 1987).

Houses also play a major role in the constitution of age and gender relationships (more of this below) and are bound up with class identity; in Britain today, for example, it is the middle classes and those who aspire to join their ranks who show a particular interest in "home improvement" and "DIY". Such activities also facilitate the expression of a series of different gendered identities ranging from the "manly" provider of 1950's magazines to the more diverse and often flamboyant interior designers of today's television programmes (Goldstein, 1998). Moreover, the house is a central point of reference within temporal frameworks; leaving home marks a particular stage within the modern western lifecourse just as surely as the daily routine of departure and return structures the passage of time at a more immediate level. As such, the home forms a pivotal focus in our sense of ontological security (Parker Pearson and Richards, 1994). Perhaps because of this, it is all too easy to assume the universality of the concept of "home" in other cultural contexts, making a phenomenology of the home particularly seductive. If, on the other hand, we recognise that other societies may not share the complex of meanings and values that surrounds the home in our own culture, then the idea that place—in this case the home—*in and of itself* triggers experiences that both archaeologists in the present and people in the past can be said to share becomes questionable.

Constructing the Self

I have suggested above that when we encounter a building, monument or landscape, we bring with us cultural knowledge that influences our experience

and interpretation of these places. This point reminds us of the importance of the social relations in which we are embedded; such knowledge is, after all, a product of socio-cultural context. In general, phenomenological approaches within archaeology tend to prioritise the materiality of place in shaping human experience over and above the social networks and value-systems which give meaning to those locations.

Interestingly, this relative evaluation of the social and the material could be said to be especially characteristic of western male ways of looking at the world. Women's sense of self within our own cultural context often lays a greater emphasis on relationships with others than that of men, which may rely more on individual achievement and interaction with or control of the physical world (this view is, of course, a stereotype reflecting only one of the many conflicting ways in which "men" and "women" are represented in modern western society).

The focus on place over and above social relations within phenomenological approaches may also arise out of the perceived disintegration of "traditional" kinship networks and communities in many parts of modern western Europe, particularly urban areas. More and more, it is place that provides us with both identity and security. We can see this, for example, in the burgeoning home improvement industry and in the proliferation of television programmes, magazines and services that relate to the aesthetic and symbolic elaboration of the domestic context. This is particularly interesting, given that women are no longer seen as primarily tied to the home and that certain categories of men and women (the employed) spend more and more time outside of the home as working hours increase. Although the amount of time many people spend at home is decreasing, yet its importance remains primary, an indication that the "home" answers particular social and ontological needs within modern western society. At the same time, at least some television programmes focusing on "home improvement" are aimed at those who spend part of the day at home (these programmes are often broadcast mid-morning or mid-afternoon); this hints that the domestic context fulfils equally important, if somewhat different roles in the construction of identity for people who, for example, are unemployed, work from home or care for children.

The idea that different people can experience the same place in quite different ways stems in part out of the essentially social nature of interpretation and experience. By focusing primarily on the interaction between the human body and the material world, we risk passing over significant aspects of the ways in which a person moving through a monument or landscape is historically and culturally constituted. To date, phenomenological accounts have focused on how places, through their very physicality, create particular kinds of subject. The conception of the self that is conjured up in this process is one of a subject whose experience is constructed purely within and through the architecture of the space in question; in this way, the self is represented as a stable, bounded and homogeneous entity (Brück 2001). By way of contrast, anthropological and feminist discussions of the self stress that

personhood is a complex, fluid, socially-mediated and contextually-specific concept (e.g. Brah, 1996; Broch-Due and Rudie, 1993; Butler, 1990; B. Morris, 1994; Probyn, 1996; Strathern, 1988, 1991). Here, I want to explore how a contextual or relational conception of personhood can help us to provide a somewhat different understanding of how humans engage with place. This allows the recontextualisation of those spaces we study as archaeologists, reminding us that contexts outside of the immediate physical setting inform interpretation of a place and that the social relations in which people are embedded facilitate different ways of seeing and experiencing space.

A relational conception of personhood takes as its basis the idea that self-identity is constructed out of a person's relationships with others (Fajans, 1985; Ito, 1985; B. Morris, 1994; Read, 1955; Strathern, 1988, 1991). Part of the self originates in other people: the series of interchanges engaged in over the course of a lifetime links one with different people in changing and fluid ways. Self-identity is also bound up in and constructed through the various significant places and events encountered over a person's lifespan. In this sense, the self is both spatially and temporally dispersed and is always in the process of becoming; in no simple way can the self be thought of as coterminous with the human body. This is what Strathern (1988, 1991; following Marriott, 1976) terms the "dividual" self: people are not unitary and unchanging beings but are comprised of a series of parts or fragments which become incorporated, reconfigured and dispersed through such processes as marriage, exchange and parenthood. Because part of people's self-identity and way of viewing the world is constituted outside of the building or landscape in which they find themselves at any one moment, interpretation within that context cannot be precisely controlled, making a variety of different "perspectives" possible (for more detailed discussion, see Brück, 2001). People bring with them a range of pre-understandings that influence their interpretation and experience of the spaces they encounter. While their movements within space may be constrained by the physical features of a landscape or building, their interpretation of that space cannot be fully controlled because their cultural knowledge is in part constructed within other places and out of other relationships.

The "Domestic Domain"

This underlines the fact that architecture does not of itself create particular ways of perceiving and interpreting the world. The same building or landscape can produce quite different experiences. This has implications for the interpretation of domestic buildings in the past. Even where a structure has formal similarities with our idealised notion of a house (for example the presence of a hearth, evidence for food storage and preparation or other daily maintenance activities), we must be careful to avoid the implicit assumption that the set of values, perceptions and

social relations realised within this space was in any way similar to that produced in our own homes. We know that today "houses" in different cultural contexts produce very different gender distinctions and gendered experiences (for example, see Waterson's 1990 discussion of different southeast Asian societies). Moreover, even within a single cultural context, the same "house" can be understood and experienced differently according to context. For example, on the island of Sumba in Indonesia, during the performance of certain household rituals, the innermost, sacred part of the house is associated with men and the ancestors (ibid.: 99). During the everyday life of the house, on the other hand, these same areas are most closely associated with women, while it is the world outside of the house that is conceptually linked with men. On Timor, the ordering of space within Atoni houses again reflects gender ideologies but the gender categories produced cannot be seen as fixed (ibid.: 171–5). In certain contexts, the right hand side of the house is associated with men and is considered more honoured. For example, children and lower status guests are not allowed to sleep on the "great platform" which is situated here. However, the left hand side, which is associated with women, is also the ritual centre of the house, and women are responsible for the spiritual well-being of the household; this part of the house is therefore valued more highly than the right hand side on particular occasions. In a similar way, Bourdieu's classic study on the Berber house (1979) indicates that the meanings and values attached to space are far from static. As such, they allow for the generation of a variety of different types of interpretation and experience. Hence, the type of self produced through domestic architecture cannot be seen as a fixed entity. This hints at some of the problems surrounding approaches which take the definition of "woman" to be a stable and homogeneous category either within or across cultural groupings; the way in which gendered identities are created within the domestic domain allows for a series of different types of self to be produced according to context.

A critique of the concept "domestic domain" provides some related lines of thought. In the modern western world, the home is sharply differentiated both spatially and conceptually from other arenas of practice (Brück, 1999a; Moore, 1988: 21–4; Strathern, 1984: 24–6, 30–31; Tiffany, 1978: 42–3, 46; Waterson, 1990: 169–71). Political, economic and religious activities each have their own circumscribed spaces outside of the domestic context and these have largely been dominated by men in recent centuries. This means that the home is characterised as passive, private and feminine in contrast with the active, public and male-dominated world of production and politics. The idea of the domestic domain as a bounded and universal category of space associated with an unchanging and uniform class of person—women—bears similarities to the notion of the person as a stable homogeneous entity cut off from other people and unaltered by aspects of context beyond the materiality of space. Just as the person can be seen as fluid and contextually-constructed, so too the home is not a changeless "thing", but is essentially a cultural construction (as the papers in Benjamin [1995] demonstrate so clearly).

In fact, in many societies, the domestic domain is not cut off from politics, economics or ritual, but forms one of the main arenas in which such activities take place (e.g. Waterson, 1990). In kinship-based communities, for example, the household group may itself form a political entity (Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995). In non-industrialised societies, the home is a major locus for productive as well as maintenance and reproductive activities (Wilk and Netting, 1984). It may also be a focus for a range of important ritual activities (e.g. Boivin, 2000; Parker Pearson and Richards, 1994a; Richards, 1996). Thus, just as the domestic domain is not cut off from other aspects of daily life, so women's identities are not purely constituted through those activities which we—from the vantage point of the modern western world—define as typically domestic, in particular childcare, reproduction and maintenance activities. Because domestic practice is interdigitated with other aspects of social life, women's sense of self is constituted not only through their association with the domestic domain—whatever form that association may take—but also through their participation in activities and social relationships that have an impact outside of the domestic context as well as within it. Moreover, this suggests that in other societies, it is not just women who are defined in relation to the domestic domain; men's identities may also be bound up with their "homes" and constructed in relation to those practices that they carry out within the settlement (e.g. Hugh-Jones, 1995; Waterson, 1990).

Of course, household membership is not always based on kinship or conjugal relationships nor is biological reproduction necessarily a primary function of the household group (Wilk and Netting, 1984). Households may comprise unrelated individuals, such as members of age-sets; in our own society, the student household provides a good example. Elsewhere, the existence of separate men's houses and women's houses is well-documented. Amongst the Akan of Ghana, a woman and her children form a matricentral cell in a compound housing matrilateral relatives (Woodford-Berger, 1981). Her husband is a member of a different household and lives apart from his wife, although he receives food and visits from her. Here, a domestic function transgresses household boundaries and biological reproduction is not a defining feature of the household group. Again, this underlines the variability in gender structures and gender ideologies reproduced through the house. As such, we must take particular care to avoid assumptions regarding the way in which the architecture of the house is constitutive of particular experiences.

It is perhaps because of the limitations of phenomenological approaches as discussed above that where such ideas have been applied to houses in the past, the gender relations inferred have retained a certain amount of familiarity (e.g. Hingley, 1990; Parker Pearson and Richards, 1994b; Richards, 1990). Because of the interpretative primacy of the archaeologist's own physical encounter with the architecture, it has become difficult to probe in depth the possibility that houses may have produced quite different experiences and different selves in the past. Hence,

the deep, dark, back spaces of ancient dwellings are often interpreted as associated with women. As such, it is all too easy to ascribe ethnocentrically-derived values to these, seeing them perhaps as lower status, dirty, close to nature or peripheral. In contrast, the bright central or front areas of houses are often designated as higher status and are implicitly or explicitly described as male spaces. Houses in the past begin to look—comfortably or uncomfortably—like houses in the present. What I hope to explore here is how space may be ascribed different associations and values according to context; although many anthropological accounts of the use of space have posited the existence of strictly gendered divisions of space to which static "dominant" meanings are attached, it is fair to say that the structuralist orientation of many of these studies may have hampered a subtle appreciation of how space can be differentially valued according to who is using it and when. Within archaeology, it has proved tempting to employ similar structuralist methodologies to interpret the "meaning" of household space in the past, although it has often proved difficult to override our own cultural preconceptions concerning the meaning and value of spaces such as "back" and "front".

To conclude this section, there are two simple points to be made here in relation to the domestic domain. First, the domestic context is not in itself a static and transhistorical thing. The ideas, concepts, values and types of people associated with it vary considerably from culture to culture. Moreover, we can by no means make assumptions about the articulation of "domestic" activities with other arenas of practice. In many societies, there is no sharp distinction between domestic practice and productive, ritual or political activities. Indeed, the types of activities that would be described as typically "domestic" vary from society to society; in many communities, for example, the making of pottery forms a routine part of the productive and maintenance activities of the household, although in modern western Europe this is rarely the case. Furthermore, within any one society, the actual nature and experience of the domestic domain changes according to context and according to who is doing the interpreting. Place, then, is an inherently fluid thing. As such, it does not create one single category of person but is implicated in the production of many different types of self.

Second, although place has an important role to play in the constitution of the self, it is only one factor out of several. A person's relationships with others, stretching as they do across time and space, are also primary, as are events and locations beyond the immediate physical context in which one finds oneself at any single moment. This means that even in those cultural contexts where women are strongly associated with the domestic domain, their identity and experience as women is never solely constituted within and through the "home". Women are not constructed as unitary or unchanging beings (although they may be represented as such in certain discourses). Rather, their sense of self and their experience of "womanhood" will change according to context. People, like places, are continuously in the process of being constructed.

Bronze Age Roundhouses

In this section, I want to explore some of the ways in which a sense of self was constituted through the domestic context in the Middle Bronze Age of southern England. The archaeological record of this period is dominated by settlements and field systems (Barrett, 1994: Ch. 6; Barrett and Bradley, 1980a). Settlements usually comprise several roundhouses and ancillary structures or features such as granaries, working areas and ponds; they may be enclosed by banks, ditches or fences (e.g. Figure 2; Barrett et al., 1991; Drewett, 1982; Ellison, 1981, 1987). It is unlikely that all of the roundhouses on a site were in use at the same time, and it is widely accepted that these sites represent the settlements of small extended family groups that were inhabited and modified over a period of some years. Many settlements possessed their own small cemetery (Bradley, 1981). The presence of male, female and juvenile burials suggests that kinship was a primary structuring

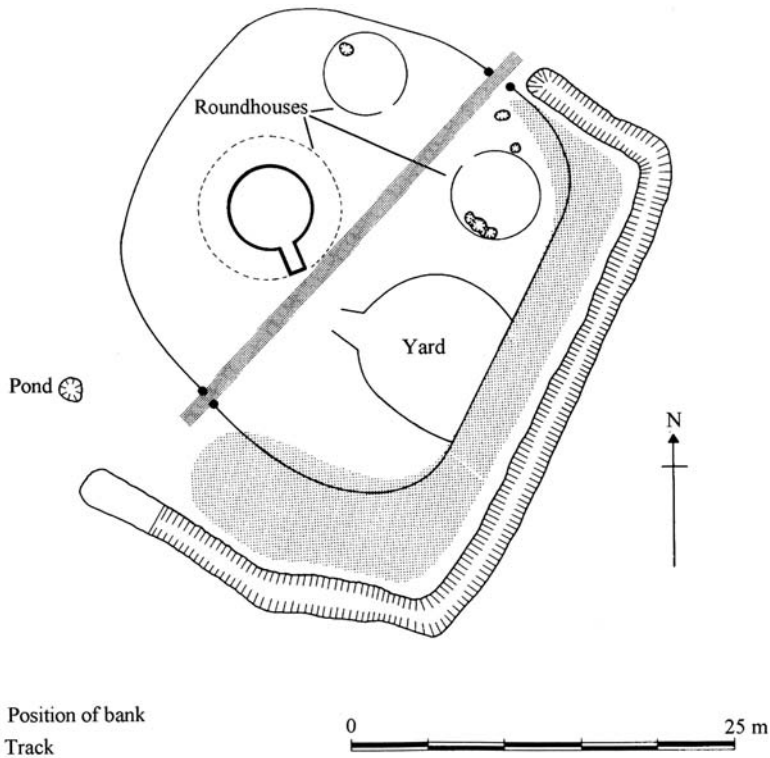

Figure 2. Schematic plan of the settlement at Down Farm, Dorset (after Barrett, Bradley and Green, 1991: fig. 5.41).

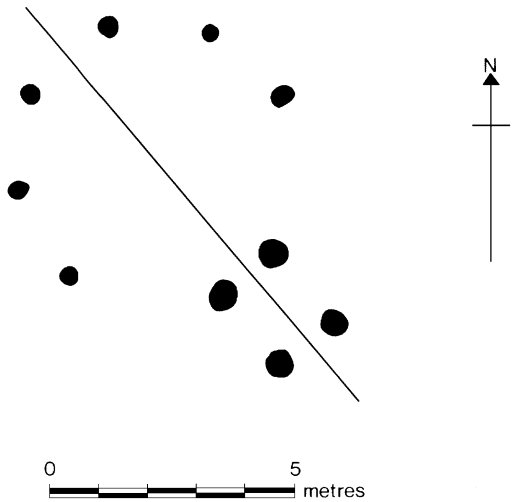

Figure 3. Plan of structure A, Down Farm, Dorset, with axial line drawn to indicate symmetrical layout of posts (after Barrett, Bradley and Green, 1991: fig. 5.29).

element of the Middle Bronze Age household (Ellison, 1980), although it remains difficult to identify the nature and organisation of such "families", or the forms of inheritance and marriage that might have been practised (see Drewett, 1982 for one particular interpretation). Although such small farmsteads are likely to have formed the main units of agricultural production, the layout of contemporary field systems suggests inter-household co-operation with some degree of pooling of labour (Fleming, 1988).

I want to begin by suggesting that a single Middle Bronze Age "house" (and I use the term here advisedly) could have produced a variety of different interpretations and experiences of space. During this period, a relatively standardised form of domestic architecture, the roundhouse, appeared across much of southern Britain (Figure 3; Brück, 1999b; Guilbert, 1982; Musson, 1970; Parker Pearson and Richards, 1994b). These buildings were predominantly oriented towards the south-east and many had a porch or other architecturally elaborated entrance. With axial symmetry in the placement of major structural elements, and a technique of construction which involved a main circular setting of load-bearing posts several feet inside the outer wall of the building, the potential arose for the division of roundhouse space into several different areas: front and back, left and right, centre and periphery (of course, we must remain aware of the loaded nature of such descriptive terms).

However, despite the appearance of a "typical" roundhouse form, this does not mean that identity and experience was constituted within these spaces in a uniform and constrained manner. If we look at the spatial location of activities,

there is considerable inter-site variability, suggesting that these buildings could be used quite differently within different regional or local traditions (Brück, 1999b). It is of course often difficult to distinguish spatial patterns which may relate to the original use of the building from those that are a product of post-abandonment disturbance, but in many cases, the distribution of artefacts mirrors the divisions of space created by the architecture. Despite this, it is not possible to identify consistent inter-site patterning in the location of particular activities. Variation occurs between sites in terms of what activities took place within the house, where these were carried out and which of the potential architectural divisions were drawn on to create spatial differentiation. Here, then, it is not the roundhouse in and of itself which shapes experience but people's active and culturally-specific use of that space. The Middle Bronze Age house was not a unitary entity which created one set of experiential realities, but was variously constituted within different local contexts. Although more difficult to demonstrate archaeologically, we can use this to suggest that even within any one society, different people or groups of people may likewise have read the roundhouse differently; such readings would have been influenced by experience, cultural knowledge, agenda and perspective, all of which may have differed according to factors such as age, gender and social standing. Some of the sources of this variability will be explored below.

Secondly, I want to demonstrate that in the Middle Bronze Age, the domestic domain included activities which in the modern western world take place largely outside of the home. In fact, archaeologists have always been aware of the potential importance of productive and ritual activities on settlements in prehistory, although their identification of these has rarely informed their interpretation (whether explicit or implicit) of gender relations in the past. For the Middle Bronze Age, productive activities such as the weaving of cloth (quite possibly for external exchange as well as domestic consumption) is indicated by the abundance of loom weights on many settlements (Barrett and Bradley, 1980b). It is one of the interesting features of this period that loom weights now appear in considerable numbers in certain parts of Britain, given the relative lack of evidence for cloth production in preceding centuries. Evidence for ritual practice is also widespread on these sites in the form of votive deposits (Brück, 1999b). Whole quernstones, inverted fineware pots, animal burials and small bronze objects were buried in pits, ditches and postholes. I have argued elsewhere (ibid.) that such deposits drew attention to significant locations in space (such as boundaries and entrances; e.g. Figure 4). They also marked out important points in the agricultural cycle and in the life of the settlement and its inhabitants. Political activities focused on settlement sites may be indicated by evidence for feasting in the form of large mounds of burnt flint, such as that at South Lodge Camp, Dorset (Barrett et al., 1991: 161). It is thought that flint was used in the cooking technology of the period to heat water and other liquids in vessels that were not sufficiently well-fired to stand direct heat from a hearth. In a society where the household group appears to have been the basic unit

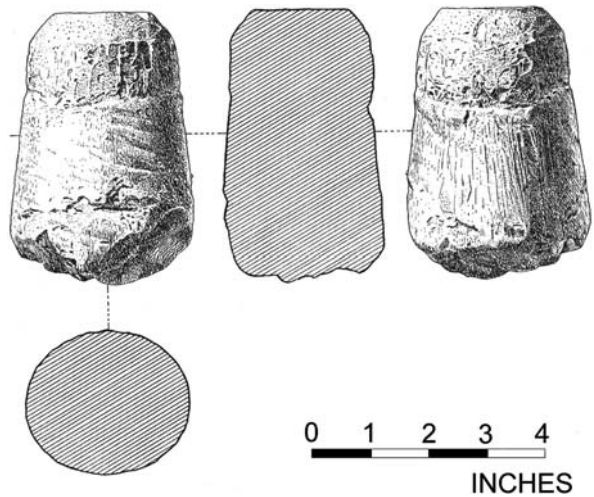

Figure 4. The chalk "phallus" found standing upright on the base of a posthole in the entrance to roundhouse D at Itford Hill, Sussex (after Burstow and Holleyman, 1957: plate XVI and fig. 26).

of agricultural production and where kinship is likely to have been a major factor in structuring the socio-political order (Ellison, 1981), it is hardly surprising that political activities should focus at the level of the co-resident kin group, perhaps taking place in the context of visits for exchange or inter-household pooling of labour for tasks such as harvesting cereal crops.

If productive, political and ritual activities were largely centred on or organised through the household, it is unlikely that the domestic-public dichotomy through which male-female relationships have been articulated during parts of recent western history can be imposed on the Bronze Age. There is nothing to suggest that the domestic domain was perceived as "women's space" to the exclusion of men, nor that women did not play a role in activities that took place outside of the house. Indeed, within such small-scale agricultural economies, it is likely that all of the personnel that made up the co-resident group would have played a role in productive activities, the rituals that sustained human life and agricultural fertility, and the socio-political practices that underpinned the household economy; of course, this is not to say that the contributions of different gender groups were perceived and valued in identical ways.

Terms of Reference

Before I move on, I want to briefly explain my use of the terms "men" and "women" in this paper. These are deliberately employed to underline the idea that

social groups—at whatever level (household, neighbourhood, ethnic group, etc.)—are not unitary and homogeneous entities. The English-language literature on the Bronze Age has retained a distinctly social-evolutionary focus. Discussions of chiefly hierarchies and long-distance exchanges eclipse the local worlds of face-to-face interaction within which gendered identities were constructed on a daily basis. Within this literature, the role of those who do not conform to particular idealised notions of "manhood" drawn from our own historical context (the "warrior", for example) remains distinctly underexplored. Women, if they are mentioned at all, are characterised as passive, decorated by their fathers or husbands and exchanged as wives in attempts to form chiefly alliances.

My use of the terms "men" and "women", then, are heuristic and arise out of a desire to write other gender groups back into our accounts of the Bronze Age. Three points must be underlined here. First, we cannot assume that Bronze Age people utilised a simple binary opposition (male-female) to describe differential reproductive capacity or other perceived physical/biological differences. Second, gendered identity cannot be reduced to biological sex. For example, Sofaer Derevenski's study (1997) of some of the continental European burial data has shown that Bronze Age gendered identity shifted in complex and contextually-specific ways along such axes as age, social standing (however that may have been defined) and cultural group. Hence, if Bronze Age people recognised the generalised binary gender categories "men" and "women", these were certainly not constructed as static and unitary entities. Third, even if we do posit the existence of the categories "men" or "women" in the Bronze Age, we can in no way assume that these were defined and valued in the same way as they are today. Here, then, I use these terms simply as a means of exploring how different categories of people might have created identities for themselves within the domestic domain. As we shall see below, such identities were not static productions relating purely to dualistic models of reproductive capacity, but contextual positionings that drew on other aspects of productive, political and ritual practice.

I hope to show, therefore, that gender categories such as "men" and "women", if they existed, were not monolithic and unchanging entities into which people were firmly slotted. Rather, people positioned themselves in relation to gender discourses by espousing, rejecting and transposing the meanings associated with particular practices, places and objects. It is too simplistic to suggest, for example, that "women wove cloth during the Middle Bronze Age", although the hermeneutic approach taken below begins by suggesting exactly this. In fact, activities such as weaving evoked qualities and connotations which, in certain circumstances, people drew on to characterise particular gender groups and to locate themselves or others in relation to these idealised categories. To take an example from our own society, the cultural norms of the modern western world might lead us to expect toy swords or toy guns to mostly be used by boys, although girls will also play with such objects. When a girl plays with a toy sword, this does not

mean that she has become "a boy" or that she is trying to do so. Rather, swords evoke certain qualities that are associated with "manliness", for example courage, strength and violence. Clearly, women in our society can also possess some or all of these characteristics. Women, then, may hold within them qualities idealised as both "manly" and "womanly" (the same can be said for men). These qualities are contingently evoked through one's performance of certain activities, subtly shifting or even completely transforming the nature of one's gendered identity. In this way, then, we might say that in our society a woman's gendered identity changes depending on whether she is cooking a meal for her children, discussing business with colleagues, visiting her parents or running in a marathon, although the meanings and values associated with one domain of practice certainly spill over to have an impact on others.

In the section below, then, my account of gender relations in Middle Bronze Age Britain is not written in an attempt to produce an accurate reflection of past "reality". I choose to suggest that women played a dominant role in particular activities not because we can demonstrate this archaeologically but because this allows me to discuss some of the ways in which self-identity could have been contingently constituted within domestic space in relation to particular sets of practices. My interest is more in understanding how a building such as a round-house might have been understood and experienced quite differently according to one's (changing) positioning in relation to gender discourses than in producing a verifiable account of gender roles during the Middle Bronze Age. The discussion below, then, is based on a number of assumptions, but I hope that the reasoning behind this will be apparent to the critical reader. An alternative approach might be to eschew the use of the terms "man" and "woman" altogether. However, in order to construct a narrative which demonstrates the many ways in which a roundhouse might have been experienced, I have chosen to continue to use these terms as a means of distinguishing different perspectives on such buildings. All terminology is culturally-loaded in the sense that it arises out of historically-specific ways of ordering and valuing the world; retaining a self-critical stance in relation to the meaning of the interpretative categories we use will, I hope, in this case be as valuable an approach as rejecting them outright.

The Construction of Gendered Identity in the Middle Bronze Age

We know little about gender roles during the British Middle Bronze Age. For example, it has not proved possible to identify gendered dimensions to the treatment of the human body on death. Most adults were cremated; their remains were placed in ceramic vessels and buried in simple pits without elaborate grave goods (Ellison, 1980). To date, the only potential gendered axis of differentiation that has been identified is the spatial location of burial. Some Middle Bronze

Age cemeteries were inserted into or placed under mounds of earth or stone. Interestingly, McKinley (1997) notes that the central cremation burials within such mounds are more often sexed as biological females than males, although this is certainly not enough to allow the reconstruction of power relations during this period (the sample of sexed central burials is small). Furthermore, there is nothing to link specific gender groups with particular activities during life; there is no extant iconography, and archaeologists' assumptions surrounding the identity of the users or wearers of artefacts recovered from settlement contexts such as bone awls, bronze axes, shale bracelets or stone hammers are just that—assumptions.

To begin at a simplistic level, however, we may note that in many societies, activities such as weaving and the preparation of food have a strongly gendered dimension. For example, in the recent historic period, cloth production across Eurasia has largely been undertaken by women (Schneider and Weiner, 1989) and, although clearly an assumption, we might suggest that Bronze Age women were also heavily involved in this activity. If so, then the substantially increased archaeological visibility of weaving equipment during the Middle Bronze Age hints that those responsible for the production of cloth played a major role in the Bronze Age economy. Along with cloth production, women may also have been largely responsible for activities such as the grinding of grain. I shall use these suggestions as a point of entry for a narrative on Bronze Age settlement constructed within a hermeneutic interpretative framework. However, I would not wish to suggest that "womanhood" in the Bronze Age (if there was such a concept) was defined entirely in relation to such activities; rather, the meanings and values ascribed to these practices were drawn on in particular circumstances to describe certain aspects of "femaleness", although these may have been ignored or inverted in other contexts.

If we suggest that the grinding of grain was undertaken by women, then this allows us to talk about gender roles in other areas of practice. During this period, it is possible to identify a whole series of metaphorical links between the production of cereal food and the treatment of the dead (for detailed discussion, see Brück, in press). Processes of heating/burning and crushing were applied both to cereals and to the bodies of the dead. Grain was parched, ground and cooked to render it edible. Seed corn was stored in ceramic vessels before planting; often, these storage vessels were placed in pits in the ground. Similarly, cremation was the primary rite of disposal of the dead during this period. After collection from the pyre, the cremated remains were usually buried in a storage vessel, prior to which they sometimes appear to have been deliberately crushed (e.g. Everton, 1981: 186; but see McKinley, 1993). Grave goods are rare but grinding equipment is not unknown from cemetery contexts at this time. The rubbing stone or grinder found at the Knighton Heath cemetery, Dorset, is one such example (Petersen, 1981: 56), and it is possible that this item was used to transform both food and the dead as part of the funeral rite.

These similarities between the preparation of food and treatment of the dead perhaps hint that women played a primary role in funerary activities. In general, transformations mediated by heating and grinding seem to have been viewed as powerful and productive processes during this period, facilitating the regeneration of life through the harnessing of death (Brück, in press). If so, then women's ability to transform deceased relatives into ancestors or agricultural produce into nourishing food would have given them power and status in particular contexts (whether this power was viewed in positive or negative terms—or both—is more difficult to say).

We may use these observations to suggest that women's sense of value and self-identity was not simply constructed in terms of the domestic domain as we understand it today. As producers of cloth wealth which may have been used in exchange (itself a particularly important activity in the Bronze Age), particular women's fame as weavers may have spread far beyond their immediate kin group. Indeed, women may themselves have engaged in exchange either with other women or as members of wider kin groups, a possibility that is rarely countenanced in accounts of the Bronze Age, although this is well-documented ethnographically (Weiner, 1992). Alternately, if men were the main actors within exchange activities, they would nonetheless have been dependant on women for the production of much of the wealth they needed (ibid.). The complex relations of obligation and dependence in which Bronze Age men and women were no doubt enmeshed would have given each claims over the other. Turning to mortuary practices, women's role in this case would have ensured that they had the opportunity to create networks of social links with kin and neighbours outside of their own settlement. The importance of such social relationships in terms of the political order should not be underestimated. As members of particular kin groups, relations of seniority may have been established among the women of the group preparing the deceased for burial, no doubt reflected in how tasks and rights were allocated for the duration of the mortuary ceremonies. As such, women would have played an important role in the reproduction and renegotiation of the social order that surrounds death in most societies (cf. Weiner, 1992).

The different spheres of practice in which women—like men—were involved meant that womanhood was not constituted as a unitary and unchanging state. Women's experience and sense of self-identity varied according to context as would others' evaluations of them. A woman's position and perspective might change depending on whether she was preparing food for her immediate family, giving a gift of fine cloth to her visiting brother, or telling stories to neighbours as she helped to bring in their harvest about the respected relative she had buried the previous winter. Activities such as burial, food preparation, cloth production and exchange each had a series of meanings and connotations, some of which were constructed within the domestic domain and some of which were not. The domestic domain was set within a dynamic social and material landscape; meanings and

values attached to people and activities within the settlement were constructed via conceptual links with a series of other events, practices and relationships outside of the domestic context.

Of course, it may be erroneous to assume that distinct and mutually exclusive spheres of activity existed for men and women in the Middle Bronze Age. Many household activities may have been shared productive tasks to which both women and men contributed. Strathern's discussion (1988: 159–65) of the multiple authoring of Hagen pigs provides a good example of the way in which wives and husbands may play joint and complementary roles in productive activities. Although it is difficult to identify the precise roles that men and women played in household activities in the past, interesting inferences can occasionally be made. Sørensen's study (1991) of items of clothing preserved in the well-known log-coffin burials of the Danish Bronze Age provides an excellent example. Individual pieces of cloth often show a number of different weaving styles and levels of ability, suggesting that several members of the household contributed to their production (although whether this included different gender groups is unknown). In Middle Bronze Age Britain, it is possible that activities such as cloth production or the treatment of the dead were joint undertakings in which both women and men played a role, although it has not been possible to demonstrate this to date.

It is also important to remember that the products of women's and men's labour may not necessarily have been their own to give away. The web of relationships within which a person is embedded means that others may have prior claims over the objects she produces. As such, even if women were the primary producers of cloth in the Middle Bronze Age, it may not always have been possible to dispose of this exactly as they wished. This brings us back to our discussion above of relational concepts of the self. At one level, personal freedom may be curtailed by the networks of obligation that link people together. Yet, at another level, one might argue that agency is located in the sets of social relationships that make up the person; it is one's relationships with others that empower one to act in particular ways. As such, an activity such as the exchange of cloth can perhaps be seen as a locus of political negotiation. Those involved may have had a variety of different interests and agendas; options would have been weighed up and choices made depending on circumstances and on the relations between those concerned. In other words, people were not constrained to act in particular ways but chose to do so on the basis of their knowledgeable but contextually positioned understanding of events.

Architecture and Meaning

Here, I want to explore the cross-referencing between different spheres of practice a little further. People construct the world through metaphor (Tilley, 1999).

They grasp new experiences by describing these in relation to ideas they are already familiar with. The qualities of one place or artefact are evoked in terms of those of another. An artefact such as a bronze knife, then, is constituted within a network of conceptual links that provides a series of different ways for people to interpret this object. To take the example of a pot, this has a whole series of referents. In the Middle Bronze Age, the same types of pot were used to prepare food and to bury the dead, evoking a series of images of commensality, nurture and loss that crossed from one domain to the other. The rusticated decoration found on some Middle Bronze Age ceramics may make reference to basketry techniques (Ellison, 1975), calling to mind the places, people and activities with which basketry was associated. Some pots were made within the settlement itself, whereas others came from a distance (Ellison, 1981), perhaps arriving along with other gifts from allies who came to carry out marriage negotiations. Events such as these inscribe objects with a significance beyond their simple use as containers for food. Pots, like people, were broken on death; at cemeteries such as Bromfield in Shropshire, there is evidence that vessels were deliberately smashed at the pyre-side (Stanford, 1982), indicating that the lifecycle of a vessel was considered analogous at some level to that of a human being and perhaps even that certain pots may have been associated with particular people (Brück, in press). The temper added to pottery during this period included burnt flint and grog (Brown, 1995: 127; E. Morris, 1994: 38). Thus, both waste from the preparation of food, itself an evocatively transformative activity, and the remains of older, "dead" pots were used to make new containers, reminding their users of the cyclical emergence of death out of life and of the power (albeit contextual) of those who presided over ceramic production. Similar heat-mediated transformations involving fragmentation and rebirth include metallurgy and cremation (Brück in press), and this sharing of techniques reminds us of the network of conceptual links through which people, places, objects and activities are constituted.

An artefact such as a pot, then, carried a series of different symbolic meanings in the Middle Bronze Age, as did the practices in which it was used. Returning to the question of domestic space and domestic architecture, it is clear that the spatial location of activities involving objects such as pottery would not simply impart one single meaning to the building in which they took place. Rather, the range of different associations which such artefacts conjured up would lend an important element of fluidity to the interpretation of space. The networks of symbolical links within which objects were constituted provided a series of different ways for people to interpret the spaces in which these artefacts were placed. Hence, different people might have understood and experienced the same roundhouse quite differently. For women and for men, seeing a pot set down next to a hearth may have triggered quite different ideas and feelings, although the basic set of qualities and meanings ascribed to the pot by both may have been similar. These different ideas and feelings arose out of people's varying structural location in relation to

objects, activities, knowledge and the sources of social power. The roundhouse, then, was a different place depending on one's gendered identity (the same points can be made for other aspects of one's social identity too). As such, the same building could have provided a basis for the construction of a series of contextually-shifting experiences and interpretations. This happened because the roundhouse was conceptually constructed through a series of meaningful associations with contexts outside of itself, just as a person's identity and spatial experience was influenced not only by their immediate physical placement but by their memories of events, activities and people that were spatially and temporally distant.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the problems that might surround an attempt to write a phenomenology of the house in archaeology. While phenomenology provides useful insights into the construction of human experience, in archaeology at least, this approach has not as yet been able to fully penetrate the cultural specificities of the human interpretative process. Of course, phenomenology could certainly be employed to construct a range of narratives in the present, for example by involving different age, gender or class groups in the interpretative process applied to particular archaeological datasets. Yet, the extent to which archaeologists' experience of ancient settlement remains might replicate that of their erstwhile inhabitants remains highly questionable. Here, I have tried to show that "houses" in the past—as in other societies today—were very different to our own homes. I have also suggested that in the past, as in the present, different interest groups could have experienced or interpreted the same building quite differently. I have tried to consider some of the ways in which we can begin to explore this diversity of interpretation by looking at the constitution of objects and spaces within dense webs of practical and metaphorical connections that cut across the settlement and into the wider social landscape. To what extent phenomenology—as a methodology—might contribute to this interpretative process remains to be explored further.

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Part III
Identity and Place

Chapter 8

"Games, Sports and What-Not"

Regulation of Leisure and the Production of Social Identities in Nineteenth Century America

ELEANOR CONLIN CASELLA

The Making of a Working-Man's "Hero"

At age 49, Adolph Sutro returned to his adopted home of San Francisco, astride a wave of popular and economic success. A Jewish-Prussian immigrant in 1850, Sutro had used his powerful rhetorical skills, and European background as a mechanical engineer, to convince the US Congressional Mines and Mining Committee to underwrite his company's construction of a drainage and ventilation tunnel under the famed Comstock Lode of the Nevada silver fields. As the *Sutro Tunnel Act* of 1866 required all mines along the Comstock to pay improvement royalties to the tunnel owner, Sutro rapidly found himself in the heroic role of the self-made minefield millionaire.

Sutro returned in 1880 to a city flushed by a combination of gold-fever, racism and smallpox. Never one to shy from a development opportunity, in March 1881, he purchased twenty-two hundred acres of land at Los Lobos, the windswept westernmost point of the San Francisco peninsula. As part of this deal, Sutro acquired the Los Lobos toll road and the Cliff House, a music hall with a tarnished reputation for disreputable "entertainments" (Okamoto, 1998:2). As a gesture of

philanthropic benevolence, he planned his transformation of this sandy "howling wilderness." Quoted in a local newspaper, Sutro declared:

> These western shores should become the lands of cultured groves and artistic gardens, the home of a powerful and refined race. To reach this happy consumation a taste for the beautiful in nature must be engendered among the masses . . . (quoted in Okamoto, 1998: 28).

Over the following 17 years, Adolph Sutro begat his masterpiece of civic design—the Sutro Heights gardens, opened to the public in 1885, and the Sutro Baths which received their first swimmer in 1894—two years after Sutro had been elected the City's twenty-first mayor (Flamm, 1999 [1978]: 96).

While Sutro's Gardens and Baths provided working San Franciscans with a spectacular, exotic and affordable venue for seaside recreation, both the design and use of this leisure center articulated with wider productions of social identity. Throughout the Industrial Era, leisure itself became a highly politicized activity, as workers and elites struggled over the existence, duration and nature of after-work activities (Rosenzweig, 1983; Stott, 1990; Beaudry and Mrozowski, 2001). This paper will consider the intersecting roles of class, ethnicity and "health" in the formation, presentation and transformation of urban workers' recreational spaces.

Moral Geographies: Spatial Constructions of the Healthy White Worker

Cultural landscapes originate through the complex interplay of physical geography, social interactions, and power relations (Pred, 1990). Although previous studies have closely examined the capitalist relations of production and consumption that create landscapes as physical configurations of class hierarchies (Lefebvre, 1991; Leone, 1984; Mrozowski, 1991; Shackel, 1993; Johnson, 1996), recent work has expanded our analysis of power relations to include aspects of gender, race, sexuality, and ability as factors structuring the production of spatial meanings (Bondi, 1993; Pratt and Hanson, 1994; Spencer-Wood, 1994; Beaudry et al., 1991; Orser, 1996; Delle, 1998; Voss, 2000; Craddock, 2000). Underlying all such interpretations is the acknowledgement of the multivalent and dynamic nature of spatial forms and functions. Rather than a single passive container, landscapes constitute the conflicting " 'embodiment' and medium of social life itself" (Soja, 1989: 120).

With the rise of work discipline in the Industrial Era, contestations over the regulation of workers' activities expanded beyond the workplace and factory floor to encompass the domestic and recreational arenas of daily life. As noted by labour historian Roy Rosenzweig, from the 1870s "in industrial communities across America workers fought not only for the right to time and space for leisure but also for control over the time and space in which that leisure was to be enjoyed" (Rosezweig, 1983:1). By the late nineteenth century, the overlapped

spheres of civic authority, elite society and industrial ownership ensured that the hierarchical power of the industrialists was actively reinforced through local and state politics (Garner, 1992). Urban landscapes dedicated to public recreation, such as gardens and parks, town squares, and public pools, thus became dense sites for both the display of solidarity and resistance by workers, and the nurturing of social engineering by civic authorities (Bluestone, 1991; Mrozowski, 1991). Drawing from Lefebvre's definition of "conceived" space as a rendering of social intentions (Lefebvre, 1991: 38–39), Beaudry and Mrozowski note of the nineteenth century mill town of Lowell, Massachusetts:

> The companies attempted to dictate the nature and composition of the urban environment; Lowell's planners intended that the structure of the city—street plan, mills, worker housing, and urban parks or 'greenways' would serve as an agent of social control. (Beaudry and Mrozowski, 2001: 120).

From the mid-nineteenth century, poverty became increasingly perceived by middle and elite class reformers as an intentional moral failing (Kasson, 1990; Mayne, 1993; Finch, 1993). Only through the careful design of, and subsequent regulation over, public recreational spaces could the non-work habits of workers be harnessed towards their moral and material "improvement." Within this elite Victorian logic of optimistic social progress, the built environment could be actively used to produce desirable social identities. Thus, from 1850 the major American urban centers underwent self-conscious programmes of civic renewal, with the moral "improvement" of their workers encouraged through the construction of public sanitation services, the clearing of early industrial "slums," and the design of urban parks.

As a relatively young city, rapidly swollen by the wealth of the California and Nevada mine fields, San Francisco differed from its eastern counterparts:

> The gold rush that spawned the growth of San Francisco in the late 1840s and 1850s generated for the decades to come an ideology of success, the ultimate manifestation of the American dream of financial reward for anyone who worked for it. . . . [T]he cultural mystique surrounding this phenomenon was that anyone who came to California could get very rich very quickly, regardless of their previous economic standing. (Craddock, 2000: 55)

Perhaps as a result of this ideology of easy success, San Francisco relied much more heavily on private philanthropy, as opposed to civic funding, for its late Victorian programmes of urban "improvement." Philanthropic privitization of services for the urban working-class was commonplace throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Fitts, 2001; Mayne, 1993). San Francisco differed from eastern cities by the *extent* of its consignment of public services to private donors and voluntary organizations. When faced with outbreaks of smallpox and tuberculosis, the contemporary urban centers of Chicago, New York

and Philadelphia increased their public spending on health reforms and sanitation infrastructure; in California, appropriations for health legislation decreased by one-fifth between 1870 and 1885, even as its population doubled (Jones, 1964: 156). In the entrepenuerial town of San Francisco, philanthropic individuals such as Adolph Sutro compensated for such miserly distribution of public funds. Sutro made no secret of his bias towards the privitization of public works. While a journalist for the *Territorial Enterprise* during the early 1860s, Samuel Clemens (better known under his *nom de plume* Mark Twain) encountered Sutro on the Nevada goldfields:

> He said the bridge was a good one, and so were all public blessings of a similar nature when entrusted to the hands of private individuals. . . . He also said the only way to get public work well and properly done was to let it out by contract. "For instance," says he, "they have fooled away two or three years trying to capture Richmond [from the Confederate Army], whereas if they had let the job by contract to some sensible business man, the thing would have been accomplished and forgotten long ago." (Stewart and Stewart, 1964: 39–40)

Most significantly, San Francisco differed from contemporary American cities in the demographics of its ethnic underclasses. While other late nineteenth century American cities had sizeable European Jewish and African American populations to scapegoat, San Francisco had the largest Chinese population of any US city (Craddock, 2000: 15). Thus, within San Francisco, the Chinese community became inscribed as "the untouchables"—backwards, untrustworthy, dangerous, and diseased. While the endemic presence of tuberculosis was associated with the slovenly and indulgent lifestyles of the poor Irish and Latino communities, deadly outbreaks of smallpox and plague during the 1870s and 1880s were immediately and inextricably linked to Chinatown. Thus, "the geometry of the body mapped the psyche of race" (McClintock, 1995: 50), with public fears of infection soothed through the demarcation of dangerous foreign substances. While the diseased bodies of San Francisco were symbolically defined as Chinese, healthy workingmen's bodies were ideally read as Anglo-American. This geometry of race offered a logic for public anxiety—a spatial neutralization of the dangerous anomalies of exotic migrants and deadly contagion—while simultaneously protecting, defending, and nurturing those (white) San Franciscans defined as worthy urban citizens. Thus, within the unique racial hierarchy of late nineteenth century urban San Francisco, those able to "demonstrate whiteness" (Paynter, 2001) included Adolph Sutro, a recent European Jewish immigrant and heroic minefields millionaire.

Spatial Alternatives: On the Maintenance of Parallel Worlds

Designed landscapes have formed an important subject of archaeological class analysis, with scholars contemplating the spatial fabrication of capitalist

ideologies (Leone, 1984; Johnson, 1996), racialized power relations (Delle, 1998; Orser, 1996), and gender identities (Spencer-Wood, 1994; DeCunzo, 1995: 35–47). But to read a landscape as an internally conflicted "medium of social life" (Soja, 1989) begs an exploration of *use*, as opposed to *design*, of a place. Sutro's extensive attempts at philanthropic social engineering would suggest that the "perceived space" (Lefebvre, 1991: 46) of his seaside resort warrents some deeper consideration. How did the workers of San Francisco make use of Sutro's benevolent civic venue? And can we understand their meanings, desires and intentions through this cultural landscape?

When archaeologists turn to examine issues of landscape *use*, their subject of analysis has typically shifted to the study of portable material culture—the "scrappy and mundane and fragmentary evidence, " the "bits and pieces of everyday life," that help us "understand how workers constructed and expressed identity" (Beaudry and Mrozowski, 2001: 122). Thus, dynamics of class formation and solidarity are most frequently read through artifact assemblages, interpreted as active symbols used to define membership to a hierarchically ordered socio-economic group. Many of these studies draw upon concepts of middle-class "gentility" and "the cult of domesticity" to explain, for example, the increasing adoption of matched sets of transfer-printed tablewares, fine porcelain teawares, cutlery, and specialized vessel forms amongst urban households after the 1840s (Brighton, 2001; Fitts, 1999; Wall, 1994). As these artefacts appear on working-class related sites, archaeologists have correctly noted that they cannot simply be indicators of middle-class occupations, sensibilities, or culture. While recent work has begun to examine the difficult intersections of ethnicity, race, and colonization within formations of class identity (Mullins, 1999; Delle, 1998; Orser, 1998; Singleton, 2001), archaeological interpretations of class tend to draw upon classic themes of hegemonic conformity (Leone, 1988; Shackel, 1993) and class aspiration (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 1992) to explain the ever-increasing regularity of commodity consumption and architectural design after 1750.

But regardless of whether we interrogate built landscapes or portable artifacts, can we assume that the desire for class mobility was universal? Did the adoption of matched sets of specialized tablewares, or panopticonic landscape designs, constitute an everyday conformity to modern capitalist discipline (Leone, 1988)? Do these materials necessarily communicate aspirations towards the etiquette and equipage of upward socio-economic mobility (Paynter, 2001)? Or do the commodities and landscapes assume "different meanings according to who was choosing and using them" (Karskens, 2001: 80)? As class inequalities reside within people's fundamental subjectivities, the social experience prevents an easy interpretation of direct material configurations:

> Class is not just about the way you talk, or dress, or furnish your home; it is not just about the job you do or how much money you make doing it; nor is it merely about whether or not you went to university, nor which university you went to.

> Class is something beneath your clothes, under your skin, in your psyche, at the very core of your being. (Kuhn, 1995: 98)

Despite, and most likely because of, the stark differences in living conditions between the middle classes and working people, a growing number scholars have begun to argue for a model of parallel existence, rather than overt struggles over class identity through material exploitation or seduction. Such research tends to emphasize the differing social and symbolic meanings communicated through shared forms of material culture. While mass-produced ceramic or glass assemblages, for example, would have themselves been familiar to middle-class observers, their surrounding context—the houses, yards and cesspits of urban working-class life—may have yielded "certain conditions, practices and tastes . . . as other elements of a particular urban culture which was very different from that of the middle classes" (Karskens, 2001: 77). Thus, Grace Karskens has interpreted the use of unmatched colors in sets of transfer-printed ceramics, or the etching of initials into glass tumblers, as personal modifications of mass-produced commodities undertaken to materially communicate something *other than* ideologies of consumer conformity or middle-class aspiration.

Parallel existence has also been interpreted in non-domestic contexts through the survival and adaptation of traditional pastimes. In both Australia and America, spatial patterns in the assemblages of lead and ceramic gaming tokens, glass bottles, and clay tobacco pipes from urban working-class sites have been argued to represent the existance of alternative logics of "sobriety" amongst working (and ethnic) communities, particularly in light of the legal regulations and social coercions imposed after 1850 through the class and gender related temperance crusade (Bond, 1989; Reckner and Brighton, 1999; Karskens, 2001). Although this international campaign of temperance transformed into one of abstinence, workers' traditional modes of recreation and social life appeared to survive in parallel. In his classic historical study of a nineteenth century east-coast American factory town, Roy Rosenzweig observed ". . . the culture of the Worcester saloon was alternative—separate and distinct from the dominant society—but not oppositional—not a direct challenge to that society" (Rosenzweig, 1983: 223).

Karskens has suggested a misrecognition on the part of middle-class observers as evidence, if not a cause, of parallel existence for working-class identities:

> Rather than a culture of repudiation, resistance and/or sheer brutal poverty, consumer and popular material culture among the urban working classes ran parallel with, or was identical to, those of the suburban middle classes. They had similar inspirations in rising evangelicalism, with its emphasis on personal redemption, and in the culture of individual self-improvement through education, temperance and rational recreation. It did not automatically follow, however, that

> middle-class observers recognised this commonality, or heeded the demonstrations of respectability (Karskens, 2001: 77).

According to her model, a culture of gentility, and its associated material assemblages, spread throughout all social classes over the nineteenth century. However, like a language, this shared concern rapidly developed different dialects, thereby created misrecognitions of "respectability" between the classes (Karskens and Lawrence, 2003).

But did the different social identity groups hold similar inspirations? Was "respectability" itself a socio-economically situated concept, rather than a desire shared among parallel identity groups? In other words, how great a difference or divergence must be in place for the dialects to exist as different languages? If we travel deeper into this linguistic model, would the landscape features, artifactual assemblages, or perhaps the artifacts themselves, act as "phonemes" within related but separate languages—like the similar Latinate sound elements shared between French and Spanish?

In her sociological study of white working-class women in a northern English industrial city, Beverley Skeggs (1997) traced the concept of "respectability" as an exclusionary judgement of social value and legitimacy, one historically tied to concepts of "Englishness" and capitalist individuality. Drawing from Bordieu's model of class as various forms of "capital" movement through social space (Bourdieu, 1989), Skeggs noted a significant difference between *economic* capital—income, wealth, inheritances and monetary assets—and *cultural* capital, which exists in three forms: "in an embodied state, that is in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and the body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods; and in the institutionalized state, resulting in such things as educational qualifications" (Skeggs, 1997: 8). If workers, then as now, actively appreciated their systematic alienation from forms of both economic and cultural capital, perhaps they also understood all too clearly the stark limitations on their ability to "increase their capital assets, to convert them to gain material reward"—in other words, their ability to successfully mobilize "respectability."

Knowing such systematic and universal limitations, did workers actively choose to minimize their engagement with hegemonic ideologies of "respectability?" Perhaps it was not so much an issue of misrecognition of the material culture, but an intentional and nonconfrontational use of the same material culture according to alternative sets of identity values, tastes and aspirations. Perhaps members of the urban working-class were using a different "language" made up of similar elements. Would the word "respectability," with all of its middle-class associations, apply to material expressions of keeping house, keeping family and keeping leisure within the parallel worlds of urban workers? Are the "dialects" different enough to warrant a new word, or a new language? In her classic study of the

painful intersections between class and gender inequalities, Carolyn Steedman noted:

> [T]o deal with the felt injuries of a social system through the experience of women and girls suggests that beneath the voices of class-consciousness may perhaps lie *another language*, that might be heard to express the feelings of those outside the gate, the propertyless and the dispossessed. (Steedman, 1986: 114, emphasis added).

Were the workers of San Francisco concerned with the "respectability" of their leisure? Did they care about the misrecognition of their recreation as "respectable," or merely its continued presence in their lives? Rather than rejecting hegemonic concepts of "respectability" (a position that suggests some form of negative engagement), perhaps in their parallel worlds workers found such middle and elite class values irrelevant? Noting the fluidity of working-class recreational activities, Mary Beaudry has commented:

> Workers tend to define well-being as the freedom to do what they want: to be able-bodied and fit enough to stay awake after the shift, whether to have a beer with the fellows or to do nothing at all. . . . workers were willing to transform their leisure so long as they did not have to give it up. (Beaudry, 1993: 92)

The cultural landscape of Adolph Sutro's recreational complex can therefore be interpreted as representing a far more complex set of social relations than a simple class opposition between designed versus used space. As a recent Jewish immigrant performing his newly acquired social status, Sutro overtly designed and publically marketed his leisure complex in resonance with the philanthropic ideals of the Anglo-American Protestant civic elites. And as a successful entrepeneur, Sutro's grand designs simultaneously acknowledged the desires and pleasures of a working-class culture, incorporating spectacular elements he knew would draw the white urban punters, the paying public, to his seaside venue. He was, in a sense, simultaneously catering to two very different and parallel audiences, with the landscape of his recreational venue representing a fusion between these differing aesthetics, desires and interests. Ultiimately, Sutro's Gardens and Baths can be read as a landscape of ideological design actively mediated, and ultimately subsumed, by parallel and alternative set of working-class interests, tastes and uses.

A Day Trip to the Seaside

To first consolidate his unusual position within the circle of civic elite, Sutro began the transformation of a seedy music hall on the western edge of the peninsula into a magnificent and salubrious recreational space for his adopted American city.

As the presence of disease was increasingly mapped through the filthy and decrepit alleyways of urban Chinatown, Sutro's seaside Gardens and Baths were intended to provide a wholesome and cleansing retreat for the healthy white workers of San Francisco.

The geographic performance of social identity began with the journey to Sutro Heights. By 1883, Sutro had financially supported the construction of a low-fare steam rail track along the original toll road to Point Lobos, thereby increasing visitation numbers among the recreating white working-classes of San Francisco (EDAW, 1993: 2.9). Besides providing economical access to his seaside venue, the rail journey was designed to offer travellers spectacular views of the rugged coast-line and picturesque city cemeteries. In 1887, Sutro sold his rail franchise to the Park and Ocean Railroad, with the legally contracted stipulation that the company retain the 5-cent fare for travel from downtown to Sutro Heights. However, when the rail company suffered a corporate acquisition and raised fares to 10 cents, Sutro launched his famous conflict with the Market Street Railway Company, a subsidiary of the massive Southern Pacific Railroad monopoly, with the public statement:

> I had intended Sutro Heights as a breathing spot for the poor people and as a benefit to the public. I felt grieved, and I chafed under the contemptible meanness of these [railroad] people who, while I kept these places open here at a cost of $20,000 a year at least, and in some cases a good deal more, that they should get every nickel out of the people who visited. (Toogood, 1980: 64)

To encourage continued working-class patronage of his seaside complex, Sutro decided to challenge the monopolistic grip of the Southern Pacific, and obtained his second franchise to construct a competing dedicated electric rail line. Thus, from 1894 day trippers could once again spend 5-cents to ride the Sutro Railroad along Clement Street to the Ocean Terrace depot, directly across from the highly decorative wooden gates adorning the entrance of the Sutro Heights gardens. In metaphorically escaping from the grime and congestion of down-town, circumventing the dangerous boundaries of Chinatown, and arriving at the windswept sandy cliffs of Sutro Heights, the spectacular journey itself became part of the salubrious experience for Anglo-American urban workers. Sutro's scenic railroad echoed an established European tradition of the summer season retreat, of "taking to the seaside" to fortify one's health with wholesome recreation. Thus, he explicitly advertized his new venue as a benevolent gift to the workers of San Francisco, one intended to mimic the "civilizing influence" of European leisure pursuites, an influence already embraced in the established cities of the American east-coast. If the citizens of London, Manchester, New York, and Boston could enjoy their seaside escapes, Sutro assured his elite peers that the working residents of his beloved young city could also benefit from an affordable journey to their own seaside destination.

Sutro's Gardens: "A Form of Beauty in Every Barren Rock"

As with others in his circle of newly-rich civic elites, Sutro presumed that San Francisco *deserved* to join the sophisticated cosmopolitan ranks of the European world cities (EDAW, 1993: 2.19–2.20). Interpreting the vast mineral wealth of their western region as a divine blessing, the Anglo-American civic leaders of San Francisco styled their entrepreneurial city as a "New Rome"—a utopian imperial jewel more similar to the banking centres of Old Europe than the tarnished American industrial capitals of the east coast:

> In newspapers, magazines, and diplomatic banquets in San Francisco, the course of Empire, of Christianity, of Civilization, of Trade, and of the Race were repeatedly and interchangeably invoked as justification for the city's conquest of the Pacific and for the deserving receipt of its tribute. With that wealth, San Francisco would leapfrog New York to become Rome's rightful heir, [civic leaders] said, while they repeatedly called upon the national capital for the military appropriations needed to seize and hold their empire. (Brechin, 1999: 7)

Thus, within this logic of neo-classical pretension, grandeur became architecturally signified through co-options and exaggerations of European design.

The public entrance to Sutro's Gardens was located on Point Lobos Road, as indicated by a monumental white wooden gate. This entrance opened onto Palm Avenue, a wide gravel boulevard lined with palm-like *Dracena draco* trees and edged with a carefully trimmed lawn and linear flower beds (Figure 1). This promenade terminated in a carriage turnabout ornamented by planters, statues and a water fountain. Writing for the *San Francisco Morning Call* in 1886, W.H. Briggs described his visit:

> I entered the gate and found myself transported, as it were, from a desert to a paradise. . . . Wending my way along the graveled and flower-bordered walk . . . I observed figures on all sides artistically arranged and surrounded with lovely grass lawn studded thickly with trees. . . . I watched a living fawn grazing the succulent grass as far as the rope he was tied with would permit. . . saw a reclining statue of a large buck, with his long antlers, suggesting hunter's sport in the mountains. . . a row of busts upon pedestals of eminent men of the past. . . . The music from a piano came floating out of an open window in the residence of the proprietor, lending a charm to this bower of beauty (quoted in Okamoto, 1998: 17).

Carpet beds, or *parterres*, encircled the Palm Avenue terminus. A common feature in English Victorian gardens, these botanic tapestries consisted of finely trimmed miniatures in floral and geometric patterns that were changed with the season, or specially designed to commemorate an event or visiting guest. Others consisted of low flowering plants surmounted by statuary and pedestal planters,

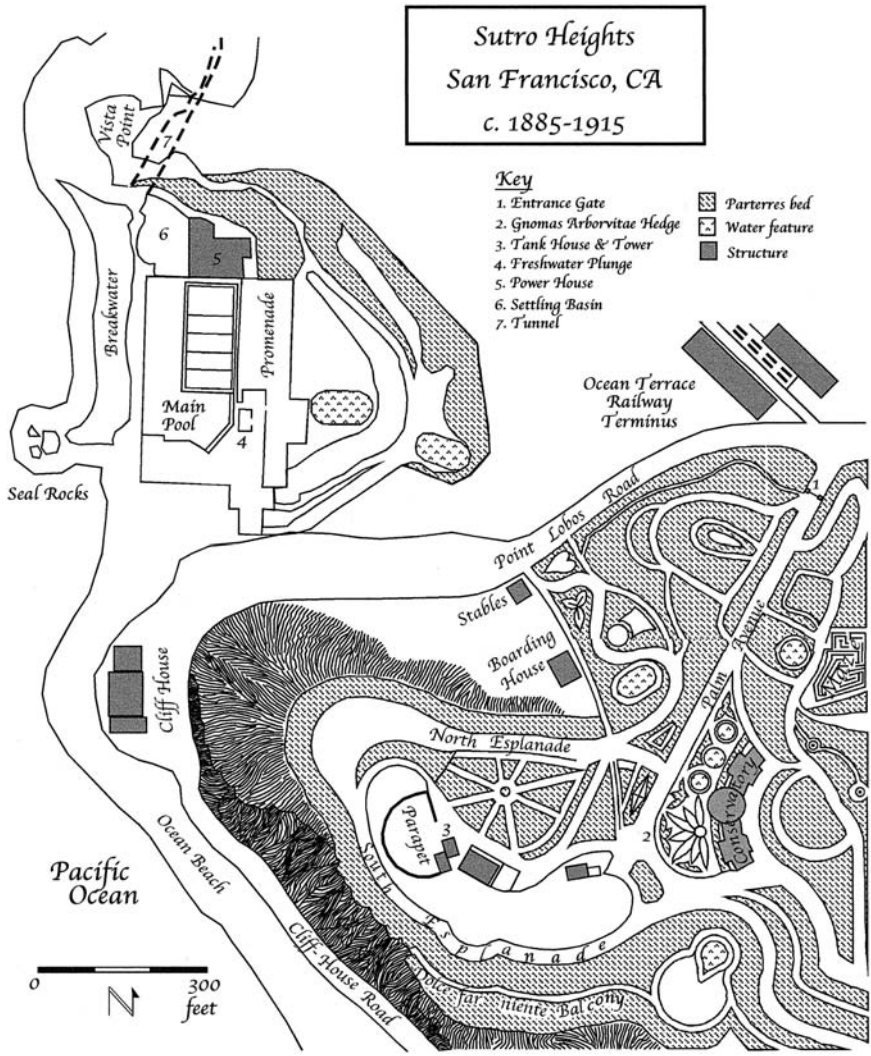

Figure 1. Plan of Sutro Heights, 1885–1915.

with the Venus de Milo beds and the Griffin bed near the entrance most commonly described by contemporary visitors (Figure 2).

To the east, a dramatic wood-framed Conservatory was established on a raised earthen mound to protect Sutro's collection of exotic tropical plants from the temperate bay climate. Designed along the model of London's Arbouretum in Kew

Figure 2. Griffin Statue and Entrance Gate, Sutro Gardens, c. 1885. (Photograph courtesy of Marilyn Blaisdell Collection)

Gardens, this ornate cruciform structure was constructed entirely of thick glass panes mounted in wood frames, and supported by additional interior wood framing. Containing a lush variety of palms, ferns, tropical flowers and statuary, the Conservatory offered visitors an impressive sensual experience of exotic botanica. Within the grounds, Sutro also largely used imported species, particularly drought-tolerant plants collected during his frequent travels to Australia, New Zealand, South America, and the Mediterranean. Sutro constantly refreshed and experimented with the design of his garden beds. To maintain the reputation of his Gardens as one of the finest along the Pacific coast, Sutro employed a staff of 10 gardeners, supported by an additional team of specialists including a treeman, roadmaker, machinist and assistant, coachman and driver, and gatekeeper (Okamoto, 1998: 20).

To the northwest of the Conservatory, a hedge maze was planted of *Coprosma baueri*. A common feature in European stately gardens from the Renaissance through the neo-gothic revival of the Victorian period, the hedge maze never reached the same popularity in American landscape gardening. Within the spectacular fairyland of the Sutro Gardens, the constant and laborous maintenance regime required by the exotic hedge maze proved a source of friction between Sutro and his agent, and the feature became overgrown by the 1890s (GGNRA, 1992: 31).

To further encourage the European styling of his luxurious gardens, in 1884–85 Sutro constructed a long cantilevered wooden terrace along the cliff face below the South Esplanade region, overlooking the panoramic vista of Ocean Beach. Named the *Dolce far Niente* Balcony, the translation of its Italian name ("sweet to do nothing") evoked the primary purpose of this popular sunny promenade. Stretching along the slope for more than 250 feet, the white wooden deck was supported by wooden posts that terminated with open arches above and a continuous decorative railing at deck level. Accessed by two stairways descending from the Esplanade, the *Dolce far Niente* Balcony provided guests with an elevated platform for absorbing the pageant of swimmers, sunbathers and rolling waves along Ocean Beach. Particularly favoured by courting couples, the upright support posts were decorated with the signatures and romantic vows of visitors (GGNRA, 1992: 51).

However, simultaneous with these material displays of European-styled "whiteness" and "respectability," the parallel desires and pleasures of his working-class punters also actively shaped this fantastic landscape. In appreciation of his dual audiences, Sutro provided both the sublime and the spectacular. During his 1883 return to Europe, he arranged for the casting and shipping of more than 200 pieces of sculpture from Antwerp, Belgium. Installed within his Gardens in 1884, the sculptures provided a dramatic complement to the more sedate rustic benches, chairs and tables provided for strolling middle-class visitors. Ranging from neo-classical nudes (including replicas of "Venus de Milo," "Winged Mercury," and "Adonis") to kitsch gnomes and mythical griffins, Sutro claimed his garden statuary would nuture the "civilizing" influence of European high culture (EDAW, 1993: 2.11). Despite these lofty pretensions, his assemblage of Belgian statues were interspersed with a exotic menagerie of live animals, including peacocks, monkeys, deer and free-ranging chickens.

West of the carriage turnabout, a large sculpted row hedge of "American Arborvitae" (*Thuja occidentalis*) provided working visitors with another spectacular garden feature. Known as the "Gnomes Arbor Vitae Hedge," this sculpted topiary consisted of a straight segment, approximately 130 feet long, with two 60 foot lateral rows radiating out from its centre at 60 degree angles (GGNRA, 1992: 35). The three wedge shaped planting areas demarcated by the hedge each contained a centered Norfolk Island Pine tree, a rare Oceanic import from Norfolk Island, Australia. At maturity, the center of the hedge was approximately 20 feet high, with each leg gradually sloping down to a terminating height of approximately 8 feet. A row of dancing gnome statues completed this whimsical garden folly. As a spectacular display of kitsch aesthetic, this feature seemed designed to appeal to a sense of popular amusement, rather than cultivate any virtuous sense of "respectability." Thus, the various features of this highly designed landscape reflected a material fusion of "high" and "low" cultures, with working-class patronage acknowledged in tandem with the more "inspirational" elements of the built environment.

A Vision of the Splendid

The public display and observation of healthy, white, elegant bodies was an essential component of most sanctioned forms of nineteenth century recreation (Finch, 1993). The act of seaside promenade was intended to both encourage aspirations of mobility into the "gentle" classes, and to generate a sense of communal participation in leisure activities overtly traced back to European origins. The theme of graceful spectacle reached sublime architectural expression in the crowning feature of Sutro Heights—the Parapet, Gallery and Observation Tower complex. Constructed on the highest and western most point of the estate, the Parapet provided breathtaking panoramic views of the surrounding coastal beaches. A semi-circular 280 foot long sandstone retaining wall, the Parapet, was decorated with thirty stone crenellations, each topped with either a planting urn or a concrete statue of a neo-classical human figure. Two ornamental "Parrott model" cannons, purchased with their cannonball stacks as decommissioned army surplus, faced out towards the Pacific Ocean to complete the mock fortification of this scenic promenade. During 1890, the southwest base of the Parapet was terraced with a series of low sandstone retaining walls. Planted with succulents and cactus species to slow the process of soil erosion, the feature was further decorated with a garish collection of statuary—combining sentimentalist figures of baby animals with additional dancing gnomes—intended as a further gesture to the sensibilities of his working-class patrons.

Built around 1884, the Gallery was a one-story wood shingle building with an alpine pitched roof and a Queen-Anne style circular tower. As a souvenir shop, the Gallery provided Sutro's one commercial statement within his philanthropic civic gardens. Visitors could retain the salubrious experience of their garden promenade by purchasing postcards or having their photos taken before the majestic background of the Pacific coast. Binocular spectacles could also be rented to magnify one's observation of the natural scenery and beach activities below (EDAW, 1993: 2.14). To further enhance the voyeuristic and exhibitionistic pleasures of this seaside venue, Sutro constructed a water tank house and observation tower on the southeast corner of the Parapet. The two-story white clapboard building was originally constructed to screen the twin 15,000 gallon water tanks that fed the sprinkler system for his precious gardens. However, an ornate three-story wooden observation tower was later built against the tank house to provide visitors with an elevated view of the surrounding parade of seaside leisure. Featuring a cantilevered, glass enclosed deck, and surmounted by a flag mast, the Observation Tower provided a landmark recognizable to all ships entering the Golden Gate of San Francisco Bay. The open coastal vista provided by these architectural delights became widely celebrated for its restorative effects upon those sickened by urban life. One city journalist gushed:

> The view here stirs sluggish blood and enlivens the whole system. To the west is the ocean, with its stretch of 6,000 miles; the east, right at hand, is a luxuriant garden. (*Morning Call*, 20 April 1886, quoted in Okamoto, 1998)

Sutro's blatent design references to European monumentality appealed to visitors' shared sense of "whiteness." A travel sketch published in 1885 by the Salt Lake City *Daily Tribune* enthusiastically described:

> [The main entrance gate] is guarded by two enormous lions couchant, copies of Sir Edwin Landseer's lions at the base of the Nelson Column, Trafalgar Square, London. . . . Above you to the right, the bluff still rises about twenty feet, and on the extreme summit is built a massive stone wall, castellated in true Norman style, that resembles a piece of the terrace at Windsor Castle, or the battlements of Northallerton, and much admired, especially by those who have seen it from the ocean. (Toogood, 1980: 54)

Other visitors found the European styles created a fantastical atmosphere within Sutro's Gardens, emphasizing the park as both a sensual retreat from the urban center, and a dramatic "improvement" on the original condition of the natural landscape:

> The wilderness of sand has bloomed and blossomed into a scene of fairy-like beauty. The air is redolent with fragrant shrubs and flowers, peace and calm and sunshine seem to reign perennially and the dreams of the gallant knights of Queen Elizabeth's court seem here to have their fulfillment. . . . Lawns whose tender and delicate green can compare with that of England, broad carriage drives and esplanades from which the ever-changing face of the ocean, with its surrounding beauties of cliff and shore winding bay and spray-dashed rocks is visible . . . (Anonymous, 1890: 2)

Sutro's generosity to the white working underclasses was particularly emphasized in contemporary city publications. In 1894, the *San Francisco Daily Report* declared "Many a grateful heart, beating beneath a threadbare jacket, has blessed the man who had made all these wonders of art and nature possible of enjoyment without price." (quoted in Okamoto, 1998: 16) In the early 1890s, following his famous victory over the monopolistic grip of the Southern Pacific rail company, Adolph Sutro was elected the populist Mayor of San Francisco. During the prelude to this ultimate confirmation of his status within elite civic society, Sutro announced his increasingly prominent social standing to city leaders by dramatically enhancing his benevolent public venue at Point Lobos. In 1890, Sutro offered a $500 award for the best architectural design of a monumental seaside bathing house.

Sutro's Baths: "A Fabulous, Three-Acre Glass Palace"

From the late eighteenth century, bathing had evolved from an exotic activity undertaken by social elites as both a retreat and tonic for the restoration of health, to a far more commonplace recreational pastime. A formative element in this transformation had been the strengthing symbolic value of "Cleanliness" as a marker of social identity. Regular personal washing became an increasingly routine activity in middle-class households. In the 1790 edition of his advice manual *Domestic Medicine*, Dr. Buchan observed that "whatever pretensions people may make to learning, politeness, or civilization, we will venture to affirm, that while they neglect cleanliness, they are in a state of barbarity" (Buchan, 1790: 79). Being "clean" was synonoymous with "civilized" (McClintock, 1995). As the American historians Richard and Claudia Bushman have noted, during the Victorian Era the concept provided a highly visible, yet fluidly polyvalent, badge for social categorization:

> Cleanliness had social power because it was a moral idea and thus a standard of judgment. Cleanliness values bore on all who wished to better their lives or felt the sting of invidious class comparisons. . . . By the middle of the nineteenth century, among the middle class anyway, personal cleanliness ranked as a mark of moral superiority and dirtiness as a sign of degradation. Cleanliness indicated control, spiritual refinement, breeding; the unclean were vulgar, coarse, animalistic (Bushman and Bushman, 1988: 1228).

Further, as an outward manifestation of internal failures, "Cleanliness" provided a powerful harness in the elite philanthropic drive towards "improvement" of white urban workers:

> . . . class divisions were not always depicted as unbridgeable, nor the manners of the lower class as incorrigible. More frequently there was an impulse to reform the unwashed by converting them to middle-class habits. The prevailing confidence in the rectitude of cleanliness values brought with it an urge to proselyte. . . . In the proselyting posture, reformers saw cleanliness as a simple, rudimentary and essential first step towards respectability. (Bushman and Bushman, 1988: 1230).

Thus, the late Victorian urban sanitation programmes intended to cleanse the urban body easily transferred to a cleansing of the (white) citizen body (McClintock, 1995). By the 1880s, pools for the public had become commonplace throughout both the industrial centers and seasides of east-coast America and Europe. In entrepeneurial San Francisco, such public works were naturally privitized. Located on the corner of Bush and Larkin Streets, the Lurline Baths provided the first downtown venue for "supplying the people of San Francisco with pure ocean

water for bathing purposes" (Flamm, 1999 [1978]: 103). Opened in 1893, two years before Sutro's Baths, the Lurline Baths represented the public philanthrophy of John D. Spreckles, a son of the established dynastic clan of west coast sugar monopolists who's diversified empire encompassed newspapers, refineries, railroads, steamships, and oil (Brechin, 1999: 261–2).

Enmeshed within his public row with the Southern Pacific rail company, and conscious of his social position in relation to Spreckels, Adolph Sutro—the self-styled advocate and benefactor of the Anglo-American urban worker—decided to enhance his Los Lobos recreational venue with a new saltwater public bathing house. As with his Gardens, the Baths served two parallel audiences—the civic elite who would create his mayorial candidacy, and the paying punters who would vote him into office. Thus, Sutro aimed for the spectacular. To compete with Spreckels' existing Lurline Baths in downtown San Francisco, Sutro selected an opulent pastiche of Neo-classical and European designs for his coastal seawater Baths. His new bathing house was explicitly intended to amplify the economically-accessible entertainments and salubrious atmosphere of his existing Sutro Heights gardens.

Initial construction of these ambitious baths proceeded haltingly. Sutro's correspondence through the early 1890s recorded a flurry of activities towards establishment of the basic infrastructure, including the building of roads and gutterways, hauling sand for the mixing of concrete, and extensive landscape gardening to halt erosion along the windswept slopes. By November 1894, when the Sutro Baths were ceremonially dedicated to the people of San Francisco, a contemporary writer compared the magnificent structure to "the famous ablution resorts of Titus, Caracalla, Nero or Diocletion" (Toogood, 1980: 78). Such Neo-classical allusions echoed the wider imperialistic posture of turn-of-century San Francisco, with city elites embracing its elevated status as the Pacific gateway to America's newly acquired territories of Hawaii and the Phillipines (Brechin, 1999: 144–149).

Exalted in the regional press as breathtakingly modern and technologically sophisticated, the Sutro Baths represented a "high culture" architectural triumph for San Francisco. Materially acknowledging a parallel working-class use, the Baths simultaneously provided a venue stuffed with popular amuseuments guranteed to draw the paying public away from Spreckels' competing downtown baths. For a mere 25 cents admission fee, the Sutro Baths offered six saltwater pools supplied by ocean tidal water, and one freshwater plunge bath. Inside, swimmers could enjoy nine springboards, seven slides, three trapezes, thirty swimming rings, and several high diving platforms. Blasted out of solid coastal bedrock, the largest of the pools was L-shaped, with a length of 275 feet and a depth that ranged from three and a half to nine feet (Figure 3). The other five saltwater pools all measured 28 by 75 feet, and ranged in depth from two to six feet. Holding a total of 1,685,000 gallons of sea water, the various pools were heated to different temperatures by

Figure 3. Sutro Baths, February 2002. (Photograph by E. Casella)

live steam, generated in an enormous pump house, and transported throughout the baths along a complex plumbing system (EDAW, 1993: 2.22).

On the western face of the Baths, a wall of glass and steel provided swimmers with a majestic view of the Pacific Ocean, its waves crashing against the 400 foot long breakwater of rock and cement. Adjacent to the pools on the three other sides, bleachers rose tier by tier, providing accommodation for thousands of seated spectators. Massive arches supported the main glass and steel palace of the Sutro Baths complex, with 100,000 square feet of stained glass and 600 tons of girders yielding a sunlit and spatious atmosphere. Internationally hailed as the world's largest enclosed saltwater pools, the baths ensured Sutro's beloved city a place among the sophisticated engineering marvels of the late nineteenth century.

A dazzling array of spectaculars and glamour awaited those San Franciscans who escaped the metaphoric barbarity and grime of the urban centre by riding Sutro's subsidized rail to its Los Lobos terminus. Visitors entered the Sutro Baths through a glass and steel portico built in the form of a small Neo-Classical temple. Descending a broad palm-lined stairway, they encountered the Museum Galleries which contained a multitude of enormous glass exhibition cases stuffed with selections from Sutro's vast international collection of "curios and bricabrac." To distract from the blatent populist appeal of this exotica in a outward display of philanthropic sentiments, Sutro coyly described his collection as "object lessons for young people and children," and claimed his Galleries would "help install in

Figure 4. Grand Stairway Looking East, Sutro Baths. (Photograph courtesy of Marilyn Blaisdell Collection)

the minds of youthful visitors a desire for learning . . . " (quoted in Okamoto, 1998: 67). Despite such lofty explanations, the San Francisco journalist and civic icon Jerry Flamm described in his memoirs the otherworldly experience of entering the Sutro Baths (Figure 4):

> A sloping pedestrian tunnel led directly down from the streetcar terminal to the head of a wide stairwell which led in turn to the booth and turnstiles for the Baths and Museum. When you walked down the steep and worn wooden stairways into Sutro's, it was like descending into a huge greenhouse. The air was damp and hot. The plants and trees in tubs and boxes sometimes reached up to touch the high ceilings. The museum housed a conglomeration of memorabilia and collector's items in a setting that would have served admirably for a production of *Arsenic and Old Lace*. There were aged stuffed and lacquered birds and fish . . . [t]here were Egyptian mummies, stuffed apes and bears, and an enormous anaconda snake wrapped around a jaguar in a death-fight scene frozen inside an elaborate glass cabinet. There were wooden cigar store Indians, rickshas, and a giant stuffed musk ox with the initials of various visitors carved on its side. (Flamm, 1999 [1978]: 96)

Thus, for the white working-classes of San Francisco, the Sutro Baths offered the opportunity to not only indulge in clean and salubrious forms of recreation, but to also encounter the orientalist exotica of far-flung regions and ethnic others within the safety of giant museum cases. As at Sutro's Gardens, contemporary photographs of the Baths depict an overwhelmingly Anglo-American clientele. One notable exception was Duke Kahanamoku, a Hawaiian gold medalist Olympian who competed in the Pacific Coast Swimming Championships annually hosted at Sutro Baths, and received extended media attention partly because of his exotic visible ethnicity. Basking in his showmanship instincts, Adolph Sutro continually refreshed the diversions provided for his working-class clientele:

> Bands played on the balconies every Sunday afternoon. On special occasions, swimmers might join in a walking-under-water or trick diving contest, marvel at Jack the diving dog, or Professor Karl (who ate and slept underwater), or witness a world swimming championship or a race among soldiers stationed at the Presidio. Up to 30,000 people jammed the place in its heyday (Okamoto, 1998: 62).

"...As Pure, Clean and Clear as an Angel's Conscience"

A staunch advocate for privitization of civic services, Sutro emphasized the intrinsic value of his baths as a facility for the promotion of public sanitation and health. Advertisements, promotional literature and newspaper interviews typically highlighted the daily maintenance of the baths, with detailed descriptions of the heating system, holding tank and "cave-like excavation hollowed out by the solid cliff" used to pump fresh seawater directly from the Pacific Ocean (Okamoto, 1998). The cave was itself an engineering marvel, its unique design based on Sutro's famous drainage tunnel at the Comstock Lode silvermines. Today, it survives as a dominant landscape feature within the historic site.

The interior furnishings and portable material culture associated with the Baths were also carefully designed to promote public sanitation. Printed advertisements frequently boasted of five hundred perfectly ventilated and heated dressing rooms, funished with showers, soap, toweling, and bathing suits. These scratchy wool suits were an infamous element of the Sutro Baths experience:

> Spectators could enter the museum and watch the swimmers for ten cents. The swimming charge was fifty cents. This fee included rental of a suit, locker, and towel. None of the public pools allowed swimmers to bring their own suits. They insisted that pool-owned suits be worn to insure that sanitary standards were maintained. Most of the suits were floppy looking ... with white stripes around the bottom edges. Women's suits had a skirt, often stretched from innumerable launderings. Men's suits had half skirts in front until about 1925. The suits at Sutro's were black.... (Flamm, 1999 [1978]: 96–97)

Figure 5. Sutro Baths Main Pools, c. 1913. (Photograph courtesy of Marilyn Blaisdell Collection)

To ensure that visitors remained engaged in wholesome recreation, separate provisions were made and enforced for male and female patrons. Not only were dressing rooms kept strictly separated, but individual pools were reserved as "Special Tanks for Ladies" during daytime and evening periods.

Use of this cultural landscape suggested the existence of two simultaneous and parallel worlds. Public spectacle was as intrinsic to the enjoyment of the Baths as the other parts of Sutro's recreational complex. Besides the various May Day festivals, swimming competitions, and dramatic tableaux performed to audiences of up to 30,000 throughout the year, swimmers could be observed from a multitude of seating tiers, suspended arcades, and alcoves. Simultaneous to these genteel displays and virtuous competitions, period photographs depict the majority of visitors, the everyday urban punters, making their own extensive and boisterous use of the Baths (Figure 5). Urban workers patronized the venue because it was fun—an inexpensive place for children and adults to make noise, splash about, socialize, play, flirt, and tease. Within this wonderland of humid cacophony, issues of middle-class "respectability" existed alongside the raucous enjoyment of the trapeze plunge and "Number Five Shoot" slide. In early 1895,

Sutro compromised the pure Neo-Classical façade by installing a "Firth" type ferris wheel, Mystic Maze, and Haunted Swing immediately east of the Baths—all of these popular amusement rides having been acquired on discount following the end of the 1894 Midwinter Fair in Golden Gate Park. Adolph Sutro had once again provided for his two parallel audiences. The architectural design of the Sutro Baths sustained a voyeuristic promenade of healthily exercising, sex-segregated white bodies for spectators and swimmers alike. In providing a recreational venue for the white workers of San Francisco, Sutro explicitly engaged them in a salubrious leisure activity, cleansing their urban bodies while stimulating their taste for both the "cultured" and the safely neutralized "exotic." However, this same shrewd businessman drew his clientele by mediating such elite ideologies of civic philanthropy with features dedicated to the public enjoyment of boisterous fun.

"The Giggling Ghost of Sutro Baths"

A consummate private entrepeneur by nature, Sutro ended his unhappy term as Mayor of San Francisco greatly diminished in physical and mental health. Only one year after relinquishing public office, Sutro died at the age of sixty-eight in August 1898. An inventory and appraisal of the Los Lobos property revealed his estate to be deeply in debt, only four years after the grand opening of his glorious baths. His oldest daughter and executor, Dr. Emma Merritt immediately negotiated the sale of the Sutro Railroad to alleviate the growing financial crisis. Over the subsequent twenty years, Merritt attempted to retain Sutro Gardens and Baths for public use, albeit with heavy reductions in staff, maintenance and supervision. Her father's civic masterpiece was suddenly required to become financially solvent. To survive, the Gardens and Baths could no longer cater for two simultaneous, yet separate and distinctly classed, audiences. With Adolph Sutro's death, his venue had not only lost its benefactor and financial subsidy, it had lost its purpose as a gesture of his elite philanthropic aspirations. When the parallel landscapes of grand ideological design and income-generating urban use were compared, the former was rapidly abandoned. The venue became a landscape devoted solely to the recreational tastes of white working-class San Francisco.

Despite this explicit acknowledgement of the rising commercial power of popular culture, Sutro's grand complex struggled to respond to the dramatic changes in working-class recreational activities that marked the first decades of the twentieth century. Skirting the edges of bankruptcy, his venue suffered from decreasing visitor numbers, aging facilities and under investment. His heirs could not keep up with the financial demands of constantly renewed "razzle-dazzle." In 1919, Dr. Emma Merritt unsuccessfully attempted the sale of the Sutro Baths for $410,000 (EDAW, 1993). The following year, she secured the transfer of Sutro Gardens to the

City of San Francisco under the condition that it be "forever held and maintained as a free public resort or park under the name of Sutro Heights" (Toogood, 1980: 84). Although the Merritts retained residental rights on the property, they provided minimal financial support for the deteriorating gardens, structures and landscape features. By the 1930s, both the Gardens and Baths underwent substantial rennovation. Within the Gardens, the decrepit remains of Adolph Sutro's fantastic landscape features were demolished, including the Entrance Gate, Conservatory, Tower and Parapet structures, *Dolce far Niente* Balcony, and Queen Anne style residence. Federally funded through the Depression Era "Works Progress Administration," unemployed workers replaced remnants of the *parterres* flower beds, exotic statuary and whimsical Gnomes Arbor Vitae Hedge with open grass lawns and concrete retaining walls (GGNRA, 1992: 44).

The Baths passed to Sutro's grandson, who attempted to draw working San Franciscans away from city-based pleasures by modernizing the faded Victoriana of his grandfather's venue. Echoing his grandfather's appreciation for the spectacular, Gustav Sutro aimed his rennovations directly at the recreational tastes of the urban workers. In 1934, he replaced the tired Neo-Classical glass and steel portico entrance with a fashionably flashy *Art Moderne* styled façade illuminated by over 37,000 watts of electric power. Playing on the Baths' reputation for accessible experiences of the exotic, Gustav Sutro adopted a "Tropical Beach" decor for the interior, complete with grass huts, floral table umbrellas, and a fabricated beach created out of sand dredged from the adjoining Pacific shores. Flanked by palm trees, a section of the main pool was re-engineered into an ice skating rink. Over the subsequent twenty years, as the Baths increasingly transformed into a landscape of populist recreational taste, journalistic commentary increasingly acknowledged its "low-brow" appeal. In his memoirs, civic icon Jerry Flamm described "one of the Bay Area's prime attractions" as "worthy of a site in the Land of Oz or the more current Disneyland" (Flamm, 1999 [1978]: 95).

But despite the introduction of ice skating, volleyball, ping-pong, basketball, dancing, and even the fantastic tropical beach, the Baths remained unprofitable. By 1954, swimming had been fully eliminated, and once-majestic glass palace was reportedly inhabited by "the Giggling Ghost of Sutro Baths"—described by the night watchman as "a little giggling man who whistled eerily and looked like a powder puff" (Blaisdell, 1987: iii). In 1966, the ruined shell of Adolph Sutro's salubrious recreational venue was abandoned, only to be abruptly demolished when struck by an arsonist during June of that year. Fifteen years later, the public appropriation of this remnant venue was completed when both properties were purchased by the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, a regional branch of the National Park Service (Figure 6). Designated as a protected historic landscape, Adolph Sutro's fantastic pleasureland has survived as a contemporary public urban recreational space, somewhat ironically transformed into an open grassy park and curious seaside ruin.

Figure 6. Detail of Main Pool, Sutro Baths, February 2002. (Photograph by E. Casella)

Conclusion: Parallel Worlds, Abandoned Worlds

A landscape, like an assemblage of portable artifacts, offers polyvalent configurations of identity. As a spatial rendering of social intentions, it actively mediates complex interactions between design and plural uses. And because of the inherent tensions between intended designs and competing uses, landscape elements can blend in unique combinations to respond to, and communicate with, simultaneous yet very different social groups.

Far from existing as a neutrally benevolent leisure venue, Sutro's Gardens and Baths were designed to inspire a particular set of identities in the white working-classes of San Francisco. Through his replication of European and classical landscape features, his benevolent subsidization of public transportation and bathing facilities, and his sweeping architectural incorporation of both the spectacular and the spectacle, Adolph Sutro presented his venue as a site for the transformation urban dwellers into healthy white working bodies. However, these ideologically motivated design features not only existed in parallel with the actual working-class use of his leisure complex, they were carefully intermixed with elements intended to appeal directly to the recreational tastes of the punters themselves. Despite Sutro's widely proclaimed desire to engender a "powerful and refined race," his shrewd fusion of both the cultivated and the kitsch revealed an implicit acknowledgement

of a parallel audience, and alternative use of his Gardens and Baths—one that valued the continued (yet fluid) presence of flashy, boisterous recreation over other socio-economically situated concerns regarding "respectability," public sanitation, elite taste, or European-derived models of "whiteness."

Following his death in 1898, the dual purpose of Sutro's recreational venue ceased. Required to be self-supporting, the leisure complex became fully reliant on the patronage (and entrance fees) of working San Francisco. To attract them in sufficient numbers, and respond to their changing recreational tastes, Sutro's inspirational Gardens and elegant Baths became devoted to working-class amusements and entertainments. When the parallel landscapes of elite high culture and income-generating working-class use were compared, the former was eventually abandoned. Adolph Sutro's ultimate legacy to the workers of San Francisco was an open seaside parkland held in public trust.

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Chapter 9

Changing Identities in the Arabian Gulf

Archaeology, Religion, and Ethnicity in Context

TIMOTHY INSOLL

Introduction

The archaeological recognition of multiple and changing identities in the Gulf is difficult, perhaps more so than in many other parts of the world, as it was, and still is in many instances, fraught with political difficulties. Even the title of this paper is not neutral for the use of the term "Arabian Gulf" is one of two options, the other being "Persian Gulf," both of which have ethnic, i.e. relating to Persians and Arabs, and by implication, political connotations, namely whose Gulf is being referred to; Persia (Iran) or Arabia? Here, the term Arabian Gulf will be used, not because this author is privileging one claim over another, but merely because much of the evidence considered originates, and is viewed, so to speak, from the Arabian shore.

Such choices, petty as they might seem, are a reflection of the ambivalent status of identity in the Gulf region, identity as expressed in religious, social, ethnic, or gender terms—depending from which perspective the construct of identity is viewed. The physical and ideological complexities of identity in the Gulf region

are considered in some detail below, but it is also necessary to state that the study of multiple identities/diversity has also been used in itself for political purposes as well. For example, Fuller and Francke (1999: 4) describe how a "divide and rule" approach, built upon the pillars of diversity was "advocated by some Israeli strategists over past decades" in the Middle East. It is also certainly the case that older Orientalist approaches to the study of regions such as the Arabian Gulf created or amplified, again as Fuller and Francke (1999: 4) note, differences within Muslim (the majority group) society for the sake of creating difference and the "other" (see also Said, 1978, and Meskell, 1998: 4–5 for a critique thereof).

Equally, from another perspective, the study of multiple identities and diversity from archaeological or other data has also been criticised by elements of the Muslim community. Specifically, by what Denny (1985: 65) refers to as the guardians of "normative" Islam who consider such studies, perhaps into unorthodox practices, syncretism, or "heresy" as "an attempt to undermine and discredit what Muslims hold to be sacred" (ibid.). These are issues which this author has had to contend with in writing about Islam (Insoll, 1999a), for though there exist the immutable elements of being Muslim, what have been termed "structuring principles" (Insoll, 1999a: 13), there also undeniably exists myriad diversity and manifestations of different, changing, and multiple identities within the overall entity which is Islam.

Theoretical and Methodological Frameworks

This in turn leads into a broader consideration of what constitutes identity. The "rigidity of Western taxonomizing" has recently been critiqued from an archaeological perspective by Meskell (2001: 185) drawing upon similar criticisms made by Foucault (1977). This is a valid statement, and many of the identity categories/groups which exist today in the Arabian Gulf owe little or nothing to Western influence or process, especially the supra-categories, the relatively recent creations of national identity, subsuming, and it is often hoped by those that promote them, wiping away or homogenising the greater diversity within under a national ethos. Thus issues of what Jenkins (1994: 198–9) refers to as "internal" versus "external" definition have to be considered as well.

Jenkin's (ibid.) definition relates, he argues, to two different "labels"; internally defined groups and externally defined categories. Both of these are entities which are of relevance within the Arabian Gulf, but the question can be asked as to whether such seemingly clear cut labels are really so strictly defined in terms of internal versus external generation? This is an issue which will be returned to later with recourse to archaeological data from Bahrain. Essentially, the recognition of complexity and variability are key in looking at multiple identities, both within elements of identity, such as ethnicity, as Barth (1969: 14) has noted, but also

between various elements as well. Hence in this respect, to attempt to impose from the outside (the perspective of this author) one particular approach in interpreting identity based upon archaeological evidence is flawed. A variety of strategies are employed today, were probably similarly utilised in the past, and thus the subtleties which are inevitably manifest in the archaeological record preclude a singular theoretical approach. A point made with the proviso added that this situation could change as more archaeological research, and indeed greater understanding of the processes of identity creation, sustenance, and manifestation in the Gulf in general is completed.

Yet besides acknowledging the existence of variability and complexity, it is also vital, to reiterate, that issues of who defines what—literally what comprises the essence of identity, are considered as well. The role of nationalism cannot be understated in the Arabian Gulf, an area where following the withdrawal of colonial power/relationships (as for example by the British in the 1960s), newly independent states, not necessarily that differentiated from one another, had to redefine themselves along national lines. Equally, on the Arabian shore of the Gulf, "pan-Arabism" (Fuller and Francke, 1999: 38) was a further factor which had to be negotiated along with national identity. The latter sometimes in conflict with the former, but the latter also of significance in how history and the past, including past identities, were presented.

Whilst academic works might adopt a neutral tone, one of non-recognition of identity, coffee table books abound (see for example Nowell, 1999; Vine, 1993; Anon, no date) which to greater or lesser degrees use archaeological and historical materials to reinforce, create, and in many instances project national identities far back into the past. Concerning Bahrain, for instance, one gets references to "Bahraini" people in the third millennium BC (Nowell, 1999: 12), rather than to the more factually correct "inhabitants of Dilmun", the polity in existence on the island at the time. These might seem like minor concerns but as part of the overall national "strategy" they make the recognition of the multiple ingredients of the national "soup" difficult to achieve for a variety of reasons further outlined below. Indeed, they form part of what Bernard Lewis (1973: 60) has termed "the twilight world of myth and fantasy" which surrounds the creation of national history and identity in much of the Middle East.

The relationship between national identity and the past has been well-investigated by archaeologists and historians (see for example Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Shennan, 1989; Arnold, 1990; Kohl and Fawcett, 1995), though not to the same extent in the Arabian Gulf (for an exception see Potts, 1998). The archaeology of facets of identity has also been thoroughly investigated (Meskell, 2001), notably gender (Gero and Conkey, 1991; Gilchrist, 1999), or ethnicity (Jones, 1997). However, religious identity has rarely at all been considered (Insoll, 1999b; 2001). This is a critical omission within the Arabian Gulf where religion—especially, but not exclusively, Islam—is of critical importance, being what could

be termed the structuring structure of identity within which categories such as ethnicity and gender are slotted. Certainly within Islamic philosophy, religion supersedes ethnicity, colour, and class in the creation and perpetuation of the *Ummah*, the ideal Islamic community (Insoll, 1999a: 10; Waines, 1995).

The predominance of ethnicity and gender within archaeological discourse on identity is probably more a reflection of the priorities of the scholars themselves rather than necessarily an approximation of past reality (Insoll, in press a). Thus, for example, Jones (1997: 110) in reviewing scholarship pertaining to the changes of ethnic boundaries and identity which can take place, indicates that this has predominantly been assessed with regard to the "strategic manipulation of identity with relation to economic and political relations" (ibid.). The absence of religion within such mechanisms of identity change, certainly for the Arabian Gulf (and much else of the world), means that reconstructions of the past based on such limiting theoretical premises would be flawed.

Equally, in archaeological investigations of identity in general, so-called "single-issue questions" (Meskell, 2001: 187) have tended to be the focus of research. The multiple strands of identity are rarely considered together, and this paper will attempt to rectify this with reference to the Arabian Gulf. A singular focus involving either the imposition of a particular theoretical approach in the pursuit of interpreting identity, or a focus upon one identity "strand" within the Arabian Gulf is not yet valid. This is primarily because the research completed thus far (archaeological and otherwise) on identity in this region has still to fully explore the dimensions of variability and complexity which exist, and without this being better delimited such an exercise is largely futile.

Hence this paper provides a broad overview of the archaeology of identity in the Arabian Gulf and a range of examples are thus considered, which in terms of geographical range, are drawn from various parts of the Gulf region as a whole. Though this said, special attention will be paid to Bahrain for two reasons; firstly, that Bahrain is the focus of the author's current archaeological research project; and secondly, as it is one of the most open states in the Gulf region making it amenable to such research. Chronologically, the Early and Middle Islamic periods will be the primary focus of attention, correlating approximately with the medieval period in European terms. However, as well as archaeological and historical perspectives on identity, contemporary ones must also be considered, for as already noted, present concerns have greatly influenced reconstructions of past identities, and, to a lesser degree, *vice versa*. Finally, the issue of why identity—let alone multiple identities—has been ignored by archaeologists in the Gulf, even where the evidence might well allow such an investigation (see for example Sasaki, 1990; Kennet, 1997; King, 1998) will be returned to, and a brief consideration provided of why the initiative now lies with archaeologists working in the Gulf region to adequately theorise archaeological material in relation to identity.

Contemporary Perspectives on Identities

Numerous permutations of identity are possible in the Arabian Gulf today based upon region, nationality, tribe, clan, religion, gender, profession, class, ethnicity, language and other variables (Fuller and Francke, 1999: 9). Contemporary observations indicate that a variety of identities can be, and are manifest at the same time depending on the context of the individual in the Gulf. Examples of labels which could be utilised include, for example: Arab, Arab Muslim, Arab Shi'ah, Ibadi, Omani, Arab Sunni, Bahraini, Iranian, Wahabi, Saudi, Kuwaiti, Shi'ah, Muslim, Christian, Hindu, male, female, foreign archaeologist, indigenous archaeologist. Indeed, these are all labels which apply within the present, and are far from exhaustive. Syncretic identities might also be created (Shaw and Stewart, 1994), blended from heterogeneous elements and cross-cutting categories. The fusing of Muslim and traditional African religious practices evident in sub-Saharan Africa, but also exported to the Gulf by the slave trade as well, and seemingly manifest in aspects of Sufi practice provides a case in point (Insoll, 2003).

Yet these multiple identities need not all be on simultaneous display. Elements might be suppressed for political or other reasons, or more effort might be put into maintaining one aspect of identity depending upon the individual or community expressing and reading the identities. It is possible to observe what Barth (1969: 14) refers to, in the context of ethnicity, as the "varying amounts and forms of content (given) in different socio-cultural systems". A hypothetical illustration of this is provided by considering how in the Gulf some individuals will actively strive to enforce their Muslim identity as a way of cancelling out or lessening their ethnic identity (as it ideally should be within Islam). This might be the case for someone of Bangladeshi or Indian origin, perhaps, whereas an Arab might take their Muslim identity as given, and instead put effort into maintaining their Arab identity.

There might be little choice in what identities might be suppressed and what might be given prominence. In Saudi Arabia, for instance, religious freedom does not exist, and it is difficult to be other than what everyone else is—a Muslim, preferably of the Sunni, Wahabi sect. Here, identity is actively controlled, although multiple identities obviously exist as everywhere else. In fact what occurs in Saudi Arabia is what Jenkins (1994: 217) describes as "the capacity of one group of people to define effectively or to constitute the conditions of experience experienced by another". Even Shi'ah Muslims report repression. Hansen (1968: 27) refers to the Wahabis as the "antagonists of the Shi'ites", whilst more recently Fuller and Francke (1999: 184) have described the Saudi Shi'ah as suffering from what they term "cultural discrimination". The "manifold relations of power" described so eloquently by Foucault (1977: 93) are in operation; relations of power which accompany and are structured by the prevailing discourse.

This discourse can, obviously, have archaeological repercussions. Bibby (1996:154) describes how the Shi'ah shrine of al-Khidr, on Failaka Island off

Kuwait, had been repeatedly pulled down by the Kuwaiti authorities as they "could hardly tolerate a practice which smacked strongly of idolatry". The objection was to the Shi'ah practice of sacrificing to the Saint at this shrine, and Bibby (ibid.) describes the interior as full of chicken and sheep bones and the central stone pillar as "smeared with a dark stickiness which can hardly have been anything other than blood". Bibby's account refers to the 1950s, yet today the 25–30% of the Kuwaiti population who are Shi'ah are described as encountering little persecution, integrated into economic life, and free to practice their religion (Fuller and Francke, 1999: 155). The prevailing discourse has altered, assisted perhaps by the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and the ensuing Gulf War.

Thus in other areas of the Arabian Gulf outside Saudi Arabia the expression of multiple identities or identities contrary to the majority is easier; in Bahrain for example. A Bahraini has a gender, a nationality, but can also be an Arab, or claim, or be assigned other ethnic origins, be of noble or other descent, be Muslim, of Sunni, or Shi'ah affiliation, or more rarely, be a Christian or a Hindu. Can Bahrain then be said to be closer to the Islamic ideal as regards the recognition or rather non-suppression of identity?

The ideal has already been described; an Islamic community devoid of distinction, and within Islam the existence of other religious minorities, "peoples of the book", such as Christians and Jews, upon payment of a tax, should be tolerated. Lewis (1973: 135) remarks upon the absence of persecution of other faiths in Classical Islam, but not the absence of discrimination—for Islam "insisted on the privileged superiority of the true believer in this world as well as in the next". Similarly, there is an absence of colour consciousness within Islam, and certainly a lack of "institutionalized racism" (Segal, 2001: 61) in comparison to parts of predominantly Christian North America, for example. A person of African descent can be, unquestionably, an Arab.

The fluidity of identity labels with reference to ethnicity can certainly be seen within Bahrain through gazetteers and census data from the last 100 years or so. Under the British-compiled "Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf" (Lorimer, 1908: 241) of the early twentieth century, one sees a preoccupation with colour, "negroes" (sic) are described as numerous, composed of both "free" and "enslaved". Whilst within the 1991 census data reported by Seikaly (1994: 418) any colour reference has disappeared. A point also made by Seikaly (1994: 417) helps to explain this change, though her explanation relates to the equal preponderance given to tribal groups in earlier census data, namely, that such classification was a result of British policies of control and dominance. To classify was (is) to control; thus providing, once again, a return to Foucault's (1977) notion of discourses of power.

Similar short term identity change is seen in the categorization of the majority Shi'ah population of Bahrain (ca.65–70% of the population in 1991 [Seikaly, 1994: 419]). Lorimer (1908: 248) refers to the "Bahranis" or "Baharinah" as the village dwelling population whose situation is "little better than one of serfdom". Belgrave

(1954: 29), the son of the then longstanding British advisor to the ruler of Bahrain, also refers to the "Baharna" as the "original" inhabitants of the islands who were formerly "second class citizens" but who "today (the 1950s) take an active part in all walks of life in Bahrain". Hansen (1968: 22), in her anthropological study of one of the Shi'ah villages of Bahrain in 1960, refers to two strata of population; Persian and Arab; and Shi'ah and Sunni, with the villagers she studied not then describing themselves as Arab. Finally, Seikaly (1994: 419) describes the same group as Shi'ah Arabs. Thus over the span of one hundred years what are firstly an indigenous named group become Persians and finally Arabs.

In this latter example identity change is less easy to ascribe to British policy, but rather to local issues of subordination and domination. These include regional power struggles pivoting around former Iranian claims to control of Bahrain (Hansen, 1968: 19), as well as relations between the ruling family and the Shi'ah elements of the population. The ruling family, the Al-Khalifa, who conquered the islands in the late eighteenth century are Sunni Arabs of Bedu origin from Najd in Central Arabia and related also to the ruling families of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait (Scarce, 1985: 21). Therefore, here there was evidently something of a collision between Sunni and Shi'ah, and the settled and the sown.

In the examples just discussed, ethnicity, and religion and ethnicity combined, were factors of importance. Thus far gender has been neglected. The importance of gender studies in archaeology in general has already been noted as an element of identity which has merited much research recently. Within the Arabian Gulf, and within Islamic studies, contemporary gender studies, largely concerned with women, has also become increasingly important (see for example Joseph, in press; Beck and Keddie, 1978; Seikaly, 1994). The exception, unfortunately, is provided by archaeology which serves up a largely undifferentiated fare as regards gender, its recognition, where achieved, has been accidental rather than intentional. Research concerned with sexual identity in the Arabian Gulf has yet to be pursued. There is only one recognised sexual orientation in the region, and other avenues of research into this aspect of identity have yet to be explored.

The point of the contemporary examples just considered is to indicate that even within a relatively short space of time identity categorization can shift immensely. Equally, recent changes in identity ascription and the policies behind them can have fundamental implications for what may or may not be researched. As archaeologists we have this, and all the other factors already discussed to contend with in the pursuit of our recognition of past complex and variable identity.

Historical and Archaeological Dimensions of Identities

Yet we should not despair, even if to the already mentioned contemporary labels of identity there have to be added extra categories with a solely historical

and archaeological dimension, thereby further complicating our task. Examples of these could include Jew, Carmathian, Sasanian/Zoroastrian, Nestorian Christian, Zanj/slave. All will be introduced later, and to examine these it is required to turn to the archaeological evidence, but owing to the paucity of relevant interpretation and/or published data it is also necessary to choose examples from around the Gulf. It should also further be noted that owing to the nature of the data, the examples discussed favour, predominantly, the dimensions of religious and ethnic identity.

Christian Identity

The archaeology of Christianity within the Arabian Gulf is in its infancy. This is due to various reasons including the overall lack of interpretation of any form within relevant archaeology (see for example the Saudi journal *Atlal*). Other reasons include an absence of relevant research, and as Potts (1998: 196) notes, a general lack of comprehension amongst inhabitants of the Gulf as to how "extensively Nestorian Christianity was practiced in the area even after the Islamic conquest". But Christian communities there, including Nestorian bishoprics, were recorded for Bahrain, Tarut (Saudi Arabia), and possibly Qatar in the fifth century AD (Larsen, 1983: 59–60). Space precludes a full evaluation of the history of Christianity in the Arabian Gulf, a subject which has already been more than adequately summarised by Potts (1990: 241–7). However, these communities have left an archaeological legacy along the length of the Gulf. Survey on the islands off the coast of Abu Dhabi in the United Arab Emirates, for example, has found remains of buildings including courtyard houses and fragments of carved and moulded plaster dated to the sixth to seventh centuries AD on Sir Bani Yas Island which might be linked with a Nestorian diocese based in this area in the same period (King, 1998: 18–27). Although this identification as yet remains unproven, more definite indications of these Christian communities have been reported from Saudi Arabia (Langfeldt, 1994). These include the remains of a church complete with four cross impressions set into its western wall, and associated monastic cells and Christian burials at Jubail in the Eastern Province. Not an isolated instance either, for a further church has also been described as found at Thaj, as well as a Christian cemetery at al-Hinnah, both also within the Eastern Province. Langfeldt (1994: 52) describes the controversy generated over these finds, attesting as they did to an unwelcome facet of identity in Saudi Arabia. He mentions how access to the monuments was restricted, and how the church in Jubail supposedly had its impressed crosses obliterated. Besides vandalism, the presence of these Christian remains caused a debate over what exactly they signified. Langfeldt (1994: 52, 57) outlines how the Saudi Department of Antiquities stated, "that the church was nothing but a foreign seafarer's chapel of short chronological duration, ending with the arrival of the Islamic faith in AD 634". This interpretation is at odds with Langeldt's own, that it represented, "either a typical parish or monastic structure situated within a stable Christian community and existing for a considerable period of time both

before and after AD 630, not unlikely to have been a couple of centuries in either direction" (ibid.). Even allowing for the limited available data, Langfeldt's interpretation is far more convincing within the historical framework for Christianity within the region (see Potts, 1990), but the issue as to the extent and duration of Christian occupation on the eastern coast of Saudi Arabia will only be settled by further research, and thus awaits Saudi permission.

Yet should the continuation of Christian communities in the Arabian Gulf after the arrival of Islam really be so surprising? The answer is negative. Here, some aspect of continuity in religious identity is indicated, but one which remains little understood and investigated for various reasons. In this respect Talal Asad's (1986: 3) relevant statement that "Christianity and Judaism are also indigenous to the region" (the Middle East) is being ignored, but not because, as he continues, "it is only Muslim belief and practice that western anthropologists appear to be interested in"—rather than lack of interest, it is because in certain instances the archaeological and historical investigation of other elements of identity is not currently possible.

Other Identities

The notion of exploring Jewish identity within the archaeological record of the Arabian Gulf might prove politically controversial. As far as this author is aware this has not yet been undertaken, but equally the existence of Jewish communities is historically attested; for example, Potts (1990: 262) describes how Jewish-run taverns serving Christian clienteles were still in existence in Eastern Arabia in the 670s i.e. after the acceptance of Islam in the region. Whilst Lorimer (1915: 2381), 1200 years later, refers to there being approximately 200 Jews in Kuwait, others on the Persian coast, and about 50 in Bahrain. It is reasonable to suggest that some archaeological legacy of this small community might have survived.

The same suggestion can be made for archaeological evidence attesting to Sasanian identity. This, however, is a more ambivalent category for it defines an Empire of Persian origin, a polity which appeared in the third century AD when the first Sasanian King, Ardashir I, "overthrew the remaining Parthians in AD 224 and began a four hundred year dynasty" (Larsen, 1983: 58). Thus Sasanian is not a specific religious, ethnic, or other identity, but is a label subsuming multiple identities (see for example Simpson, 2000: 58). However, this statement can be qualified by possibly isolating Persian (Iranian) associations and links between the Sasanian elite and the Zoroastrian religion as a "state religion" (Boyce, 1991: 172), as more specific defining criteria linked with a specific "Sasanian" identity.

Aspects of research into Sasanian archaeology have been undertaken to varying degrees in different areas of the Arabian Gulf (see for example Kennet, 1997; King, 1998), but in general Potts (1990: 263) is correct in noting that periods earlier than the Sasanian have been the primary focus of archaeological attention. To this must be added the factor of a lack of relevant archaeological evidence in

many areas attesting to a Sasanian presence. On Bahrain for example, although historical sources appear to "highlight the logical integration of the archipelago in the Sasanian empire" (Salles, 1999: 146), no trace of a Sasanian presence was found during the recent excavations completed in the early Islamic capital, Bilad al-Qadim. This is an area where such indications might be expected, but were absent other than a couple of sherds of possible Sasanian date (Insoll, in preparation). Sasanian material is rare from other sites in Bahrain, but includes some sherds of pottery recovered, for example, from Bahrain Fort (Soren Andersen, pers. comm.). A possible fire temple has also been reported as being identified at Saar (display panel and photograph in Bahrain National Museum, 11/01), which if the interpretation is correct, does provide a good indicator of former Zoroastrian practice.

Thus the Sasanians provide something of a historical and archaeological conundrum in Bahrain at least, an issue compounded by the fact that on Bahrain their history, identity, and archaeology is sometimes subsumed under the meaningless label "Tylos". This is described as "Greek" (Nowell, 1999: 14) or "Hellenistic" (Cabana 1999: 15) in origin and is usually defined as encompassing the period between ca.330BC—AD622–30 (Nowell, 1999: 14). Therefore from the era of Alexander the Great's passage to the north through the Persian Empire to the coming of Islam; a wholly inappropriate and pointless label to apply to such a diverse range of archaeological and historical material.

Similarly, even if subdivided, as it often is into Early, Middle, and Late Tylos it is ineffectual, with Hellenistic, Parthian, and Sasanian being far more realistic chronological terms. Admittedly, it has to be recognised that the lack of sources (Salles, 1999: 149), frustrates our understanding of Sasanian history, archaeology, and identity, but this does not excuse this cultural misnomer, equivalent, it can be suggested to extending the Roman period in Britain by some 500 years. It could be asked, then, why does the label "Tylos" exist? Lack of interest, absence of relevant research, habit, echoes of fears over labelling the past as "Persian", all could be suggested as possible contributing factors.

Sasanian might be a slightly ambiguous label with regard to the elements of identity which it includes. Indian as another identity category might seem to be less so. However, all the identities considered contain elements of ambiguity and overlap, with Indian, for instance, covering a wide range of ethnic, religious, and cultural domains. These identity categories can have multiple dimensions, and interestingly, Potts (1998: 196) describes how the ascription of "Indian" to archaeological contexts in the Gulf can again engender concern. He relates how the evidence for Harappan (c.2500–2000 BC) contacts found in Oman has led to fears by contemporary Omanis that this could lead to claims by expatriate Indian/Pakistani inhabitants that the original pre-Arab population was "Hindi".

In the much later Islamic era evidence for Indian contacts with, and more importantly, presence in the Gulf is found. This usually comprises fragments of

cooking vessels of Indian origin interpreted as being an unlikely item of trade, but rather the residue of cooking activities by Indian seafarers, merchants, or workers using vessels they were familiar with (Insoll, in preparation). At the group of sites known as Julfar in Ras al-Khaimah (United Arab Emirates), Hansman (1985: 48) suggests that the presence of sherds from such wares in levels dated to the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries attests to "the presence of Indian workers or seafarers at Julfar in earlier centuries". Similarly, in the recent excavations in Bilad al-Qadim on Bahrain, Indian coarse wares, though very rare, are found dating from the late twelfth to thirteenth centuries (Carter, 2002: 31), as they are at other sites on Bahrain and throughout the Gulf (Kervran, 1996 cited in Carter, 2002). These ceramics provide a handle on possible ethnic identity but little more. We cannot say if they were used by Indian Muslims or Hindus for example, or by male or female, though they do seemingly attest, as today, to the presence of expatriate workers from the Indian subcontinent in the Arabian Gulf.

The closer one looks at the archaeology of the Gulf, the more it seems to have been a "melting-pot" (Potts 1990: 151) of identities. Yet, as noted, some are much more difficult than others to identify; that of the African presence provides a case in point. This would have been largely, but not exclusively composed of slaves. The numbers of African slaves employed in the Gulf, certainly in Mesopotamia, were vast. The Zanj (a generic term for slaves from Eastern Africa) were employed in large gangs of between 500–5000 workers preparing the ground for cultivation in the salt flats of southern Mesopotamia (Freeman-Grenville, 1975: 117); an occupation which exposed them to extreme privations and harsh conditions. As a reaction they revolted several times, possibly in 694, in 765, and again in 869–883. The latter revolt is generally regarded as the most serious involving as it did between 100,000–300,000 slaves, and requiring 50,000 soldiers to suppress it (Afolayan, 1998: 712). To this earlier historical dimension of African identity could be added Segal's (2001: 146) statement that in Oman in 1840 an estimated one in three of the population of 800,000 were black. Colour classification is not at all useful as an identity criteria as already noted, but some of this sizeable figure must have been of African origin, an interpretation lent support by Oman's strong links with Zanzibar for example.

These are vast numbers of people, possibly with their own cultural traditions and material culture, albeit perhaps manifest in a syncretic or creolized form (Insoll, 2003). However, their presence within the reported archaeological record is negative. Slavery, for instance, is one of the great archaeological invisibles of the trade of the Islamic world (Insoll, 1996), but equally any manifestations, enslaved or otherwise, of an African identity, in itself another category encompassing great diversity and multiple forms, is lacking in the Arabian Gulf. Trade goods of putative African origin exist; ivory or hardwoods possibly sourced from Africa, and represented by beads in the recent excavations in Bilad al-Qadim (Insoll, in preparation), but such an identification is not a signifier of identity per se, and

requires confirmation by source analysis anyway. Further archaeological research is needed on investigating this as yet missing aspect of identity.

Muslim Identity

For several reasons Muslim identity is no easier facet of identity to investigate through archaeological evidence in the Arabian Gulf. Firstly, because it can subsume many of the identity categories already considered; African or Indian for example, and secondly because it has been poorly served by archaeologists and those concerned with heritage presentation. Within Islamic archaeology, Islam is frequently presented as devoid of agency, people, life, identity, variety (Insoll, 1999a). It is moulded in archaeology and museums in the Gulf (and elsewhere), largely in a sterile and idealistic way that bares little resemblance to the true complexities of Islamic history. The past is presented as non-threatening, as if there is nothing foreign about it.

Other that a rapid transit through a series of dynasties reduced to chronological labels, the presentation of Islam is frequently achieved as almost devoid of time (but see Denny, 1985). This is surprising, as most religions are explicitly concerned with time, controlled, for instance, through the ritual cycle (Bell, 1997). Whilst in Islam there is of course the imposition of a new calendar, "arranged, without intercalation, to be independent not only of the old Arabian lunar year but especially of all solar reckoning which was traditionally linked to the structures of agricultural society and religion" (Denny, 1985:71). Thus Muslim identity is structured through time, both individual and community time, and manifest in prayer times, pilgrimage, fasting, and festival time (Insoll 1999a).

Another failing within Islamic archaeology is that Muslim identity is often presented as "mono-religious"; complexity is not acknowledged (see Fuller and Francke, 1999). One might get a link between Islamic practice and material culture; mosques + Muslim burials = Islam (Insoll, 1999a), but the net result is an archaeology devoid of sects, gender, heresy, or difference. These are, however, aspects of identity approachable through archaeology in the Arabian Gulf. The existence of the Shi'ah, for instance, once the evidence is sifted, can be acknowledged archaeologically. Frifelt (2001: 202) describes prayer stones, compressed blocks of earth from the Shi'ah shrine of Najaf, which were recovered from the excavations at Bahrain Fort, as well as a seal stone cut with the names of the twelve Shi'ah Imams. A similar prayer stone is reported by Salles (1983: 99) as found at Barbar South, also on Bahrain, this example bearing an inscription; "*une invocation religieuse à Ali*". The reference to Ali is of importance as he is one of the central figures of Shi'ah theology, considered by Shi'ites "to be the only rightful successor to the Prophet" (Halm 1997: 7).

Space precludes a presentation of the origins and doctrines of Shi'ism (but see Halm, 1997, Insoll, 1999a:20–21), but one key point needs to be made: the origins of Shi'ism were firmly, according to Halm (1997: 684), within an Arab

environment, in Iraq in the late seventh century, not as many stereotypes hold, within a Persian one. In fact, as Lewis (1973: 219) notes, Shi'ah Islam was "first carried to Persia by the Arabs themselves". Hence it is as much part of the Arab cultural milieu as Sunni Islam, and not a foreign imposition.

Yet the differences between Sunni and Shi'ah Islam, besides that of the Imamate, or religious leadership, are in the end minimal; The Qur'an is central, the Five Pillars are the same, "the Sunni ideal also holds for the Shi'ah" (Ahmed, 1988: 57). The material differences denoting Sunni versus Shi'ah identity are not profound. However, this said, the term "Shi'ism" as an identity category in itself covers a range of movements. The comments just made refer to the majority "Twelver" Shi'ism, a reference to belief in the twelve Imams. Whereas "Severner" Shi'ah movements, those that stop the line at the seventh Imam, Ismail, differ. They developed as a result of a schism among the overall Shi'ah community over succession in the Imamate in the mid-eighth century AD (Petrushevsky, 1985: 236).

Related to the reason just cited for the development of Severner or Ismaili Shi'ism are further political reasons. What Petruschevsky (1985: 235), admittedly writing from a Marxist perspective, describes as the result of a reaction to the "class contradictions evident in the Caliphate", with inequality and feudalism on the increase. This occurred in the ninth-tenth centuries during the period of hegemony of the Abbasid Caliphate. The Abbasids initially arose as a social and political movement of seemingly inclusive persuasion (Ahsan, 1979), promoting "the universal religion (Islam) of a universal empire" (Lewis, 1973: 222), but over time became more orthodox, Sunni orthodox, and were according to Rippin (1990: 109), persecutors of the Shi'ah. Therefore a combination of social and religious reasons gave rise to new religious movements.

One of these was the Carmathians, an Ismaili Shi'ah movement which controlled Bahrain from the mid-tenth to the late eleventh centuries (including as the term Bahrain then referred to, a large part of the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia as well). This is a movement which was branded as heretical by Sunni Muslims, and does have, in comparison to majority Twelver Shi'ism, greater archaeological implications as regards the recognition of their specific identity. Historical sources, for example, describe their religious and social practices. Nasir-i-Khusraw, a Tajik Persian poet who visited part of the Carmathian state in 1051 refers to an absence of mosques in their domains; exceptional for Muslim communities, as well as their retailing and eating "the flesh of every animal including cats and dogs" (Petruschevsky, 1986: 247). Undoubtedly, there is an aspect of exaggeration here in creating a demon out of a popularly perceived heretical movement; a movement who went so far as to carry off the Black Stone of the Ka'ba until a ransom was paid by the Abbasids for its return in the mid tenth century (De Goeje, 1862). Yet other more prosaic information exists. Khusraw also describes how transactions were completed with baskets or sacks of lead tokens (Insoll, in press b).

At this point it could be asked what is the reason for this lengthy excursion into the historical particularities of the Arabian Gulf? The answer is that the struggles over religious, social and political identities manifest in movements such as the Carmathians are evident archaeologically. On Bahrain, in the recent excavations, various lead coins and weights were found which might have been linked, in part, as Khusraw relates, with Carmathian commerce (Insoll, in press b). These on their own are not necessarily convincing indicators of the former presence of this heretical movement, but are also contextualised by a Fatimid gold dinar which was found.

This coin along with two Abbasid gold issues also recovered could be read solely as signifiers of trade perhaps, and ascribed to a particular ruler and mint (for details see Insoll, in press b—they were issues of Abbasid Caliph Abu al-Abbas Saffah, AD 750–751; Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid, AD 786–809; and Fatimid Caliph Nezar al-Azaiz, AD 989). However, they too are signifiers of identity, shifting affiliations, power, and control. The Fatimids were an Ismaili Shi'ah dynasty, but much more powerful than the Carmathians, with whom they had a "more or less constant, although often secret" (Kervran, 1982: 62) alliance until the Carmathians were defeated by the Abd al-Qays in 1076. This coin would appear to be an indicator of such links—of Shi'ah identity and alliances manifest across large parts of the Muslim World—with the source of the dinar; it having been minted at Mansuriya near Kairouan in Tunisia indicating the extent of these connections.

Khusraw's aforementioned comment regarding Carmathian diet is also pertinent. Too often within the relevant archaeology of the Arabian Gulf and indeed in Islamic archaeology in general (Insoll, 1999a: 94–99) the evidence for diet is either ignored, given short shrift, or treated as solely the residue of economic decisions. Within Bahrain it is possible, again, using the dietary evidence to suggest a possible link with the Carmathians. The presence of a male mandibular canine from a pig (Smith, in preparation) in a context interpreted as associated with the period of Carmathian control (eleventh century) is interesting, as perhaps reflecting the Carmathians' eclectic diet. Yet the bulk of unorthodox dietary evidence; cat, dog, pig, does not date from the period of Carmathian control (Smith, in preparation), contrary, perhaps, to expectations. Rather something more complex is indicated by the faunal remains recovered, possibly signifying a pragmatic position by a Muslim community towards obtaining sustenance in the face of impoverishment as seemingly indicated towards the end of the sequence, or alternatively, a manifestation of more diverse, multiple identities as yet otherwise not understood.

These are just brief examples which have been provided drawn from this author's own archaeological research on Bahrain. Yet they serve to indicate that a complex Islamic archaeology is achievable which begins to show the multiple identities which can be manifest. However, no attention has been paid to gender or ethnicity. Both these elements of identity are also represented in the recently

excavated sequences from Bahrain; the question can be asked as who used the ovens found? The status and identity of a group producing pottery towards the end of the occupation sequence in the late twelfth—thirteenth centuries (Carter, 2002:39) is also a perplexing one, as is the meaning and possible identity associations represented by an egg found buried beneath a floor. Issues revolving around the role of parody and emulation between and even within different identity groups, and the role of material culture therein could also be considered. Essentially, many questions remain and in the end it has to be admitted that at present we only reach an ambivalent position indicating multiple possibilities rather than final answers.

Yet equally, the Bahraini evidence indicates that these categories are not necessarily bounded entities either. Many of these are identities which can overlap or which could be changed. All the seemingly clear-cut identity categories are in fact anything but and modern labels are not necessarily useful for past populations. Risso (1989: 385) for instance describes how "many eighteenth century inhabitants of the Iranian coast were of Arab background" but most had adopted the Persian language and Twelver Shi'ism. Would these people today call themselves Arabs or Persians? How does one define their past identities on the basis of archaeological evidence? Identity has thus to be considered within its wider regional and historical context. Unfortunately, this has rarely, if at all, been examined within the Arabian Gulf region, where the practice of archaeology could be likened, until recently, as resembling that of the bulk of Soviet and post-Soviet archaeology, described by Antony (2001: 627), as concerned with chronology and descriptive culture history, rather than the variable meanings of material culture, the nature of identity, and the dynamics of cultural change.

Conclusions

Again a question can be posed as to why has such a situation persisted? The practice of archaeology within the Arabian Gulf has been considered by Potts (1990, 1998) and he describes a range of reasons which could be adapted to answer this question. Issues such as who is funding archaeological research are of relevance, as is the existence of contract work in the Gulf. Both these could mean that fears over securing repeat funding/contracts might lead to self-censorship for real or imagined reasons. Equally, even where external funding is in place similar fears over the issuing of research permits might also impinge upon how, if at all, issues of identity are approached via the archaeological data; to this can be added the simple factor of neglect. Other issues have already been described, national and political concerns for example. But here the Arabian Gulf can hardly be said to be unique, though perhaps the violent subjugation of some identities, the Shi'ah Marsh Arabs of Iraq after the Gulf War for instance, means that sensitivities in this region are greater.

From an external perspective, the obvious position of the author of this chapter, the situation as regards the archaeological examination of identity is improving. The recent reforms initiated by the ruler of Bahrain provide a case in point. New freedoms and democratic reforms can (and are) having an affect upon other areas, including archaeological practice and interpretation in the country. The completion of the recent archaeological project whose results have been alluded to above, funded in part by the Court of the Crown Prince as well as various companies on Bahrain, is an indication of this. The recording and interpretation of the archaeological data in its entirety has been actively encouraged, allied with, for example, the examination of other facets of identity. A survey of Shi'ah shrines was also completed, an urgent priority in the face of the rapid development Bahrain is undergoing; shrines which indicate facets of religious continuity, the results of which are only just beginning to be assimilated (Insoll, in preparation).

The initiative is now with the archaeologists and others who interpret the past to examine the multiple, sometimes complimentary, sometimes conflicting identities which certainly exist today and have previously existed in the Arabian Gulf. An approach is needed which is both holistic yet at the same time does not deny the role of the individual in negotiating and ascribing identities—"the dialectic of both structure and agency" (Dobres and Robb, 2000:8). We need to include all the actors in writing the past, in attempting to achieve, as much as possible, an end result resembling what Asad (1986: 11) describes as "along the lines of an action play".

However, there is no particular theoretical approach to identity which archaeologists can currently privilege in its application within the Gulf. Rather, each specific context needs examining and the relevant possibilities considering from a broad perspective, a situation which will persist until the body of comparative data expands. But this said, a useful recurring notion which can be isolated is related to Jenkin's (1994: 198–9) definition of two different identity "labels"; those of internally defined groups and externally defined categories. However, this is most usefully adapted to a broader perspective invoking the concept of dualism; the simultaneous creation of identity within the individual and its simultaneous imposition from outside as well. This was seen, for example in the consideration of the colonial gazetteers and census data, with the external categorisation of identity labels; though the individuals therein would have undoubtedly have ascribed their identities in a different manner. Similarly, in relation to the archaeological data from Bahrain, the Carmathians were ascribed a heretical identity externally, but internally they would have considered themselves Muslims, and individually, identity labels could, as has been described, have been much more diverse and variable.

In conclusion, this chapter has indicated something of the complexities of identity evident in the Arabian Gulf, where much of the material is from historically supported contexts, or sometimes allied with extant identity groups. The practice

of interpretation is difficult enough here, but in prehistoric contexts devoid of such supporting evidence, such a task is even more challenging. Finally, it is hoped that archaeologists working in the Gulf will begin to rise to the challenge of acknowledging both the "human" element within their material, and that it reflects identity in all its complex and variable forms. In so doing this should allow the debate on identity manifestations and their archaeological recognition to become more focussed, and for archaeologists working in the Gulf to become contributors to the development of relevant theoretical approaches rather than being either merely passive recipients, or avoiding them altogether.

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Chapter 10

Caste in Cuenca

Colonial Identity in the Seventeenth Century Andes

ROSS W. JAMIESON

Introduction

> The discipline [of anthropology] did not spring Athena-like from the head of Zeus; it comes out of the cauldrons of conflict that cooked up much of the toil and trouble of past centuries, and it responds—must respond—to these forces even when it strives for professional distance and dispassionate neutrality. It is precisely because it is both offspring and critic of our condition that it bears a special responsibility to examine the commonplaces of our thought and the fighting words of our speech and to subject them to resolute analysis. (Wolf, 1994: 1–2)

To explore the concept of identity in colonial Ecuador is to examine a multiplicity of ideas and ideologies. As a historical archaeologist trained in North America I bring with me my training in Americanist anthropology and archaeology. As Eric Wolf points out, the anthropologist works within a discipline that was forged in colonialism, and yet at the same time anthropology has been an important critical voice in its examination of the colonial project. Working on the colonial period in the Andes means that I face an extensive existing body of

literature produced by historians of Spanish colonialism. Working in Ecuador also means that I am confronted, and frequently confused, by issues of identity in a nation not my own; a country with dynamic interpretations of its rich prehispanic and colonial past, and with pressing current issues of identity politics in the context of globalization in Latin America.

Modern Ecuador cannot be understood without some comprehension of the Spanish colonialism which affected the region so deeply. Ecuadorian race relations, economics, gender roles, and law were all forged in the colonial encounter, and all relate to the formulation of individual identities in the country today. The challenge for historical archaeologists is to analyze "the commonplaces of our thought and the fighting words of our speech." Walking through a market or entering an old church, there is a great temptation for North Americans to look at Ecuador as a living museum of colonial relations. Any Ecuadorian, whether a taxi driver in New York City, a rose exporter in Quito, or a sweater manufacturer in Otavalo, instead understands that Ecuador is as much a part of the modern global economy as any other country on earth. Spanish colonialism cannot be analyzed without examining how life, both in Ecuador and the North American academy, has created the commonplace terms social scientists from abroad use to analyze the colonial encounter in the Andes.

As Kathleen Deagan (1998) has recently summarized, Spanish colonial archaeological research was traditionally dominated by Anglo-American research goals, and created a body of literature prior to 1992 which assumed the importance of ideas of conquest, acculturation, European technological superiority, and "clear-cut racial distinctions" in the analysis of material culture. Archaeologists of the Spanish colonies trained in the Anglo-American tradition were heavily influenced by George Foster's (1960) *Culture and Conquest*, a book that brought Robert Redfield et al.'s (1935, 1936) formulation of the concept of acculturation to the fore in describing Spanish colonial Mesoamerica. Foster is now accused, quite rightly, of minimizing the role of power relations between people in the colonial encounter, portraying the Spanish as actively introducing concepts and material advances to the people of Mesoamerica, and relegating Native peoples to the role of passively "screening" these offerings to decide whether to accept or reject them (Cusick, 1998; Deagan, 1998).

The period of the late 1980s through the 1990s saw great changes in the way archaeologists looked at Spanish colonial research, with the influences of postprocessual archaeology in North America combining with an increasingly postcolonial outlook by historians of Latin America (Deagan, 1998). The worldwide 1992 Quincentenary celebrations, debates, and reformulations of the meaning of Columbus' encounter with the New World brought into focus the changing role of archaeology in exploring the Spanish colonial past. The flood of research, publication, and commemoration surrounding this event coincided with a move toward postprocessual concerns by North American historical archaeologists, and a move

toward postcolonial scholarship by historians in Latin America. In North American historical archaeology James C. Scott's (1990) *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* was one of the key books in awakening the interest of many researchers to the issue of how power works in colonial situations. His work brought a vocabulary of "hidden and public transcripts" and "onstage and offstage arenas" that made researchers reconsider the way they dealt with cultural contact in colonial situations. In Caribbean history and anthropology the concept of transculturation, introduced by the Cuban Fernando Ortiz in the 1940s as a more dynamic and complex alternative to the idea of acculturation, has recently gained popularity beyond Cuba. Deagan (1998: 30) points out that transculturation and ethnogenesis, introduced from North American historians, became two of the key thrusts of Spanish colonial archaeology in the 1990s. These streams of thought have come together to create research goals based on ideas of human agency, and the recognition of the vast range of scales and varieties of past cultural experience in the Spanish colonies. Both archaeological research and historical commemorations give voice to ideas of inequality, resistance to colonization, and an exploration of colonial gender roles, all of which come as a refreshing change (Deagan, 1998).

Far from being on the cutting edge of such research, Spanish colonial archaeologists in Ecuador are following a trail laid down by sophisticated studies of the ethnography and history of the country. As recently as 1992 Richard Schaedel (1992: 235) stated that with regard to historical archaeology in the Andes "Little archaeology has been attempted as such, and research so far has emerged from accidental finds or as by-products of restoration work." In the last decade the field of Andean historical archaeology has greatly expanded (DeFrance, 1996; Gasco et al., 1997; Rice, 1996; Schávelzon, 2000; Smith, 1997; Van Buren, 1999). In Ecuador, however, historical archaeology is still in its infancy as a subject of research (Buys, 1997; Gutierrez Usillos and Iglesias Aliaga, 1996; Jamieson, 2000a; Stothert et al., 1997; Tobar, 1995; Ubelaker and Ripley, 1999).

Both anthropologists and historians came to the realization a number of years ago that they had underestimated the extent to which identities, whether ethnic, racial, gendered, sexual, or individual, are socially constructed. This is an exciting proposition for those who study the material remains of everyday colonial life, but also presents serious challenges to our ability to interpret the colonial past.

Identity in Modern Ecuador

Identity in Ecuador is profoundly situational. At the national level, as in other Andean nations, there is a political and social scientific adherence to the celebration of *mestizaje*, the ideal of a mixed-race society where racism does not exist. In practice, however, this ideal is an assimilationist masking technique covering profound racism. It is to the advantage of the Ecuadorian elite to claim

that the proliferation of racial categories in the country means racism does not exist (Wade, 1997; Weismantel, 2001; Whitten, 1996).

Urban people of the middle and upper classes refer to themselves as *gente decente* (decent people), *culto* (cultured), or *vecinos* (citizens, urban neighbors). All of these terms can be seen as glosses on the concept of racial "whiteness," although the explicit term *blanco* is usually reserved only for official census documents (Weismantel, 2001: xxxi). The ideal of a white nation is found in the concept of *blanqueamiento*. In the nineteenth century Latin American elites assumed that *mestizaje* would lead the Andean nations toward becoming lighter-skinned over time (Wade, 1997). *Blanqueamiento*, however, refers not only to an idealized historical trajectory of a nation becoming whiter over time, but also to the possibility of each individual moving up through the social ranks, and thus becoming culturally whiter (Whitten, 1996: 195).

The elite of Ecuador see *mestizaje* as somehow desirable, yet do not refer to themselves as *mestizo* people. Instead the term *mestizo* tends to be reserved for those of the middle class, or more commonly for small shopkeepers in rural contexts. In turn, terms like *Indio* and *Negro* are also often used to insult ostensibly *mestizo* people at times of social conflict. Thus a concept like *mestizaje*, which at first glance gives value to the national role of the many distinctive cultural groups in modern Andean countries, is instead infused with hierarchical power relations.

The *chola* provides one example of the complexity of the terms used daily to identify social groups in the Andes (de la Cadena, 2000; Weismantel, 2001). *Cholas* are urban, working class women, often market vendors, but they can also be domestic servants, washerwomen, etcetera. They are partially defined by their clothing, with large hats and full skirts which are specific to the region of the country they come from. They are also defined by their mode of speech, which is seen as flamboyant and outrageous. Their position is racial and economic, defined as people of mixed-race, a bridge between the rural indigenous producers of food and labor, and the urban, white, consumer (Weismantel, 2001: xxiv–xxv). They are stereotyped as colorful figures, the subject of tourist art and early twentieth century nostalgic literature. Mary Weismantel (2001: xxvii) makes the important point that the role, or stereotype, of the *chola* both racializes them and sexualizes them. Seen as brash and openly sexual, they are often the butt of dirty jokes, providing a focus for discourse on interracial sexuality. Their identity is situational. The women themselves emphasize their role as income earners and good mothers who support their families in challenging circumstances. To municipal officials they are a regulatory challenge, key figures in an informal economy of market stalls and small-scale trade. To many Ecuadorian men *cholas* are symbols of brash interracial sexuality; figures of derision.

Even with this single example we see the challenge faced by the historical archaeologist. The identity of the *chola* in modern Ecuador is not easily defined without falling into stereotypes. It is also problematic projecting modern roles into

the colonial past, although the modern market woman, with her stall of knockoff North American team logo clothing or Chinese enamelware pots and pans, in some sense resonates with the role of market women in the colonial past (Barragán, 1997; Minchom, 1989; Larson and Harris, 1995). The challenge is to place issues of identity in Ecuador into their historical context before we can turn to the material culture of the historical archaeologist.

Identity in Latin American Colonial History

The concept of *casta* (caste) is highly contested in the study of Latin American history. Caste labels in the Spanish colonial world categorized people using a complex mixture of legal status, ethnicity, racial (or physical) categorization, and economic roles. Traditionally historians have held the idea that the *Régimen de Castas* was a rigidly defined system of ethnic and class pigeonholing developed during the Spanish conquest of the Americas, and maintained through both legal and social constraints. Historians' view of the concept of Latin American caste has changed as researchers discover that people could rework their identities within the colonial system, whether through marriage, legal challenges, or simply through their cultural practices and the material culture they used. The caste system thus crossed and commingled the categories of race, ethnicity, and class (Schwartz, 1995).

The concept of race is itself problematic. From the 1950s onward it became increasingly clear to social scientists that races were perceived categories, subject to redefinition in different situations. It was at this time that historians and anthropologists began to explore the contradictions in the way race was defined in North and Latin America (Harris, 1964; Livingstone, 1962; Mörner, 1967). The introduction to an English-language audience of the work of Latin American intellectuals such as the Brazilian novelist Jorge Amado (1962) and the historian Gilberto Freyre (1946) profoundly changed the view of North American social scientists on race in Latin America. Amado, Freyre, and others suggested that the demographics of Latin America, where the majority were descended from Africans and indigenous peoples, had created a "racial democracy" reinforced by sexual miscegenation. This model gained acceptance among colonial historians with the 1971 publication of Carl Degler's Pulitzer-Prize winning *Neither Black nor White*, which compared the history of the United States to that of Brazil, and concluded that massive miscegenation in Brazil had diluted racial hostilities there. By the 1980s Latin Americanists had become adept at ignoring race, recognizing its lack of biological validity, and replacing the analysis of race with discussion of ethnicity and class relations. In the 1990s historians once again began to discuss race, and debates began to turn on the relationship between race, ethnicity, and class in the colonial caste system. One interesting conclusion of this work was that

racial ideology in the Spanish colonies, expressed through the concept of *limpieza de sangre,* or "purity of blood," developed *because of* the colonial encounter in the New World, rather than being an existing Spanish ideology imported with the first conquistadors (Schwartz, 1995: 191–192).

Gender and sexuality are of course implicated in any discussion of race. Traditionally the history of early Spanish colonialism has been glorified as a form of male sexual domination, emphasizing the idea that *mestizaje* was the result of Spanish male sexual conquest of indigenous women (Mörner, 1967; cf. Powers, 2002). This is, of course, a stereotype, or allegory, of the conquest itself. There is truth to the idea, in the sense that the lack of immigration of women from Spain in the first decades of colonization resulted in the marriage of Spanish men to Indigenous and African women in the New World. By the 1570s 20 to 40% of the genetic inheritance of New World *criollos* (Spaniards born in the New World) was very likely from their Indigenous and African mothers (Kuznesof, 1995: 155).

Recent research on kinship, law, and families in the colonial Andes is, however, changing our understanding of the ties between gender, sexuality, and caste. The malleability of the caste system is shown in sixteenth century Arequipa, Peru, where upper-class Spanish men preferred to marry Spanish women, yet when faced with the low numbers of Spanish female immigrants, often had *mestizo* children by Native Andean women. The *mestiza* daughters of these unions became sought-after spouses for Spanish merchants and professionals, who valued their father's family ties (Davies, 1984).

For Native Andeans the challenge was both economic and legal. At the same time that they were becoming Indians, Native Andeans were also being classified through labor. Initial Spanish administrative organization absorbed the Inka system, and twisted it into something with echoes of feudal Spain. The *mit'a* system under the Inka had required labor turns of all people in order to accomplish the goals of the state. With the Spanish conquest the colonial administration simply translated this into a colonial system of *mitayos*, laborers required in most cases to undertake agricultural or mining labor. Only those of Native descent were required to take turns as *mitayos*. This and other specialized taxation systems encouraged Native Andean peoples to circumvent such onerous tax and tribute burdens through migration or other means of changing their identity (Powers, 1995a).

In the Audiencia of Quito colonial rural marriage records show that illegitimate children born of Spanish fathers and indigenous mothers were treated differently based on their gender. Sons were frequently brought into the urban world of their father in order to avoid tributary status, while daughters almost always remained with their mothers, and spent their lives in rural indigenous communities (Powers, 1995b). In the seventeenth century, with considerable political and economic power in the colonies held by Native Andean *caciques,* women's marriage choices were not always toward choosing "whiter" partners to move up

the social ladder, but instead took in complex issues of class and power in their choice of marriage partner (Powers, 1998).

Marriage and the birth of children were times in which caste designations could be altered, and yet it is now clear that individuals in the Spanish colonies also changed their caste designations simply by reworking their own identities. In eighteenth century Quito many who were culturally Indian chose to emphasize their more *mestizo* cultural traits in order to avoid tribute, often using clothing and hairstyle as key indicators of their *mestizo* status (Minchom, 1994: 153–200).

Historians are agreed that crossing caste boundaries was a much more fluid, and common, practice then had been assumed by an earlier generation of researchers. Recent debate has turned to whether to privilege gender, class, or race as the mode of discussing identity in the colonial Andes (Kuznesof, 1995; Schwartz, 1995). It is reasonable to conclude, along with Karen Powers (2002: 24), that "there is no contest: gender, race and class cannot be disengaged, one from the other. No single category has ever stood alone in Latin America's colonial history; they are part of the same cloth."

Colonial Cuenca

The long history of highland Ecuador is evident in its toponyms, giving a sense of place to events in the pre-Inkaic, Inka, and colonial past. The focus of my research is the city of Cuenca (Figure 1), which has changed its name as power shifted. Prior to being subsumed into the Inka Empire it was called Guapdondelic in the language of the local Cañari people. Under the Inka Empire this regional centre was given the Quechua-language name of Tomebamba (or Tumipampa). The name "Santa Ana de los Cuatro Rios de Cuenca" was given to the place twenty years after the Spanish conquest, in 1557, with the official Spanish founding of a town on the site.

In the years immediately following the Spanish conquest a small minority of Spaniards governed through the use of an intact Inka middle-level administration, with many of the administrators espousing ethnic ties to the Inka capital of Cusco. This system was used to govern the wide variety of culturally non-Inka peoples that made up the Audiencia of Quito. There were a variety of extant local languages still being spoken at the time of the Spanish conquest. Rather than the immediate imposition of Spanish as the language of all peoples in the Audiencia, ethnohistorians have demonstrated that for the first thirty years of Spanish rule the Spanish expanded the use of Quechua, the imperial Inka language, throughout the region. Quechua replaced local languages as the universal "Native" tongue to a greater extent than it had under direct Inka rule. Using the names of local people listed on a 1559 tributary census of rural regions surrounding Quito, Frank Salomon and Sue Grosboll (1986) convincingly demonstrated the increasing adoption of Inka

Figure 1. The Spanish colonial Audiencia of Quito, today the nation of Ecuador.

names by local Indigenous people in these early years *after* the Spanish conquest, suggesting this was the period when local languages and naming conventions lost importance. They conclude that under the Inka the privilege of individuals to carry Inka names was reserved for those from the core of the empire, and that it was with early Spanish colonial rule that local peoples of middle or low rank gained the freedom to choose to take on such names for themselves. They took on Inka names, and the Quechua language, in an attempt to gain power within the new colonial system. Thus, in this key sixteenth century transition, local peoples excluded from acquiring Spanish identities saw instead a new opportunity to take on Inka identities, and used these on a local scale to alter power relations. At the same time this move towards Quechua language and naming was a way in which colonizers could lump all local people in the region under one ethnicity, a significant step in the colonial imposition of an undifferentiated Indian identity.

Colonial ideology attempted to make Indians geographically separate from, yet intimately tied to, the colonial cities. There were many colonial instruments which maintained these ties, perhaps the most fascinating being the *visita*. These inspection tours consisted of a Crown representative with an entourage of lawyers, scribes, and retainers, traveling through rural landscapes recording the names of tributary subjects, and how many laborers each area could provide. In examining a 1623 *visita* outside the city of Quito Armando Guevara-Gil and Frank Salomon (1994) point out that the *visita* reveals the colonial contradiction between ostensive Crown control of all the subjects of the empire, and the need to "visit" Native Andean peoples in their home territories in order to record their existence. The *visita* was thus both an act of recording the state of the empire in written form, and at the same time creating that empire through ritual visits. More importantly for our interest in identity, the *visita* was an administrative ritual which sent emissaries to people with distinctive local identities (such as the Collaguazo people who underwent the 1623 *visita*), and through the act of listing their names, converted them into *indios*, indigenous people categorized by their ability and obligation to provide tributary labor within the colony.

The need for laborers in Spanish colonial urban centers such as Cuenca meant that Native Andeans were forced to come from surrounding villages to work in the city, despite an early colonial ideology advocating the maintenance of Native Andeans as a separate "republic" restricted to their rural villages. City council records of the 1580s outline the transfer of rural Native peoples to the city to learn trades and the tasks of artisans (Poloni, 1997: 417). These groups settled, or were forced to live, in peripheral neighborhoods of the city, creating new urban identities in the colonial system. The French historian Jacques Poloni's (1997) research on Cuenca's urban development indicates that from its foundation in 1557 up to the 1580s a series of peripheral neighborhoods were created around Cuenca based on this urbanization of local people. People identified their properties in notarial documents by neighborhood, and in some cases, such as *Molleturos* and *Pomallactas*, the neighborhoods acquired the name of the rural region the majority of the inhabitants had presumably come from. In others, such as *Ollerías* (potters' neighborhood) and *Carpinterías* (carpenters' neighborhood), the identity of a neighborhood came through the type of artisans concentrated there (Poloni, 1997: 421–423). This situation changed in the final decade of the sixteenth century, with the founding of two official parishes, San Blas and San Sebastián, on the edges of Cuenca (Figure 2). These two parishes were intended to concentrate the various categories of Native Andean peoples in the city into two church parishes. The people the parishes were intended for were listed as *yanaconas* (an Inka term referring to individuals removed from their home community to serve the state), *forasteros* (people who had moved away from their home communities and thus avoided local taxation there), and *indios de servicio* (indigenous servants) (Poloni, 1997: 423). We can see that the intent in founding these parishes was to concentrate

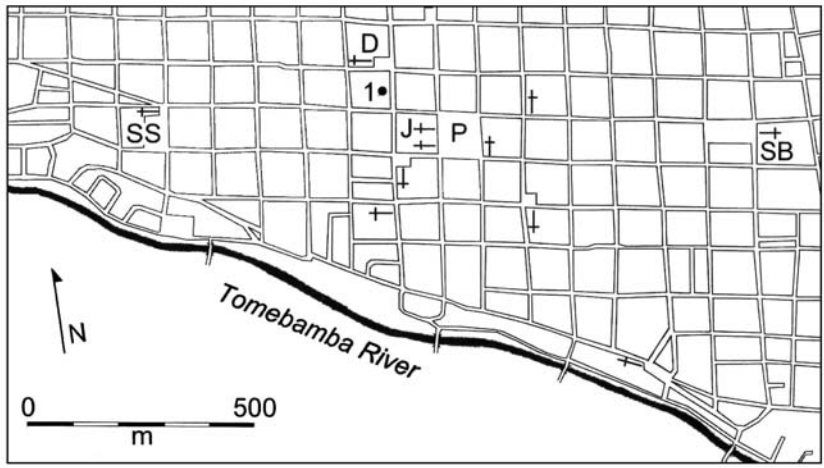

Figure 2. The historic core of the city of Cuenca. SS: San Sebastián parish church and plaza. D: Dominican monastery. J: Jesuit church and college. P: the central plaza. SB: San Blas parish church and plaza. 1: The house where Doña Ambaludi lived.

urban Native peoples physically in the city. This was a transition from Inka and early colonial labor and ethnic identities into the creation of a distinct identity for urban indigenous peasants, combining aspects of ethnicity and labor in the colonial city.

For Poloni (1997: 424) these peripheral parishes, each with their central plaza and church mirroring the plaza and church at the city core, were the physical manifestation of the transition to the "two republics" of the late colonial Andes, a term referring to the "republic of Indians" and that of Spanish people. This was a colonial dualism that greatly simplified the complexities of colonial identities in the Audiencia of Quito, a precursor of the racial identities of the 19th century.

By the late eighteenth century Bourbon administrative reforms greatly changed many aspects of urban life in the Andes. In Cuenca this period was marked by the first full census of the city, administered in 1778 by Antonio de Vallejo. A census is an instrument of colonial rule, standardizing the identities of colonizers and colonized, allowing the gaze of the authorities to focus with greater clarity on urban neighborhoods, and forcing those counted to choose, or be involuntarily assigned, a single name for their identity in an ethnic or racial sense. As Clara Rodriquez (2000) has shown in her work on the treatment of Latinos in the modern US census, the terms used to define people provide a window on both the make-up of the population, and on how that population was controlled through the assignation of ethnic or racial terms. *Visitas*, as tributary censuses, had been

conducted by colonial administrators since the sixteenth century, but these were partial and irregular events mainly focused on rural villages with the intention of assigning tributary labor and tax obligations.

By the late eighteenth century in the Andes the role of census-taking had changed. Bourbon administrators were concerned with many new aspects of enlightened rule, and in the eighteenth century an urban census was seen as a way of gaining information useful to a variety of colonial enterprises. Vallejo's 1778 census of Cuenca asserted that 61% of the city population fell within the combined category of *español/mestizo* (Spanish/Mestizo), 36% were *indio* (Indigenous), and 3% *negro* (Black) (Poloni, 1997: 433–439). The combination of *español* and *mestizo* in one column of numbers on the census administrators' summary sheets is fascinating, indicating an intention to separate these two groups, and yet also a concern with lumping them together. Several factors probably influenced this way of presenting the data. A concern with maintaining the division of the "two republics" required summary statistics that indicated how much of the city's population was Indigenous, and how much was that of the *other* republic, made up of both those of pure Spanish bloodlines and those of mixed *mestizo* status. Naming both groups despite merging their numbers shows finesse in statistical manipulation, as the endless argument of what constituted an *español* versus a *mestizo* could be avoided, while still implying that the distinction existed. It is very likely the case that the differentiation of these two racial groups was a harder line in a large urban Andean capital like Quito or Lima in the late eighteenth century. In smaller Andean cities like Cuenca the lack of a large population of those who could socially claim pure Spanish heritage meant strategic alliances with those who were identified as *mestizo* were essential to the maintenance of urban order.

Vallejo's census was a detailed instrument, but unfortunately the house-by-house census tables have only survived for one parish of the city; all others are apparently lost. The surviving records are for San Sebastián, the peripheral parish to the west of the city core. The tables give counts by ethnicity/race for each person living in each house. These data are an alarming cautionary tale for those who picture the Andean colonial city as a ghettoized landscape of ethnic and racial separation. The people of San Sebastián were 28% *español*, 46% *mestizo*, 23% *indio*, and 3% *negro*. More importantly, when examined by household, 49% of all *households* reported people of more than one caste category within their walls, with only 46% reporting all members as one caste. These numbers translate into 69% of the population of the parish living in multi-ethnic dwellings, and only 31% living in houses with only members of their own racial or ethnic attribution (Poloni, 1997: 441–443). Despite the utmost desire of colonial administrators (and naïve modern archaeologists) to classify households by ethnic group, Vallejo's detailed data show that even in the gross classificatory system of the eighteenth century administration most households were made up of individuals with differing identities. This creates challenges for an urban archaeology of the colonial Andes.

Material Culture and Household Inventories

Domestic material culture is an important arena for the expression of identity. The furnishings, tablewares, clothing, tools, and all other items used in colonial Cuenca houses helped to both project the identity of those who owned or used these items, and helped to create that identity through reinforcing or challenging particular messages about life in a given house (Bourdieu, 1977; Giddens, 1984). This was a dynamic process, which could change daily within the life of a given individual as they chose to purchase, display, hide, discard, or discontinue using a particular object, for any number of complex reasons. The colonial caste system, and all that it implied about economic, racial, and gendered relations in daily life, was intimately tied to the material culture that people used to project and/or construct an image of themselves to those around them.

Archaeologists of the Spanish colonies are currently rethinking the ways they use material culture to come to conclusions about the identities of those they study (Cusick, 2000; Deagan, 1998; Silliman, 2001; Voss, 2000). In Cuenca I use two sources of data to build "cables of evidence" (Wylie, 1989) about the use of material culture in colonial households: notarial inventories and backyard excavations. These two sources provide independent, and very different, visions of the material culture of a household, each with their own strengths and limitations.

In Cuenca the notarial archive, known as the *Archivo Nacional de Historia/ Cuenca*, provides an invaluable source of documentary material on urban households. Historians, and particularly those who study the material aspects of Native Andean colonial life, have been exploiting notarial records for a number of years (Kellog and Restall, 1998). The notarial archives provide a rich data set on the ways that colonial people in Cuenca expressed their identity through household goods. This is particularly true when a will or other notarial document required an inventory of personal belongings. Two examples of such inventories can serve to show the complexities of interpreting identity from the notarial record.

One of the caste groups that continuously crossed the line between the two republics was the *caciques*. These were the local Native Andean lords who had served under Inka rule, and in some cases were able to maintain power into the colonial period. Juan Muydumbay provides one example of such a person. In the mid-seventeenth century he was *cacique* of the area around Taday, a village 45 km northeast of Cuenca, in the Paute River Valley. The role of the *cacique* as cultural go-between was a difficult one, defending his community from widening colonial powers, while at the same time ensuring that tributes were paid by community members. In 1660 Juan Muydumbay appeared in the historical record as complainant in a lawsuit alleging that the local priest in Taday was illegally forcing local people to provide tribute labor (Poloni, 2000: 217). By 1673 Luis Muydumbay had taken over as *cacique* of Taday, defending local community lands

in court, presumably after Juan's death (Poloni, 2000: 264). I presume Luis was an immediate relative, perhaps a son or brother.

At the time of his death Juan Muydumbay left a written record of his personal property in the form of a notarial inventory. Interestingly he listed no residence in the village of Taday, but instead he had a house in the regional centre of Azogues, halfway between Taday and Cuenca, and a second house in the San Blas parish of Cuenca. Muydumbay's identity must have shifted each time he moved from rural village to town to city, interacting with a wide variety of people in his role as *cacique*. Yet his personal belongings were extremely modest, reflecting either genuine poverty or a lack of personal wealth because of the communal nature of his family possessions.

His house in Azogues was thatched, consisting of three rooms, each in a separate building, probably around a small courtyard. The inventory of this house lists an altar with eight paper prints (presumably of religious themes) and a large gilded cross. There were two tables, two small chairs, and a pair of new leather travel pouches. The bed consisted of a mattress, two wool sheets, a heavy blanket, and a bedspread, all described as "old." This is the sum total of the household items listed in his Azogues house. The Cuenca house was also thatched, in contrast to the many tile-roofed houses of the city's elite at the time. It consisted of a single building divided into only two rooms. There was a single door and one window. Juan Muydumbay's property was immediately adjacent to Luis Muydumbay's house in San Blas. Juan's Cuenca house contained an altar "without a seat or backrest," with a small wooden cross and two paper prints. These are all of the domestic furnishings listed in Juan's possession (ANH/C C116.629a). In both houses the lack of material goods is conspicuous, as if the altar and basic decorations for it were the only important goods he owned. It is always difficult to determine the goods that may have been omitted from an inventory, whether out of an intent to deceive or simply because most of the goods in a house belonged to another family member. In this case however both houses appear to have been very simple affairs.

Our second notarial inventory comes from Doña Angela de Ambaludi, an elite widow. Her caste is not explicitly identified in her will, although her marriage to a military Captain and residence near the main plaza of the city, as well as the wealth she displayed, suggests she was a *vecina*, or "citizen" of the city. The role of widows was particularly important in the maintenance of family wealth in the colonial Andes. The laws of partible inheritance meant that widows frequently inherited a large portion of a family estate, often in the form of urban houses with furnishings (Jamieson, 2000b). Their identities are thus, in some sense, wrapped up in their female gender and family relationships. Wealth could come from deceased husbands or as an inheritance from their parents. The key factor was that widowhood was one of the few instances in Spanish colonial law when a woman controlled her own wealth. We can look at the material expression of a widow's wealth through a 1685 inventory taken at the time of Angela de Ambaludi's death.

Angela had inherited her urban house from her deceased husband, Captain Joseph Garcia de Medina, sometime between 1665 and 1682 [ANH/C L524 f62v [1682]). He had owned the house, located two blocks west of Cuenca's main plaza, from at least the early 1650s onward. The property was in the heart of the most elite neighborhood in Cuenca, with the Dominican monastery directly to the north and the Jesuit College to the southeast (ANH/CL513 f547r [1652]; L514 f362r [1656]; C116.404a f1v [1664]).

The house itself was described in 1685 as having four rooms with tile roofs surrounding a courtyard, and four *tiendas* or shops facing onto the street. These were usually rented out by the homeowner to small shopkeepers who may have lived in the back of their shop, or in a poorer neighborhood of the city (ANH/C C79.671 f7v [1685]). A 1685 inventory (Table 1) gives a list of the contents of the house. She also had two rural properties that included wheat and corn fields, 227 head of cattle, 208 sheep, and 24 horses. These properties included the services of four Native Andean *mitayo* tribute laborers (ANH/C C79.671 ff15r-15v [1685]).

Table 1. Inventory of the household goods of Angela de Ambaludi, 1685 (ANH/C C79.671 f9v):

8 chairs, 1 bench, and 1 buffet table
1 large wooden *estrado* (low bench covered with carpet or skins, for sitting on)
27 paintings of various religious themes
12 still-life paintings
1 inlaid walnut writing desk with 16 drawers
3 statues of the infant Jesus
1 walnut writing desk with 4 drawers
1 silver inkwell and sand shaker
1 bronze seal
silver items: 1 large plate, 6 small plates, 1 jar with handle, 3 candlesticks, 2 spoons, 1 small goblet, 1 basin
2 mattresses of local striped cloth
1 heavy blanket from Cajamarca
1 blue and white bedspread
1 bed canopy and *delantera* (front piece) of blue and white cotton
4 sheets of flowered Rouen cotton
4 shirts of high-quality Rouen cotton
2 slips/petticoats of flowered Rouen cotton
1 pillow of high-quality Rouen cotton with yellow taffeta trim
1 old suit of clothes of double black taffeta, skirt and jacket
1 cloak
1 skirt of green *picote* [shiny silk?] and another indigo colored, with a *manera* (pocket/pouch) of local purple plain-weave wool
12 small bags of aniline dye
1 medium-sized old desk with 9 drawers, upholstered in leather
1 box containing a small print of a crucifix, and glass cover
1 set of scales

As with Juan Muydumbay, Angela de Ambaludi's household furnishings emphasized her religious devotion. Her house contained 27 religious paintings in four rooms. Her collection of silver tablewares stands out, inventoried largely because of its monetary value, but it must also have been a centerpiece of her domestic image. Writing implements and three writing desks, each with multiple drawers, show the importance of the written word in elite Andean culture in the seventeenth century, and also appear to have been one of the main forms of storage in the house. Finally, her canopied bed was quite elaborate, as was common in elite households of this time and place.

Muydumbay and Ambaludi were both influential members of seventeenth century Cuenca society, and yet their material possessions are strikingly different. The focus of Muydumbay's two domestic spaces appears to have been the altars, while no such altar is listed in Ambaludi's residence. Instead, Ambaludi displayed a large collection of paintings of religious figures, demonstrating her religious devotion in a slightly different, and probably considerably more expensive, way. For Muydumbay the expression of religious devotion was through the prominent display of an altar in each of his houses, perhaps emphasizing his commitment to active household worship in his role as a Native community leader. Ambaludi, an elderly widow from the urban elite, would have focused her worship and social contacts through church attendance.

Ambaludi's household contained the chairs and silver necessary for formal dining, something Muydumbay either could not afford, or had no need for. In the end, it was probably in their clothing that Muydumbay and Ambaludi expressed the most obvious material correlates of their identity. Ambaludi's clothing and bedclothes were largely of European cloth, and although they did not approach the ostentation of some seventeenth century Cuenca inventories, it would have been clear to her contemporaries that Ambaludi was concerned to present an appearance of the "European" in her dress. Muydumbay is more enigmatic, in that no clothing is listed in his inventory, perhaps because it was not valuable. We will never know what his personal dress and official items of office as a *cacique* may have entailed, although other more elaborate wills of seventeenth century *caciques* in the northern Andes show a fascinating and dynamic mix of "European" and "Native" symbols of authority in their clothing and regalia (Caillavet, 1982; Rappaport, 1990; Salomon, 1988).

The questions that arise about the Ambaludi and Muydumbay inventories bring forward some of the strengths and limitations of this data as a source for examining their expression of identity through material culture. The exercise of inventorying belongings at the time of a person's death means that the items we see are limited to those they owned personally. A household contains items owned by all of its occupants, and thus the lists we see above ignore the items owned by spouses, children, servants, slaves, or a host of others who may have contributed to the material culture of a given household at a given moment. Chronology is also

an important factor. We are seeing the items owned by this individual at the time of the inventory. It is quite likely that they were elderly, and thus we see a snapshot of their possessions at a particular stage of their life, and a particular stage of their household's life cycle (Goody, 1958). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the inventory was intended as an instrument for verifying items to be inherited. This means that the people conducting the inventory tended to ignore items they felt did not have enough monetary value to be of any legal interest. Those conducting the inventory could also have been under pressure to falsify or ignore certain items because of the economics and politics of family inheritance. In reviewing a large number of inventories from colonial Cuenca the level of detail runs the gamut from inventories that appear to list even the smallest items, to those that only cover the major furniture and "valuables." We can turn to archaeology to solve some, but certainly far from all, of these limitations.

Material Culture and Backyard Archaeology

One of the major tenets of urban archaeology in the former Spanish colonies was first set out in Charles Fairbanks' strategy of "backyard archaeology," a program he began at St. Augustine, Florida, and which was carried on by Kathleen Deagan (Deagan, 1983; Fairbanks, 1975). Each household in the Spanish colonial urban environment had rear yards where much of the domestic work occurred, and where the household discarded its refuse. This assumption allows the archaeologist of the Spanish colonial city to tie the material remains found in a rear yard to the people who lived in that house. My work in undertaking urban excavations in Cuenca has been based on this assumption, and has involved several field seasons of excavation of urban contexts in the downtown core of the city (Jamieson, 2000a, b).

Excavations in the backyards of Cuenca reveal a colonial archaeological record dominated by ceramics and faunal material. These provide us with data that differ from the material culture of inventories in a number of important ways. There is almost no overlap between the material recovered archaeologically and that listed in the documents, largely because these items carried such low cultural or monetary value in the eyes of those conducting the inventory. Colonial Cuenca inventories contain occasional references to single porcelain pieces, but in general the ceramics of a house are not included in inventories.

Our control of colonial archaeological chronology is based on the appearance and disappearance of historic materials of known dates. Contexts can generally be classified into Early Colonial (AD 1550–1650) or Late Colonial (AD 1650–1780), with periods after AD 1780 more tightly chronologically defined because of the introduction of a number of well-dated imported items. It is generally not possible to tie an archaeological context to a single generation of household occupation. Perhaps most importantly, the material recovered archaeologically cannot be tied

to a single individual. It comes from the household as a whole, and thus represents the range of items used by all of the occupants. This is an important point when considering the implications of comparing written inventories to archaeological collections. The archaeological material comes from a range of time in the domestic cycle, and presumably from all members of the household. This is very different from a document that separates out the possessions of one person, with an individual identity, at one point in their life.

The ceramics are for the most part plain or slipped wares, often with a simple red slip, produced in rural villages surrounding the city. In a typical late sixteenth century colonial context (Jamieson, 2000: 152) these made up 70% of the ceramic vessel count. The use of these ceramics in all Cuenca houses, from the most wealthy to the poorest, indicates that they were cheap to purchase, and were used universally for cooking by people of all castes. Consumption of these vessels in the urban market probably followed various routes. Indigenous or *mestizo* people with strong ties to rural communities where such ceramics were produced may have bartered or exchanged for them, or been given them as gifts. In their urban houses these people would have thus seen these vessels as part of their identity in the sense of reflecting their rural "roots," or ties to particular rural ethnicities. In elite houses of the urban core these slipped vessels would have represented very different issues of identity. They would have been used daily in food preparation by Native Andean and *mestizo* servants, and enslaved Africans whose personal belongings are rarely recorded in notarial documents. The fact that these vessels are so common in elite households suggests that they would also have been used by all members of the household in situations where the signaling of high social status was not important, for myriad everyday tasks.

The use of imported majolicas from Panama (Jamieson, 2001; Rovira, 2001), is an entirely different matter. In the same sixteenth century elite context discussed above (Jamieson, 2000: 152) majolicas from Panama made up 15% of the assemblage. These are all in the form of open serving and tablewares (serving bowls and individual *plato hondo*, or deep plate, forms). These are more commonly seen archaeologically in the elite houses, and we can picture them complementing the silver items on Doña Angela de Ambaludi's table. New World colonial majolicas, such as those from Panama, combined traditional Iberian design elements with attempts to imitate aspects of Chinese porcelains, in an ongoing imperial fusion of elite ceramic tastes (Deagan, 1987; Lister and Lister, 1987). Such items would have been more expensive than locally made ceramics, and do not appear in any frequency in less wealthy parts of the city, yet they were not expensive enough to merit mention in notarial inventories of household goods. As such they are one of the indicators of status available to us in the archaeological record, with a complex relationship to identity. They were in general use among elite Cuenca *vecinos*, but it probably would not have been unusual to see them on the table of a *cacique* such as Juan Muydumbay. High status porcelains from China (Kuwayama, 2000)

are another important ceramic category. These are extremely rare in Cuenca, with only occasional sherds appearing in colonial contexts. It would seem from occasional mentions in inventories that these were usually unique decorative objects, rather than sets of dining or teawares. It would seem that in the most elite houses porcelains served as strong indicators of elite identity through their use as accent pieces, but never formed the bulk of a dining service on Cuenca tables.

Faunal remains provide similar ambiguities as do ceramics. Analysis of this material is ongoing, but it would seem that cattle and sheep dominate colonial archaeological contexts throughout Cuenca, as they do in other Andean colonial situations (DeFrance, 1996; Gutiérrez Usillos and Iglesias Aliaga, 1996). The climate of the Andes was ideal for the herbivores favored by the Spanish colonizers, and colonial food production in the highland Andes appears to have been much closer to the Iberian ideal than was possible in the Spanish colonies of the tropics. Some guinea pig remains attest to more Native Andean dining habits among people who also may not have been able to afford to eat beef or mutton on a daily basis. Wild deer also made up part of the diet, and although an important food source in the prehispanic Andes, in colonial contexts it seems to represent colonial elite control of hunting grounds. Looking at identity through food remains is very different from household furnishings such as ceramics. These are the remains of an accumulation of single meals, each meal a unique event that could be performed for visitors, or be consumed by a single individual alone. Cuisine is a powerful indicator of identity, and yet it is also one of the most malleable, consumed at one sitting, with the possibility of completely different foods being served depending on the occasion.

Backyard archaeology in Cuenca thus provides us with a window on identity that is geared towards the household, and towards the longer term, in comparison to the personal and instantaneous nature of a notarial inventory. Both are useful for examining issues like caste or gender, and the use of both together provides us with a better perspective than either could provide on their own.

Conclusions

Historians of the colonial period in the Andes have convincingly demonstrated that people could, within certain limits, shift their identity. This could be done through court cases involving heredity, in which the legitimacy of children or the caste of parents could be reinforced or negated. It could be done through personal and sexual relations, in terms of shifting family allegiances and the use of personal contacts to change one's position in the colonial city. Very commonly it was done through physical movement, particularly in migration between urban and rural zones, or migration from one region to another. Finally, and most importantly for the historical archaeologist, identity could be changed simply by a change

of clothing or hairstyle, speech or attitudes. This is what provides the greatest challenge to the analysis of colonial domestic material culture.

The archaeological analysis of identity is made more problematic because caste and gender are individual attributes, and yet the archaeologist has difficulty gaining data that is fine-grained enough to speak to individual concerns. In Cuenca and other Spanish colonial cities it is possible to undertake household archaeology, separating out refuse deposited by each house in their rear yards. As the eighteenth century census of the San Sebastián parish of Cuenca points out, the majority of houses by this time period were multiethnic or multiracial, housing members of different castes within their walls, whether as parents, marriage partners, offspring, servants, or renters. Most household objects would have been used by more than one person in the house, and many would have been passed on through inheritance. The archaeologist cannot "see" these things in the archaeological record, but one of the strengths of historical archaeology is the combination of documentary and archaeological evidence to improve our understanding of both.

In her recent overview of identity issues in Spanish colonial archaeology Kathleen Deagan (1998: 33) concludes that "Archaeological evidence does not always support clear-cut material distinctions between racial or ethnic groups . . . Material evidence does, however, seem to reflect status differences within each group." Her concern is mirrored by Karen Powers' analysis of identity in the colonial Andes, but for Powers (2002: 24) gender, race and class "cannot be disengaged," each relies on the other to help define identity in the Spanish colonies.

Treating domestic objects as part of the daily practice of individuals who had dynamic and shifting identities is not an admission of futility in the pursuit of colonial archaeology. It is instead an admission that our increasing knowledge of how people interacted with each other in the colonial Andes can improve our analysis of their material culture.

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Chapter 11

Natural Histories and Social Identities in Neolithic Orkney

ANDREW JONES

Introduction

Within the confines of the paper I want to investigate how the materials of stone and clay are employed in the construction and use of both monuments and material culture during the Neolithic in the Orkney Isles, Scotland. In particular I want to examine the way in which the various qualities of stone and clay are deployed as a means of commenting upon issues of place, identity and memory. The aim then is to understand how, as culturally classified materials, stone and clay provide the means of constructing social histories.

I am interested here in exploring the nature of belonging; to investigate how people make themselves at home in the world. For the anthropologist Nadia Lovell (1998a) belonging is variously constructed by attachment to place, it is expressed through the medium of objects, and by the sentiments which bind the dead to place. My contention is that belonging is constructed out of attachment to place, from the biographical qualities with which places are imbued, and the biographical aspects of objects. Places, artefacts and people are bound together in a referential and relational network of meaning. Belonging is neither predetermined by the

qualities of particular places or environs, nor is it wholly woven from the histories of experience in that place. Rather a sense of belonging emerges at the junction between feelings of attachment to place and the sense of being part of a community with a history of experience in place. Belonging is then both constructed and lived. At times a sense of identity is expressed through the medium of place and material culture, at other times it is filtered through place and architecture.

The aim of this paper is to trace the history of the interaction between people and place over the course of the Neolithic period in the Orkney Isles, Scotland. It is central to my argument that senses of belonging alter over the course of the Neolithic. While during the Early Neolithic a sense of emplacement is at least partly built out of Mesolithic interactions with the environment, during the Later Neolithic a sense of belonging was constructed out of Early Neolithic interactions. Belonging is therefore a process, at the heart of which lies memory and history.

Constructing the Neolithic

The process of constructing monuments during the Neolithic has been described as a means by which human communities altered their spatial and temporal perceptions of the landscape. Monuments have been viewed as a means of elaborating particular natural places, an act which emphasises the prior significance of those places (e.g. Bradley, 1993, 2000a).

Given the constitutive nature of raw materials in monumental constructions, I suggest that we are compelled to accept that raw materials play an *integrative* role in defining the relationship perceived to have pertained between landscape and monument. They simultaneously comprise the fabric of the monument and define its limits, while also existing as fragments of the wider landscape. The selective use of raw materials in monument construction is critical to the process of interpreting the landscape since just as raw materials are constituents of the landscape they are also constitutive of the monument.

We need to focus then on the raw materials employed in megalithic constructions; materials may be considered as a means of defining the significance of landscape features (Tilley, 1993: 76 suggested this in relation to the passage graves of Vastergotland, Sweden, for instance). Alternatively, we may consider the possibility that the use of differing constructional materials constitutes an active interpretative process, a process which is bound up with the definition, and classification of, both the material and social worlds. The deployment of differing substances both architecturally and artefactually may be one means by which we signify differing temporalities. Materials with different life-spans or of differing durability may be used to frame and articulate the ephemeral or concrete nature of relationships between people. Furthermore, the quality, colour and place of

origin of materials may be one means by which complex social identities are made concrete or articulated materially.[1]

Material Culture, Landscape and Place

While our analysis of issues of place and landscape in relation to monuments is relatively sophisticated, our treatment of these issues in relation to material culture is, by comparison, impoverished. It is notable that archaeological treatments of the relationship between environment, resources and material culture have situated themselves almost entirely within the discourse of cultural ecology.[2] According to such an approach the natural environment directly determines the mode by which humans exploit its resources. This approach to material culture has had considerable impact on the study of both ceramics and lithics.[3]

At this stage it is worth emphasising the point that while the construction of monuments imbues particular places in the landscape with significance, the process of monument construction is only one element of a wider set of practices through which humans relate themselves to the lived landscape. Indeed it is important to note that certain elements of the landscape, such as plants, animals, geology and topography should be considered to have had significance prior to the construction of monuments, since they comprise critical components of the lived and experienced landscape.

An important element of the process of inhabiting a landscape concerns the categorisation of places according to their topographic, geological and biological differences. Plants, animals, minerals and other natural elements such as water do not simply reflect landscape, they actively constitute and comprise landscape in the lives and experiences of the inhabitants. I have argued above that the raw materials which make up monuments are integrative of monuments. They define a relationship between monument, place and landscape. We may think of other forms of material culture in precisely the same way. Material culture is composed of the raw materials which make up the culturally categorised and lived landscape and as such the constitution of material culture defines a set of relationships between the object and particular places in the wider landscape. The significance of particular places in the landscape is an important structuring principle in the configuration and use of artefacts symbolically.[4]

However, the relationship between place and monuments and place and mobile forms of material culture is quite different. While the construction of monuments involves the establishment of a significant fixed place in the landscape through the use of elements of that landscape; the relationship between material culture and place is more fluid; objects are not fixed in place and therefore more powerfully they may carry with them the significance of particular places over a wide area.[5] This is most spectacularly demonstrated by the analysis of

the production and use of polished stone axes, whose relationship to particular places appears to have significant impact on their subsequent distribution, use and deposition (Bradley and Edmonds, 1993).

The technical processes involved in the extraction and working of objects which once constituted fragments of the landscape are, at the same time, processes that aid the maintenance and reproduction of social relations due to their significant relationship to places with their inherent association to specific identities. The procurement and production of artefacts therefore involves an active process of memorialisation. More importantly, due to the animate nature of objects, the object and its place specific memories may be carried from one context to another.[6]

Natural Histories and Social Identities

I have argued above that human beings inhabit landscapes by imbuing landscape with significance; each feature of the landscape invokes a series of culturally established ideas concerning the nature of the world. More importantly the action of people within that landscape creates significance; humans are implicated in landscapes. Action creates significance in particular ways; it defines the relationship between specific places and the identities and memories of certain individuals.[7] So far, in the sections above, I have discussed the relationship between places and monuments and places and material culture. In each case the relationship between the two is subtly different: the work of constructing a monument, draws on the significance of place, but also transforms that place. Monuments are made into places, and places are made into monuments. But places impact upon material culture in different ways, material culture is constructed out of materials that have a place specific significance, however the production of artefacts need not necessarily involve the creation of new kinds of place.[8] Instead the significance of artefacts extend beyond specific fixed places.[9]

I want to explore these ideas in relation to the notion of life histories. In the case of monuments we are familiar with the concept of sites having their own specific life histories, which extend from construction, to use, to their reworking in later periods.[10] Similarly the notion of artefact biographies has wide currency. Here we might understand the life of artefacts inter-cutting with the life histories and identities of the people who made, used, exchanged and deposited them.[11] Both artefacts and monuments are interwoven with the lives of the people who were involved in their construction and use, however we tend not to reflect on the way in which the biographies of artefacts intersect with those of monuments, and *vice versa*. If we entertain the point discussed above concerning the contrasting relationships between places, artefacts and monuments, we come to realise that artefacts and monuments are critically different. Given this, an analysis of the manner in which the place specific biographies of one strand of Neolithic life

impact upon another should allow us considerable leverage in discussing the nuanced ways in which the memories and identities of objects and of monuments are entangled. Such an analysis also enables us to examine the modes by which the material nature of the environment is deployed as a means of building up a culturally specific understanding or history of the world (see Lovell, 1989b). In other words how the raw materials of the natural world are employed to describe and memorialise the social world.

Worlds of Stone

The islands of Orkney, an archipelago of some seventy islands of varying size, are situated off the Northern coast of Scotland (Figure 1). The archaeology of Orkney commences with human activity during the later Mesolithic. The date and status of the artefactual material which comprises the Mesolithic of Orkney has seen considerable debate, however recent re-analysis of this material cogently argues for occupation of the islands by the later Mesolithic (Saville, 1996). Interestingly the distribution of flint assemblages which may be securely ascribed a

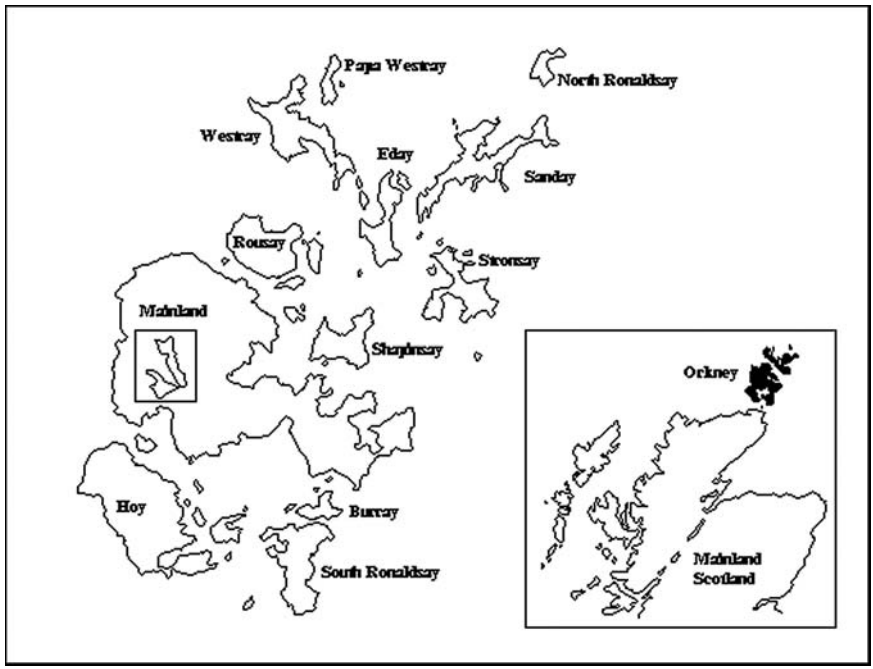

Figure 1. Location of Orkney Isles.

Mesolithic date prefigure the areas of Neolithic occupation, with artefact scatters in the West Mainland, Rousay and Papa Westray.[12]

It would appear that the climax birch and hazel woodland saw at least three episodes of decline which led to the creation of an open heath/grassland landscape[13]. We appear to observe fairly dramatic changes in the nature of the landscape from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic (see Tipping, 1994). This change in tree cover would have altered the perceptual experience of the Orkney landscape, from one which was dominated by fairly close views to a quite different landscape in which views were distant and loch, sea, sky and land merged. The environment occupied by people during the Neolithic of Orkney was largely open. In this treeless landscape the presence of outcrops of stone would have been obvious. The topography of the west of Orkney is made up of high sea cliffs exhibiting a number of spectacular rock formations such as caves, stacks of stratified sandstone, sea arches and gloups (collapsed cave tunnels). The shores of sea and loch are likewise dominated by stone, with pavements of tessallated rock and areas of ancient solidified seashore (Figure 2). In some areas of shoreline, dykes of igneous rock protrude between the bedrock and run exposed for a few metres. The cleared landscape has a texture that consists of a variety of rock formations of different lithologies and colours which demarcate varying topographic zones. Unsurprisingly, one of the defining characteristics of the Orcadian Neolithic is the almost exclusive use of stone as a constructional material. The local Caithness flagstone, which is easily

Figure 2. Tessellated pavements on the shoreline of Orkney.

split along its bedding planes, is the most commonly utilised material used for the drystone walls and corbelled roofs of chambered tombs, passage graves, houses and, by the later Neolithic, large slabs of flagstone were used in the construction of stone circles surrounded by henges.

I want to examine the significance of this material during the Orcadian Neolithic and its relationship to issues of place, memory and identity. Before commencing with this investigation it is worth pointing out that the nature of the archaeology of the earlier and later Neolithic is quite different. During the earlier Neolithic (mid-late fourth millennium BC) chambered tombs are generally linear constructions with an internal space divided by a series of opposed orthostats (Figure 3), an architecture analogous to contemporary house sites, such as the Knap of Howar and Stonehall.[14] By the later Neolithic (late fourth/early-mid third millennium BC) the spatial arrangement of architecture has altered: houses are circular with a central hearth and stone furniture arranged in a cruciform manner around this central axis (Figure 4). Later Neolithic passage graves conform to the same layout with a long passage entering a central chamber with a series of offset side chambers. The same groundplan is found in the two Orcadian henges, the Stones of Stenness and the Ring of Brodgar. Each consists of a circle of standing stones surrounded by a ditch. Importantly the large central hearth at the Stones of Stenness parallels the hearths at the centre of the house (Richards, 1994).

Inhabiting Worlds of Stone in Earlier Neolithic Orkney

Architecturally earlier Neolithic chambered tombs are complex, they consist of a double skin of walling with an internal space divided up by a series of opposed

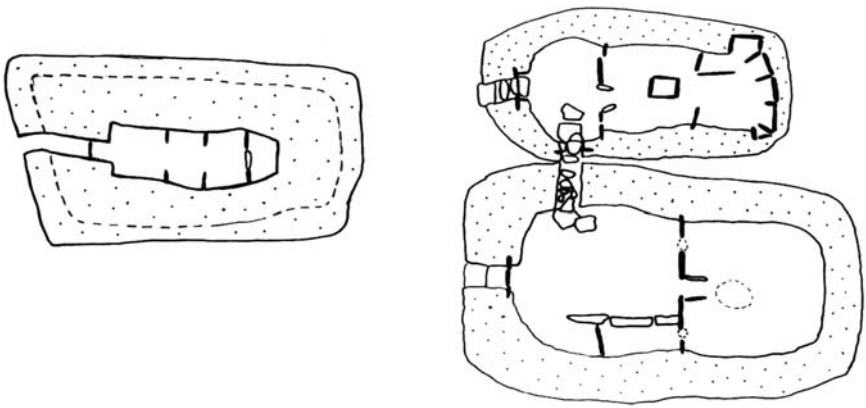

Figure 3. Architectural comparison of Orcadian Early Neolithic houses (left) and tombs (right).

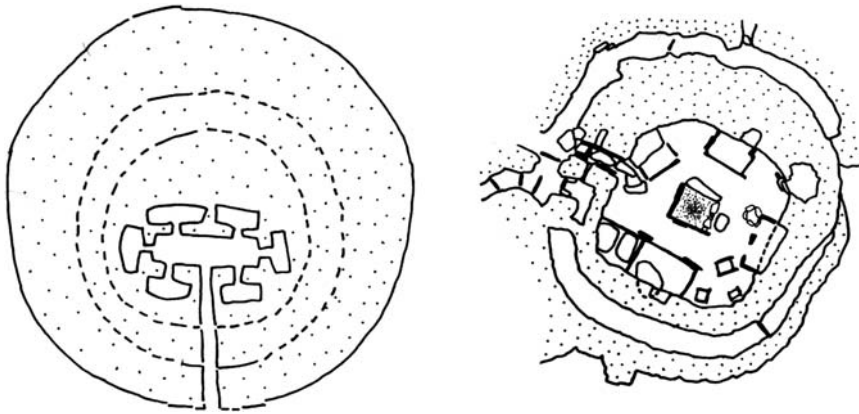

Figure 4. Architectural comparison of Orcadian Late Neolithic houses (left) and passage graves (right).

orthostats. The back chamber of each tomb is dominated by a large orthostatic backslab. The architectural variety of Orcadian chambered tombs is generally encapsulated within two broad category, bi- or tri-partite tombs or stalled tombs (Henshall, 1963). These categories distinguish the number of orthostats used to define chambers. Architecturally the use of internal orthostats provides a link between the tomb and the house.[15] However, the double skinned walling ensures that the internal arrangement of the tomb and its external appearance is strikingly different from that of the house.

The architecture of earlier Neolithic monuments makes a number of references to the stone landscape of Orkney. The Caithness flagstone which dominates the Orkney landscape is laid in a series of strata and the construction of chambered tombs involves a similar sequential layering of thin slabs of rock. The walls reproduce the horizontal strata of bedrock, while the corbelling simulates the unusual formations of caves and sea arches.[16] The important point is that this constructional method arose out of the stratigraphic formation of the landscape, a process which indicates an awareness of the properties and appearance of the constituent elements of the landscape.[17]

Some of the best examples of these homologies come from the well preserved tombs on Rousay. The island of Rousay is striking, like much of the west Mainland of Orkney, it is formed of a series of terraces, produced through the differential weathering of hard and soft rock strata.[18] The exterior walls at Blackhammer, the Knowe of Yarso and Midhowe are all constructed in such a way that the lower courses of stones are arranged at opposing angles. This feature has been considered as decorative and its relationship to the patterns on earlier Neolithic Unstan pottery has been noted (Figure 5). I believe that rather than reproducing

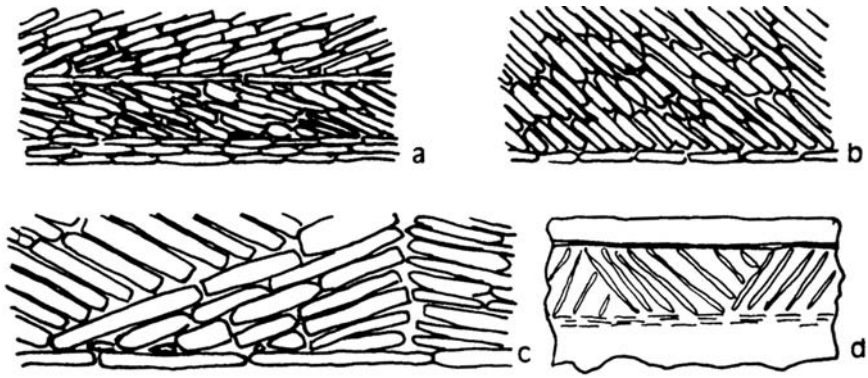

Figure 5. Relationship between cross-hatched decoration of outer walls of chambered tombs and the decorative scheme of a typical Unstan Ware vessel. a) Midhowe b) Knowe of Yarso c) Blackhammer d) Unstan Ware (after Callander and Grant 1937).

the horizontal strata of much of Orkney these particular tombs were reproducing the folded sedimentary structures typical of Orkney and Caithness.

Although folded sedimentary outcrops exist throughout Orkney and Caithness they are not drawn on in the construction of tombs throughout this area. The restricted nature of this constructional technique requires explanation. As noted above, the topography of Rousay and the West Mainland is unusual in representing a series of naturally weathered terraces. It is only in those areas where weathering occurs that folded sedimentary structures are exposed and it is only in these areas that the phenomenon is observed and reproduced in tomb architecture. Indeed we find that some of the constructional features observed so clearly on the Rousay tombs occur in other areas where folded sedimentary structures are visible. A tomb at the Head of Work, West Mainland is constructed with cross-hatched exterior walls, while the tomb at Unstan, West Mainland has a lower and upper course of cross-hatching.

The building of tombs involved a close observation and interpretation of features of the local landscape. However there are other ways in which tombs address their localities. A number of chambered tombs were constructed conforming with outcropping rock strata, the most striking example being the Knowe of Yarso which sits on a hill terrace atop a large outcrop of rock. Similarly, the chambered tombs at the Knowe of Rowiegar and Midhowe were constructed on the rocky seashore. When these monuments were first constructed it is likely that they would have indivisible from the surrounding geology.

A number of the tombs on Rousay and the West Mainland also have an unusual plinth projecting from the lower wall course of the cairn. Interestingly this occurs in precisely the same tombs that are constructed with cross-hatched walls (e.g., Blackhammer, Midhowe, the Knowe of Yarso and Unstan). This plinth gives the

cairn a stepped profile, redolent of the stepped profile of the wider terraced landscape of the West Mainland. Furthermore, on Rousay each tomb was built along the axis of the terrace, meaning that it is only from the terrace immediately below that the tomb becomes apparent, false crested on the edge of each terrace. From the middle terraces the tomb merges with the axis of the hillside. It is on the lower terraces that evidence for settlement occurs, and it is likely that tombs were constructed to appear to merge with the landscape when viewed from this location.[19]

The most striking example of the interpretative process involved in the construction of tomb architecture is the Dwarfie Stane, Hoy.[20] This remarkable monument consists of an immense slab-like boulder which has been hollowed out in the interior in order to conform to the architecture of an earlier Neolithic tomb. Its entrance was sealed by a large stone slab; a fragment from the construction process itself. The site is situated in a boulder strewn valley and when its entrance was sealed its form would have merged with that of the surrounding geology.

Visually and texturally the outer walls and landscape locations of earlier Neolithic chambered tombs are coextensive with the materials, rock formations and outcrops from which they are built. This point implies that the constructional process required that resources remained largely undifferentiated from their natural state. What we appear to observe in the construction of earlier Neolithic tombs is close attention to *local* topographic and geological features. The landscape was being rebuilt on its own terms.

Clay, Stone and Place in Earlier Neolithic Orkney

There are two distinct forms of pottery produced during the Orcadian earlier Neolithic. Both are round based, one form is a deep bowl with little decoration apart from the addition of lugs near the rim, the other known as Unstan ware is shallow with a wide collar often decorated with the cross-hatched designs redolent of the outer walls of earlier Neolithic chambered tombs (Figure 6). While the two pottery forms are distinguished in morphology and decoration, they are also distinguished by the kinds of context in which they are deposited; with plain bowls generally deposited in settlements and Unstan ware in mortuary contexts.[21] Unstan ware relates to the chambered tomb in ways that are both physical and metaphorical: through context, through decoration and through the similarity in the shape and in construction of pot and tomb, each being constructed of interlocking coils of clay or interlocking walls of stone.

Two ceramic forms are produced out of clay with the addition of rock temper. Analysis of 60 petrological thin-sections from plain bowls from Stonehall, Mainland sites A and C reveals a remarkably similar technology. In the case of both sites undifferentiated boulder clay or clay derived from weathered dyke sources was utilised. Both sources of clay still contained the glacially rolled pebbles typical of

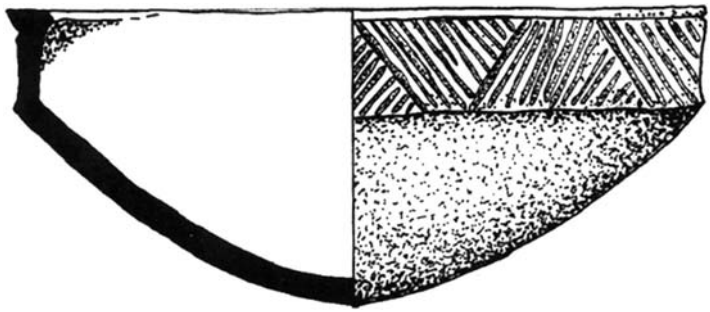

Figure 6. Unstan bowl from the chambered tomb of Unstan illustrating the form and decoration of a typical Unstan Ware vessel (after Davidson and Henshall 1989).

this material. In the case of the weathered dyke sources these were provenanced to the local shoreline at the Bay of Firth. This manufacturing method has also been noted for other earlier Neolithic settlement sites, such as Pool, Sanday and Knap of Howar, Papa Westray.[22]

The Unstan ware from settlement sites such as Pool and the Knap of Howar displays little differentiation in materials and manner of construction. However, it can be deduced from the early petrological work of Scott and Phemister (1942) that the Unstan assemblages from chambered tombs such as Unstan and Taversoe Tuick deploys a diversity of sources. Notably the secondary stage of production involves slipping the outer surface of the pot and then burnishing and decorating it which substantially alters the outer appearance of the pot.

Just as the construction of chambered tombs involved a process whereby the raw materials out of which the tomb was built were coextensive with the tomb itself so the construction of earlier Neolithic pottery forms involved little differentiation between materials and locality. The place from which the clay was derived does not appear to structure the technology of manufacture, pots produced in different areas of the Stonehall settlement as well as elsewhere were produced in precisely the same way.

Although the tomb was undifferentiated in construction the interior and exterior of the tomb refer to quite different places. The interior of the tomb referred most closely to the architecture of the house, while the exterior reveals a close relation to specific locales in the landscape. In precisely the same way the interior and exterior of earlier Neolithic pottery refers to quite different things. In the case of plain bowls the process of slipping and burnishing simply reveals the undifferentiated nature of the fabric of the vessel. However with Unstan ware the decoration of the collar of the vessel refers strongly to a particular place, the tomb. In short the undifferentiated nature of the fabric of Unstan ware is disguised by the motifs on its outer surface.

The biography of these vessels is also quite different. The use of Gas Chromatography allows us to distinguish the uses of certain pottery forms. I have previously argued that the two classes of pottery are likely to be involved in two quite different forms of consumption practices. The analysis of six samples from plain bowls from Stonehall suggest that they were used for the consumption of cattle milk and cattle meat within the confines of the settlement, while Unstan ware is more likely to have been involved in mortuary feasts, possibly involving the consumption of barley amongst other things (Jones, 1999).

Biographically it would appear that the two forms of pottery refer to quite different dimensions of human experience, associated with different aspects of social identity. In the first instance plain bowls appear to be largely undifferentiated both through production and use. They are bound up with the daily practices of food consumption. The production and use of Unstan ware is quite different. Unstan ware is produced from undifferentiated clay. It is then slipped, burnished and decorated. The decoration traditionally draws on the cross-hatched nature of the outer face of the chambered tomb. It is notable at this stage that, although we see slight differences in the execution of designs on different Unstan vessels the overall similarity of the design refers more generically to the tomb and the dead. Unstan vessels may be utilised in the settlement, as indicated by finds of Unstan ware at Knap of Howar, however the place of final deposition is usually the chambered tomb. The identity of the vessel changes over it's lifetime. Firstly it is undifferentiated, secondly it is decorated and through decoration a link is established between vessel and tomb. However it is only once the vessel has been incorporated within the tomb that the relationship between the identity of the pot, the tomb and the person associated with it is revealed.

I now want to consider the relationship between place, identity and other forms of material culture. During the earlier Neolithic the sources of stone for the production of stone axes are local, as indicated by the petrological examination of the axe from Knap of Howar (Williams, 1983). Again we might consider polishing as a means of revealing the relationship between material, place and the place-centred identity of the individual employing the axe. This is a point I want to explore further below in relation to Late Neolithic stone implements. The use of flint for chipped stone tools also appears to be related to local sources with beach flint being the main resource utilised during the earlier Neolithic at the Knap of Howar. As we shall see, the reliance on local sources of stone contrasts with the situation for the Late Neolithic.

Stone axes from settlements including the Knap of Howar and Stonehall are relatively pristine although used, contrasting strongly with the chipped and abraded state of examples from chambered tombs such as Blackhammer, Rousay, the Calf of Eday Long and Calf of Eday Southeast, Eday and Huntersquoy, Eday. The distinction between flint assemblages in the two contexts is mainly in the types of implements found. Settlement assemblages have a predominance of debitage and

unretouched blades as well as tool forms such as scrapers, and retouched blades, chambered tomb assemblages on the other hand have a predominance of finished tools including scrapers and leaf arrowheads.

The distinction in flint tools in each context suggests that finished artefacts are chosen to be deposited with the dead due to their close relation with identity related tasks. In a similar vein, the worn nature of stone axes suggest that they are tools whose histories are closely related to the biographies of specific individuals. Here it is likely that the relationship between the locality of resources and the use of artefacts during life converged during mortuary rituals as a means of expressing individual identity.

Memory, Place and Identity in the Earlier Neolithic

The construction of chambered tombs evoked the local geological and topographic formations of particular places. Places of the dead were forged from the stony landscape. Outwardly they merged with that landscape thereby rooting the dead within stone. The act of construction created a place to which the dead belonged. A similar process of emplacement occurred for the living; highly localised resources were employed for the production of pottery and stone tools. The living were rooted in the landscape through their use of these resources. The memory of this process of emplacement was expressed in the activities surrounding the deposition of artefacts amongst the bones of the dead within chambered tombs. In some cases this remembrance linked the artefact, its use in daily activities and the identity of individuals. However in the case of some more specialised artefacts, such as Unstan pottery the destiny of the chambered tomb was written upon the object. The deposition of an Unstan vessel within a chambered tomb was a mnemonic act which realised the link between the earth out of which the pot was created and the stone out of which the tomb was constructed. This act thereby reinforced the importance of the chambered tomb as a place of remembrance; not only as a place for commemorating the dead, but as a place in which the very act of construction commemorated the link between the stony landscape, the tomb and the dead.

Clay, Stone and Place in Later Neolithic Orkney

I will now consider the relationship between stone and clay as raw materials and the expression of memory and identity in the Orcadian later Neolithic. In my account of the later Neolithic I want to order my discussion in the reverse, commencing with artefacts and progressing to monuments. The reasons for this will become clear as the discussion proceeds.

The later Neolithic settlement at Barnhouse is situated on the Stenness peninsular in the central bowl of Mainland Orkney, an area dominated by a series of ceremonial monuments including the Stones of Stenness henge and the Maes Howe passage grave. The village at Barnhouse consists of around twelve houses (Figure 7), each built according to a uniform set of principles with a central hearth and a cruciform arrangement of stone furniture set at the cardinal points around this axis. The village is of two broad phases of construction: the first characterised by a set of smaller houses in a concentric arrangement around a large central space. The final phase of activity at Barnhouse is marked by the construction of a monumental house, structure 8, which draws on the architecture of house, henge and passage grave (Richards, 1993b).

Detailed petrological analysis of the Grooved ware assemblage from Barnhouse (Jones, 1997, 2002) reveals a number of important points concerning the mode of pottery production. The use of shell as a tempering medium was confined to the houses situated at the centre of the settlement. In contrast to the houses at the periphery of the settlement which employed rock temper (see Figure 7). Detailed examination of the rock tempered pottery from the peripheral houses indicated that each house was employing its own specific temper "recipe". This suggests that in these houses pottery production was an individual household based activity.

A provenancing project undertaken in the environs of Barnhouse indicated that the sources of rocks used in each household were located in a series of significant places, either close to the earlier Neolithic chambered tomb at Unstan, or to a probable late Neolithic settlement at Bookan.[23] The selection of rock sources by specific households may indicate that certain places are closely identified with particular individuals or groups. In both of these cases, people are presenced in the land through rights of access to, or ownership of, resources.

It is not simply that individual rock sources were employed in tempering vessels, rather rock sources from different locations were combined in the production of vessels used in individual houses. This suggests that the act of combination provided a metaphor for the creation of links between different households and communities. This is most obvious when we examine the Grooved ware from the later phase large monumental structure 8. The pottery associated with this house contained all those rock sources that had previously been employed in discrete households. The production of pottery here would appear to represent communal production and sharing in a very concrete manner. Importantly the knowledge concerning the location of rock sources was preserved in memory, although the precise use of these resources had altered.

The production processes instantiate a narrative of identities and places—a biography which is written in terms of geographical references. Pottery production involves a process in which remembrance is actively produced and reproduced just as it provides a context for the production and reproduction of social relations. The secondary stage of Grooved ware production at Barnhouse involved slipping

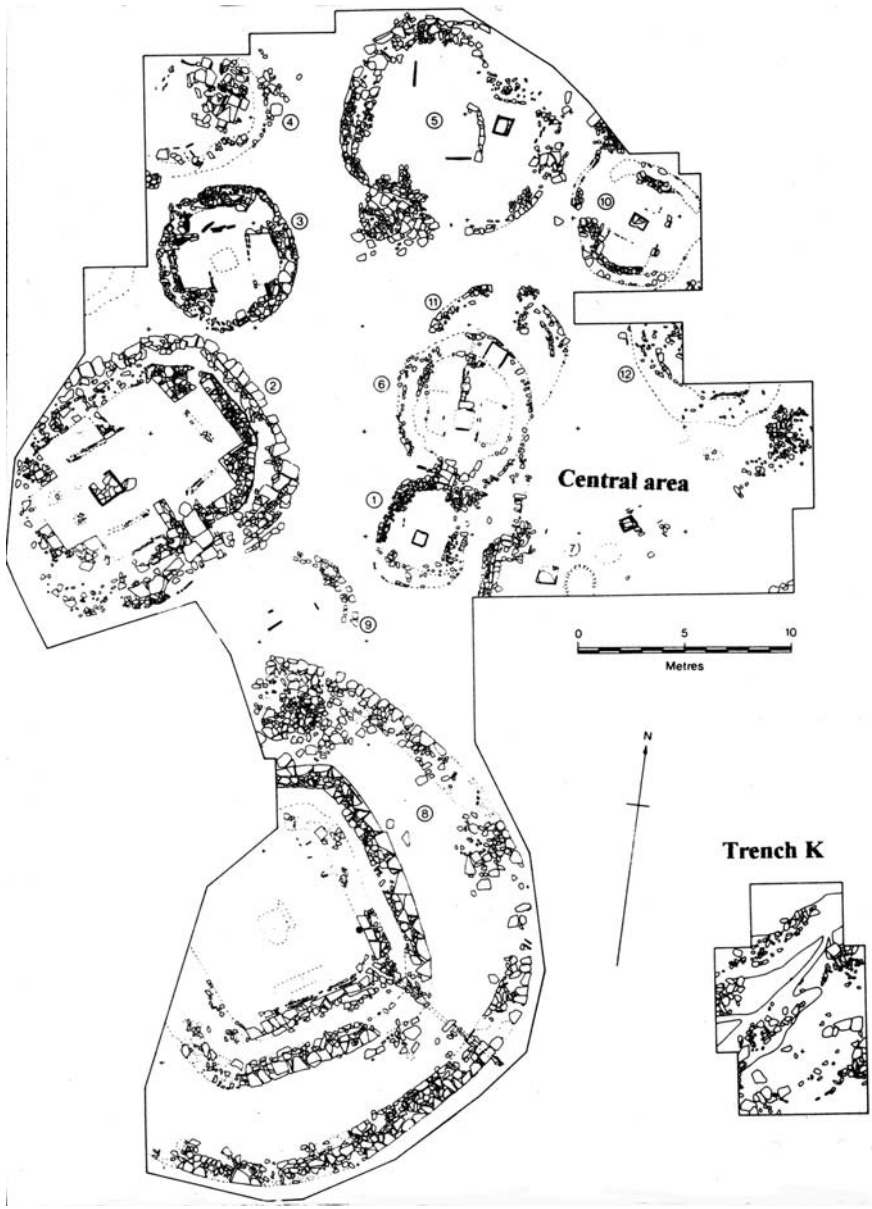

Figure 7. The Late Neolithic settlement at Barnhouse.

the surfaces of vessels; hiding the material traces of the social relations involved in primary production. The memory of these relations are embedded in the fabric of the pot. After slipping, the pot is either burnished or decorated. Importantly, the decorative scheme employed on small and medium size Grooved ware vessels at Barnhouse is common throughout the settlement suggesting an expression of communal identity. This practice is not unique to Barnhouse, during the earliest phases of the later Neolithic it would appear that each settlement is decorating pottery in a specific way. Decoration is therefore closely tied to a settlement specific identity.

I argued that the cross-hatched designs on earlier Neolithic Unstan ware evoked the geology of the local landscape. It is possible that similar references occur between pottery decoration, tomb and landscape during the later Neolithic. It is well established that there is a close relationship between the motifs on Grooved ware and those found in passage grave art. Recent analysis of the motifs on the Grooved ware from Skara Brae suggest a close relationship between the overall design of Grooved ware and the wider landscape. Lozenges bear close resemblance to the tessalated pavements of coastal bedrock (see Figure 2), while the wavy motifs characteristic of Orcadian Grooved ware are redolent of the undulating fossilised seabeds also found in a coastal setting.[24]

Social relations are therefore inscribed on the surface of the vessel and on the landscape. Pottery decoration itself involves an active process of memorialisation, in which similarity and difference are articulated through particular decorative schemes. Moreover this inter-referencing may be articulated by designs related to certain aspects of the wider landscape. Pottery production at Barnhouse involves a very complex form of enacting remembrance. Two distinct "layers" of memory are bound up in primary and secondary production. The memory associated with primary production –related to the procurement and use of stone resources -remains hidden in the body of the vessel and must be performed through teaching and learning. In contrast, the memories bound up with the secondary process of decoration are written on the surface of the vessel and are elicited by visual observation. Notably, the hidden aspect of remembrance is associated with the precisely defined, or hidden, location of dyke rocks within the landscape, while the visible aspects of remembrance are linked to the bedrock which remains highly visible within the Orkney landscape. Production, memory, identity and landscape cohere metaphorically.

This fine-grained understanding of the relationship between pottery production, memory and identity allows us to throw some light on the way in which stone tools are perceived during production. In order to draw this out we need to turn to house 2, Barnhouse. There are a number of points we need to consider concerning the stone tools within this house (for a fuller discussion see Jones, 1997, 2002, forthcoming). Firstly, the presence of a number of unfinished maceheads and stone balls recovered from the confines of the western room of house 2 suggest that this room was a production area. Interestingly, due to the architecture of house 2 the production of stone tools in this room would have been hidden from view. More

importantly all of the stone tools found in the house were made of mudstone, precisely the same material used to temper the Grooved ware in this house. Given the relationship between resources and social identity expressed in the production of pottery, it is likely that the production of stone tools was also bound up with individual identity.

A number of other lithic sources occurred at Barnhouse, including flint and Arran pitchstone. Analysis of the production strategies of tools from these sources revealed little differentiation. Both flint and pitchstone were treated in the same way despite the exotic origins of the latter.[25] The curation of fourteen unworked flint nodules in a pit within structure 8, Barnhouse and the association between flint debitage and specific areas of the settlements such as Barnhouse, house 6 and Skara Brae, house 8 suggests that the production of flint tools was a controlled activity (cf. Childe, 1931, arguing that house 8 was a "workshop").

By comparison with the resources used in pottery it is likely that stone sources were closely identified with specific people although these resources are not disguised in the process of production. Rather, through the production activities of polishing or carving, they are enhanced. A clear example of this is reflected in the range of sources –of metamorphic or igneous rock with an attractive visual texture- used to produce maceheads and the variety of ways of carving stone balls.[26] It is crucial to the appreciation of these objects in the local context and during exchange that the memory of the relationship between resource and owner is clear. Flint and pitchstone appear to be quite different. The presence of pitchstone in Orkney embodies a social transaction, it is not implicated in the local lived landscape rather its meaning is implicated in its use in exchange. While flint was a more abundant resource, access to it was also controlled. The similarity of flint and pitchstone tools at Barnhouse suggests that their production was a context for the sharing of knowledge. Memory was not related to specific places in the landscape rather it was associated with the visible expression of sociality through exchange.

Memory, Identity and Habitation: The Biography of Later Neolithic Settlements

Late Neolithic settlements consist of clusters of stone-built roundhouses. Artefacts mediate the social practices involved in the inhabitation of these houses. Grooved ware vessels are closely associated with the house, different sizes of vessel are used in different regions of the house (Jones, 1999). Large vessels are situated around the periphery of the house, often placed out of sight in alcoves and box-beds or set into the floor, while highly decorated medium and small vessels are more visible being associated with the cooking and consumption of food around the hearth. Stone tools such as maceheads, stone balls and axes are loosely associated with settlements, more often found as stray finds away from settlement sites. Petrologically we can demonstrate that axes, for instance, were involved

in inter-island exchange networks (ibid.). This flexible association between stone tools and settlements is likely to reflect their involvement in activities which occurred outside the settlement, although they may also be closely associated with specific houses. The stone chisel in house 2, Barnhouse was buried next to the eastern hearth suggesting that its use was prescribed and may have been involved in the specialised food processing activities which occurred in this area. Similarly, flint and pitchstone tools are found in association with the hearth probably reflecting hideworking at this focal location. The looser association between flint tools and houses is likely to reflect their use in hunting, butchery and meat processing.

Due to the use of artefacts in different regions of social practice, memory is bound up in the everyday tasks associated with both artefact and settlement. More importantly, remembrance is enacted through the production of the midden debris which is characteristically banked up around the walls of late Neolithic houses. Due to the petrological specificity of the Barnhouse Grooved ware, it was possible to link specific vessels within midden deposits to specific houses. This analysis revealed a complex set of depositional activities in which the distinction between the inner ring of houses and the outer ring of houses was reaffirmed.

Despite the initial relationship between deposition and identity, over time, identities associated with material objects are transformed as the midden becomes a homogenised mass, simply signifying a broad narrative of habitation. Midden deposits become associated with the ancestral occupation of the settlement and as such are incorporated as wall-core material into the fabric of the houses of the living. The settlement therefore becomes the archive of its own history.

However the accumulation of midden deposits over the life of the settlement has a curious effect, the accumulated deposits begin to form a mound. Due to this practice of creating a tangible reminder of the past the settlement slowly becomes transformed into a place of the dead. This final transformation is marked by the deposition of human remains and specific animal remains. For example, the main structure at the Links of Noltland contained a fully articulated sea eagle flanked by two cattle skulls covered by a rubble deposit. At Skara Brae houses 1 and 7 we see a series of deposits placed in the abandoned settlement, which include a human inhumation and a series of deposits of deer skulls and bones. In both of these cases it would appear that animals normally associated with passage grave contexts are being employed as a means of creating a new kind of place (Jones, 1998).

Constructing Worlds of Stone in Later Neolithic Orkney

Colin Richards (1996) has argued, in relation to the construction of the henges at the Ring of Brodgar and the Stones of Stenness, that the various distinctive features of henge architecture embody features of the wider landscape. These features include the rock-cut ditch, which Richards suggests remained water-logged

through much of the year, thereby representing the encircling Lochs of Harray and Stenness. Other features such as the bank represented the hills surrounding this area of Orkney and the internal ring of standing stones which represent the massive stacks of rock which are such a feature of coastal Orkney (ibid.). While these elements of henge architecture find their referents in the wider landscape of stone, earth and water so too the construction of passage graves incorporates aspects of that landscape. One way in which this is executed is by the incorporation of various animal species beneath or within the structure of the passage grave (see Jones, 1998) and the incorporation of human remains from earlier monuments (see Richards, 1988).

Just as animal and human remains incorporated in passage grave construction are derived from diverse places in the landscape so other materials used in their construction are derived from further afield. In contrast to the earlier Neolithic in which small slabs of flagstone are derived from the local landscape, the stones used to construct monuments during the later Neolithic are immense and are likely to have been quarried at much greater distances than the site of construction. The quarry at Vestra Fiold has been identified as the site from which many of the massive slabs of stone used in later Neolithic monuments were extracted.[27] The construction of later Neolithic passage graves also involves a process in which places converge and are commemorated. For instance at the Howe of Howe and at Maes Howe excavation has revealed the sites of probable earlier Neolithic houses beneath the passage grave structure.

Unlike the earlier Neolithic, some later Neolithic monuments witness the reworking of constructional stones through their embellishment with passage grave art. In Orkney much of this is executed as fine linear scratches. Again the motifs deployed may recall wider landscape features, as with those on Grooved ware. Importantly the art within Orcadian passage graves refers most explicitly to the contemporary motifs found in settlements such as Skara Brae, Barnhouse and Pool.[28] As motifs draw on wider landscape features, so the execution of motifs in passage graves "activate" or bring into focus other places in the landscape.

While the construction of passage graves is a specifically commemorative act, once constructed how are memories elicited? If we are to answer this question we need to examine the nature of artefact deposition in relation to passage graves. In contrast with settlements, passage graves contain very few artefacts. At Quanterness, thirty Grooved ware vessels were deposited in the tomb.[29] Examination of the Quanterness Grooved ware reveals that petrologically and decoratively three vessels (Figure 8) were clearly provenanced from Barnhouse (Jones, 1997, 2002). The biographically specific memories attached to these Grooved ware vessels is especially important in this context. It is notable that it is precisely those vessels which are involved in the everyday and highly visible act of consumption that are deposited within the passage grave. In the same way we can think of objects such as stone tools and flint [30] as presencing the life of specific individuals in this

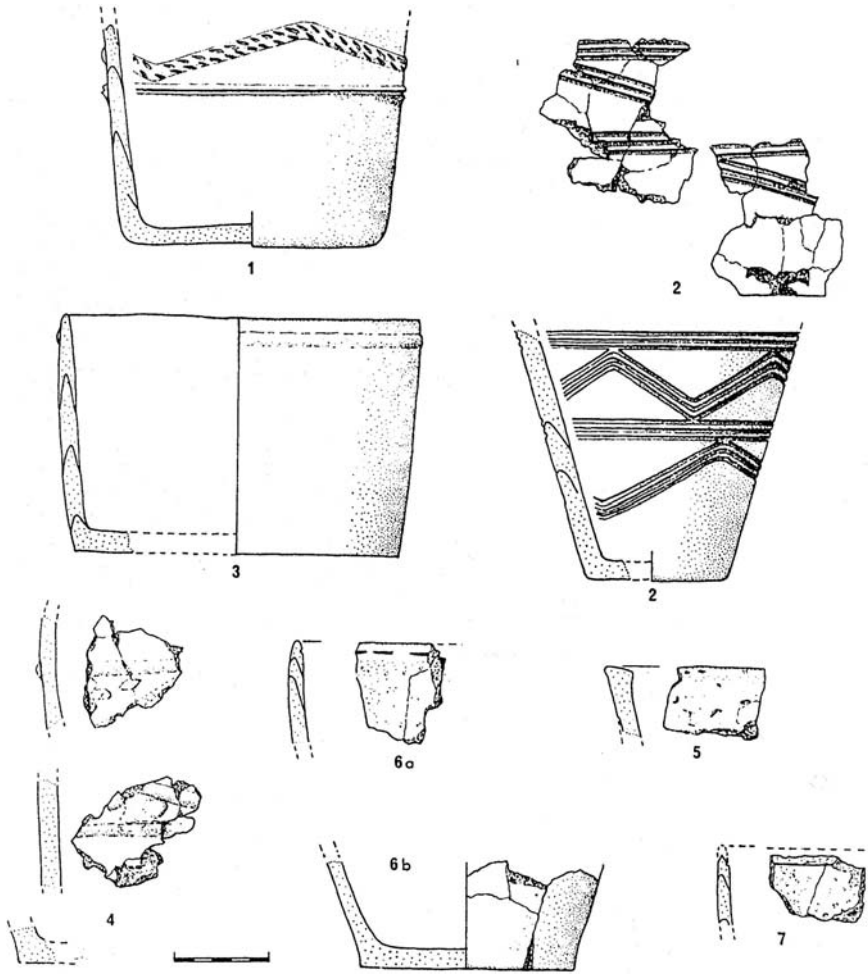

Figure 8. Grooved Ware from the passage grave at Quanterness. Pot number 2 is provenanced from Barnhouse on the basis of petrology and decoration.

context, in both cases objects are often found burnt or fragmented representing death and dissolution.[31]

Just as the process of occupying settlement sites produces a mound of midden surrounding a stone structure, so the construction of passage graves produces a mound of earth, clay and stone surrounding a stone structure. Materially then passage graves may be considered to represent the accumulated memories of past communities in an analogous way to settlements. However, while settlements contain the memories of past lives, passage graves contain the material remains of

the dead. The process of constructing passage graves commemorates the identities of specific individuals through the erection of structures of stone. What is more, these stones may themselves carry with them prior associations. The medium of stone is critical here since it materially endures. Just as we noted with regard to Grooved ware, resources, place, identity, and memory cohere in the process of construction.

The use of stone in the construction of monuments suggests a wider association between monument and landscape. The monument refers to the entire landscape rather than a single element of it. What is more the differences in the nature and use of stone in settlements and other monuments suggests that stones are used in order to refer to different aspects of human existence. In settlements small flagstones are used in drystone walling. Settlements undergo a succession of cycles of construction, destruction and renewal which is closely tied to the human life cycle.[32] The use of stones in passage graves and henges is quite different. Here immense slabs of stone are used, possibly derived from other monuments in the case of Maes Howe. Here stone is used to refer to permanence and qualities of endurance. In the case of henges their use refers to the permanence of a particular place and world-view, in the case of passage graves they are used to refer to the enduring memory of particular founding ancestors or kin groups.

Conclusion: Memory and Materiality in the Neolithic of Orkney

To recapitulate, stone ties people to place in the earlier Neolithic. Its use is local and refers to the inter-relationship of the dead with the local landscape. Clay, in the form of Unstan ware, keeps alive the memory of this relationship during its use-life, until its final deposition amongst the bones of the dead when it refers to the identity of the recently deceased. In the later Neolithic, clay is still used to refer to identities. However the intermixing of stone with clay in pottery production and the decoration of pottery with designs which signify a settlement-specific identity suggest that identities are both more complex and malleable and are associated more closely with landscapes of the living. In the later Neolithic, the use of stone in settlements and passage graves has come to refer to the concept of permanence; to the visible and tangible endurance of memory.

The materiality of resources changes over the course of the Neolithic and I believe this is linked to wider changes in the nature and perception of the landscape. I observed at the outset that during the Neolithic there were periods of deforestation in which the landscape opened up. During the earlier Neolithic movement through the landscape would have been through low scrub in which clearings centred around the construction of stone monuments. Views were restricted and the relationship between monument and place was localised. However as the process of clearance continued into the later Neolithic an open landscape with wide views prevailed and

the relationship between monuments and landscape drew on a wider perspective. In this landscape the main things to endure were the earlier stone built monuments of the dead and the stony bedrock of the land. It was these features that came to refer to ideas of endurance and permanence.

The mutual relationship between people and the landscapes that they inhabit enables us to consider how landscapes become the tools by which people create their understanding of themselves, their relationship to the landscape in terms of belonging and emplacement. However particular geographical places need not remain as static or fixed focuses for feelings of belonging. Instead we might think of social practice as performative of feelings of emplacement and belonging. It is this that I want to draw out in relation to the Orcadian Neolithic. The practices associated with inhabitation in the earlier Neolithic were closely related to fixed locations within the landscape, the tomb had a close homology with specific parts of the landscape, while the materials used to manufacture pottery and stone tools was tied to the ambit of the local. During its use-life the decoration of pottery in this period defined a relationship with the fixed point of the tomb. By the later Neolithic these ideas of place and belonging were altered, place remained important to the character and use of materials for both artefacts and monuments. However materials were now placed, or juxtaposed in relations of similitude—the notion of belonging was no longer related to fixed places, it was constructed out of the relationships between materials from different places.[33] Communities shifted in their definition from those defined by locality to those in which more open and contingent relations defined membership. Throughout this period we observe a shift in the material expression of ideas of belonging and a shift in the terms within which the feeling of belonging was experienced.

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Notes

1. For the relationship between materials and social identity see Tacon (1991), Bender (1998) and Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina (1998), for the relationship between materials and temporality see Bloch (1995), Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina (1998).
2. Rappaport (1968) remains the classic text propounding a cultural ecological approach to anthropology.
3. For examples of cultural ecology in relation to ceramics see Matson (1965) and Arnold (1985), for an example of environmental determinism in relation to lithics see Torrence (1986).
4. For the relationship between material culture and landscape see Kuchler (1993), for an analysis of the constitutive nature of natural materials in the production of artefacts see Tilley (1999: 102–133).
5. Munn (1986) provides a detailed analysis of the ability of material culture to presence individuals in a wide spatio-temporal context. See also Gell (1998) for a discussion of the animate nature of artefacts.

6. Bohlin (1998) provides a cogent example of the way in which artefacts derived from the destroyed remnants of District Six, Cape Town, South Africa, were used to reconstitute the memory of place.
7. For discussions of the relationship between action, identity, place and memory in an anthropological context see Gow (1995), Weiner (1991), Rosaldo (1980). For the implications of this relationship in an archaeological context see Gosden and Lock (1998).
8. However, the process of mining or quarrying may be active in the creation of new places, see Bradley (2000a), Bradley and Edmonds (1993), Cooney (1998).
9. Casey (1987) suggests that we might consider the body, whether mobile or stationary, as the site of place. Given the animate nature of artefacts, might we also consider artefacts as a focus for place consciousness?
10. For an approach which examines the extensive life histories of monuments see Bradley (1993, 1998a, 2002) and Holtorf (1998).
11. The notion of a biography of things has been extensively discussed by Kopytoff (1985), Thomas (1991), Weiner (1992) and Hoskins (1998). For the use of the concept in an archaeological context see Edmonds (1995), Thomas (1996), Tilley (1996), Gosden and Marshall (1999) and Jones (2002).
12. For further information on the distribution of Mesolithic flint scatters in Orkney see Richards (1993a), Wickham-Jones (1995) and Saville (1996).
13. For information on the palynological data for the Mesolithic to the Neolithic see unpublished PhD thesis by Bunting (1993).
14. See Ritchie (1983) for Knap of Howar.
15. For a discussion of the homology between house and tomb see Richards (1992, 1993a).
16. We must be wary of treating this constructional process as a simple ergonomic or engineering problem (Barber 1992), rather there are manifold ways in which the materials employed could have been utilised in order to construct a chambered tomb.
17. Bradley (2000b) has made a similar point in relation to the construction of the monuments at Clava, Invernesshire.
18. See Davidson and Henshall (1989) for a detailed account of the excavation of these monuments. The monuments of Rousay were excavated in a fifteen year campaign by Walter Grant, the principal landowner on the island, with the aid of notaries such as James Graham Callander and Vere Gordon Childe.
19. Settlement evidence is defined in this location by artefact scatters and the well known settlement at Rinyo (Childe and Grant 1938), which has an occupation sequence running from the early to late Neolithic.
20. See Calder (1936) for an analysis of this remarkable monument.
21. There is an overlap in the kind of context in which plain bowls and Unstan Ware are deposited. However, there is a broad distinction between plain bowls and settlements and Unstan Ware and tombs, see Jones (2000).
22. For the petrological analysis of the Pool pottery see MacSween (1990, 1992). For the petrological analysis of the pottery from Knap of Howar see Williams (1983).
23. See Jones (1997, 2002) for details. Settlement site at Bookan, Calder (1931). Unstan Tomb, Clouston (1885).
24. See Shephard (2000) on the Skara Brae motifs. Of course, the relationship between landscape feature and motif will have some degree of ambiguity, as do all symbolic representations. For an example of just such a polysemic analysis of landscape and artistic representation see Morphy (1991).
25. See Thorpe and Thorpe (1984) on provenancing Arran pitchstone.
26. It is precisely because of the relationship between carving technique and social identity that we find stone balls so difficult to classify typologically.
27. The site is noted as a possible quarry in the Royal Commission Volume of 1942 and is presently the focus of fieldwork by Colin Richards.

28. See Bradley (1998b) and Bradley et. al. (2001) for recent discoveries of passage grave art in Orcadian passage graves. See Ashmore (1986) for original observation of passage grave art in Maes Howe.
29. For Quanterness report see Renfrew (1979). For analysis of contents of other Orcadian passage graves see Davidson and Henshall (1989).
30. Where we see flint tools or stone tools deposited in passage graves these are either finished tools such as the flint scrapers and knives from Quanterness, Quoyness, Isbister and Taversoe, or fine examples of worked stone such as the objects from Quoyness or the maceheads from Isbister and Taversoe. The numbers of objects deposited in the context of passage graves and later chambered tombs is low suggesting a periodic cycle of deposition.
31. On the use of objects to presence absent individuals see Munn (1986), Chapman (2000). For the relationship between the physical state of objects and notions of remembrance and forgetting see Connerton (1989), Rowlands (1993) and Forty and Kuchler (1999).
32. We need not read stone as solely signifying notions of permanence and the presence of the ancestors (Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina, 1998). Rather, we need to be aware of the way in which materials are employed in practice as a means of signifying different life states.
33. Hetherington (1997) describes similitude as a process of *bricolage* in which discrete elements that had no previous order are brought into relation—this process is productive of the representation of fresh or novel identities.

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