Encounters | Materialities | Confrontations

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Archaeologies of Social Space and Interaction

Edited by

Per Cornell and Fredrik Fahlander

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CHAPTER ONE

ENCOUNTERS – MATERIALITIES – CONFRONTATIONS: AN INTRODUCTION

PER CORNELL & FREDRIK FAHLANDER

The social encounter is a particular sort of concept, focusing on confusion, tension, trauma, and possibly social change that may emerge in contact with people and things. A social encounter is, however, not only about negotiation or contemplating existence, but is rather about what happens when people interact actively, when they involve themselves with people and materialities, when they move around, fetch things, use things, leave things etc. To speak about mutual negotiation in such situations is not always constructive. As Slavoj Žižek puts it: "…/the/ encounter cannot be reduced to symbolic exchange: what resonates in it, over and above the symbolic exchange, is the echo of a traumatic impact. While dialogues are commonplace, encounters are rare" (2004:xi).

The repeated social encounter is often a *confrontation* with something, e.g. an opinion, a performance, or with materialities. These daily, weekly or annual encounters are not completely random; they are to some extent structurated by structural patterns, ideology and the material setting. But the encounter holds a potential for the non-expected; the effects are often unpredictable. The encounter may contain a tension and a great potential for the exercise or collapse of power. Encounters may reproduce a social pattern, which plays a key role in such reproduction, but also contain potential for transformation and change. In archaeology, the spread of artefacts, practices and even 'vanished peoples', are often conceived as the result of large-scale cultural encounters between homogeneous social collectives (cultures or ethnic groups). It is, however, very likely that different individuals and/or groups handle and/or appropriate new information in different ways. Such varied responses to encounters certainly will have a formative effect on the archaeological record and the encounter thus constitutes an important issue to pursue. This collection

of texts is a first step towards providing a theoretical and methodological platform for the study of social encounters.

Mega-encounters

Generally, archaeologists and historians have concentrated on understanding exchange and transformation of social information in terms of exchange in-between large scale given social totalities, neglecting the heterogeneity in the social frame. Such 'Great histories' normally focus on a few key elements (dates of victories, defeats and negotiations) that seemingly provide coherence to the narrative. To pick one example, the arrival of the Europeans to the New World in the late 14th and 15th centuries was, beyond any doubt, a major historical event. The consequences of this encounter between people, animals and things from the Old World with the people, animals and things of the other continent, America, had a large set of different effects on the world. These effects include the interchange of bacteria, plants, animals, man-made articles, social patterns and ways of thinking. It is in a sense one of the major "mega-encounters" in human history. It is of little consequence if there was some earlier sporadic contact between the continents or not, after the peopling of the Americas. The scale of the encounter at 1500 AD is something completely different. Involved in this process is the arrival of measles and influenza, and perhaps leperosy, to the American continent, and possibly the export of syphilis from the Americas to Eurasia (Sánchez-Albornoz 1968). Major products in the food market today are based on indigenous domesticated plants from the Americas, including maize, potato, tomato, chilli peppers and chocolate Still, looking at the advent of the meeting of continents, this encounter was largely about power and resistance to power. It was about exploitation and even in some instances a question of genocide and massive destruction of cultural and social traditions.

We can address such complex large-scale encounters in terms of Mega-history, and in this way a major story of great relevance will emerge. But in what way can we start addressing such a mega-event? Is there something beyond the story of successful Spanish conquerors, like the tale of Cortez and the conquest of México? If we start at looking at empirics we will be bewildered by the rich fabric of varied patterns and ways of this mega-encounter. There are areas in which there is a direct conquest, with a relative success, from the point of view of the conqueror. An important example is highland of México, which Cortez succeeded in making the property of Spaniards. In this area, there were no cows before the arrival of the Spaniards. Less than hundred years later, there were more cows than indigenous population. The area had been taken into possession in the most direct and immediate meaning of the word. In some parts of the so-called Maya area the conquest was a prolonged and complicated

procedure. Formally, the last stronghold which maintained a Maya ”king” was not taken until 1697, and the resistance to the conquerors never actually stopped.

If we look at South America, the process is similarly complex. In some areas in Peru there was a relatively strong and effective Spanish conquest, while other areas included in the pre-Hispanic Inca phenomenon only slowly became integrated. Pre-conquest social patterns seem to have survived to a large extent in some areas, despite the demographic collapse. But the setting is even more complex. In the so-called Calchaqui Valley system (NW Argentina), some areas succeeded in maintaining a high degree of independence up until the 1660's. In archaeological terms, this area, during the Contact period (the first hundred years after the arrival of the Spaniards) demonstrates few or no European traits in the settlement as such. Only in the burials is there some direct evidence of European presence, in terms of some few European objects (iron-scissors and glass beads, for example). The settlement pattern, the buildings, the articles of daily use, show no European traits. The absence of European culture is in itself notable. At the same time, the materiality of the indigenous population in this period is dramatically different to the situation immediately prior to the arrival of the Spanish conquerors. Thus, in a sense it is a new indigenous social world we discuss, a social innovation, created by the indigenous population when confronting the effects of the conquest. In the same time-period, on the plains below the Calchaqui Valley system, it was evidently somewhat easier to control and to establish European type settlements, in this case, Castilian-styled cities which largely housed the indigenous population. The differences are rampant. The Calchaqui Valley indigenous settlements show no traits of chess-patterned layout, and in general little patterning in the distribution of individual houses. The buildings are also quite different in technique of manufacture and form. There are some indications of similarities in relation to certain artefacts, in particular some specific types of ceramics, used by the indigenous population in Calchaqui valley system and on the plains in the same period (Cornell & Stenborg 2004) These stark differences in social organisation and lived experience of the indigenous population in different areas in the same period have always been well-known by scholars, but the implications of these patterns have been curiously little discussed.

Small-Scale Encounters

In order to address the effects of encounters, studies should perhaps start not at a general level, but working on specific cases, in particular settings, to search for social generalities in new ways. There are so many different elements involved in these encounters. Discussing the European conquest of the Americas, first and foremost, the indigenous social world showed large variability in the pre-

Hispanic era, and the environmental conditions similarly showed important variability. Neither were the conquerors themselves a homogenous group, but rather a heterogeneous mix of traditions, cultures and previous experiences. The social setting is always an intricate fabric in which the local is related to a wider frame.

The small-scale event in the encounter between the regional and the local is of great importance in getting at the 'social' and 'cultural' in prehistory as well as in historical and contemporary periods (Todorov 1982, Pastór 1983, Lightfoot 2004, Stein (ed.) 2005). The encounter is seldom a matter of simple processes of local acculturation or assimilation of the way of life in the core areas of an expanding colonial regime. Rather, confrontation with differing social practice, ideologies and differing material worlds often lead to unforeseen results, far beyond the intentions of the involved individuals. In some cases, such results run directly against the intentions of the agents involved. In such a process, misunderstanding and uncertainties play important roles, and may be the point of departure for complex cultural construction. The cultural critic Homi Bhabha (1990, 1994) has suggested the metaphor of "the third space of enunciation" to capture how such areas of confrontation are elaborated in interplay between the given situation, in which the individuals operate, and a general field, broad and complex, constituted by aspects transcending the local situation. Several contributions to this volume address such events, but give more attention than Bhabha to the local setting and the material context. In such arenas, in which questions of power are raised, negotiation and misunderstandings are important, but also conflict, both armed and otherwise. The encounter between a colonizer and a particular local or regional setting may, in certain circumstances, cause major effects, which also affect the character of the colonizing society as such.

Still, much debate on cultural contact departs from large "imagined communities" such as the East and the West or the Christian and the Muslim world. Such gross oversimplification was the main object of criticism in Edward Said's book *Orientalism* (1978), in which he discussed how the fiction of the "Orient" was constructed as a reverse mirror image of the western world. Homi Bhabha (1994) has later elaborate on this discussion and pointed out that Said failed to fully incorporate the notion that any cultural formation is a heterogeneous collective in a constant process of change. Bhabha argues that any social formation, or even nation-state, is by definition a hybrid, or specific constellation, to a large extent consisting of elements that it shares with others. Bhabha gives much importance to the possibility of an emergence of new social constellations, appearing eventually as the result of an encounter, rather than the traditional view of contact areas as "melting-pots". It is evident that the analysis of encounters must include an in-depth study of the local, in order to capture the

intricate issues of social difference and hybridity.

The materiality of encounters

The social world is not simply a matter of differently empowered individuals; people interact as much with materialities as they do with each other (as a matter of fact, materialities often play crucial roles in human relations as well). The material dimension of the social encounter has seldom been given due attention, but is, of course, a central issue for the archaeological analysis of encounters. The terminology is important here, the concept of 'materiality' is not a variation or synonym to 'material culture'; they share some similarities, but also differ in important ways. The term 'materiality' is defined the Oxford English Dictionary as: 'the quality of being composed of matter; material existence; solidity; material or physical aspect or character'. Such definitions may suffice for the *word* 'materiality', but, the *social study of materialities* goes beyond such lexical definitions (Fahlander ms.). In the social sciences, studies of materiality generally focus on the social significance of objects and other material matter in the constitution of social relations. The choice of terminology is thus an important one. 'Material culture' is too much of a catch-all term, with a vague content and therefore of less value as an operative concept. The term 'materialities', on the other hand, suffers the risk of becoming just a new word for material culture, but in the sense it is understood in the social sciences, it denotes an important difference.

Materialities work in various ways: they may simply be 'good to think through' as Lévi-Strauss claimed (1966), or function as metaphors or vehicles for the mind (cf. Tilley 1999). But materialities may have an almost determining effect on people. One can be constrained or triggered by objects and features, consciously or unconsciously. They may be produced or appropriated with specific intentions and yet influence future actions in an unpredictable way. Indeed, some objects are indispensable for a typical way of social life. Materialities also constitute nodes and steer appropriate or necessary movement within a site. Such a concentration of movement to a limited array of paths certainly affects the numbers and forms of social encounters, and have an agglomerated effect, by making contact surfaces smaller in number and smaller in size. The built environment is as much an active generator of social behaviour as it is constituted by it. Houses, buildings and the local setting of a hamlet or a small village function on different scales as nodes for repetitive action, owing to their inertness and resistance to change (Sartre 1960, Østerberg 1998:29f). One interesting example is Chattopadhyay's study of colonial houses in 19th century Calcutta, in which she found a significantly different structure from the Victorian ideal. These differences cannot be considered adaptation to the social

and material context, nor a hybrid of Indian and English life-styles, but rather a new way of organising the household and physical space (van Dommelen 2006:112f).

Materialities can thus involve a great variety of things, from artefacts, the landscape, layout and material of buildings and settlements, trees and vegetation, animals, bodies and less evident material matters such as rain, ice and snow. It is important, though, not to respond to previous neglection of the social importance of materialities by exaggerating their importance and thus making things over-active, or hyperactive, above all reason. Some scholars, such as Alfred Gell (1998) or Bruno Latour (1993), tend to exaggerate the agency of materialities, almost equating them with human agents. What is socially significant, and to which degree, is thus something that need to be discussed in each given case of encounter. It is, however, evident that the material element of encounters has not been given due attention in traditional analysis and needs to be developed further.

Microarchaeology of social practice

A classic topic for archaeology has been to discuss the extension and genealogy of fixed, large-scale, social entities (cultures, ethnic or regional groups), as understood in material assemblages. Some sort of sociocultural unit has always been regarded as a natural and logical point of departure for archaeological analysis. Working in this tradition implies using information from spatially separate areas to reconstruct the cosmology and typical practice of a social group during a certain time-span (i.e., culture). The main idea is thus to combine fragmented and incomplete material evidence from different regions to reconstruct virtual social entities (e.g., TRB-culture or a Viking society).

This tradition is represented in both processual and post-processual archaeology. Processual archaeologists have tried to establish functional traits that define each type of social form, whereas post-processualists have been more interested in the cosmology or symbolic schemes. In contrast to processual archaeology, the post processualist stresses the plural and multivocal understanding of meaning (Shanks & Tilley 1987). More recently, some archaeologists have argued that sociocultural systems are open and populated by knowledgeable heterogeneous agents (e.g., Gero 2000). Still, many archaeologists seem to presuppose that individuals within given social entities share a common interpretative horizon, in which social action has meaning and can be understood. This latter view contradicts, however, the image of open systems, and this theoretical problem cannot be solved by *ad hoc* arguments. In recent social theory, the whole idea of such social entities has been questioned, pointing to multivocality and the problems involved in defining social entities

spatially, temporally or socially (e.g., Barth 1999). But is it possible to address inter-societal encounters if we discard any concept implying the existence of social or cultural units? It is certainly a great challenge to approach social action without such a conceptual framework, but it might well be worth the effort.

The microarchaeological program, elaborated by the authors (Cornell & Fahlander 2002, Fahlander 2003), has some similarity to Bhabha's way of thinking, and may be one useful way of addressing this issue. Microarchaeology is a tool-box of concepts and theory, developed to deal with the relationship between social practice and materialities. The most notable sources of inspiration are Sartre's (1960) theory of serial collectivity, Foucault's (1969) 'archaeology', and the structuration theory of Giddens (1984). In a microarchaeological approach, regularities and patterns of materialities in time and space form the basis for inferring various social practices. Focus is set on repetitive events and regularity, which are termed *structurating practices,* rather than singular happenings. Examples of such practices can be certain way of doing things: a typical way of making a pot, regularities in the disposal of the dead, the way of organizing a house or settlement etc. From such identified structurating practices we can move on and discuss more general patterns in ideology, social structure and symbolic orders. A general idea is that local social practices, in conscious and unconscious ways, always elaborate on a wider, even distant, frame, the world outside, including its materialities.

The microarchaeological approach has in some respects a number of things in common with other 'small-scale' approaches to social theory, such as microsociology (e.g. Goffman 1974; Garfinkel 1967) and microhistory (e.g. Levi 1991, Ginsburg 2002). There are indeed a number of very interesting studies within microhistory. For example, Le Roy Ladurie's (1990) work on Montaillou is a fascinating study that illuminates the relations between the local and the general, and certain ideas from Carlo Ginsburg can also be of relevance to archaeology. Indeed, a local micro-perspective is often productive to grasp social variability, including the queer and strange, but microarchaeology should not be mistaken for referring to a limited scope of analysis. The aim is not only to define specificity, but rather to employ small-scale analysis in order to get at large-scale patterns and processes. This small-scale focus is, however, not to be confused by particularistic studies of separate events. The point of departure is the relation between chains of actions and repetitive events. The analysis of single and repetitive practice is thus analysed in terms of relations between the particular and the general.

To illustrate how the local and the general may be related over time and space we may turn to Wittgenstein's discussion of family resemblances. Wittgenstein discusses "the various resemblances between members of a family: build, features, colour of eyes, gait, temperament, etc. etc." The family in

Wittgenstein's sense is polythetically defined; there is no direct relation or a given element that we find in all members of the family. The family resemblances rather overlap and criss-cross each other, like the way a thread is spun by twisting fibre on fibre. "And the strength of the thread does not reside in the fact that some one fibre runs through its whole length, but in the overlapping of many fibres." The only thing running through the whole thread is "the continuous overlapping of those fibres" (Wittgenstein 1953:§67).

Wittgenstein's metaphor of fibres and threads gives an illustrative example of how structurating practices and positivities are related. The fibres correspond roughly to structurating practices and can be woven into each other, forming threads (structurating positivities). The keypoint in Wittgenstein's metaphor is that the threads are made up out of fibres of different lengths. The fibres are momentarily woven together but do not remain so forever. If some fibres suddenly cease to correspond, the thread may either dissolve or take another form by comprising other fibres. The metaphor of the thread is, however, not to be taken literally. The relations between structurating practices and structurating positivities do not form a closed, coherent system; it is perhaps more relevant to speak of clusters of fibres, more in the shape of 'dust balls' than a straight, consistent thread. Structurating positivities are thus not some determining, never-changing, structural force in the traditional sense. They are composed out of clusters of structurating practices and are less likely to persist if one or more practices changes. From a microarchaeological standpoint we do not need to confine our analysis within geographical areas or ethnic communities, but rather discuss the frequency and extent of certain practices over time and space independently of their assumed cultural origins. The microarchaeological approach thus recognises the hybrid nature of social collectives and opens up a space in which we can discuss various effects of social encounters in greater detail than from a traditional, culture-historical point of view.

Outline of the book

The primary focus of the volume is the effects and processes involved in intra- and inter-societal encounters.[1] There is, perhaps surprisingly, little discussion on this interesting and important subject (but cf. e.g., Hallam & Street 2000, Stein 2005, Miller 1995). Generally, archaeologists have prevailed in understanding exchange and transformation of social information in terms of exchange in-between large scale given social totalities, neglecting the heterogeneity in the social frame. But as we have stressed, it is very likely that different individuals

[1] All but one text in this volume were presented as working papers at sessions organised by Cornell & Fahlander at the Xth and XIth European Association for Archaeologists Meetings in Lyon and Cork respectively.

and groups handle and/or appropriate new information in different ways. In such a perspective, meetings and encounters involve misunderstanding, negotiation and direct confrontation with hitherto unfamiliar practices and - not least – unfamiliar materialities. The confrontation may, in certain cases, simply work to confirm old ways of doing things. But in other situations it may provide possibilities for the emergence of new kinds of social rationalities.

Though this type of process has been discussed in the field of critique of postcolonial theory, it has only recently received full attention in archaeology. This collection of articles hence fills a theoretical and methodological gap in the study of the encounter in archaeology. There is a need for elaborating aspects of postcolonial theory in order to develop new ways of approaching the archaeological record. The articles of this volume include examples from various regions and time periods. They range from Scandinavian Stone Age, Buddhist social practices of the first millennium AD, Maya warfare and ideology, to Aboriginal materialities from 20th century Australia. We believe that this variety is a strength as it comprises many different kinds of intra- and inter-societal encounters, different material conditions and ranges form prehistoric to historical periods.

The first contribution, *Third Space Encounters,* by Fredrik Fahlander serves as an introductory essay exploring the key issues of the volume. Fahlander elaborates the concept of encounters while deconstructing the general fiction of cultural contact. Much of the traditional debate, he argues, has centred on narratives of "Mega-encounters", which neglects central aspects of social heterogeneity and hybridity. He pursues this argument by a close reading of Homi Bhabha in relation to archaeological and historical examples. In Fahlander's view, encounters are not only about the colonial context. The concepts of Third Space, hybridity and mimicry are also valuable for analysing other contexts, such as prehistoric small scale societies. He puts special emphasis on the creative and disruptive dimensions of the social encounter, and gives emphasis to the possibility the emergence of new materialities and practices that cannot be traced back to any specific origin.

Rodney Harrison's contribution addresses the contact history of the southeast Kimberley region of Australia in his contribution; *Materiality, 'Ambiguity', and the Unfamiliar in the Archaeology of Inter-societal Confrontations,* in which he recounts the shocking story of the massacres of Aboriginal pastoral labourers by European station managers. As Harrison stresses, it is interesting to note that some Aborigines were, to a surprisingly high degree, integrated within a white system as workers, as indicated particularly in the material remains. Labourers were a scarce resource, and killing the workers was, thus, rather a contradictory practice from the point of view of the whites. Another interesting observation he makes is that the

encounter with Europeans fostered different kinds of responses from different groups of Aborigines, which can be recognised in material assemblages. Harrison makes a good argument for including in-depth analysis of material remains, also when working on the archaeology of the recent and contemporary past, which is of great inspiration when pursuing prehistoric case-studies.

In Jeanette Varberg's article *The Dawn of a New Age*, she addresses the Late Neolithic in Southern Scandinavia, focusing on Jutland (Denmark). The exchange system, largely focused on flint daggers exported from northern Jutland, was, Varberg argues, a predecessor to the bronze based exchange systems of the so-called Nordic Bronze Age. Further, she argues that certain areas in Jutland became "hotspot" zones in an early phase of the Late Neolithic, areas of intensive interaction, an "in-between space" which was instrumental for the creation of new social patterns. Eventually, the change brought about in this hotspot area came to be fundamental in the rise of the Nordic Bronze Age.

In the following paper, *A Micro-archaeological Approach to the Social Significance of Late Bronze Age Burial Practices,* Alexander Gramsch tackles interesting findings from Cottbus Alvensleben-Kaserne (Berlin). Through an in-depth analysis of urn-field burials of the Late Bronze Age he addresses questions of age and gender from an intra-societal perspective. His work on the material includes excavating not only the urns *in situ*, but also making a stratigraphic excavation of the contents of the urns. There seems to have been a conscious and systematic deposition of human bones, suggesting a recreation of the human anatomy inside the urn. The bones were placed in proper anatomical order. Through this detailed analysis Gramsch opens up for new and illuminating discussion on ritual and social practice during the period in question. Another interesting aspect of the urn field cemeteries is that differentiation according to social origin is less pronounced when compared to burial customs from preceding periods in the region. There seems to be a relative equality in death, a sort of general "third space", which is not necessarily reflected in the life of the living in this period.

In his contribution *Unhomely space,* Per Cornell addresses theoretical issues related to the question of social encounter, focusing on the concept of space, and social logics, which are related to Bhabha's concept of "unhomeliness". Cornell 'dwells' on epistemological and philosophical issues, in order to find new ways of analysing social situations and encounters. Apart from Bhabha, the discussion largely departs from readings of Alain Badiou and Jacques Derrida. Cornell's essay explores the epistemological dimensions of several of the theoretical issues raised in the articles of the volume, and thus provides an important contribution to the study of materialities and social encounters.

Linus Hammarstrand in *Emptiness and Form – a microarchaeology of Buddhism,* criticises established ideas of coherent great narratives of Buddhist

religious practise. The established religious doxa as represented in Holy Scriptures or exegetic studies, and moulded on colonial thinking, leads to a certain 'colonisation of the mind'. Hammarstrand argues that the idea of Buddhism as a homogeneous doctrine was a European interpretation of scriptures, although Buddhist practices and materialities suggests interesting discrepancies between practice and religious doxa. Buddhist ritual practice, Hammarstrand suggests, needs to be complemented by local studies of materialities and practices, for example at the location of sacred Stupa monuments.

In the next paper, *Keeping up Appearances,* Karlenby and Graner tackle the question of "ethnic" border zones, as expressed by the differentiated use of landscape. The case study concerns the relation between "Mesolithic" and "Neolithic" groups in a Scandinavian context, and stresses the existence of a "third space" in a border-zone. The authors criticise traditional approaches, in which cultural agglomerates were seen as closed entities, and in which evolutionary processes by some sort of automatic effect made one group dominate the other. Rather, Karlenby and Graner stress that the encounter between "Mesolithic" and "Neolithic" groups was, by negotiation in the Third Space, the starting point for the creation of a new "world" (the so-called Pitted Ware Culture).

Johan Normark's contribution, *Lethal Encounters. Warfare and virtual ideologies in the Maya area,* deals in interesting ways with the aggressive dimension of social encounters; addressing questions of warfare. His empirical data comes from the Maya lowlands in Mexico and Central America. The material remains are analysed as nodes in a socio-material network. Ideology is a key concept in his argument. War, he argues, is not only about military conquest and domination; it has a broader effect and social significance. Departing from the philosopher Bergson, Normark discusses ideology as a relation between psychology and materiality by way of an elaboration of the concept of third space. In this space, Normark argues, a violent – lethal – encounter may create changes in virtual and actual ideologies.

In the article *The Spread of Middle Eastern Glass,* Anna Ihr discusses manufacture and distribution of Middle Eastern glass. In particular she addresses its spread to the west, and the implications of the distribution of glass objects and techniques. The particular physical properties of glass are addressed as an important variable in analysis. The ways in which glass was distributed has been manifold, and the intentions of borrowing, and the effects of borrowing, are similarly complex. The process of glass-making was carried out in a complex social milieu. Normally, several different agents were involved, sometimes of different ethnic origin, which could have unforeseen results in design and technique. The spread of Middle Eastern glass in Europe was thus

not one single mega-event, but encompass a range of different processes in various constellations. Ihr concludes that there is an urgent need for a fresh social approach to the manufacturing and the distribution of glass.

Elke Rogersdotter's contribution is another example focusing on intra-societal encounters. In her text *The Precious Pottery Disc,* she discusses toys, and questions whether toys establish social worlds. She includes a discussion on the theoretical works of Irigaray, on one hand, and Derrida on the other, and she plays them against each other in interesting ways. Her empirical work concerns the materialities of the Indus civilization, a case which does not fit established models of social organisation at all. In her analysis, Rogersdotter particularly discusses the encounter between children and adults, questioning traditional ideas on their inter-relations, and proposes an interesting alternative way of analysing their worlds. In this connection, she puts forward the significance of the momentary, as well as the importance of recognizing the existence of simultaneities when dealing with encounters.

Alexander Andreeff in *Gotlandic Picture Stones, Hybridity and Material Culture* discusses encounters in the Baltic. The sources are rich and varied, but have only lately been taken into consideration in discussing social encounters and interactions. Andreeff departs from a study on the island of Gotland, and demonstrates the complexity of interaction between various groups in the Baltic Sea during the periods in question. The role of colonial projects and Christianity is discussed, and postcolonial perspectives are used to enrich the analysis. Special attention is given to the construction of personal identities in this framework. Andreeff combines different material and written evidence, such as settlement layout and iconography of the picture stones as a means to reveal how the social interaction worked in the Baltic Sea societies.

The articles of this volume do not form a coherent body of thought. There are differences in both theory and method. Some of the chapters work more in the frame of social anthropology, while others are inspired by post-structuralism, or various strands of postcolonial theory. The differences are perhaps particularly evident in the way social space is understood. An important issue in elaborations on the encounters is the relation between social and physical space, or, in other terms, between virtual and 'real' space. There is no 'ready-made' theory and method available, and a wide discussion is necessary in order to advance our capacity to deal with these issues. This collection of articles thus represents various perspectives of inter-societal and intra-societal interaction, of relevance not only for archaeologists, but also for sociologists, anthropologists and social studies in general.

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CHAPTER TWO

THIRD SPACE ENCOUNTERS: HYBRIDITY, MIMICRY AND INTERSTITIAL PRACTICE

FREDRIK FAHLANDER

The social encounter is a particular kind of meeting from which a wide range of different responses may emerge (e.g., confusion, misunderstandings, tension, trauma, and possibly social change). It is not a situation only restricted to confrontations between different individuals and groups, but also concerns encounters between individuals and materialities.[2] In a basic sense, we all are involved with various encounters on a daily basis; most of them pass us by unnoticed, while a few may change our lives substantially. The normal every-day encounters can be described within the concept of structurating practices that re-constitute the basis of the inert social fabric, while the latter kind rather concerns a different range of provoking confrontations that demand some sort of reaction or response. It may seem likely to assume that a higher rate of confusion and conflict occur when people do not share the same traditions or language - but that is not necessarily always true. Also the most mundane social situations involve a certain rate of uncertainty and misunderstandings (Žižek 1989). Such aspects are not solely characteristic for 'cultural encounters' between people of different traditions. It is thus important to point out from the start that in any kind of encounter, things may seem strange and incomprehensible or perfectly understandable and familiar, but the social significance and effects can only be determined for each given case.

Nonetheless, confrontations with incompatible social practice, ideologies and differing material worlds often have unforeseen effects, far beyond the

[2] In contrast to the concept of material culture, materialities refers to a wider range of 'natural' and 'cultural' material substances including e.g., animals, landscapes and trees, buildings, artefacts and refuse, *that potentially can be of social significance in a given situation* (Fahlander ms.).

intentions of the involved individuals, and the results may even run directly against the intentions of the involved agents. A popular tale of such a case is the encounter between the Spanish and the Aztecs in the 16th century. When the Spanish initially accepted gifts from the Aztecs it was according to Aztec logic and tradition an act of submission. That the gifts would only encourage the new-comers to raid the new world for more valuables was thus an effect the Aztecs did not accounted for. Another somewhat classic encounter concerns the complex twists and turns of Cook's arrival at the Hawaii islands in 1778-79. Sahlins has stressed that the time and circumstances of Cooks first encounter happened to match quite well with the local mythology of the god Lono and Sahlins argues that the Hawaiians therefore greeted and apotheosized Cook as Lono. According to Sahlins' interpretation they thus incorporated the appearance of unknown European people and materialities into something understandable and already familiar (Sahlins 1985, 1995; but see Obeyesekere 1997, Li 2001). Encounters in history and prehistory have generally been discussed as such culture-clashes, a kind of political history, in which the encounter is understood in terms of a confrontation between social totalities. Cook and Cortés are thus merely icons representing European culture (or 'civilisation'). As I will try to show further on, such gross generalisations of the complexity and many facetted effects of encounters does seldom account for anything at all - except as examples of western mythmaking of the Other (Obeyesekere 1997). It is also important to acknowledge that many effects of an encounter is not necessarily determined by acts of officials such as kings, chiefs or military leaders, but also in many more contradictory ways by other less prominent involved individuals and their materialities. In the case of Captain Cook, a more thorough analysis reveals the event in fact consisted of many different encounters between different fractions and individuals of Hawaiians and Europeans (Li 2001). Contrary to a culture-historical perspective, encounters between people and materialities are perhaps better described as complex rhizome networks of transecting chains of effects and causes of which neither the involved agents, nor we can fully comprehend.

The social encounter is clearly a central aspect of research for archaeology. But in order to avoid simplistic arguments of the importance of specific individuals or generalising models of anonymous acculturation, diffusion, invasion, or exchange, the analytic field of encounters need to be adhered from a more varied and complex perspective. The material dimension is not to be forgotten here. Not only people are involved in encounters, but also plants, animals, bacteria, artefacts and other material elements (cf. Diamond 1997) An encounter with a previously unknown kind of tool, aesthetics or material substance may have as profound social impact as a meeting between individuals of different traditions and cosmologies.

In this paper, I will explore the possibilities to discuss a greater variety of possible strategies and responses that may emerge in situations of encounters with unfamiliar practices and materialities. The principal theoretical frame departs from Homi Bhabha's (2004) concepts of 'the third space of enunciation' and 'mocking mimicry', which serve as a more elaborate and promising perspective on the various kinds of social encounters between people and materialities.

'Postcolonial' encounters

Traditional generalising models of culture-contacts in archaeology have recently been challenged by ideas and notions from so called postcolonial theory. Postcolonial studies covers a great variety of approaches outlined in the works of e.g., Said (1978), Spivak (1999) and Bhabha (2004) but does not constitute a single coherent strand of though. In general terms, however, postcolonial theory can be characterized as a political standpoint of social and humanist scholars that seek to deconstruct traditional bipolarised views of the relations between the coloniser and the colonised. The majority of postcolonial studies consequently concern the former western colonies in Asia, Africa and the Americas. The epistemology is generally based upon varieties of post-structural theory and normally concerns discourse analyses of written texts (fiction as well as scholarly texts). The focus on texts as the primary medium for deconstruction of colonial situations may at first seem to exclude any relevance for archaeological cases, but although the data and social circumstances differ, the main issues raised within postcolonial discourse still have profound implications to archaeological analysis of 'cultural relations'. Up to this point, postcolonial inspired archaeological texts have generally been concerned with three main issues: (a) the writing of alternative histories from the colonised point of view, (b) the growing awareness that a colonial situation cannot be addressed from a homogeneous dualistic point of view, and (c) the recognition of the hybrid nature of social practice and material expression (van Dommelen 2006:108).

Writing alternative histories is an important point for archaeology in order to cope with the conceptual heritage of western biased views on small scale societies (Bhabha 2004:245, cf. Fahlander 2004). The principal aim of such studies is generally to re-valuate the agency of colonised groups (e.g., Roman provinces, Australian Aborigines and American Indians) but also to correct biased prehistory of neglected, 'subaltern' groups of today (e.g., the Sámi). Traditionally, colonised peoples have been regarded passive victims of a brute hegemonic colonisation, in which coloniser's culture and ideology was forced upon the colonised (Bhabha 2004:248ff). Indeed, the colonial administrations were often brutal and used force to maintain hegemony, but that does not mean

that the colonised were passive victims in the process. On the contrary, postcolonial theorists argue, based on Foucault's ideas of power as something relationally constituted, that the relations between colonised and coloniser is more of a mutual relation in which the coloniser also changes by the relations with its colonies. This notion is, of course, of great importance, but it may also have non-intended negative results. There is a tendency of certain groups (not necessarily subaltern ones) to employ similar reasoning to score political points or revive an 'original' ethnicity based on more or less fictive 'cultures' of the past (cf. Li 2001:244f, Normark 2004). To emphasise the agency of the subaltern may be appropriate in some cases, but in others be too optimistic. We should not forget that some imperialist conquests can be very ruthless and effective in their efforts. Nicholas Thomas summarises the problem elegantly:

> Scholarship around colonialism tends to lapse /. . ./ into binary contrasts or reactive positions: it makes of *either* local continuity, culture, and agency *or* global intrusions, politics and dominance a sufficient and independent frame of analysis. Against the mutual exclusiveness of these frames of analysis, a zone of appropriations and cultural strategies can be imagined in which local and extralocal determinations are significant according to the nature of the encounter. It is not enlightening to argue that local agency and autonomy are significant *in principle;* what are important rather are the ways in which local efforts to encompass colonizers' activities and offerings may be efficacious in some circumstances and limited and unsuccessful in others (Thomas 1997:43).

The second issue concerns the simplified notion of cultures and ethnic groups as homogeneous entities, which perhaps is the most troublesome, but yet prevailing, notion in archaeology and anthropology. Although the concept of culture also is employed on western nation states, the rate of cultural homogeneity nonetheless tends to escalate when it comes to peripheral small-scale societies. In colonial times, the use of subjectivating terminology, such as 'Indian' or 'negro', was often employed by colonial administrations as a strategy to deny the social diversity of the Other (Bhabha 2004:90). But also in contemporary discourse we find other, but yet questionable terms, like indigenous peoples, natives, and aboriginals etc, which carry notions of being something different from citizens of Western nation states. The debate concerning Cook's encounter at the Hawaiian island is telling in this context. Sahlins' original argument, that the Hawaiians understood the appearance of Cook from a mythological point of view, is dismissed by Obeyesekere (1997) as a naive Eurocentric and colonial stereotyped idea of the mythical savage. According to Obeyesekere, a more intricate and complex play of power was at work between different fractions of Hawaiians and Europeans. It seems evident that not all, if any, of the Hawaiians believed that Cook actually was Lono (Li 2001). In order to get a better grip on encounters between people of different

traditions one clearly has to recognise that most social collectives are heterogeneous and consist of series of individuals and groups with different means of agency and power.

The third issue relates to, and thus modifies, the second and concerns the hybridity of culture. Hybridity in this sense should not be misunderstood as a simple fusion of new and old elements into a crossbreed of ideology or practice (creolization or cultural blending). Such a simplification neglects the inequalities of power and the very basis of human interaction as well as the knowledgeability of the involved agents (cf. Young 1995, Troncetti & van Dommelen 2005:193). On the contrary, Bhabha argues that all social collectives, nation states, cultures or small-scale ethnic groups, are caught in a *continuous* process of hybridity. They all have developed in relation to a larger context and therefore consist of elements of different origins which they to varying extent have in common. The process of hybridity thus makes the idea of cultures and ethnic collectives as homogeneous entities inconceivable, or in Gayatri Spivak's words, elusive:

> I have long held that, insofar as something called 'culture' can be accessible, either inside and/or outside, either to its theorists and/or practitioners, culture is the explanations of culture. As to the etiologies [the study of causes or origins] of contending cultural explanations, one can no doubt plot historical narratives, themselves part of the network of explanations; but the search for absolute etiologies is as fascinating and elusive as the search for the origin of language (Spivak 2004:77).

The importance of hybridity is a sadly neglected issue in archaeological analyses. On the contrary, the basic element of departure is normally generalised fictions of homogeneous cultures or ethnic groups. Of course, the rate of both heterogeneity and hybridity is a question of degree for each individual case (cf. Nederveen Pieterse 2001). But as I will show further on, their importance cannot be dismissed as either marginal anomalies, or, as Sahlins' argues, simply being elements contained within a given homogeneous cosmological scheme (cf. Li 2001:220ff). The idea of homogeneous cultures with specific heritage and origins is a powerful ideological metaphor, but is nonetheless a contradictory and self-explanatory fiction that tends to dissolve already at a first examination (cf. Tronchetti & van Dommelen 2005:193).

There can be little doubt that these three issues substantially will improve discussions on social encounters in prehistory, but most archaeologists have nonetheless been slow to employ postcolonial theory. One reason for this apparent neglection of postcolonial theory among archaeologists seems to be found in the sometimes complex and ambiguous jargon used by its proponents. Indeed, the literary style and rhetoric of much postcolonial texts can certainly be tiresome at times, but is not reason enough to refute postcolonial theory as

postmodern mumbo-jumbo. That postcolonial theory only is a matter of sophism can, however, easily be dismissed. As a matter of fact, none of the three main themes discussed here can be regarded as either especially new ideas or being without empirical substance. For instance, the notions of heterogeneity and multivocality of social collectives was noted by several anthropologists already in the early 20th century long before the birth of post-structuralism. For instance, the many layers of social identities that a normal individual will posses during a life-cycle was pointed out by Lowie 1923 and a decade later, Linton acknowledged that several, sometimes contradicting, 'normative elements' often were found simultaneously in ethnic groups. Later on, in the 1950s, Georges Balandier argued convincingly that most small-scale societies are heterogeneous, while Mauss, followed by Leach, noted that most societies, including the 'cold' small-scale ones, are in a process of change, similar to the notion of hybridity (Mercier 1966:155-74). These observations and insights are the result of empirical observations recognised by many anthropologists, but seem in general to have surpassed most archaeologists. Although some social theory can be tedious, the main arguments of postcolonial and post-structural theorists cannot be dismissed as simply rhetoric postulates. On the contrary, as I will show further on, the issues raised within the postcolonial discourse can actually be helpful in order to better understand what may seem to be contradictions and strange concurrencies in the archaeological record.

'Postcolonial' archaeologies

Hitherto, attempts to employ postcolonial thinking in archaeology mainly concern proto-historical cases of Greek and Roman conquests/colonisations and the period of contact in the Americas. In Mediterranean archaeology, the concept of colonisation is well established and it is no surprise that we find most attempts by archaeologists to apply postcolonial theory in this area (e.g. van Dommelen 2005). The same goes for historical archaeology of the Americas, Asia and Africa (e.g., Stein 2005, Lightfoot 2004). One typical area of research concerns the so-called “Romanisation” of the Mediterranean world. It has become obvious to many scholars that the Roman conquest of the provinces worked very differently and at different speed in different provinces (Alcock 2001). Greg Wolf (1998), when discussing the roman conquest of Gaul, argues that the process has been simplified by putting too much stress on the written sources, and that the archaeology of Roman Gaul indicate a greater diversity in different local responses to the empire. Many aspects of Gallic life were to some extent transformed by integration into the Roman Empire, including most spheres of rural life. Roman and Gallic identities were opposed during an early - but brief - formative period; thereafter that opposition was supplanted by more

familiar Roman contrasts, between rich and poor, educated and uneducated, military and civilian and so forth. Most important, there was never a formula of how to become 'Roman'. Both the provinces and the empire experienced a number of changes, which cannot be formulated in terms of hybridisation, syncretism or acculturation (cf. Webster 1997)

Peter van Dommelen (1997, 2002, 2005) has, in a number of texts, discussed the different effects of the Greek and Punic 'colonisations' in the Mediterranean area. In the case of Sardinia, for instance, he points out the differences in Punic influence on coastal and inland areas, as well as between dispersed settlements and urban contexts of the island. Another example is Robin Osbourne's (2001) study the Greek ceramic imports in Etruria. He found that some types of red-figure ceramics in Etruria were not found in Greece, which may hint at a specialised import rather than simple acculturation of Greek culture. The ceramics was certainly not just dumped upon the Etruscans Osbourne suggests that the example reveals an active and creative element in the manner which the indigenous peoples of Etruria appropriated Greek mythology (Osbourne 2001:290).

Adolfo Dominguez (2002) provides a similar example which concerns the emergence of carved stone sculptures in Iberia in the 6th century BC. The earliest sculptures bear typical Greek traits, but their original associations became altered over time. After a century, the general style, technique and composition of the sculptures became more varied and their location changed to a funeral context. This alterations of style and context indicate something else than just a hybrid between Greek and local cosmologies. On the contrary, Dominguez relates this development to political and ideological changes in the ongoing urbanisation process and suggests that the local elites intentionally transformed the meaning and location of stone sculpturing as a form of resistance towards Greek imperialism (2002:68, 74f).

There are, of course, many other examples of archaeological studies inspired by postcolonial thinking, but it is safe to say that the majority mainly are occupied with the first and second themes: The writing of alternative histories from the colonised point of view, and attempts to address the colonial situation from a mutual point of view. The third point, concerning hybridity, has been less addressed, despite its obvious relevance for analysis of social encounters. In the following text, I will therefore take some time to examine this line of thought and discuss its implications more thoroughly. A natural point of departure will be the work of Homi Bhabha, which has most exhaustively explored the notion of hybridity and who offer the most promising and interesting discussion on the complexity of social encounters.

Homi Bhabha: Close encounters in the third space

Homi Bhabha is one of the most influential theorists within the postcolonial movement and it is not surprising that his ideas and concepts have gained much interest among archaeologists the recent years (of which this volume is but one example). Bhabha's theoretical basis departs from a general poststructuralist stance (Lacan, Derrida and Foucault) whose legacy he develops via Franz Fanon and Edward Said in his deconstruction of colonial texts (e.g., Conrad, Kipling and Forster) and modern day African-American novels (e.g., Toni Morrison). Although Bhabha argues convincingly in many of his textual deconstructions, there are a number of inconsistencies and diffuse reasoning in his work which has led to some misunderstanding. It is therefore important to examine his work in a detail in order to point out both weaknesses and possibilities for archaeological studies.

Bhabha is most explicit in advocating the notion of hybridity. To Bhabha, social collectives (cultures) are specific temporal constellations, which to a large extent consist of elements that they share with others (2004:52). This hybrid nature of social collectives makes any claim of hierarchical 'purity' of cultures as well as concepts such as syncretism, cultural synergy and transculturation untenable. A culture-contact can thus never be reduced to a clash between totalities based on, for example, culture, race, ethnicity or religion, but is rather constituted by a *series* of encounters between individuals and groups in different social circumstances. A most interesting aspect of Bhabha's reasoning is the prospect of encounters to actually result in something *new* and substantially *different* than just conglomerates of new and old elements (Bhabha 1990:210, 2004:162). A social encounter may result in radically new practices and ways of thinking about things that cannot be traced back to a specific origin. Most such hybrid effects are, however, seldom radical and revolutionary, but rather consist of small displacements or glitches in the social fabric. Most such alterations are just temporary, but in conjunction with others, they can result in important social change of the long term in a similar sense as formulated in Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration or Braudel's discussion of the event, the short- and the long term. It can therefore be little doubt that by taking the notion hybridity and its effects seriously it will force us to look quite differently at social change and the emergence of new practices and materialities of any given time period.

Intervening hybrid spaces

With his emphasis on hybridity, there is no surprise that the encounters discussed in Bhabha's texts are quite far from the adventures of Captain Cook or

Cortés. Instead, Bhabha argues, social encounters result in a contradictory and ambivalent spaces in which social identities and ideologies are questioned and negotiated. This effect is referred to by Bhabha as the "third space of enunciation" (2004:54).

> The intervention of the Third Space of enunciation, which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process, destroys this mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is customarily revealed as integrated, open, expanding code. Such an intervention quite properly challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People (2004:54).

It is far from clear what the notion of ‘third space' actually represents, but it is evident that Bhabha wants to bypass simplistic interaction theory by pointing out the complexity of an encounter. The third space of enunciation is employed as a metaphor for the ambiguous virtual field that emerges when two or more individuals interact. Enunciation is a key-word here, which on one level can be rephrased as 'articulating', or if we put it from a perspective of practice rather than speech or text, we may also add 'performance'. Enunciation can, however also be translated as the articulation of speech from the point of view of its intelligibility to an audience. Here we may suspect that a number of different aspects are at play, like for instance the ambivalence of slang, dialect, accent and insufficient understanding of the language in question. In a sense, the third space is the space of hybridity itself. The colonial discourse is split in enunciation between various positioned agents who (mis)appropriates the dominant ideology in order to intercede against and resist it. Somewhat contrary to Spivak, Bhabha thus allows the subaltern a voice (Bhabha 2004:85, cf. Parry 1987:40). It can be no doubt that Bhabha draws heavily from the psychoanalytical theory of Jaques Lacan and the work of Slavoj Žižek when he points at the ambiguities of inter-subjectivity (Bhabha 2004:264). The hybrid nature of societies and their social diversity (heterogeneity) thus also implies that misunderstandings and uncertainties is not something that only occurs between individuals of different traditions or cultures, they also characterise much interaction between individuals *within* the same nation or ethnic collective (Žižek 1987; cf. Fahlander 2003).

> The pact of interpretation is never simply an act of communication between the I and the You designated in the statement. The production of meaning requires that these two places be mobilized in the passage through a Third Space, which represents both the general conditions of language and the specific implication of the utterance in a performative and institutional strategy of which it cannot 'in itself' be conscious (2004:53).

A less philosophical question, but yet significant, is what 'space' actually signifies in this context. Philips (1998) has noted a disturbing slippage between actual and abstract spaces in Bhabha's writings. Bhabha's examples are mainly taken from novels and other fiction texts and in that context, the third space seems to be found in the interstices of 'texts' in a Derridean sense. He does, however, provide us with a few more substantial examples. One concerns a Mexican performance artist situated on the border between USA and Mexico, who takes advantage of his ambivalent in-between position in his provocative broadcastings. According to Bhabha, the artist inhabits 'an intervening space', which is neither Mexican, nor American, that seems to 'demand an encounter with newness' (2004:10, 312). Another example (2004:11) concerns a Norwegian ship that on arrival was greeted with the Norwegian National anthem despite that it was running under another nation's flag by convenience and with a non-Norwegian crew. Only the ships captain heard a familiar melody. The incident is indeed a peculiar situation, but it is more an example of third-space effects than a third space per se. Bhabha likes to point out such in-between situations, or 'interstices' where inter-subjective notions overlap and become displaced (1994, 2004:2-6). In order to understand Bhabha's way of thinking, it may be illuminating to recall his metaphor of the house (which he borrows from Renée Green). A house may consist of several floors that are accessible by a staircase. In order to move from the first to the second floor or vice versa, one needs to use the stairs. The staircase is thus metaphorically speaking transcending 'certain binary oppositions' such as high and low by offering a liminal space and a pathway between the extremes. The liminal space of the stairwell is, according to Bhabha, an 'interstitial passage' in a similar sense that allows a social subject to move in and out of, for instance, different racial subject positions.

The notion of interstices is, of course, inspired by Derrida and Lacan, but also derives from the work of Lefebvre and Frederick Jameson (Bhabha 2004:310). Unfortunately, none of these examples from Bhabha's texts give any clear answer as to whether 'space' is to be regarded as strictly virtual or real (or both), but it nonetheless seems evident that Bhabha's concept of third space is best understood as a metaphor, an analytical tool, which primarily signifies a virtual space, not a physical room. But, of course, encounters of the third space certainly not only appear while confronting texts, but also emerge in material context when people interact. On such matters, however, we get little help from Bhabha: he ignores the complex issue of the social *production* of space as well as the social significance of materialities (cf. Moore 2001). This ambiguity regarding space (which probably is intentional) has lead to some misconceptions as well as alternative uses of the term 'third space'. One example is Edward Soja's (1996) use of the notion. Soja is clearly inspired by the work of Bhabha,

but his concept of 'third space' is something quite different. To Soja, the term represents 'lived space' in contrast to 'perceived space' (1st) and 'conceived space' (2nd). Soja apparently wants to 'translate' the term to something more tangible, but he nonetheless ends up with a quite different concept.

Of course, encounters in real life occur at specific locations and their social and material constitution certainly plays major roles in the process, but there is little use in trying to identify any geographical 'third spaces' in prehistory. Rather, the potential of the concept lies in discussing elements of the archaeological record as possible *results* from third space encounters. From such a viewpoint, the ambiguity and fuzziness of the concept of 'the third space of enunciation' poses no real problem. Bhabha employs the concept for the effects that occurs in any situation of encounters, which have more or less significant consequences. The important lesson that can be learned from Bhabha is that confrontations with other people or materialities can have a variety of outcomes, of which not all are necessarily intentional or foreseen – or can be traced back to any specific origin.

The location of 'Culture'

In a similar sense as regarding the meaning of space, it is quite clear that the *location* of culture in Bhabha's framework is not to be found in physical space - or within social collectives - but rather in the inter-subjective realms (third spaces) between individuals and groups. In Bhabha's view, the cultural is defined as: "…a disposal of power, a negative transparency that comes to be antagonistically constructed on the boundary between frame of reference/frame of mind" (2004:163). Culture is thus something that is exercised, an effect of discriminatory practices and power relations between various individuals and groups rather than a network of institutions and ideologies. Cultural difference, he continues, is the "process of enunciation of culture as 'knowledgeable', authorative, adequate to the constructions of systems of cultural identification" (2004:50). To put it simply; a culture may only be identified by its difference to other cultures, just as ethnicity is an aspect of relationships rather than a property of a people (Eriksen 2002:12). The 'cultural' has thus no inherent essence but is articulated in relations with an Other and its 'location' is found in the gaps, the third spaces, between diverging subject positions.

This virtual definition of culture, no matter how appropriate, suffers from a similar ambivalence regarding the real and the virtual as noted on the issue of space. It is evident that Bhabha tries to avoid dealing with clusters of elements that certain larger collectives indeed seem to share. It is certainly true that social collectives are to some extent disordered by conflicting ideas, multiple voices, and interpretations, but as Barth argues, we should nonetheless expect to find:

"…*some* functional imperatives, *some* normative pressures, *some* deep structural patterns, *some* effects on the relations of production on life chances, and *some* shared cultural themes in ranges of local institutions" (2002:31). Bhabha's surprisingly harsh critique of Fanon and Said is telling on this matter. He attacks what he regards to be a tendency of both scholars to maintain notions of social totalities such as 'the West' and 'the East' (which makes one wonder how he should react to traditional cultural anthropology). When Bhabha at certain instances addresses societies and ethnicities, he is quick to point out their hybrid and fluid constitution. To Bhabha, social groups and minorities have no or little essence but are mainly *effects* of expressions of power and certain discourses. This perspective suggests that we cannot speak of cultural diversity, only cultural differences. Concepts such as multiculturalism are to Bhabha only ideological constructions which "attempt both to respond to and to control the dynamic process of the articulation of cultural difference, administering a *consensus* based on a norm that propagates cultural diversity" (2004:47, 50). Bhabha does acknowledge that some 'cultural symbols and icons' can have certain homogenising effects (2004:52), but what he seems to forget is that a belief in a common identity, values and a homogeneous culture is a very powerful ideological metaphor, which, although it may not exist in the real world, sure has major social effects. Moreover, cultural notions of belonging and unity among many social collectives are not only matters of ideology and discourse, but is also rooted in materialities, practices and 'real' space which importance cannot simply be overlooked.

On mimicry and materialities

Another interesting concept that Bhabha has developed is the subversive dimension of mimicry (2004:122ff, 128, 172). The notion builds on Lacan's discussion on how subjects, like animals, can employ certain mimic strategies in the struggle for survival. An insect or animal can, for instance, camouflage itself by mimicking the background, or imitate poisonous plants in order to avoid being eaten. Bhabha employs the concept in his reading of English 19th-century colonial literature, in which he exposes "flawed colonial mimesis", such as the subalterns struggle with being Anglicized but not *emphatically* English (2004: 125).

> What emerges between mimesis and mimicry is a writing, a mode of representation, that marginalizes the monumentality of history, quite simply mocks its power to be a model, that power which supposedly makes it imitable. Mimicry *repeats* rather than *re-presents*...

To adopt the colonizer's culture, assumptions, institutions, ideology and values, is never a case of simple imitation or reproduction; the result is never in perfect concordance with the hybrid 'original' (cf. Brokaw 2005). It is something 'almost the same but not quite'; an ironic compromise which is once resemblance but also menace (Bhabha 2004:123, cf. Parry 1987:41). Unfortunately, Bhabha never really succeeds in developing the notion of mimicry from the rather stiff Lacanian use of the concept. To Bhabha, mimicry is an aspect confined within the colonial discourse and is merely an expression of the subaltern's pathology rather than an active strategy (Aching 2002:38). But of course, mimicry can intentionally be employed as a subversive strategy in most unequal power relations. Mimicry and reproduction always contains misreading, inabilities or adjustments, which in the long run may turn out to be in disadvantage to the colonial administration (cf. Li 1995). For instance, mimicry makes the binary opposition between the two smaller and smaller which in the long run it more and more difficult to withhold any ideology of supremacy based on skin colour or race ('almost the same but not white' (Bhabha 2004:126). Mimicry always borders on pastiche or irony, which means that mimicking behaviour, iconography and habits of the other is a safe subversive strategy. While the subaltern seems to adjust and assimilate to a dominant discourse (e.g., behaving and looking European) it gives a false impression that the colonised is pacified and harmless, while actually opening a space for hidden agendas. Some practices may be that strange that they could only be performed as irony, something that most understand as mockery, but is too subtle to be suppressed or punished by the administration. Ironic mimicry can thus be employed as solidarity strengthening strategy that authorities will have difficulties to ban (cf. Bhabha 2004:122). As an illustration we can turn to a historical case described by Gitta Sereny (1995:196ff). She describes the strategy of a Czech Jew at Treblinka who applied a kind of mimicry in order to survive the holocaust. He resorted to a clean appearance in extreme, always wearing new fresh clothes, silk cravat, meticulous shiny polished shoes and shaved himself up to seven times a day. He was not mimicking German appearance, but German virtues, which actually gained him respect from the Nazis. It is mimicry in reverse, applied *not* to blend in with the background (crowd), but the opposite, distancing himself from the other prisoners and thus reclaiming his individuality. Another contemporary example of such mimicry can be found in the wigger-culture. Wiggers are mainly white urban middle-class teenagers who mimic the ways and attitudes of Afro-American Hip-hop culture. In this case, the mimicry is hierarchically reversed as the middle-class teens imitate a lower-class life-style without themselves being subaltern.

The concept of mimicry also applies on a material level. Similarities between objects are one of the major indications employed by archaeologists to

signify ethnicity and cultural contact. But instead of simply viewing similarities as an indication of diffusion, exchange or acculturation, we may be able to identify more complex processes of mimicry. For instance, Dominguez's example of the Iberian stone sculptures can also be discussed in terms of mimicry. Despite the alterations in style and context, the sculptures are similar to the Greek originals, but yet signify something different. (cf. Tronchetti & van Dommelen 2005 on stone statues at Sardinia). Another, more intricate example, concerns the knapped glass bottle artefacts discussed by Harrison (2002, 2003, Harrison in this volume). In some areas of Australia, Aboriginal people knap traditional artefacts using modern day materials such as glass and ceramics, which might be seen as a special kind of mocking mimicry. The knapped spear points manufactured using broken glass bottles and ceramics look similar to traditional Aboriginal stone artefacts, but are of little practical use (Harrison 2003). It is thus not simply a case of appropriating or assimilating new materials as additions or substitutes for the traditional. It is rather a practice that involves both mockery and resistance.

Fig 1. Swords and a fishing hook made of flint from the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age (National Museum of Denmark, photograph by the author).

There are an almost endless range of materialities that are 'almost the same but not quite' in the archaeological record. One example is the elaborated flint items of Southern Scandinavian Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age discussed by Varberg in this volume. The flint daggers are clearly similar to bronze daggers in shape and are commonly believed to be substitutes manufactured in flint by individuals and groups that lack metal (Stensköld 2004:66ff, 84f). But

as Varberg and Stensköld point out, the extraordinary craftsmanship that these items represent, the great quantity and special context implies a more complex story. Indeed, this category of flint objects can be seen as representing mocking mimicry by individuals and groups who might want to distance themselves from others who use bronze tools by making delicate, but yet more or less unusable items in flint, such as swords and fishing hooks (fig. 1). The ranges of different ways in which mimicry may work in social practice and in material expression are plentiful and there can be little doubt of the concept's usefulness in archaeological analysis.

Committed to theory? Archaeological implications

It is not an easy task to summarise such an extensive and wide-ranging body of work like Bhabha's. But in a general sense, it is apparent that all his main concepts are interrelated. The various instances of mimicry foster hybridity and ambivalence, which are articulated in third spaces (where we also find the location of culture). Bhabha's framework provides us with ways of discussing social change in a more nuanced way than traditional models of acculturation and diffusion (cf. van Dommelen 2006:119). In a general sense, Bhabha's work is a devastating critique of mainstream archaeology. He makes is difficult to maintain general fictions of the past as consisting of homogeneous cultures or ethnicities rather than heterogeneous intersecting collectives. We do not need Bhabha to understand that social collectives are normally heterogeneous and that individuals are simultaneously subject to ideologies, while at the same time their actions maintain or alter them (Fahlander 2003). But, we do need to come to terms with the fact that our most familiar entities of prehistory (Bell-Beakers, Greeks, and Vikings etc) also were caught in processes of hybridity. Besides the notion of hybridity it is also evident that Bhabha's concept of third space of enunciation is interesting to pursue in archaeological analysis. This is especially the case for the idea of encounters as productive in the sense that something radically new may emerge from them (2004:56, 296, 312). 1980:131ff). This can force us to look at familiar data with new eyes. Also the concept of mimicry can help us to discuss similarities in materialities and practice above simplifying concepts such as imitation and reproduction.

Despite these promising points, there are nonetheless some inconsistencies in Bhabha's work that need to be discussed and elaborated before we can apply his ideas with confidence. First, we need to recognise that most prehistoric social structures are much less institutionalised than the historical and modern day societies that Bhabha discusses. It would be ridiculous to expect a similar kind of colonial machinery at work in prehistory as in Bhabha's examples.

Nonetheless, his notions of the varied results of third space encounters (misunderstandings, mimicry etc) may still be valid.

Bhabha's refusal to deal with real space has already been noted, but a more problematic issue is that his analyses only occasionally refer to the material context. In his analysis of the colonial discourses, Bhabha seems to ignore the necessary relationship of the management of physical space, of resources and bodies in the discursive processes he discusses (Brokaw 2005:159, van Dommelen 2006:112). Let us consider an example provided by the historian Peter Englund (2003). The case concerns a situation that occurred in January 1879, when the British decided to finally occupy Zululand in the south of Africa. The British forces comprised some 1,200 men and were fighting against ten times the numbers of Zulus. The fight was nonetheless a mere routine issue for the English; the Zulu warriors were only equipped with standard ox-hide shields and stabbing spears and could not match the heavily armed English troops. At the battle of Isandlwana 10 miles east of the Tugela River, something nonetheless went wrong. The beginning of the fight was a mere massacre; despite their overwhelming numbers the Zulus were gunned down in great speed by the English army. But after a while problems emerged for the English as they began to run out of ammunition. The ammunition was transported in heavy wooden crates which only could be opened by unscrewing nine large screws. Due to logistic problems there were only two screwdrivers in the English camp. It thus became impossible to keep up and deliver new ammunition to the soldiers and the English were finally defeated by the Zulus. The lost battle at Isandlwana stunned the world. It did not stop the English from colonising South Africa, but the incident did have larger implications. It was unthinkable that a “native” army armed only with stabbing weapons could defeat the troops of a western power armed with modern rifles and artillery. The shock of the defeat and loss at Isandlwana caused a catastrophic drop in morale among the British forces invading Zululand. Of course, the outcome of the Isandlwana battle was not solely a result of the lack of screwdrivers, but the example nonetheless illuminates the importance of materialities (including logistics, time-space and the material circumstances) in social encounters.

Another problematic issue in Bhabha’s work is the question of the scale of analysis. Several scholars have criticised Bhabha for making too general statements from a single text and thus neglecting the social difference and heterogeneity he otherwise is keen on pointing out. Talpade Mohanty (1984), for instance, argues convincingly in her discussion of the postcolonial situation of women that in order to fully understand the social complexity of colonial encounters, it is necessary to keep the analysis on a local level (cf. Parry 1987). The criticism is true to some extent: Bhabha elegantly moves between the local

and particular to the general and global. It is, however, evident that he views the local as *interrelated* to the larger surrounding world (e.g., Bhabha 2004:359f, cf. Schueller 2003:41). Like Foucault, he employs particular examples and statements in order to expose the structure of modernist and colonial discourse. It is, however, important to recognise the great variability and different effects of similarly identical kinds of encounters; there are no formulas or schemes with universal application even to historically known colonisations (cf. Stein 2005).

Considering these critical objections to Bhabha's work, we thus need to elaborate his general and abstract discussion and relate it to real social circumstances. In this case, it may be helpful to enter a historical study that concerns hybrid encounters. One interesting and suitable example is Richard White's study of the French colonisation of the *pays dén haut* (the upper country) in the Lake Erie and the Ohio valley region during 1650-1815 AD.

Encounters of the Middle Ground

Richard White's discussion of the colonisation of the upper country is a fascinating study in many respects, but also an illuminating example of how third space effects can be articulated in a contact situation. The European expansion of the *pays dén haut* was far from being a confrontation between two homogeneous social collectives. The French colonisers consisted of differently empowered individuals and groups (trappers, militaries, missionaries etc) who all had very different goals and means. The same goes for the native inhabitants. Before the French arrived in the area the Indian societies were scattered by a devastating war which resulted in a number of small tribes with changing alliances and hostilities towards each other. This state of affairs was evident to each collective, but it did not stop both sides from maintaining a simplified view of the Other as a homogeneous group. The French saw all Indians as Algonquarians (which is actually a linguistic category, not an ethnic group) while the Indians did not differentiate between the various groups of Europeans (Scott-Irish, German, English, French).

Of course, there were general differences between the colonisers and the original inhabitants. The French were part of an institutionalized literate state society whilst the Indians were organized in chiefdoms with one paramount leader. Interestingly, both groups regarded themselves as superior. The French viewed themselves as carriers of civilization and perceived the Indians as undeveloped savages because of their lack of institutionalised organization. The Indians in their turn pointed out their own free way of life and mocked the French for being enslaved by their Western laws and morals (White 1991:58). The hybrid nature of both the indigenous and the newcomers resulted in a truly

complicated encounter and it is thus no surprise that the relationship between them was tricky in several ways.

The official strategy of the French colonialists was simply to embrace the Algonquians into their own conceptual order of laws and morals, but the special circumstances of the encounter hindered such a process. The ever-present possibility of hostilities and change of alliances between the various groups within each side demanded a special pragmatic relationship. To make everyday life go on smoothly both sides needed to learn and understand the reasoning of the other in order to be successful in diplomatic negotiations. It was congruities, perceived or actual, that became the language of the area. As White puts it: 'Cultural conventions do not have to be true to be effective any more than legal precedents do. They have only to be accepted." (1991:53). To solve problems there quickly evolved something that White terms 'a middle ground', a virtual as well as actual space where negotiations, misunderstandings, diplomacy and brute force were constantly at stake. The middle ground is best viewed as a realm of constant invention, which created cultural demands of its own. This particular form of social relations was neither an invention by the French officials nor by the Indian chiefs. The rules of the middle ground could not be established by any official strategies but were rather initiated and maintained by day-to-day negotiations. The effects of this relationship often led to results that neither Algonquians nor the French would have predicted or wished for. Instead, the world of the middle ground resulted in new sets of common conventions, which cannot be seen as hybrid combinations of elements from either side.

There are a number of different situations recorded by White that illustrates the particular relations of the middle ground. One incident concerns a French-Indian council in which the French commander Cadillac tries to persuade the Huron chief, known as the Baron, to go to war against another tribe. The Baron, who favoured peace, but still wanted to maintain good relations with the French, tried to build on both Indian traditions as well as Christian elements to promote his case. He tried to fool Cadillac by offering him a beaver as a gift while recounting a dream of an old Indian man. He was aware that dreams had no importance to the French and tried to reformulate it as a revelation posing the old man as an Indian prophet. What he did not understand was that 'revelations' of un-authorised individuals have no legitimacy for the French – especially coming from a non-white Indian. Cadillac mocked Barons flawed idea of Christian doctrine and refused to accept the beaver, knowing that receiving the gift would validate Baron's claims of the old man being a real prophet, which later could be used by the Indian chief in future negotiations. This misunderstandings and attempts to employ the others' customs resulted in something more than a traditional hybrid, it was a third space situation that gave

birth to something new that cannot simply be traced back to any original source (1991:54f). White echoes Bhabha's arguments when he concludes:

> The crudeness of the baron's Christianity or Cadillac's mastery of Indian diplomacy mattered less than the need for each to employ these foreign elements at all. They merged them into something quite different from the Algonquian, Iroquoian, and French cultures that gave them birth (White 1991:56).

It is quite clear that the French - Algonquarian relations were not determined by officials around negotiation tables or by any official strategy. There were, of course, formal diplomatic relations, like the referred council, but White maintains that the middle ground was foremost a result of face-to-face relations of daily encounters by differently situated Indian and French individuals. The economic relations (fur trade), for instance, were of little relevance to the actual day to day social relations. A strict economic relationship with special rules and permissions for professional traders was not possible due to the differences in social structure (coercive institutions etc) and the fleeting authority among the Indian and the French. The special structure of the middle ground was rather a network of fluid relationships structurated by its own language, rituals and practices. Just as in the case of Cook's encounter with the Hawaiians, the structuration of the middle ground cannot be understood from the view of the traditions of two homogeneous collectives. Differently empowered individuals and groups played different roles in the process. One example is the important role that Indian women played in keeping the relations going in the middle ground. In the early period of contact, there were hardly any European women at all at the *pays dén haut*, which imputed the settlers to form relationships with Indian women. The gender contracts of the Algonquians were not really understandable to the French. Unmarried Algonquian women had a certain freedom that the French had difficulties understanding; they could live together with one or several men without being refused a good marriage later on. The French, who lacked a category for such a gender structure, simply saw Indian woman as something similar to prostitutes (cf. the arrival of Captain Cook at Hawaii). They understood the practice of polygamy (although they resented it) but they did not understand what it meant for the Algonquian women. This particular state of affairs was, however, very important for the development of the relations of the middle ground. In a sense, the Algonquian women were more important in process of weaving the different social collectives together than the official negotiations (White 1991:60ff).

Fig. 2. Indians Giving a Talk at a Council on the Banks of the Muskingum in North America 1764. Engraving by Benjamin West. (Modified from Smith 1765).

White's discussion of the twists and turns of the middle ground has many complex and important insights regarding social encounters. In a general sense, White's observations verify much of Bhabha's theoretical discussion regarding the ambivalence and uncertainties that emerge from social encounters. White does, however, take us one step beyond Bhabha by providing more specific insights in third space logics like, for instance, the significance of daily contacts and the importance of certain categories (women). The contact situation of the upper country is, however, only one example of a colonial encounter with its own social and material circumstances. We should not expect to find similar developments in other encounter situations. For instance, the later administration of the English and their missionaries in the same area created a very different situation which by no means was built on mediation (cf. Stein 2005). White only provides us with important inspiration when it comes to

archaeological case studies. The lesson that White's discussion teaches us is the importance of analysing social encounters from a *local* small-scale perspective.

Towards an archaeology of encounters

I have already pointed out some possible areas in which a third space perspective can be applied and this is not the place to present a detailed account of an archaeological case-study (but see Fahlander 2006). I will nonetheless conclude this paper by turning the focus to the aims and means of archaeological studies of mimicry and third space effects. [3]

Traditionally, encounters in prehistory has been conceived as the result of large-scale 'culture-contacts' between homogeneous collectives. The variety of the processes behind such contact situations are seldom analysed in detail and the arguments rather focus on which general model (i.e., aggressive assaults, friendly exchange, acculturation etc) that best 'explains' the evidence of a given situation. The occurrence of new types of artefacts and materials, as well as new types of practices such as new ways of building houses or change in burial practice are normally explained by acculturation, trade and exchange, migrations or hostile invasion by more developed groups. The origin of the emergence of new practices, materials or artefacts in an area is often a question to pursue, and even sometimes regarded as the main objective for the analysis. Of course, there are certainly cases of both acculturation and diffusion in prehistory and we can expect some rate of migration or 'colonisation' at times. But Bhabha's perspective provides us with additional scenarios that may actually help us to better understand the appearance of new materialities and practices at a given time and place. There are, however, no clear-cut models or strategies found in Bhabha's work that can be directly transferred to archaeological cases; we need to elaborate his concepts to better suit the archaeological conditions.

One problematic issue concerns the source of data. The previously referred examples of archaeological application of postcolonial theory are all from proto-historic periods and most of them depend quite heavily on written sources. The question thus still remains to be discussed if similar reasoning can be applied in other areas and time periods. It may seem at first more difficult to trace such complex processes in prehistory without the support of written accounts, but it is however, not necessarily true. The material dimensions are of principal interest as material remains often give us access to social circumstances, not easily

[3] Bhabha (1997:459, 2004:364) does actually characterise his own work as a 'postcolonial archaeology', but, of course, he refers to the Foucauldian sense of the term. Bhabha's version of archaeology does, however, include a more nuanced notion of time than did Foucault (e.g., 2004:3, 6, 344ff).

obtained from written sources. Lyons & Papadopolous (2002:1) actually argues that material culture may be a better point of departure because they tell a less polished story than written accounts. It would, of course, be pointless to pit one source of information against another, they both have advantages and drawbacks as sources for archaeological analysis, but the material element of encounters has not been given due attention in traditional archaeological analysis and needs to be developed further.

The second, and perhaps most tricky, issue is to discuss archaeological data from a hybrid perspective without reference to cultural, regional or ethnical frameworks. Here the microarchaeological perspective, outlined in the introduction, may be of help. In a microarchaeological approach, regularities and patterns of materialities in time and space form the basis for inferring social practice. Examples of such practices can be a certain way of doing things, a typical way of making a pot, regularities in the disposal of the dead, the way of organizing a house or settlement, etc. Such identified practices form the basis for a further analysis on more general patterns in social structure, ideology, and symbolic orders. The general idea of the microarchaeological project is that local social practices, in conscious and unconscious ways, always elaborate on a wider frame of reference. The point of departure is thus detailed analysis of small-scale events, but not only in order to define specificity, but as a way to get at large-scale patterns and processes without the need for too much generalisation.

It has already become apparent that the complexity of the social encounter makes it necessary to keep the analysis on a detailed, small scale level. Too much of regional and 'contemporary' analogies would certainly only result in a constructed time-space compromise which probably has little to do with the formation of a given material record (cf. Fahlander 2004). Microarchaeology is, to put it simply, a way of discussing regularities in practice without the need to confine the study within a cultural context. Instead, we find clusters of interwoven fibres, that is, practices or material patterns, of varying extent in time and space that *may* coincide with an ethnic group, but we should not be surprised if this way of looking at social practice turns out as something that crisscrosses assumed cultural units, regions or ethnicities. The microarchaeological project is thus firmly in concordance with the issues raised by Bhabha. By viewing the extent of social practice as interwoven fibres of different lengths in time and space without being regional or cultural properties we can bypass many of the problems of heterogeneity and hybridity that proponents of culture relativism or culture holism struggle with.

Concluding remarks

In this paper, I have argued that archaeologists have a lot to learn from the writings of Homi Bhabha. It is evident that traditional culture based models of acculturation and transculturation are generally far too crude because they neglect social heterogeneity and processes of hybridity. In addition, it has also become clear that besides the three issues pointed out by van Dommelen (the re-evaluation of subaltern histories, the mutual power perspective, and the hybrid nature of social practice and material expression), Bhabha and White also point out the possibility that something *new* can emerge from a social encounter (2004:56, 296, 312). Social encounters seem to generate not only confusion and tension, but also creative misunderstandings that change the structuration of the social fabric (cf. Foucault 1980:131ff). This latter point, taken together with the notion of mimicry, is perhaps the most important aspect of Bhabha's work for archaeologists to concern. From such a perspective, we may finally abandon the idea of material assemblages as equating ethnicity, but instead explore other possible reasons for the appearance of new or 'foreign' materialities and practices at a given time and place. The notion of the third space of enunciation provide us with a theoretical perspective that accepts difference without sluring over or normalizing differential ideologies at stake; it also allows us to envisage social and material developments as enhanced by difference and misunderstanding. The various ways in which mimicry works can help us to discuss similarities in materialities and practice above simplifying concepts such as imitation and reproduction. In this case, we need, however, to liberate the concept from Lacan's pathological perspective in order to recognise the involved agents' varying degrees of agency and creativity.

In order to avoid generalising and formalised views of social encounters it has become clear that a local, small-scale, perspective is a necessary point of departure. The microarchaeological project (Fahlander 2003) is one promising perspective in which to discuss the local material setting in relation to larger issues of ideology and the distribution of materialities and practices. It is thus apparent that Bhabha's reasoning (as well as postcolonial theory in general), not only are of interest for grand scale periods of colonisation (Mediterranean and historical). The processes of hybridity and mimicry remains also a possibility for any small scale encounters of other periods and regions. The example of mimicry during the Late Neolithic discussed here is just but one example of how the concept of third space effects can make us to look quite differently at old and familiar fictions of the past (see, for instance, Fahlander (2006) on hybridity versus cultural dualism during the Middle Neolithic, or Ling (2005) on rock carvings of the Bronze Age).

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CHAPTER THREE

MATERIALITY, 'AMBIGUITY' AND THE UNFAMILIAR IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF INTER-SOCIETAL CONFRONTATIONS: A CASE STUDY FROM NORTHWEST AUSTRALIA

RODNEY HARRISON

While many culture contact studies in archaeology have been framed by acculturation theory, which calls for the delineation of distinct material culture forms and correlations, this paper argues instead that the texture of agency and the contact experience can be better understood through a study of particular, 'unfamiliar' or 'idiosyncratic' artefacts and events which may better frame the ambiguity of both short and long term culture contacts in settler societies. This idea is developed with reference to a case study in contact archaeology from Old Lamboo in the southeast Kimberley region of northwest Australia, where Aboriginal labourers and white pastoral managers and their families experienced prolonged culture contacts throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Prelude: southeast Kimberley July 1998

It was late in the afternoon and our shadows were long as we walked across the plain on Old Lamboo station which Jaru people call *Bindiri* (Figure 1). We had been surveying the remains of the former cattle ranching station with a group of elderly Aboriginal pastoral workers who had formed the principle labour force on this property during the twentieth century (Figures 2-4). As we finished for the day and began the walk back to our 4WD vehicle, I was surprised to almost trip over a series of telegraph insulators which had been flaked and were sitting in a scatter of material in the centre of the remains of the former Aboriginal pastoral labourer's encampment on the site. These porcelain insulators are a

ubiquitous part of the archaeology of the overland telegraph line in Australia, which pushed through my study area in the late nineteenth century. I was not surprised to encounter flaked artefacts, indeed, Aboriginal people at Lamboo had continued to manufacture stone artefacts well into the 1950s (see also Harrison 2002a, 2004), and the archaeology of the worker's camp is characterised by tens of thousands of flaked stone and bottle glass artefacts.

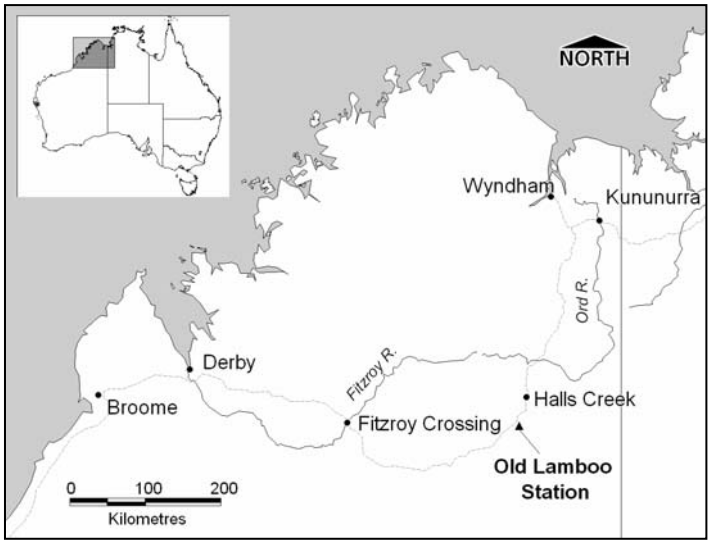

Figure 1: Map showing location of Old Lamboo Station, southeast Kimberley, Western Australia.

While I was aware of the many accounts written by early ethnographers and observers of Aboriginal culture of Aboriginal people breaking down telegraph insulators for the manufacture of flaked tools (see Harrison 2000), I also knew that this activity had been outlawed, and that Aboriginal people found in possession of tools made from insulators had been threatened with imprisonment, or worse. Given the presence of a stone quarry with extremely fine grained and highly prized chert less than 1km from the station (and indeed, the ease of obtaining bottle glass for the same purpose from the station), it seemed extremely improbable to me that any person in their right mind would risk imprisonment or death simply for the sake of a small flake of porcelain. On careful inspection, the insulators appeared to be smashed rather than flaked *per se*, and none of the large primary flakes which had been knapped from the insulators had been removed. The pieces formed three broken and flaked

insulators, left in the middle of what appeared to be a family camp within 200 metres and clear sight of the pastoral homestead in which the white manager, who would surely have been in a position to report this to police, lived. There could be no purely functional interpretation of these artefacts. I felt that this had to be read as a gesture of active rebellion or resistance, as there was no other way of making sense of them. Given the other archaeological evidence which pointed to the widespread adoption of 'European' items of material culture and integration into settler modes of existence by Aboriginal pastoral labourers (Harrison 2004), such evidence of active resistance formed a messy inconsistency which troubled me whenever I thought of it over the months of fieldwork that followed.

In this paper I would like to interrogate these artefacts further in terms of what they might have to say about the ambiguous and highly charged nature of inter-societal confrontations, even those characterised by what appears to be a high degree of peaceful integration. In this sense I hope that the paper will have some broader relevance to studies of inter-societal contacts in other times and places, but being closer to our recent past, allow textures of understanding drawn from oral and documentary accounts which might otherwise be lost in their absence.

The contact history of the southeast Kimberley

The Kimberley region represented one of the last frontiers for European exploration, colonisation and settlement of Australia, and indeed, the world. As recently as 1870, there had been no successful British settlement in the Australia's far northwest. Even today the region remains extremely remote from the centres of settlement, which cluster around the coast and focus on the southeast of the continent.

Following the expeditions of Alexander Forrest in 1879, southern and eastern pastoralists and prospectors were drawn in numbers to the Kimberley as a result of Forrest's exaggerated praise of the area as grazing land. A number of leases were taken up during or shortly after 1881, predominantly (though not exclusively) by large corporate interests (Buchanan 1934: 98). The first east Kimberley homestead to be founded and stocked was the Ord River Station in 1884 (Clement and Bridge 1991: xi). These events represent the earliest significant inland presence of Europeans in the east Kimberley. The numbers of settlers increased even more significantly with an influx of European and Chinese prospectors after 1885 when Hall and Slatterley discovered gold at Halls Creek. By the 1890s much of the alluvial gold had been worked out, and most of the itinerant prospectors had moved on to the far more profitable goldfields around Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie further south in Western Australia.

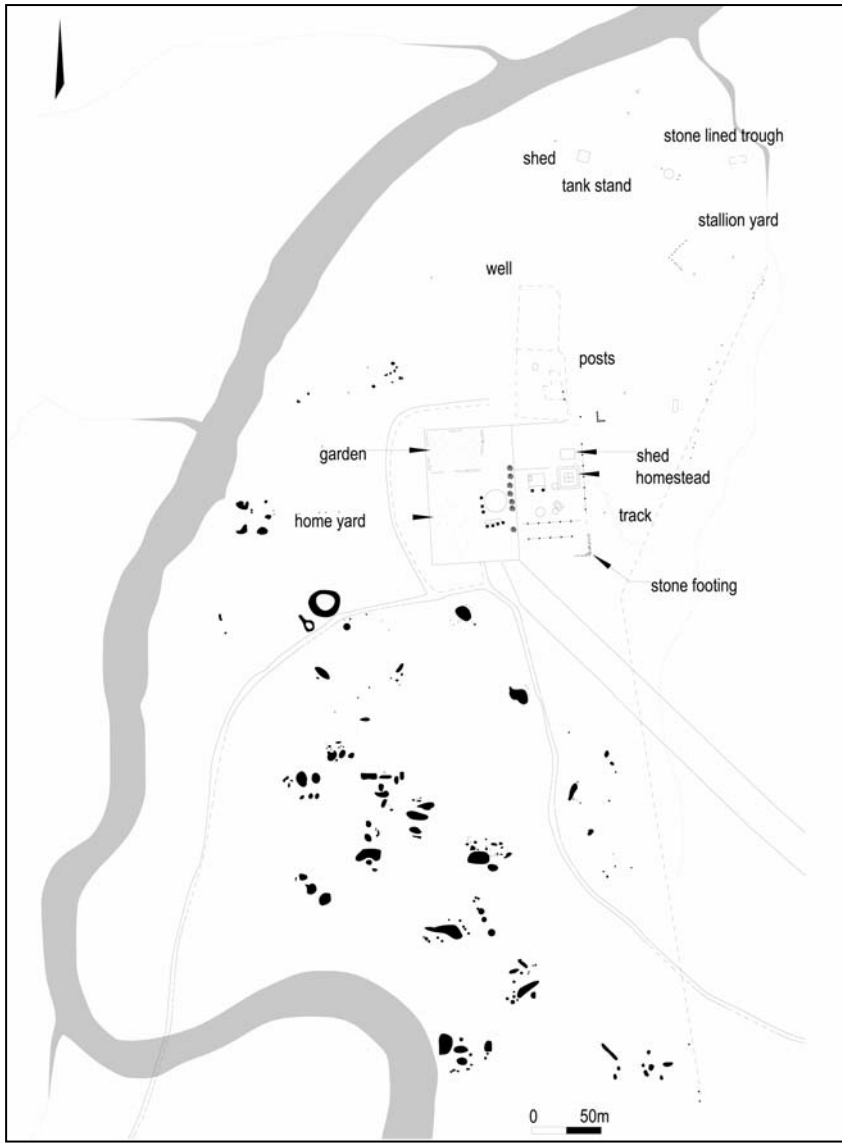

Figure 2: Site plan showing principle archaeological features of Old Lamboo homestead and associated hearths and artefact scatters representing the remains of the Aboriginal pastoral worker's encampment.

Killing times

There are a number of published oral accounts of massacres from this early period, many of them allegedly reprisals for cattle spearing or retribution for the killing of Europeans which were led or instigated by early pastoralists and officially sanctioned by the police force (e.g. see Nunkiarry 1996a, Nunkiarry 1996b, Lanigan 1996). Initially Aboriginal groups responded to these attacks with militancy, and a number of Aboriginal resistance leaders appeared. In the west Kimberley in the late 1880s and 1890s, the exploits of the Aboriginal resistance fighter 'Pigeon' were widely reported in the media. He avoided concerted attempts by several police patrols to apprehend him, surprising, raiding and wounding several Europeans and their Aboriginal assistants over a period of five years (Green 1995: 33-52).

Figure 3: View across the Aboriginal pastoral worker's encampment towards Old Lamboo Homestead buildings during archaeological investigations in 1998.

The hunt for Pigeon and his associates was bloody and violent, and possibly hundreds of Aboriginal people were killed in the areas around Derby, Fitzroy Crossing, and the Margaret River. As recently as 1926 in the Forrest River area near Wyndham, a group of police and assistants shot indiscriminately at Aboriginal people who they met during the search for Lumbulumbia, an

Aboriginal man who had speared a white pastoralist called Hay in retaliation for Hay's molesting his wife (Green 1995).

Station times

By 1920 much of the east Kimberley had been taken up for pastoral lease. A major shift in attitudes of white pastoralists towards local Aboriginal people occurred during the first half of the 20th century as their potential as a labour force for pastoral work became apparent. Aboriginal people began to be actively sought out by pastoralists and rationed in return for taking part in station duties. The shift in pacification of Aboriginal people through forced 'dispersal' to rationing is one of the most important changes in the history of indigenous-settler relations in the north of Australia. A number of changes contributed to this process, particularly the 'quietening down' of local Aboriginal resisters by violence, and the geographical expansion and increased intensity of grazing in the pastoral industry which led to escalating contacts between settler pastoralists and indigenous people. The need for indigenous labour was accelerated by the departure of many European stockmen during the Second World War (Shaw 1986: 9).

This 'coming in' was an erratic process, which occurred at different times over varying periods, and to different degrees for Aboriginal people in this area. Although some people had began camping on the margins of the earliest pastoral stations by the turn of the twentieth century, some Aboriginal people resisted European settlements until the 1950s or 1960s, particularly Wangkajunga, Kukatja and Walmajarri people living in the extreme south of the region (Kimberley Language Resource Centre 1996). Indeed, several Aboriginal people from Halls Creek told me that they recalled their own first experience of contact with Europeans as children in the 1930s.

Coinciding with the change in attitude of white pastoralists was the desire among many Aboriginal people in the east Kimberley to 'come in' and seek work and rations on pastoral stations. Contact is the natural outcome of meeting of groups of people who inhabit the same time and place. However the reasons why Aboriginal people chose to make continued contact with European station owners and allowed this contact to develop into a sustained relationship of interaction is not immediately apparent and deserves some consideration (after Kelly 1997: 352). Aboriginal oral accounts, both published and recorded by the author, suggest a number of reasons for 'coming in' to pastoral stations in the southeast Kimberley, including a preference for European foodstuffs, a taste for stimulants such as tea and tobacco, and the need for security. As Stan Brumby noted:

> We left our home in the south and grew up at Lamboo then. We never saw our home again…The old people said, 'You can't go back south to live'. There were white men with guns, early days white men going around then (Brumby 1996: 67).

Other reasons cited include the desire to be with kin who had already moved onto stations and that people were 'rounded up' by Europeans and forcibly brought in. While there is no single answer as to why Aboriginal people in the east Kimberley chose to start living and working on pastoral stations, the interaction of Aboriginal people with European pastoralists must be understood as situated within a network of cultural strategies that were dictated by personal as well as group needs and desires.

Award wages and the end of station work

It was not until after the Second World War that Aboriginal people began to be paid monetary wages. By the 1960s there were calls for equal wages for Aboriginal and white pastoral station workers, triggered by a number of developments including the 1967 National Referendum that officially included Aboriginal people in the census. The consequence of the new pastoral industry award for Aboriginal workers of 1968 was that many Aboriginal people were forced off stations and into the fringes of towns, as pastoralists were unable, or unwilling, to pay the new award wages to their Aboriginal workers and families. In Halls Creek, the indigenous population of the town rose from 200 to 600 people in a matter of days and the town required emergency airlifts of flour to cope with the sudden increase in population (*The West Australian Newspaper*, 27/2/69). While some Aboriginal people returned to pastoral labour under the new cash economy, there was no longer a place for the large community encampments which had formed the social nexus of Aboriginal pastoralism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For this reason, many older Aboriginal people look back on the period before the Referendum as a 'Golden Age' of Indigenous-settler relations, and a time when they held a valued place within the social and economic world of settler Australia.

Lamboo Pastoral Station: A case study in the archaeology of cross-cultural interactions in northwest Australia

My case study location of Lamboo Station in many ways typifies these broader themes (Figures 1-4). It was first leased as a pastoral property in 1901 and Ruby Plains pastoral station, a neighbour to Lamboo, had been stocked with cattle as early as 1889. A series of massacres connected with late nineteenth century gold mining activities in the area had already occurred when Booty begun to build his

first homestead buildings at Old Lamboo around 1903. Many of these killings were not officially reported or recorded, mention of them surviving only 'accidentally' in the documentary record, and in the oral accounts of the ancestors of Aboriginal people and settlers from the area. Oral accounts of a massacre at Hangman's Creek, also known to Jaru people as *Rawungga*, discuss the hanging and shooting murders of many Aboriginal people by Police Sergeant Pilmer. Pilmer reputedly had Aboriginal people assist him in digging a 'well' before hanging and shooting them and using the hole as a grave.

> White man called Pilmer, he come down from Sydney. I don't know how much people, might be 40 or 60 or more 100 hundred people get hanged. Kid bin get knocked by tree, little kid, small kid, smackem into the tree. Kid. That's the old people bin tellin me. My granpa, my uncle, and my father. Nother father, not my own father, but my stepfather, bin tellin me kid bin smashed in the tree, right there. They had a big hole, they bin digging a big hole, right there, and bury them right there when they bin get hanged. That's the story from old people bin tell me, and I very sorry for that place, the tree gone now, but I got a photo here, I gottem in language centre, and I gottem in the camp. We got a photo of that tree, hangman tree, in the Hangman Creek…That's the story, I put my story. Gardiya called Pilmer bin killem my people. Pilmer. That's the Captain Cook, he only bin sendem all the crook. Some crook bin go to Northern Territory, I don't know what man bin go. Northern Territory, Queensland. Shoot, kill all the people, blackfella. Tried to killem, but people bin run away, in the rock country, couldn't gettem, even my mother, even my uncle, even my granny, bin running to big rock country, stay there, till new lot of good gardiya, bin come now, white man, good white man, put up station now, and put up town, Halls Creek (Stan Brumby, 1999, Figure 5).

Other murders that occurred along the Mary River are also attributed to Pilmer and Booty (see over), although Pilmer's involvement in massacres in other areas of the Kimberley (Pilmer 1998; Green 1995) have tended to allow him to develop into an archetype, and the direct link between these historical characters and the massacres is uncertain (see version of this massacre in Nunkiarry 1996a, 1996b which attributes them to Booty).

'Booty time': 1901-1930s

Frederick Charles Booty, an Oxford graduate and nephew of Osmond, owner of Ord River station (Durack 1959: 386), was the first European to take up land for pastoral lease in my study area. He took up 64,000 acres of grazing land under the name 'Lamboo'. After acquiring the original pastoral lease in 1901, Booty sought progressively to acquire further leases to the south and north of the station. One of Booty's first actions in this regard was to consolidate the eight

original leases into two contiguous ones in 1918. The station was run by F.C. Booty and his son Oliver Booty for over thirty years.

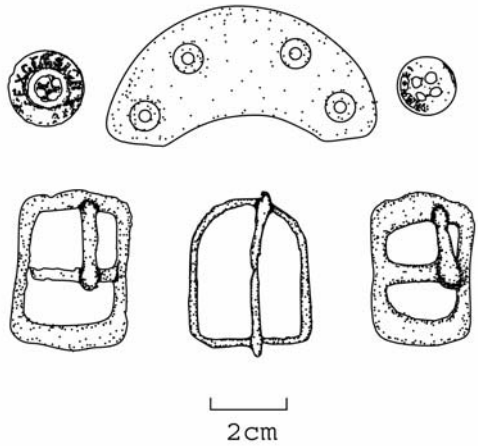

Figure 4: Artefacts associated with 'European' items of clothing from the Aboriginal pastoral worker's encampment at Old Lamboo. Top row l-r: 'Excelsior' trouser button; metal boot plate; metal shirt button. Bottom row l-r: manufactured belt buckle; 'home made' belt buckle made from horse harness buckle with piece of wire wound around it; manufactured belt buckle.

Although none of Booty's personal papers have been able to be located, the papers of Robert Button, manager of adjacent Ruby Plains pastoral station, provide insights into life on Lamboo during the period up until 1911. The connections between Button and Lamboo are intimate, as Button's first son to his de facto wife 'Jinnie', George, came to work for Booty on Lamboo, and is a relative to several of the Aboriginal people with whom I collaborated on this project. Little is recorded about Jinnie in Button's papers, although it appears that she was a local Aboriginal woman with whom he lived for much of his adult life. Together they had five children, three of whom were sent to Beagle Bay mission on Button's death in 1911 (Gibbin nd). The lack of detail of their relationship most likely reflects the pervasive discomfort (and with the passing of the *Aborigines Act 1905*, the illegality) of many non-Aboriginal Australians at this time with casual or long-term relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people (see discussion in Choo 2001). Despite this, their relationship appears to have been a relatively happy and long-term one, which belies the stereotypes of an entirely violent racial frontier in the Kimberley at the turn of the century. Button utilised local Aboriginal labour in construction works at Ruby Plains, and established a rationing relationship with Aboriginal people

early into the establishment of the station. In 1898 he writes that he used Aboriginal labour to build fences and dig trenches to make a stockyard, paying them with an old bullock.

> There is always a Mob of blacks camped here and they get a good feed of bones every time that I kill…the blacks are very good to me. They never go about where cattle run and never steal anything from me. They like me and think I am a big boss. I never interfere with them, they can come and go as they like and if I want any work do any little jobs. I always give them some tobacco which they prize very much (Robert Button 1898 quoted in Gibbin nd: 10).

Button also employed Aboriginal people in domestic roles at the station, mentioning specifically that his cook was a local Aboriginal person. He discusses the use of Aboriginal 'boys' for mustering work, commenting on their enthusiasm for the work. In addition to using Aboriginal people for labour, 'officially' rationing Aboriginal people gave the station a regular income, which was a financial benefit given the amount of speculation required in setting up and running a large pastoral interest. This was particularly the case after the *Stock Diseases Act 1896* was implemented, which restricted the movement of cattle throughout the Kimberley region due to the risks associated with tick infestation, and made getting cattle to market for sale at Wyndham increasingly expensive in time and labour, as well as logistically difficult.

> The government allows all stations about here one shilling per day to feed any cripples, or any old men and women that can not hunt for their tucker, but the Government magistrate has to see them first and order you to feed them. I am feeding two, one very old man, the other a crippled little girl, having a small bone broken in her left leg (Robert Button 1898 quoted in Gibbin nd: 10).

Both Bob Button and F.C. Booty are implicated in a number of local oral accounts of massacres of Aboriginal people, despite their reliance on local Aboriginal labourers to run their properties. In a twist on the pioneering theme of European histories of pastoralism in the northwest, George Nunkiarry relates simply 'Booty shot a lot of people there, and then he went west and built the station at Lamboo' (Nunkiarry 1996a: 42). Booty recounts that 'Kimberley in the early eighties and nineties was a wild country and contained wild men' (Buchanan 1933: 198). The logic of these actions today are almost taken for granted, and Jaru and Kija people often use euphemisms for killings by early pastoralists and miners such as 'quietening down' or 'settling down'. There are a number of accounts from this period not only of the massacre of 'wild' or 'bush' Aborigines, but also of Aboriginal pastoral labourers. Several of these oral stories have recently been published as part of a collection titled *Moola Bulla: in the shadow of the mountain*, published by the Kimberley Language

Resource Centre and Magabala Books. What these stories indicate is that these massacres were not so much about what we would traditionally think of as frontier warfare, but about the murder of Aboriginal 'insiders' and pastoral labourers as much as they were about the murder of 'Others' or about retribution killing. These stories are chilling because they indicate that despite the widespread integration of Aboriginal people into the pastoral labour force, their lives were still at risk from the very white people who employed them. These massacres appear to have occurred in the area well into the 1920s and 1930s.

Figure 5: Stan Brumby at the site of the Hangman's creek massacre at *Rawungga* in 1999.

The archaeology of integration into the pastoral labour force

While I do not have space to go into detail here, elsewhere (Harrison 2002c) I have argued that the archaeology of the Aboriginal encampments at Old Lamboo can be read as demonstrating the ways in which Aboriginal pastoral labourers and non-Aboriginal pastoralists developed shared understandings of landscapes and ways of relating to one another. Further, I argued that Aboriginal pastoral labourers developed for themselves a new sense of collective identity which was distinct from other Aboriginal people who were not a part of the pastoral labour force in the southeast Kimberley (see Harrison 2004). If we were

to take a 'traditional' archaeological approach to culture contact in this case, the archaeological evidence could very easily be read as demonstrating widespread integration of Aboriginal people into the (white) pastoral economy. The adoption of many items of clothing and material culture (Figure 4) along with the adaptation of items of material culture from white society would, under a traditional 'acculturation' model, suggest that this was the case. However, there are hints in the archaeology and oral record that the situation was far more ambiguous; a certain fuzziness exists at the margins of our archaeological vision which suggests the need for a closer look. I think the find of the flaked insulator might hold a key to understanding the nature of this ambiguity, and demonstrate something which is more broadly relevant to other studies of cross-cultural encounters in other times and places.

Multiple overlapping contact zones: Archaeological ambiguity and reconciling the massacre of the pastoral labour force

Where most contact studies and archaeologies of colonialism have assumed a single, clear-cut duality between colonisers and Indigenes, in the case of Old Lamboo, it is perhaps more informative to think of a series of multiple, overlapping liminal contact zones (Figure 6). Mary-Louise Pratt (1992: 6) uses this term, in opposition to the term 'frontier', which historically has been grounded within a Euro-American imperial expansionist perspective, to describe:

> …the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separate come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations…[the term] invoke[s] the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect…the term "contact"…foreground[s] the interactive, improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters…[to emphasise] copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically assymetrical relations of power.

Spatial patterning in the surface archaeological remains at Old Lamboo demonstrates a clear distinction between the material world of Aboriginal pastoral labourers, and their kin who lived and operated outside of the influence of the station. Contemporary Aboriginal camp sites in the 'bush', away from the pastoral station, contain a very different range of artefact types from those at Old Lamboo (see Harrison 2004). The distinction between white pastoral workers and their Aboriginal workmates and families who lived on the station is much less clear. Elsewhere I have suggested that the material worlds of white and black pastoralists increasingly merged over time, such that by the mid

twentieth century at Old Lamboo, Aboriginal workers and their families to a large extent shared the social and cultural space of the pastoral homestead with their white colleagues (see Harrison 2004). Far from the centres of colonialism on the northern Australian frontier, the lives of black and white pastoralists must have seemed to be merging and even creolising in a way which I am sure may have alarmed white colonists. However, even if not represented in the archaeological record, we know from oral and documentary accounts that white privilege and domination was expressed through acts of sporadic violence and control, such as the massacres described above. Aboriginal pastoralists, whilst assuming a material culture which appeared to show a high degree of social integration into the pastoral labour force, were also keen to express their own difference, both from Aboriginal 'outsiders', and from their white workmates, through acts of rebellion such as the one represented by the broken insulator. Where some such gestures of resistance might be read as mimetic or ironic in nature (eg Harrison 2003), in this instance, the broken insulator represents a clear rebellion against white authority and rule within the pastoral domain.

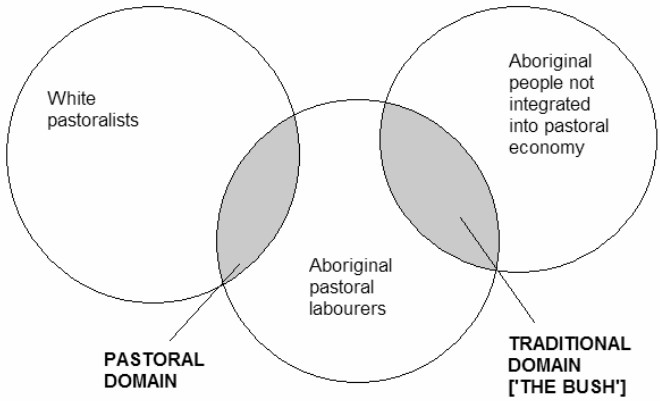

Figure 6: Diagram showing multiple overlapping liminal contact zones at Old Lamboo.

The documentary and oral accounts of the massacres of Aboriginal pastoral labourers by station managers are difficult to understand. From a purely economic point of view, the massacre of the very people on whom the livelihood of the 'typical' late nineteenth or early twentieth century northern Australian pastoralist depended makes absolutely no sense. I think the accounts of these massacres, and the act of rebellion represented by the flaked or smashed

telegraph insulators left in plain sight of the white pastoral manager's house, demonstrate something profound about the ambiguities and stresses which are a part of inter-societal interactions, even those that demonstrate a high degree of integration and interdependence. Despite the appearances of high levels of integration, daily life in this system depended largely on the ability of white pastoral managers to maintain a position of power over their Aboriginal labourers. Given that most white station managers would, during the first part of the twentieth century have been outnumbered by at least 1 to 200 by Aboriginal people, such a position must have felt incredibly tenuous. Acts of resistance by labourers, even minor acts of resistance, must have felt like an enormous threat to authority and power held so tenuously. What I want to suggest here is that even where the material record indicates a high degree of integration and peaceful co-existence, paranoia and stress also co-exist as a necessary condition of the culture contact experience, and may bubble up into instances of extreme violence and bloodshed. To read the archaeological record of material integration as one of peaceful co-existence in such culture contact situations would be giving us a very once sided perspective of life under such colonial regimes.

Apparently dichotomous examples of cross-cultural contacts may in fact generate complex, contextually dictated instances of multiple social identities which make the clear structural distinction between colonisers and their 'Others' unsustainable. Culturally sanctioned forms of violence were one of the mechanisms by which colonisers who feared the appearance of miscegenation demonstrated difference from Indigenous people in colonial Australia. Such multiple overlapping identities may not be well represented in the archaeological record except through exceptional or idiosyncratic artefacts which document specific acts of resistance or dominance. In violently inequable colonial regimes such as the pastoral economy of nineteenth and twentieth century northern Australia, a material record which appears to indicate a high degree of peaceful co-existence and integration masks a series of complex gestures of dominance, resistance and ambiguity on the colonial frontier.

Conclusions: materiality and ambiguity in the study of inter-societal confrontation

The few pieces of broken telegraph insulator act as a nexus for understanding the very ambiguous nature of inter-societal contacts, even those characterised by a high degree of integration and interdependence. While the archaeology of Old Lamboo on a whole suggests the peaceful coexistence and integration of Aboriginal labourers into a pastoral labour force, the study of these particular idiosyncratic artefacts suggests something about the contact experience which

the rest of the archaeology does not-that cross-cultural contact is enormously stressful and often (despite appearances) characterised by misunderstanding, mistrust and ambiguity. These factors are not apparent from the bulk of the material record present on these sites, but are only hinted at casually by a few idiosyncratic artefacts which suggest that all is not quite as it seems. While the majority of the archaeological material appears to demonstrate the acculturation or creolisation of both Europeans and Aboriginal people on the pastoral frontier, the study of particular, idiosyncratic artefacts in conjunction with the oral and documentary evidence demonstrates another aspect of the contact experience which operates at a hidden level, but which has the potential to erupt into inexplicable acts of violence and bloodshed. This paper has demonstrated both the utility of a study of materiality and the particular in understanding the nature of inter-societal contacts, as well as served to highlight some of the inadequacies of traditional acculturation models in describing the culture contact experience.

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CHAPTER FOUR

DAWN OF A NEW AGE: THE LATE NEOLITHIC AS THIRD SPACE

JEANETTE VARBERG

Introduction

The Late Neolithic in southern Scandinavia is a phase between two significant archaeological periods, namely the Stone Age and the Bronze Age. It is a period that can be described as 'in-between', and archaeologists have tended to understand the Late Neolithic as the less important period.

The far-reaching exchange network characterising the Bronze Age from its very beginning is most likely based on metal. Thus, the onset of the south Scandinavian Bronze Age may be viewed in correlation with the import of metal and emerging local production of bronze items although in the process of involving people, societies and different regions in all of Europe in pursuit of bronze, other exchange objects certainly came into play. Bifacial flint daggers were one of these exchange objects, which presumably were a result of ideas travelling along the exchange networks in the early metal age. Therefore, the period may be described as a Late Neolithic hybrid culture that emerged on the edge of European Early Bronze Age.

I will argue that Late Neolithic society in southern Scandinavia was a result of old Neolithic traditions innovated through inter-societal and intercultural encounters between local people and travellers. All together it must have created locations – places in the landscape – where established categories of knowledge were challenged (Soja 1998) and new perceptions of society and cultural identity were formed.

The Late Neolithic as a hybrid phase

Archaeologists have had problems defining the end of the Stone Age in south Scandinavia for more than a century (Vandkilde 1996, chapt.1). However, the appearance of bronze has in general been seen to represent a watershed for the division between the Stone Age and Bronze Age – as the terminology clearly implies.

The classical three period system – first introduced in 1836 by C.J. Thomsen – was a practical device, which allowed archaeologists to create typologies and chronologies to aid their research. In the late 19th and first half of the 20th century, this 'scientific' approach was defined by a need to create an operative access to the archaeological material, i.e. to create a methodological base for further investigations (Shanks & Tilley 1987:12ff.). Prehistory was presented as an evolution of objects reflecting the progress of mankind - all placed in time-spans of more or less length. This approach illustrates an evolutionary way of thinking in archaeology, the idea being of European society evolving through time from simplicity to complexity (Vandkilde in prep.). Consequently, the complex technology of bronze alloying was taken to indicate a higher level of development in society than the use of stone (Brøndsted 1939).

When establishing the six period division of the Nordic Bronze Age in 1885, Oscar Montelius wrote that he could have placed the beginning of the Bronze Age earlier than he did, because of the series of early metal objects from the Late Neolithic, that showed resemblance to south and west European bronze objects. Out of concern for the complete Bronze Age chronology, he finally decided not to. This would have resulted in a period I that was much longer than the other five periods. Even though he acknowledged that the periods did overlap with each other, making it difficult to place a precise transition between each period, he held on to the six phased 150 – 250 year division of the Bronze Age (Montelius 1885: 85,195ff.). Out of respect for the chronological system and the idea that prehistory evolved in time-spans of the same duration the Late Neolithic stayed Neolithic, so to speak.

Bronze is often somewhat uncritically viewed as synonymous with the emergence of stratified societies and chiefdoms in central Europe as well as in south Scandinavia (Kristiansen 1987, 1998; Sherratt 1994, Earle 2002), and this is in harmony with the underlying evolutionary thinking behind the chronological systems. On the other hand, chronologies and typologies are a result of past societies reproducing a selected part of their material belongings (Sørensen 1997). Therefore, material culture viewed in a holistic and contextual manner including all material aspects in an analysis should create a solid archaeological starting point. However, it would have been interesting to see how the evidence from the Late Neolithic had subsequently been interpreted if

Montelius had chosen to include it in his Period I of the Bronze Age. My guess is that the phase would have been assessed differently.

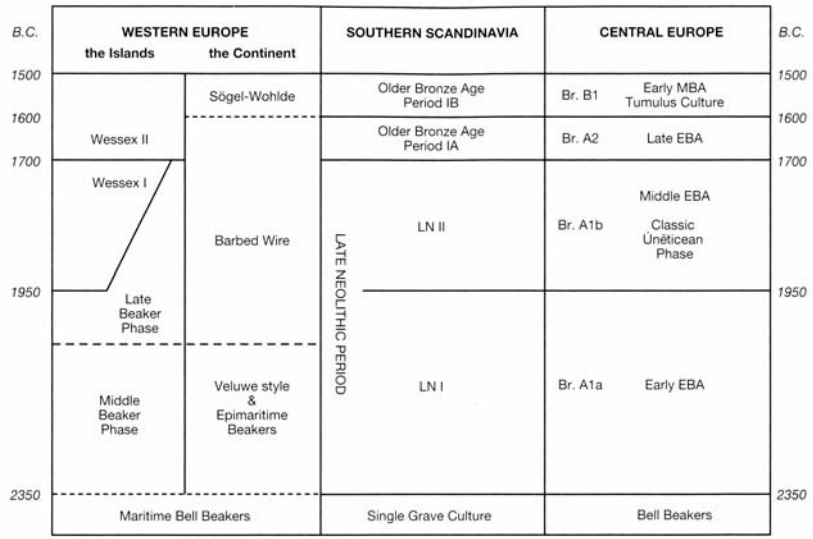

Fig. 1. A comparative chronological scheme (from Vandkilde 1996, fig.134).

The invention of bronze doubtless had a great impact on the formation and structure of the societies, and their interaction in most of Europe, but other factors were clearly at play, and the social and cultural alterations that started with the adaption of bronze in central Europe look different in north-western Europe. Due to the coexistence of pressure-flaked bifacial flint objects and bronze items, it could be argued that the period belonged to both the Stone Age and the Bronze Age.

Recent attempts have been made to analyse the Late Neolithic in south and central Scandinavia from a more Neolithic perspective. Klaus Ebbesen for instance describes the Late Neolithic as a part of an egalitarian farming society (Ebbesen 2004). Eva Stensköld views the Late Neolithic in the central and southern part of Sweden as the backdoor to the Neolithic period, and focuses on material relations which points back in time to the Middle and Early Neolithic (Stensköld 2005:20). This might be a reasonable point of view regarding northern Scandinavia where the bronze is more rare, but in the central (Lekberg 2002) and in particular the southern part the archaeological record shows clear indications of societies under transformation, as I shall argue below. By

focusing on the Neolithic aspects of the body of evidence from the period, it may be argued that the Late Neolithic period belonged to a Neolithic tradition, but in doing so the impact and meaning of bronze are underplayed.

By contrast focussing on the first items of bronze produced in south Scandinavia as the parameter of when the Bronze Age began creates similar problems because of the neglecting of the Neolithic elements. As a consequence, metal is often viewed as the most important factor in the interpretation of Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age societies (Kristiansen 1987, Sherratt 1994, Vandkilde 1996). Either way, it is not a nuanced picture of the Late Neolithic that is shown.

To break free of the purely chronological discussions one might instead describe the Late Neolithic period, perhaps including Bronze Age Period IA, as a *hybrid* or a so-called *third space* between the cultural formations of the Stone and Bronze Ages. The theoretical framework of this hypothesis is inspired by the post-colonial theoretician Homi Bhabha. According to him the concept 'the third space' is an ambivalent hybrid, a periphery of society located between dominant social formations where cultural differences and traditions may be articulated, re-articulated, negotiated, transmitted and transformed into new constellations of cultural meaning and identity (Bhabha 1994:38). The author's research area is limited to historical colonial and postcolonial encounters, but the idea can be adopted and redefined in archaeological theoretical terms.

The cultural meetings in the early metal ages in northern Europe shall not in this case be seen as encounters between two historical known cultures which co-exist and therefore can be understood according to written sources. Instead they should be seen as intercultural meetings in special archaeological 'hotspot' locations, where social interactions and numerous third space encounters took place, simplified in a few recognisable situations and outlined in the limited archaeological material, which to some extent allows us to recognise social changes and new shapes of society taking form. These simplified 'hotspot' situations or locations should be understood according to the material record and the knowledge that can be retrieved from analysing it. It is not possible to get a nuanced impression of the structure of prehistoric societies compared to historic societies; therefore the analyses of third space encounters in prehistory can only be simplified and general in their expression in contrast to Bhabha's own research cases. The idea of 'hotspot' or third space locations is in this text thought as a geographical space where the material record shows a substantial influence from different structured societies, and where the society in the third space ultimately changes into a new formation with an altered material expression as a reaction to the foreign influence. Moreover, these 'hotspot' locations are intended to be spaces of cultural interaction wherefrom cultural changes departure and spread through out a larger area. The third space may be

seen as a transformative border zone expressed by a hybrid material representation (Myhre 2005:187) - something new and altered, pointing back and forth in time and space to differently structured societies.

It can, somewhat hypothetically, be argued that third space or hybrid space occurs in the three period division of prehistory, where two constructed periods meet. The theory of third space presented by Bhabha is meant to be a theory of cultural behaviour in geographical space, but I will propose that the same theoretical framework can be adapted in a time perspective. In rethinking the three-period system it could be a solution to adapt the idea of the third space as a transitional phase in-between, in order to have a hybrid phase that were not bound to either period.

The idea of a Late Neolithic Period as a mixed phenomenon with both Neolithic and Bronze Age elements has implicitly been embedded in many researchers´ work (Lomborg 1973, Vandkilde 1996, 1998b, 2000, 2005, Apel 2001, Lekberg 2002). In this article however, I intend to make this condition of hybridism more explicit in the search for new interpretive pathways in the Late Neolithic research. Defining the Late Neolithic as a hybrid phase gives the option to look at the period isolated from the Stone Age and Bronze Age, and let it be analysed in its own right. An old term used for the Late Neolithic is "the Dagger period", which might be a more neutral term for the phase.

Tradition and transformation in Late Neolithic society

LNI

In the last half of the third millennium BC large parts of Europe were inhabited by Bell Beaker groups, which were among the first to really use and exchange metal (Vandkilde 1996, Kristiansen & Larsson 2005). The Bell Beaker culture can be described as a pan-European culture phenomenon characterized by pottery of distinct bell-shape with either All-Over-Corded or so-called Maritime decoration. The notion 'Beaker' Culture more generally refers to Bell Beaker derived material culture across time and space, and specifically to pottery derived from, and therefore not fully identical to, Bell Beakers (Vandkilde 2005:2). Thus in northern Jutland during the LN I the material record shows a clear Beaker influence. The flint dagger takes over from the battle axes of the Single Grave Culture in male burials and becomes the prime weapon of the Late Neolithic (Lomborg 1973, Rasmussen 1990, Vandkilde 1996, 1998b, 2005). The region is described as a northern 'Beaker pocket' by Vandkilde[4], whereas

[4] For further discussion of the Beaker phenomenon, see Vandkilde 2005.

the remaining southern Scandinavia has a deviating material culture with a much more indirect Beaker impact (Vandkilde 2005).

Material culture in northern Jutland changed rapidly in the first part of LN I - probably due to the contact with western Europe. The reason why it happened in this particular region in south Scandinavia can be explained in terms of the location near the North Sea with access to the Limfiord. In addition to the rich flint sources mined throughout the Neolithic (Lomborg 1973, Rasmussen 1990, Vandkilde 1990, Becker 1993, Vandkilde 1996). Yet, the society in northern Jutland may also have been generally open to social change, as well as socially complex, prior to the Late Neolithic, and therefore capable of establishing strong contacts with the Beaker groups. Vandkilde refers to this option as the main reason for the cultural success of the region (Vandkilde 2005:32). The Beaker influence most likely played a major part in initiating the production of bifacial lanceolate flint daggers in northern Jutland in Denmark; it was produced in thousands during the period (Fig.2). They were most certainly inspired by Bell Beaker copper daggers from the west European continent (Fig. 3) (Lomborg 1973:18ff., Vandkilde 1996, Apel 2001).

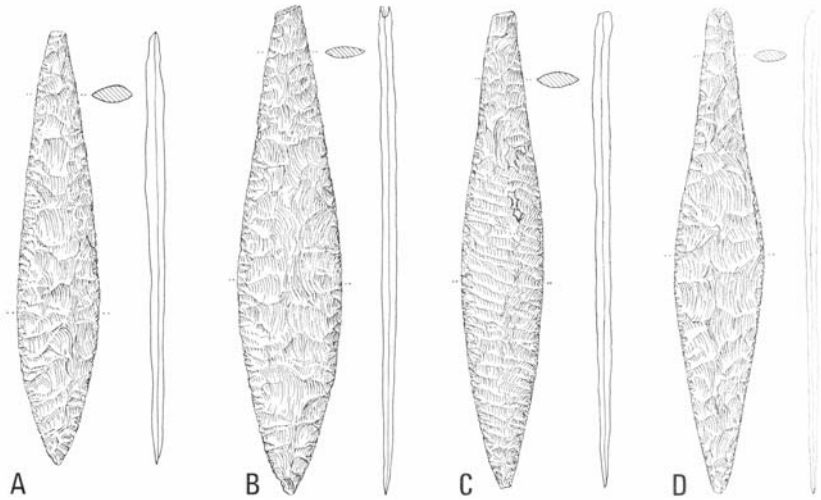

Fig. 2. Type I daggers (from Lomborg 1973:32, Fig. 9).

Flint daggers of Lomborgs type I were produced in four main shapes, of which type ID was made on the Danish islands (Madsen 1978, Wincentz Rasmussen 1990, Apel 2001). Especially the IC dagger demands highly skilled

craftsmanship from the flint knapper and the parallel-flaked surface of the dagger represents a unique technique probably only mastered by the most talented flint knappers in this particular region (Stafford 1998, Apel 2001). This enables comparative studies of the south Scandinavian flint daggers which were distributed over large parts of Europe, especially the lanceolate type I daggers. Such daggers occur as far away as northern Scandinavia, Poland, the Rhine delta and in graves in the heart of the Únětice culture in central Europe (Aghte 1989; Apel 2001:296ff.).

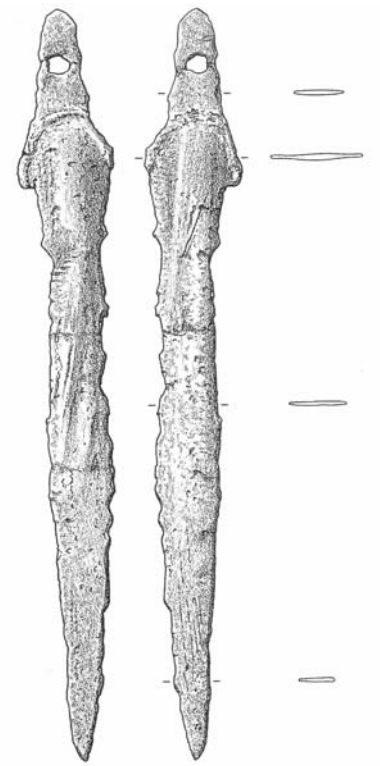

Fig. 3. Tanged flat dagger of 'Dutch Bell Beaker copper' found in Kongens Thisted, Aalborg County 1:4 (from Vandkilde 1996).

Moreover, the distribution of the flint daggers demonstrates that as early as the beginning of flint dagger production in Denmark, Rogaland on the Norwegian west coast was involved in the exchange of goods with Jutland

(Solberg 1994: 116) (Fig. 4). The exchange system shows clear evidence of long-term interaction between these two regions from the beginning of the Late Neolithic continuing into the Bronze Age. The two areas were probably in contact on a regular basis and it is likely that the contact was based on seasonal travels by ship, perhaps only crossing the tough North Sea in the summertime (Solberg 1994, Kaul 2002). The exchange of flint daggers from Jutland to Norway must have been necessary for the economy of the area, and its role as a link between south, west and north was most certainly influential in transforming the structure of society toward increasing complexity (Vandkilde 2005:36).

It can therefore be argued that the production of flint daggers in great numbers and their prominent position in a far–reaching exchange network required a social institution in control of both production and exchange. This may again suggest some form of leadership, but it is not easy, with our current knowledge, to determine on which level of complexity this elite acted. Due to lack of marked signs of social hierarchy in the archaeological record (Vandkilde 1998b:353) we can assume a high degree of social mobility and rivalry over resources and social positions fuelled by contacts with west European Beaker groups.

In summary, the social environment created in northern Jutland was unique and innovative from a Neolithic perspective, and social and material change did certainly occur during the first part of the LN I. The production of the lanceolate flint daggers may in fact be seen as the outcome of a hybridisation process contributing to making the region a 'hotspot'. Bhabha states that the importance of recognising hybridisation is not to be able to trace two elements from which the third emerges, but rather to trace a new arena for hybrid material reproduction and representation (Bhabha 1990:211). Thus, the northern Jutlandish region in the LN I can be described as a transformative border zone – or third space – expressed by a hybrid material representation.

LN II

Society in the second half of the Late Neolithic period, LN II 2000-1700 BC, was certainly influenced by the general cultural impact of metal use that took off around 2000 BC (Vandkilde 1996). Metal was now exchanged from the continent across the Baltic Sea primarily to central and east Denmark and south western Scania. In the central parts of Europe, near the mining regions of Harz, Thüringerwald and the Erzgebirge, copper and bronze were produced and controlled by Úněticean groups in the river valleys and an abundant production of bronze objects initiated the beginning of the Bronze Age proper around 2000 BC.

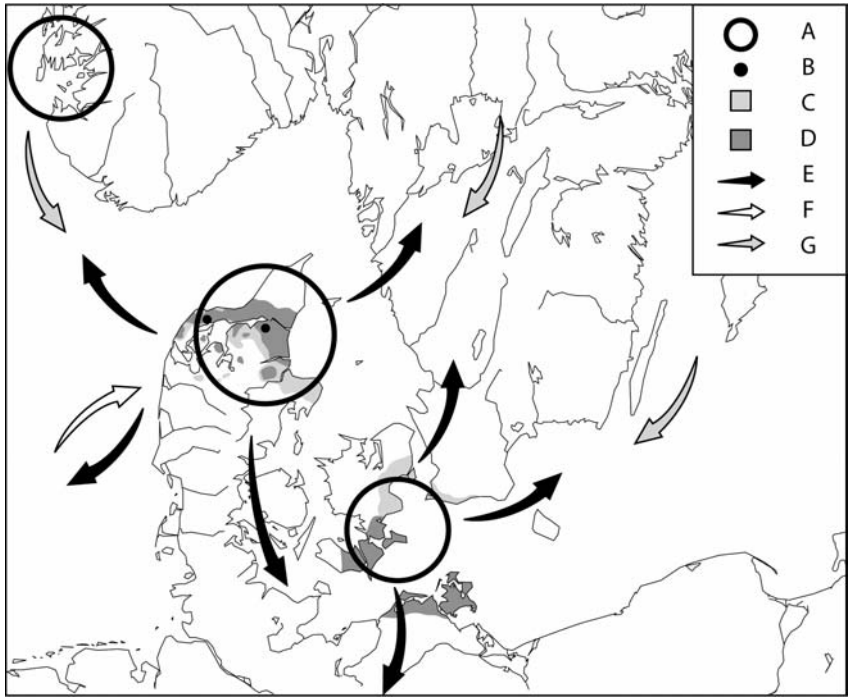

Fig. 4. General outline of the contact areas of the exchange networks in the LN I and possible communication routes. A: Primary contact areas based on flint exchange. B: Flint mines. C: Deposits of Danian flint. D: Deposits of Senonian flint. E: Exchange routes of flint products. F: Metal products from the west European Beaker Culture. G: Products from Scandinavia? (From Becker 1953, 1993; Lomborg 1973; Solberg 1994; Vandkilde 1996; Apel 2001; Varberg 2005a; Graphics Ea Rasmussen)

The metal probably reached south Scandinavia from across the Baltic Sea by the northeast European rivers and especially by the river Oder. The massive metal production and exchange indicate social change towards a more complex hierarchical order with in part transformed social practices and religious ideologies, certainly in central Europe and possibly also in some core regions in south Scandinavia (Hansen 2002, Kristiansen 1998, Vandkilde 1999).

Metal objects were for the first time produced in fairly large numbers in south Scandinavia, but simultaneously the production of flint daggers reached a technological peak. This situation was probably caused by the emergence of metal objects, especially the triangular Early Bronze Age dagger, which may have encouraged flint smiths to make copies in flint (Fig. 4 - 5).

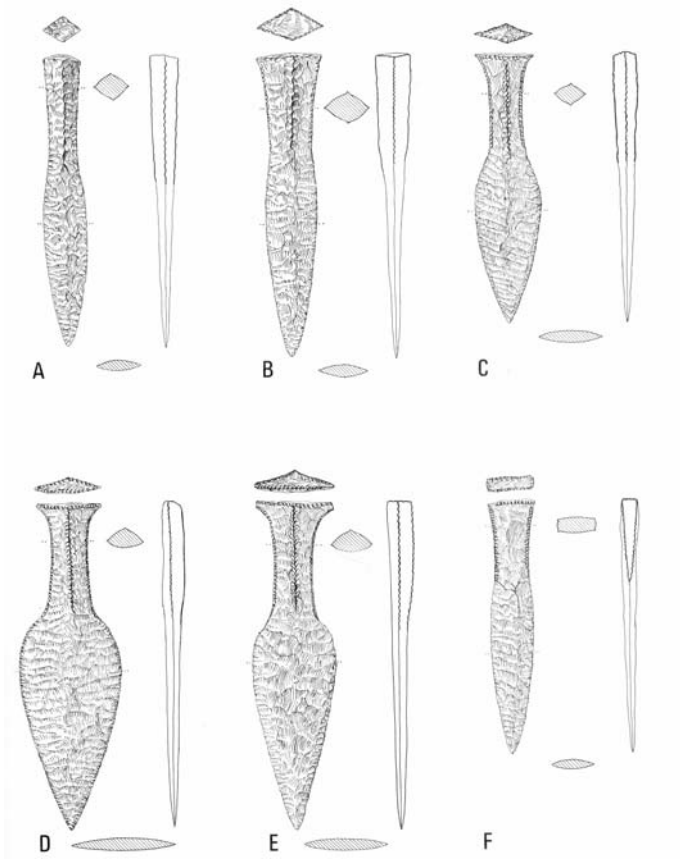

Fig. 5. Type IV daggers, "the fishtail daggers" (from Lomborg 1973:53, Fig. 29).

The outstanding flint technology is displayed in the perfect shape of the 'fish tale' dagger, and once again innovations and ideas from central Europe were reshaped in south Scandinavia. In central Europe, south Scandinavian flint daggers were still in circulation in the first part of the second millennia BC, but now in fewer numbers. In northern Germany several Danish flint daggers occur in hoards and graves during the LN I, but flint objects were replaced by metal objects in the LN II due to the massive bronze production in central Europe (Rassmann 2000). However, in south Scandinavia the tradition of depositing flint daggers in hoards and graves still had significance in the LN II, even though the number of flint daggers decreased in LN II, and this suggests a conservative attitude towards the new metal objects (Rassmann 2000). From an

economic and functional point of view it seems reasonable that in the core area of flint production the flint dagger were used for a longer period – or more likely, as long as the flint dagger could produce an acceptable technological and social alternative to the metal, it was used by people in south Scandinavia (Varberg 2005b).

However, this is probably not the only explanation why flint daggers were used during more than 800 years[5], and the last 500 years in serious competition with metal objects. The conservative perception and use of flint daggers in the Late Neolithic are almost certainly interlinked with their function as a symbol of male identity (Vandkilde 2000). The underlying idea is that daggers were given to boys becoming men in 'rites de passage', as a marker of their newfound social identity as men and perhaps even warriors.[6]

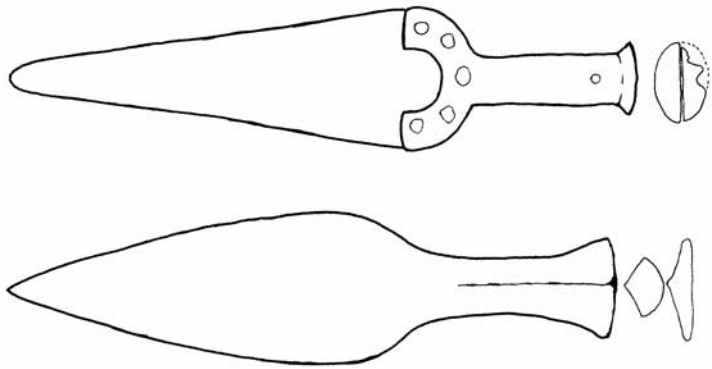

Fig. 6. Sketch of a Scandinavian flint dagger of type IV and a triangular bronze dagger dating to the classic phase of the Únětice Culture (Illustration Jeanette Varberg).

The social value of flint daggers in Late Neolithic societies must have been strong since only a small number of metal daggers are found compared to the large number of flint daggers. Instead of producing metal daggers, a large number of metal axes were made, but they are seldom found in graves – instead they were placed in mainly wetland depositions (Vandkilde 1996:36, 1998a:255). Flint daggers were sustained as a part of the male equipment in life and death, and we may assume that their function and meaning were associated with personal prestige, social identity and the human lifecycle. This may also be

[5] 2350 - 1500 BC.

[6] However the flint dagger has also been interpreted as an item used in complicated death rituals (Stensköld 2004).

part of the explanation why the strong new wave of metal objects could not replace the flint dagger and associated meanings until the spearhead and sword of metal were introduced in the last part of the Nordic Bronze Age Period I – probably indicating more radical societal changes, including a different perception of being male (Vandkilde 1998a:256).

The function and meaning of flint daggers in the society of the early metal age may be perceived as a result of new ideas and changes already in the LN I, but in LN II it is more clearly seen as an old tradition striving to survive in competition with metal. The role of the flint daggers changed in some measure through time, due to shifting contacts with differently structured societies (Vandkilde 2000).

In the second half of the Late Neolithic period central and eastern Denmark and west Scania was the main centre of flint production and of exchange with metal from the south and with flint to the north. The fish tail-shaped dagger originated here and hoards with a substantial number of metal objects show the increase of metal production and exchange[7] (Vandkilde 1996). By comparison, flint objects in central and northern Scandinavia flint upheld its value as prestige objects (Apel 2001:217ff), and goods exchanged for flint and metal in central Sweden to the regions in south Scandinavia probably partly paid for the metal coming from the south to these regions (fig. 7).

The increased exchange activity in central and eastern parts of south Scandinavia can, furthermore, be traced in the development of house and settlement size. Recent studies mainly conducted by Magnus Artursson confirm that the house sizes increased rapidly and considerably around 2000 BC (Vandkilde 1996, Kristiansen 1987, Nielsen 1999, Artursson 2005a) and settlement structure in some parts of south Scandinavia even resembles village organisation. Moreover, the construction of houses in several instances shows a similarity with longhouses in central Europe, and they may be interpreted as chiefly buildings (Nielsen 1999: 163ff). This could according to Artursson indicate the rise of a stratified and more complex society in the final Late Neolithic (Artursson 2005c:63ff). The settlement Almhov just south of the Swedish city Malmö in southwest Scania exemplifies how the European exchange system can be traced in the local settlement structures. The settlement in question is preliminarily dated to LN II and Early Bronze Age Period IA. Two of the largest longhouses from this period were found at Almhov. The largest house was 37-39 meters long and contained a ritual deposition of flint axes and pottery. The smallest longhouses in the same region are by comparison only 9 meters long. Thus, the big houses at Almhov can clearly be interpreted as residences of an elite (Artursson 2005b:15). The famous LN II metal hoard from

[7] The two largest metal depositions in the LN II are the Pile hoard from western Scania and the Gallemose hoard from eastern Jutland (Vandkilde 1996).

Pile was found only 5 km away, suggesting that this particular region had a significant role in the Early Bronze Age exchange network (Artursson et al. 2005:513).

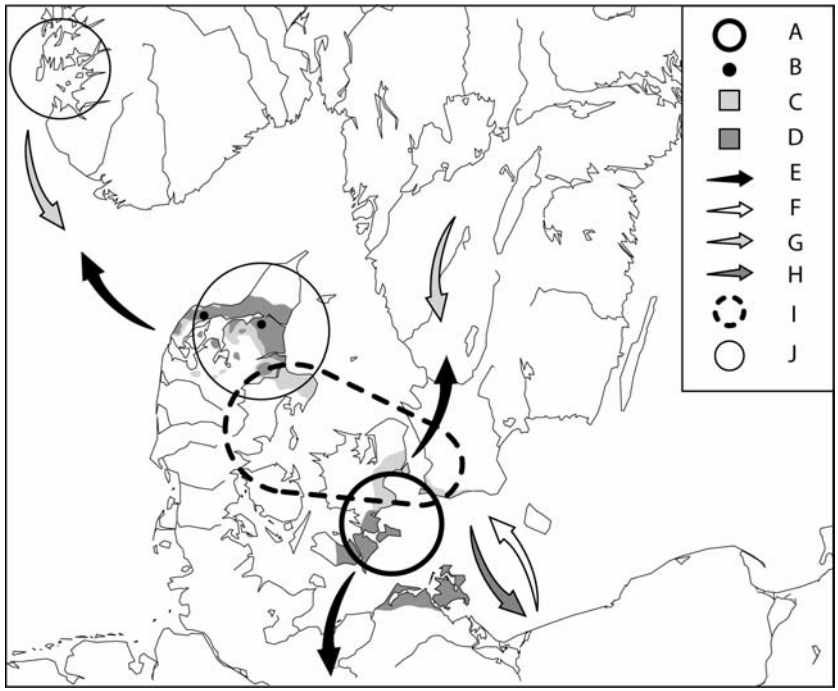

Fig. 7. General outline of the contact areas of the exchange networks in the LN II and possible communication routes. A: Primary contact areas based on flint exchange. B: Flint mines. C: Deposits of Danian flint. D: Deposits of Senonian flint. E: Exchange routes of flint products. F: Metal products from the central European Únětice Culture. G: Products from Scandinavia? H: Exchange routes of amber, fur and perhaps salt to continental Europe. I: Primary contact areas based on metal exchange. J: Secondary contact areas based on flint exchange (From Lomborg 1973; Becker 1993; Solberg 1994; Vandkilde 1996; Saile 2000; Apel 2001; Varberg 2005a; Graphics Ea Rasmussen).

In search of third spaces in the landscape

In assessing exchange systems and travel routes in the Late Neolithic it is essential to consider the role of ships as a means of transport. Only a few boats have been discovered in Scandinavia (Berntsson 2005), but early rock carvings

in southeast Scania indicate that larger ships were known. At the Simris rock-carving site, carvings of ships, horses, men and axes has been dated to the LN II and Early Bronze Age Period I based on typology (Söderberg & Hellerström 2003:61). Rock-carvings have recently been interpreted as symbolic manifestations of exchange contacts between central Europe and south Scandinavia (Kristiansen 2002). The oldest engraved ship on a bronze item dates back to the very beginning of the Nordic Bronze Age c. 1600 BC[8] and this type of ship may very well have its origin in the Late Neolithic period (Kaul 2002; Kristiansen 2002, Artursson et al. 2005:516).

South Scandinavia consists of many islands, and therefore it is almost impossible to imagine the societies here without ships. With major contact routes across the sea, the places of meetings between persons from different societies would be at the coast. The search for such third spaces of interaction should therefore be connected with the costal zone.

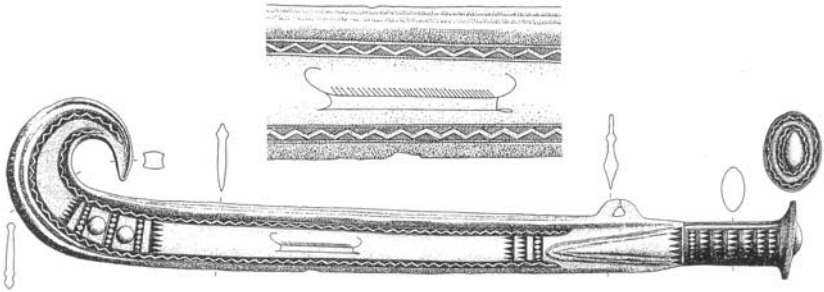

Fig. 8. The sword from Rørby, Western Zealand and its ship decoration (after Aner and Kersten 1976).

The people who travelled along the exchange routes could be travelling from different regions in Europe, therefore it is very likely that people in south Scandinavia travelled to north, west and central Europe along the North Sea coast and the continental rivers – as well as people from the north, west and south reached the shores along the Baltic Sea and North Sea. These network routes were probably not only established for the exchange of commodities, but also for the exchange of knowledge – for instance knowledge about metallurgy. Journeys initiated by the search of knowledge and commodities were probably a

[8] The Rørby sword from western Sealand is dated to the last part of the Period IB in the Bronze Age (Vandkilde 1996).

part of power strategies of elites suggesting that special esoteric knowledge retrieved from long travels was part of becoming an important person in a ranked society (Vandkilde 1999, Kristiansen & Larsson 2005:51).

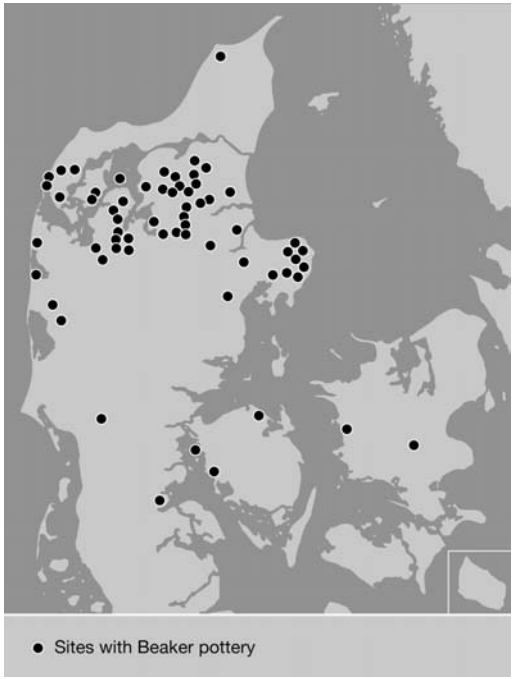

Fig. 9. Geographical distribution of sites with Beaker pottery (from Vandkilde 1996, fig. 289).

The Early Bronze Age exchange networks must have opened up different regions in Europe allowing travellers with certain alliances or powers to pass through safely and thereby suggesting that travelling was an accepted and well integrated act in the north and central European societies – most certainly caused by the need to distribute bronze through out Europe (Kristiansen & Larsson 2005:48). Johan Ling has proposed that the Bronze Age rock carving areas in Bohuslän in west Sweden can be interpreted as third spaces, where different groups with different maritime and sedentary occupations aggregated and interacted. The extensive use of rock carvings is interpreted as: *"Materialised reflection of friction and stress caused by contacts and meetings between a domestic and a non-domestic public with different concepts regarding time and space."* (Ling 2005:453). This interpretation is based on

iconographic markings in the landscape, but the idea of transformative border zones or third spaces by the sea can be transferred to more southerly places in Late Neolithic south Scandinavia where there are no or few rock carvings, but nevertheless clear foreign influences and changes in the material culture – such as in northern Jutland in LN I, and central and southeast Denmark and Scania in the LN II.

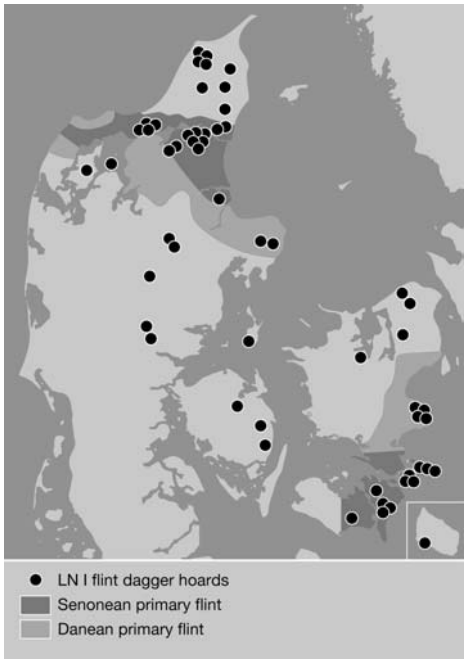

Fig. 10. Geographical distribution of LN I flint dagger hoards in Denmark (from Vandkilde 1996, fig. 290).

Searching for such third spaces in the south Scandinavian Late Neolithic,[9] I propose to consider the distribution of hoards with objects of both flint and metal in the landscape, in combination with the location of settlements. The distribution of hoards with flint daggers show a clear preference for the coastal environments (Fig. 10) and this is still clearer when assessing the distribution of

[9] In this text the focus is upon southerly Scandinavia, but the transformative border zones or third spaces along the exchange networks could probably also be identified in the landscapes along the rivers in continental Europe – suggesting that travels by ship along the water routes were the most common way of travelling.

imported metal objects (Fig.11). This implies that these areas where inhabited with people who acted and reproduced society actively in the costal region. The settlement finds in LN I with Beaker pottery also tend to have a coastal overweight, along the shores of the Limfiord and along the coast of the North Sea (Fig. 9).

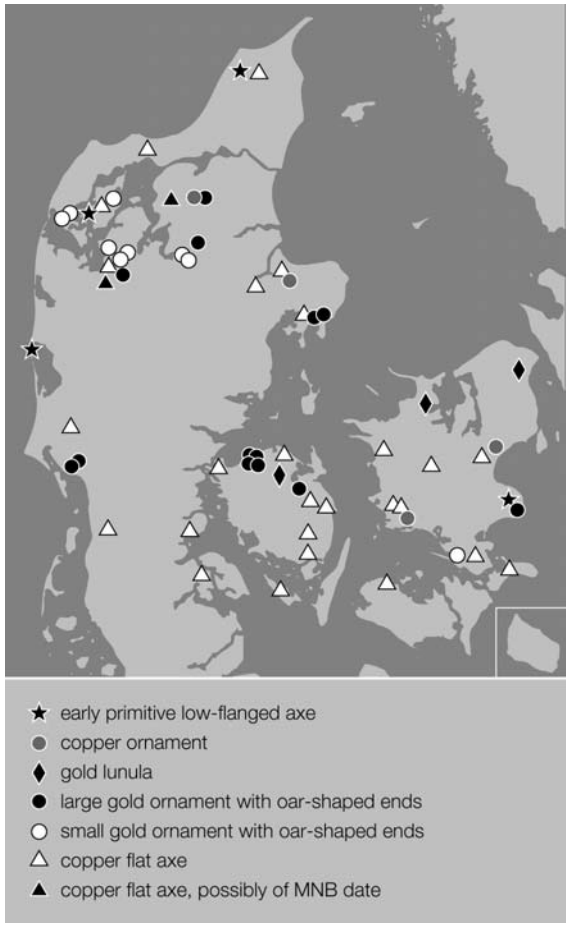

Fig. 11. Geographical distribution of LN I metalwork in Denmark (from Vandkilde 1996, fig. 184).

In general, we have relatively few settlements from the Late Neolithic even though the numbers have increased during the last 10-15 years. Therefore, the

settlement pattern should be estimated with caution, but it is evident that there is an orientation towards the sea even though the inlands also were partly inhabited (Simonsen 1996, Artursson 2005b). The settlement Bejsebakken by the Limfiord in northern Jutland is mainly dated to the first part of the Late Neolithic and is situated near flint resources on a hilltop overlooking the waters of the Limfiord. This settlement is significant for our understanding of society in LN I because of its clear Beaker affiliation and flint dagger production (Sarauw 2003, Vandkilde 2005). Moreover the location of the site by the sea affirms the impression that important traces of societal structures and agency are linked to the space between land and sea in the Late Neolithic Period.

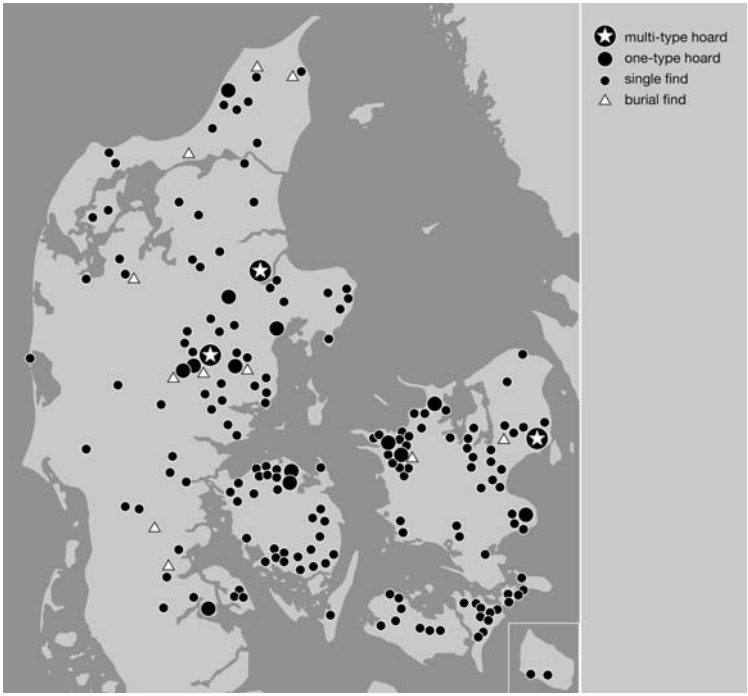

Fig. 12. Geographical distribution of LN II metalwork in Denmark (from Vandkilde 1996, fig. 216).

It seems reasonable to conclude that the first encounters with Beaker groups took place in the northern part of Jutland along the shoreline, as the primary geographical space of intercultural meetings. In other words, it was here the first

steps towards Bronze Age society were taken. Cultural change occurs in interaction with other people and not in isolation. As a consequence of natural harbours connected to the North Sea and easy access to natural resources, this region was an ideal place for contact and starting point of exchange systems between the Danish area, Western Europe and Norway.

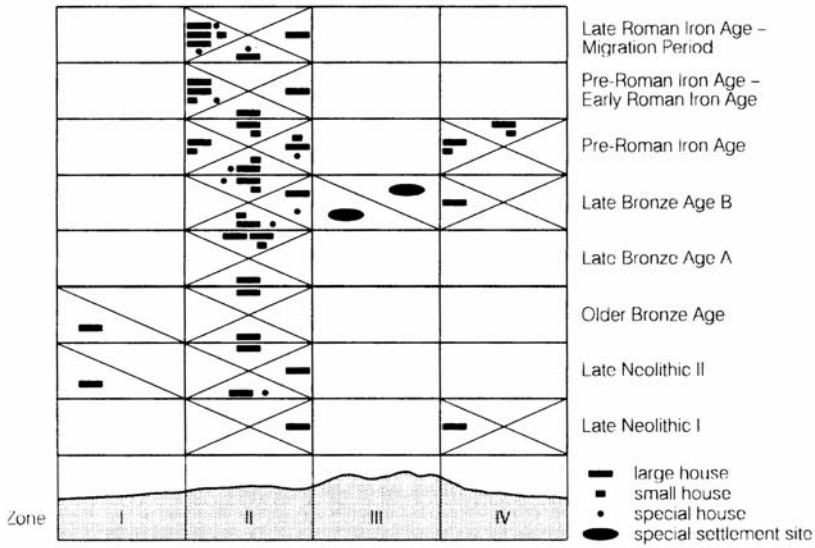

Fig. 13. Settlement patterns through time in four zones (zone one being nearest the coast) defined by Nils Björhem for the Malmö region in Scania (from Rudebeck et al. 2001).

The central and eastern part of south Scandinavia is in LN II the core area for innovation and social complexity as pointed out by Vandkilde already in 1996 and substantiated by her in several studies. This phenomenon corresponds very well with massive influences from central parts of Europe. As in LN I the distribution of hoards with metalwork in Denmark show an orientation towards the coastal environment (Fig. 12). In addition, the location of the impressive Pile hoard in southeast Scania is within a short distance from the sea indicating that the same coastal orientation is present in the Malmö region around 2000 BC. Moreover, the settlement pattern in the region shows a clear orientation towards the sea compared with other periods (fig. 13). Thus, the south western part of Scania with a concentration around the Malmö region shows a radical expansion where the costal zone becomes permanently settled in the second half of the Late Neolithic Period (Vandkilde 2005:12, Artursson et al. 2005:513). The

settlement pattern in the Danish region is still not intensively studied, but settlements on the island of Bornholm and the peninsula of Djursland in eastern Jutland indicate the same pattern of often large longhouse-sites within the coastal zone (Vandkilde 2005, Artursson 2005b).

Again the areas near the sea, combined with contact overseas and natural resources, formed a successful environment for cultural processes and innovation. In southeast Scandinavia these coastal zones obviously must have been unique spaces where extraordinarily large longhouses belonging to emerging elites appear in the archaeological record, probably as a direct result of participation in communication and knowledge networks extending over large parts of Europe from 2000 BC and beyond (Vandkilde 1996, 2005, Nielsen 1999, Artursson et al. 2005).

In-between spaces – the Late Neolithic as third space

> …it is in the 'inter' – the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the in-between space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture. (Bhabha 1994:38).

Changes in social practices often happen on the liminal borders of society where intersocial encounters are able to create new structures. In this in-between space interaction, negotiation and misunderstandings involving differently structured societies were taking place, hence forming an interesting frame for the interpretation of cultural change and the transformation of materialities (Bhabha 1994, Giddens 1984, White 1991:15). In south Scandinavia in the Late Neolithic period it is difficult to get a clear understanding of how these meetings and negotiations between people actually took place. It is only through our understanding of ourselves as human beings, and the ability of archaeologists to bring to life the past from its remains that we can generate a synthesis based on the archaeological evidence. Nevertheless, this theoretical framework can give us a notion of how to interpret the material relations between different cultures and how to understand the nature of cultural change.

We do not know whether the meetings in south Scandinavia were of a friendly or a hostile nature, nor do we know the nature of the relationship that was created between the people living in the region and the people travelling in search for knowledge and commodities. We can only to some extent acknowledge the material result of the social processes that we try to reconstruct. One thing that we know with some certainty is that these intercultural meetings created a Late Neolithic hybrid culture on the edge of European Early Bronze Age societies where meaning and social practices were altered and transformed into new social structures. Old traditions were renewed,

reshaped and transformed through direct or indirect influence from other cultures - initiated by the search for and exchange with metal.

In the first part of the Late Neolithic it was in the north west of Jutland that cultural and social change first occurred and the costal zones around the vast Limfiord and along North Sea can be described as special 'hotspot' locations, where established categories of knowledge were challenged, for instance as regard the perception of male identity and the production of flint daggers.

Around 2000 BC, in the second part of the Late Neolithic period, northern Jutland lost influence and 'hotspot' locations emerged in the archaeological record of the opposite region, namely central and eastern Denmark and southwest Scania. Especially the Malmö area in west Scania shows evidence of being a complex region with a hybrid material culture that to some extent was derived from central Europe. From these southerly regions of Scandinavia the Nordic Bronze Age succedingly took shape in an in-between space, and a new age began to present itself.

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CHAPTER FIVE

A MICROARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LATE BRONZE AGE BURIAL PRACTICES: AGE AND GENDER AT THE LUSATIAN URNFIELD OF COTTBUS ALVENSLEBEN-KASERNE (GERMANY)

ALEXANDER GRAMSCH

Introduction

This paper presents both a particular compilation of archaeological data and an explicit discussion of the theories and methods which can be applied to interpret this compilation according to certain research questions. However, first it is necessary to point out that this paper differs in one aspect considerably from most of the other papers collected in this volume: It focuses on intra-societal confrontations or communications rather than on inter-societal ones. But like the others it aims at indicating how material culture has been used for the presentation and negotiation of social identities.

The society under examination is the burial community which created an urnfield in what is today the small town of Cottbus in Brandenburg, Germany. This small-scale burial site can be attributed to the Lusatian Culture – an archaeological culture which lasts from the Middle Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age and extends from Eastern Germany and the Czech Republic into large parts of Poland. Its vast regional and temporal extension actually makes it impossible to regard this archaeological culture as an actual and factual social or

ethnic unit. In fact, it is subdivided into numerous regional groups and subgroups (see Buck 1979, 1989; Gedl 1993; Parzinger 1993).

Thus, the focus of our research was not on adding another aspect to the archaeological knowledge of the material culture of the Lusatian Culture or its subgroups but on analysing a small-scale society as it is reflected in a burial site. What binds the burial community of this particular site together probably is not so much ethnicity or being part of what we today perceive of as a large-scale archaeological culture; rather it is the communicative action of the funeral, the traces of which we excavate and analyse. It is in this vein that I will be referring to the concept of 'microarchaeology'.

Microarchaeology

The term "microarchaeology" has two broad meanings. On the one hand it is frequently used to signify scientific inquiries using microscopes, i.e. the study of small biological finds. On the other hand a very different understanding of 'microarchaeology' has been promoted in recent years by Fredrik Fahlander, Per Cornell and Johan Normark (Cornell & Fahlander 2002; Fahlander 2003; but see also Portnoy 1981). Their microarchaeological approach is an operative theory of social agency and practice, aiming at examining structurating human actions. The prefix 'micro' refers to an emphasis on relations between the particular event and the general, 'structural' context. This theory builds upon Sartre's theory of serial action, Foucault's 'archaeology' and the structuration theory of Giddens in order to get a hold on transformative social practice on the small scale.

I do not use the term 'microarchaeology' in its scientific sense nor do I build my arguments upon Sartre, Foucault, and Giddens. Rather, the term came into use during my work on the Cottbus urnfield, because it is capable of summarising what I have had to do to achieve the goals of our research. It refers to analysing burial practices as social action to display and negotiate social identities. So let me briefly run through the research project and its aims to show where the microarchaeology comes in.

The Leipzig 'Gender Project'

When working for a private archaeological company in Brandenburg I was in charge of the excavation of a Late Bronze Age cemetery site at Cottbus in the years 1997 and 1998. Later, I had the opportunity of working on the excavated material in a project newly established at the University of Leipzig, the so-called Leipzig 'Gender Project' under the direction of Sabine Rieckhoff. Here, the physical anthropologist Birgit Großkopf and myself worked closely together to

develop both research questions and methods interdisciplinarily (Großkopf & Gramsch 2004; Gramsch & Großkopf 2005).

The objective of this project, funded by the Saxonian Ministry of Education and Science from 2001 to 2003, was to investigate not only Gender but social structure in general. However, in opposition to most approaches prevailing in social archaeology in Central Europe our focus was not on vertical social structure, i.e. on recognising possible elites or hierarchies. Rather, we wanted to examine horizontal social structures and how these are presented during the burial ritual (Gramsch 2004a; Großkopf 2004). As in Cornell's, Fahlander's, and Normark's concept, microarchaeology here means to study transformative social actions on the small scale.

We cannot assume from the outset that the small-scale society responsible for the Cottbus urnfield was a homogenous unit; as Fahlander points out, "western European discourse tends to exaggerate homogeneity and cultural understanding in social studies" (2003, 14). Also postcolonial theory stresses differences and ambiguities within cultures (Bhabha 1994). Homi Bhabha's notion of the location of culture is of interest not only when examining inter-societal confrontations. It is also helpful to perceive of a prehistoric culture not as monolithic, but to turn to its internal tensions, conflicts and communications. Since Bhabha points out that the essence of a culture cannot be understood as unified, we need to look at the hybridity and ambivalence of both large-scale and small-scale groups[10].

Thus it is necessary to unveil the social and cultural communication within the society under investigation. One way to achieve this is to understand ritual action performed during burials as communicative practice able to transform horizontal social structure.

Horizontal social structure is manufactured mainly through the social identity of the individuals. The two main factors constituting social identity are age and gender. Age as much as gender is a social rather than a biological category. However, since both age and gender also have a biological component it is possible to approach them archaeologically and anthropologically. Therefore cemeteries are an ideal source for the study of social identities, even more so because we are able to approach both individuals *and* groups. The physical remains of the individuals on the one hand, and the ritual actions of the group on the other hand open up the opportunities for writing social history.

This means that we didn't perceive of the graves as a 'mirror' of social status but as the result of a series of actions. For this reason our focus was on the burial ritual as *practice*, not on objects as ethnic or social signifiers. This

[10] Recent reconsideration of the late Neolithic Bell Beaker 'culture' on the continent likewise has shown that it cannot be seen as an archaeological culture and, thus, is renamed – if somewhat provisionally – as a 'phenomenon' (Benz et al. 1997, 1998).

practice is understood as communicative action aiming at presenting and negotiating social identities, as stated by Habermas (1981a, 1981b)[11]. Consequently, ritual here is understood not in terms of religion but as repetitive social action which helps to reproduce and transform social life. Ritual actions present ideas about social identities and open up the possibility to negotiate about these identities within the group. The focus of my part of the project hence was on encounters between groups and individuals, on understanding exchange of social information through communicative action in the ritual – not in terms of exchange between large-scale social entities but within a small-scale society, between age classes and gender groups.

Bhabha (1994) adopts the notion of liminality to outline his concept of 'third space' – a "liminal" space in which cultural differences articulate and, as Bhabha argues, actually produce imagined "constructions" of cultural and national identity. In our case, the burial ritual, which will be reconstructed below, and the burial ground constitute a liminal phase and liminal space which can support the production of social identity. Whereas in Bhabha's concept the 'third space' lies "between" competing cultural traditions or historical periods, in the prehistoric burial ritual presented here it lies between competing or co-operating social groups or between groups and individuals – dead individuals. Rituals, as Geertz discussed 40 years ago, not only provide models *of* social identities and relations, the also are models for these, they actively structure the communication about and the transformation of identities (Geertz 1966). Graves thus aren't simply a mirror of social status but an active part in modelling social relations and identities.

The main question in analysing the funeral ritual of Cottbus Alvensleben-Kaserne thus was: how were these individuals and groups displaying and transforming social identities?

The analysis of ritual actions

The interred body as well as the grave goods and grave architecture are our means to reconstruct the ritual communicative actions and to interpret them in terms of their social role[12]. Therefore in the Leipzig 'Gender Project' we have studied the bodily remains not only to determine biological age and sex and pathologies of the buried individuals. The bones were also understood as results

[11] Communicative action in Habermas' sense is the kind of action aiming at achieving understanding (*verständnisorientiert*) rather than a particular purpose (*zweckorientiert*). It serves the maintenance of cultural knowledge, social integration and the creation of personal identities (Habermas 1981b, 208) on the basis of rules/norms/codes agreed upon by the subjects of the communication (Habermas 1968, 62).

[12] For a discussion of the dead body as a social phenomenon see also Cornell 2004.

of communicative actions. In particular we wanted to figure out, if there are differences in the way the deceased individuals had been treated. For a better understanding of what we have been doing it is necessary, I think, to briefly introduce you to this urnfield.

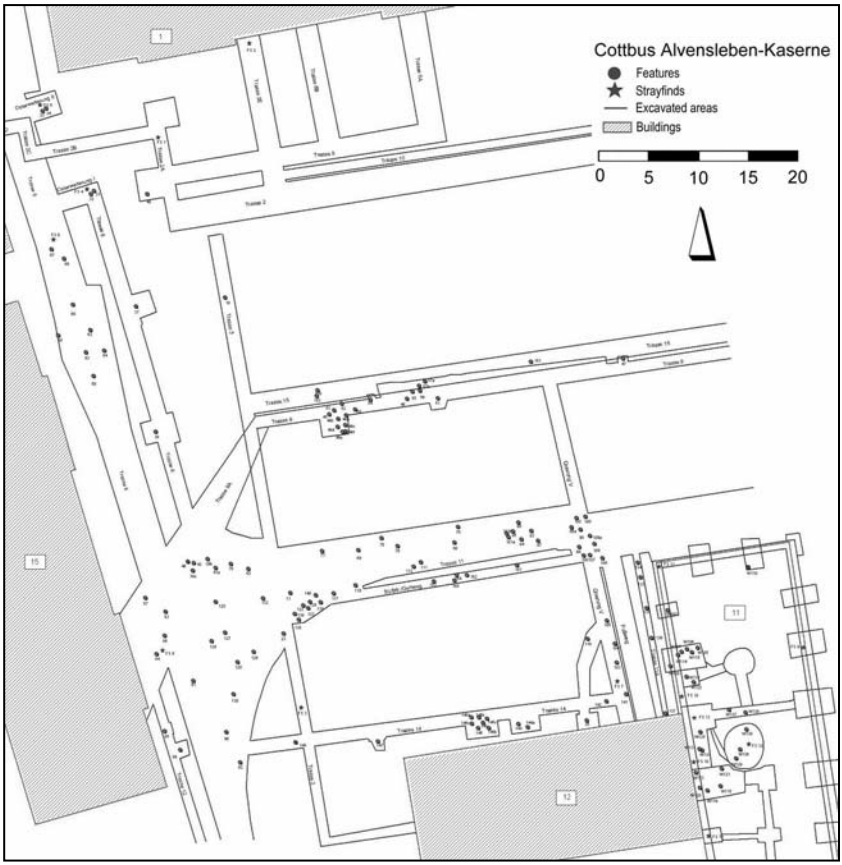

Fig. 1: Ground plan of the Alvensleben barracks in Cottbus (detail), showing the excavated parts and the location of features of the Lusatian Culture.

In the course of renovation and construction works in the former barracks "General-von-Alvensleben", located in Cottbus at the river Spree, south of Berlin, a rescue excavation had to take place (Gaida 1999; Gramsch 1999a, 1999b). Due to older findings and small scale digs it was clear that on the site of the barracks there would be a Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age urnfield of

the Lusatian Culture. The excavation was restricted to those parts of the site where road works took place or trenches for water and other mains were dug (fig. 1). We were able to excavate 132 prehistoric features, of which were 74 graves containing a total of 105 individuals. All deceased had been cremated and the cremated remains buried in urns. The largest number of graves can be dated to the periods Hallstatt B and Hallstatt C1, i.e. the end of the Urnfield Period and the beginning of the Hallstatt Period.

The high number of individuals in comparison to the number of graves is explained by a considerable amount of multiple burials. Similar to other, often larger cemeteries of the western Lusatian Culture (e.g. Coblenz & Nebelsick 1997; Bemmann & Ender 1999) we find different grave types at Cottbus: most of the graves consisted of simple pits containing the urn and occasionally one or two pots. Other graves obviously contained a built-in wooden cist, discernible due to the extension of sherds spread over the grave goods or to stones aligning the cist. This latter grave type usually was constructed for multiple burials. Wherever possible we did retrieve the urns and the accompanying pots *en bloc*, to be able to examine the contents under laboratory conditions (fig. 2). This was a prerequisite for the subsequent detailed interdisciplinary analysis of the ritual actions.

Fig. 2: Excavated pottery was secured by elastic bandages to enable analysing the contents in the laboratory

To be able to reconstruct the treatment of the deceased during the funeral the cremated remains were taken out of the urns in layers, accompanied by photographic, drawn, and textual documentation. Then, each layer was analysed separately (fig. 3). This means that not only biological age and sex of each individual were established but also the layout of the burnt bones inside the urn. The issue was whether a particular ordering of bones could be discerned and, if so, whether it would be able to reveal differences in these arrangements between different individuals. This required a very fine-grained approach resulting in detailed data. The analysis of burnt bones comprised of three main criteria:

- stratification,
- representation,
- residues of carbon.

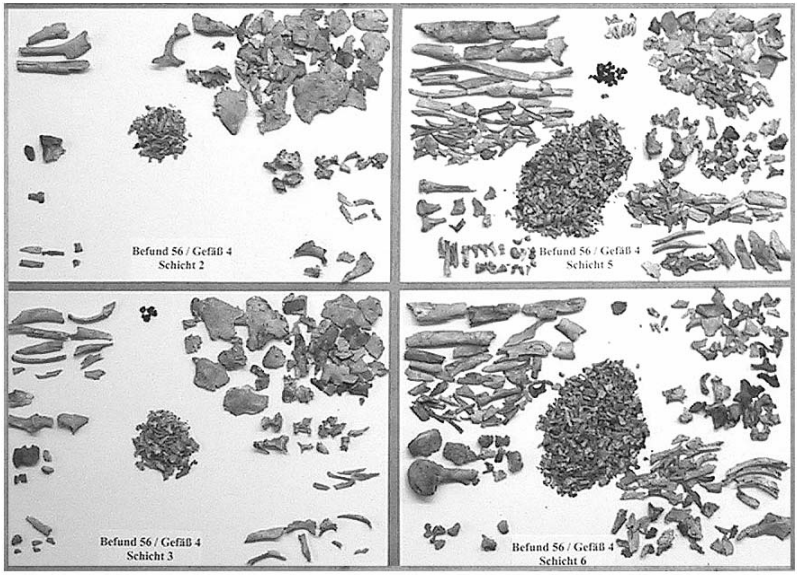

Fig. 3: Examination of cremated bones in separate layers
(photograph: B. Großkopf - detail)

We distinguished different degrees of stratification of bones in the urn, i.e. to which degree the bones were arranged according to the anatomical order. We also distinguished different degrees of representation, i.e. whether certain regions of the body were under-represented or whether the bodily remains were in general representative or not. Finally we documented different degrees of

burning of body parts leading to remains of carbon in certain bones (Großkopf & Gramsch 2004). In addition we also included other aspects of ritual behaviour in our analysis, such as the architecture of the grave and its contents. I will return to these aspects later and stay with the bodily remains for a moment.

These remains and the way they have been treated were analysed not as mere reflection of a deceased individual, but as remnant of ritual actions. While excavators occasionally reported that the top level of the urn content consisted of cranium bones followed by parts of the post-cranial skeleton, this was the first detailed examination of the arrangement of bones. Thus we were surprised to see that almost without exception there was not only a separation of cranium and post-cranial bones but a clear stratigraphy of body parts. And the bones did tell us even more which allowed us to reconstruct the ritual actions.

To summarise our observations:

- Both the representation of body parts and the spread of carbon residues revealed that the bodies had been displayed in stretched position on the pyre. Usually all parts of the body had been burnt evenly and were preserved to the same degree.
- Also foot and finger bones were preserved and had been burnt to the same degree. This means that the pyre was big enough to burn the entire body in an even way. Maybe the arms and legs also had been secured by cloth or ropes.
- The burnt remains of the body had been singled out of the ashes very thoroughly and completely, almost no charcoal was found inside the urns.
- The bones still measure up to 10cm in length, sometimes even more. This indicates that not only the burnt bones have not been fragmented before placing them in the urn but also the burnt down pyre has not been extinguished with water. This would have caused a much larger degree of fragmentation. The documentation of bones inside the urns reveals that they fragmented after their insertion.
- One of the most interesting results is that the remains of all individuals had been put into the urn in anatomical order, starting with the feet, followed by the upper body and culminating in the head (fig. 4). Even the small hand and foot bones which easily could get muddled usually were found in the right position.

These details were observable on most of the individuals of the cemetery of Cottbus Alvensleben-Kaserne, and almost all of them had been treated in the way described.

The interpretation of the ritual

So what do we learn from this detailed reconstruction of bodily treatment during the funeral ritual? To be able to understand the social relevance of these ritual actions they were structured according to the concept of van Gennep's *rites de passage* (see also Gramsch 1995). Van Gennep (1981), as is well-known, discerned a tripartite structure of rites of passage which is typical for most rituals performed to transform the social status of a group or an individual. Later Victor Turner (1969) labelled these three stages as 'separation', 'liminality', and 'reintegration'. Just like birth and marriage death is such an event which makes necessary the ritualised guidance of the transformation of a living person into a new social status. This new status we usually call 'ancestor'.

Combining van Gennep's and Turner's concept with the postcolonialist discussion of social encounters it is possible to understand rites of passage as opening a kind of ‚third space', because they transfer different members of a group (or members of different groups) into a liminal state. Thus, they no longer "belong" to their everyday, mundane dominant or subordinate social positions, no longer to their previous gender/age status: these parameters of their social identity are now open for reinterpretation through ritual action. This makes liminality the most important part of the three steps of passage rites for the communication about and transformation of social identity (Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 122).

The following table (fig. 5) attempts to ascribe the ritual actions we reconstructed to the three stages of passage rites. I think that it is possible to claim that with the display of the dead body and the beginning of cremation the phase of separation ends and the liminal stage begins. Thus, the treatment of the body in this phase may communicate something about the social status of the deceased. After the preparation of the body, maybe by wrapping or covering it, it is dissolved in the cremation. The placing of the burnt remains in the urn finally can be understood as a reconstruction of the body and the reintegration of the individual in her or his new social status. This reintegration comes to an end with the placing of the urn in the grave. Using the body the separation, liminality, and reintegration of the individual and thus also her or his transformation are "embodied".

The consistent and accurate stratification of bodily remains in the urns indicates that this container with its contents obviously was perceived as anthropomorphic. The aim of this part of the ritual actions during the liminal phase was to achieve what may be called 'anthropomorphy', i.e. a kind of physical reconstruction of the dead individual.[13] Performing these particular

[13] It is interesting to note that the idea of anthropomorphous urns – assumed to have developed during the early Iron Age where pins were found which obviously were

ritual actions the burial community transforms the deceased both physically and socially. Cremations in particular have the potential to convert both the material and the social properties of individuals; for Roman emperors, e.g., they were „the prerequisite to the declaration by the Senate of the *consecratio*, that is, the decree which officially proclaimed that the dead emperor was now considered another of the *divi* " (Arce 2000, 117).

Separation	securing of limbs? display of the body on the pyre	presentation of the individual
Liminality	cremation	dissolution of the individual
Reintegration	anthropomorphic infill of bones placement of urn in grave	reconstruction of the individual reintegration in new social status

Fig. 5: Ritual actions during the burial according to the three steps of passage rites.

The analysis of ritual actions at Cottbus Alvensleben-Kaserne reveals that the group performing the ritual of cremation and re-construction usually did treat all individuals equally, irrespective of age or gender. These actions were canonical. Thus, the actions communicate a seeming equality in the transformation of all dead individuals. However, a few deviations to this rule also were observed, and these concern male individuals. The number of deviant cases is very small, but maybe it was possible to negotiate about the social identity of men and their transformation into ancestors more easily than about women or infants. In these cases either stratification of bones was imperfect or representation was incomplete or both. Apart from that the ritual communication about the body shows a large degree of standardisation.

As I have mentioned above, also other aspects of ritual behaviour were analysed. Again I would like to point out that we perceived of the grave not merely as a collection of grave goods but as the result of communicative action.

One of the actions we did analyse was the grouping of deceased. As I have said, a large number of dead was buried together. Multiple burials did contain from two individuals up to eight individuals[14]. Obviously these had been buried

holding a piece of cloth wrapped around the vessel – now can be traced back to the ritual treatment of the body in the Bronze Age.

[14] As the thorough analysis of urn contents did show, usually each urn did contain the remains of one single individual, only rarely mixed with a few bones of another person; only occasionally two individuals had been burned together and placed in one urn.

together at the same time, with one rare exception. In this case the urn of a senile woman (over 60 years old) was interred later than the other six urns of this grave.

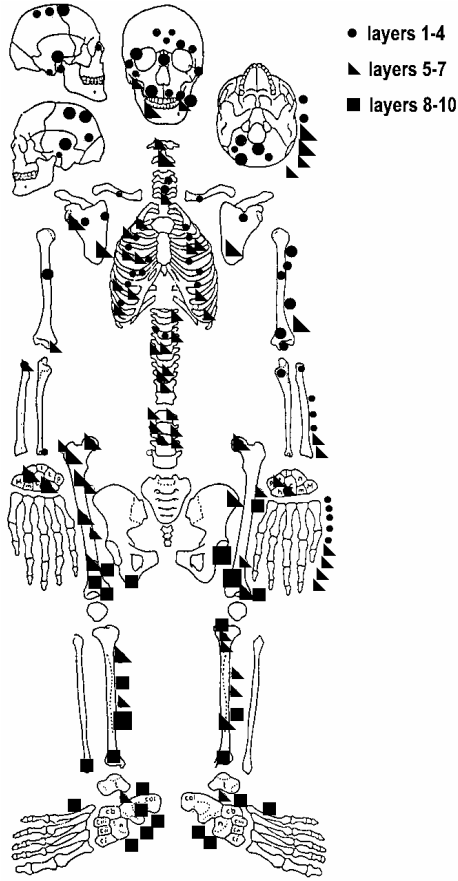

Fig. 4: Distribution of body parts in the urn of grave 54

Most of the individuals buried in multiple graves died in their infancy our youth (Gramsch 2004b). This is remarkable since children and juveniles (up to 20 years) make up little less than half of the total population. This means that more than average of the non-adult population was buried together with other children or grown-ups, while less than average of the adults was placed in multiple burials. Of these, the largest group is adult females (20 to 40 years), which often were buried together with small children (fig. 6).

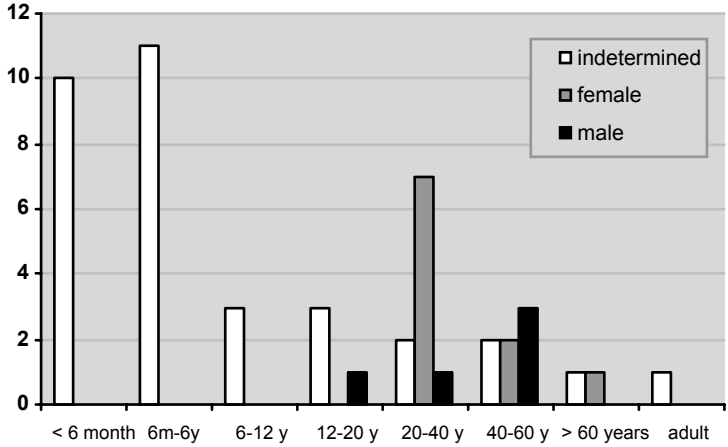

Fig. 6: Age and sex of individuals buried in double/multiple graves

The same is true for another aspect of the mortuary ritual. In a few cases it was possible to identify vessels in the graves, which were interred only after the actual burial. In two graves three additional ceramic vessels were found in the fill of the grave pit or outside the wooden cist: a small jar or jug and two cups. Two small cups lay above the urn in a third grave. Evidently these assemblages had been laid down after the chamber had been closed. Further practices we would discern were some extraordinary positionings of vessels and the breaking of ceramics or the spread of sherds over the grave. Again, these additional, exceptional actions frequently signify the graves of non-adults or of adults together with children (Gramsch 2004b).

It seems as if in many cases the transformation of dead non-adults into a new social status as 'ancestor' required an extra amount of ritual transformative action. While their bodies have been treated like those of adults, thus communicating correspondence, their status nevertheless seems to have been open for negotiation. The ambivalence of their social identity may have been expressed in additional communicative actions. The re-opening of graves and

posthumous giving of ceramic assemblages re-establishes the liminal stage, requiring a new reintegration and thus repeating the tranformative process. Maybe also the construction of chamber graves, sometimes covered by a layer of sherds, was part of this repeated and, thus, "strengthened" transformation through liminality and reintegration.

The differentiation between infants and adults is also underlined by selection of different types of urns for both age groups. But there is also some gender variation visible. Comparing the selected types of urns for male and female adults it shows again that almost all women were interred in the same type of pot while there is much more variation in the selection of urns for men. Another border line may exist for women at the age of forty: older women never have been buried in multiple burials or in chambered graves and less frequently are offered bronze objects as well as ceramic vessels. Female adults which died in their "reproductive" age had been characterised by a more varied assemblage of ceramics and ornaments, but especially by being associated to other deceased individuals. Male adults usually had been buried separately in simple graves.

Conclusion

In the Leipzig project, which has been discussed here, the focus of research moved from the large-scale archaeological culture prevalent in traditional approaches to the small-scale, and from an analysis of grave goods to a microarchaeological analysis of burial ritual as social action. Here, objects and human remains are used to reconstruct communicative actions. Building upon both van Gennep's model of passage rites and Habermas' theory of communicative actions, the microarchaeological analysis of ritual gave insight into the social and cultural communication between groups and individuals, into their negotiation and transformation of social identity, and thus into an intra-societal structuration process.

This form of social communication was built around repetitive and partly canonical actions as well as on the human body and the grave. The treatment of the individual human body during the three stages of the rite of passage obviously served to present each deceased as a full member of the society, irrespective of age or gender, and to transform her or him into a new status. The kind of anthropomorphic re-construction of the dead that could be observed may be understood in a functional sense as an expression of a reconciling, soothing ideology, or in a Marxist sense as an expression of a veiling, obscuring ideology. In both cases it is transforming former members of the group into likewise ancestors. To put it another way: biological death is followed by social death during liminality and by the construction of a new social identity through reintegration. In the ritual the burial community meets the deceased individual

in an ambiguous ‘third space’ where it is possible to construct her or his new social identity by re-assembling his/her physical remains and reintegrating the anthropomorphic urn into the grave.

Differences in the ritual communication, however, could be observed where the selection of grave goods and the decision for single or multiple burials is concerned. Children in particular have made necessary a more elaborate transformative ritual involving recurring liminalities and reintegrations. They have been buried together with other persons in larger chamber graves and sometimes later received additional pottery.

Only little variation is visible between the burials of women and men or within one age group. While gender and age differences probably will have existed, the ritual did communicate a different picture. All individuals, from the new-born to those in their sixties, were presented as full social persons to the group or groups which participated in the ritual. Nevertheless it seems possible that greater tension did exist on the male side of society leading to somewhat greater variations in the treatment of bodies and the selection of urns.

The transformation of a living member of a group into a dead person or an ancestor is a social process requiring a considerable amount of social control. The ritual practice at the same time communicates an ideal of social identities and allows controlling this transformation. The repetitive procedure therefore may have been used to negotiate social identities and to restructure society on the small scale. This kind of exchange of social information is reflected in the material culture involved and in the human body in particular.

In the end I would like to point out that the detailed microarchaeological approach to the cremation ritual of a particular funeral community on the one hand required an interdisciplinary approach applying archaeological and anthropological methods. With the help of these methods we were able reconstruct at least part of the practices comprising the burial ritual, with particular respect to the treatment of the individual human body and the selecting and giving of grave goods. On the other hand it required a discussion about the role these practices had as a form of social communication between individuals and groups on the small scale – a communication displaying ambiguities and negotiations as well as a common cultural understanding. This is our understanding of a microarchaeological approach: to focus on the exchange of social information through the communicative ritual actions of a small community.

Acknowledgements

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CHAPER SIX

UNHOMELY SPACE: CONFRONTING BADIOU AND BHABHA

PER CORNELL

Space is important when dealing with encounters. We need not, in this connection, venture deep into the philosophical debate on the concept; that will have to remain for another occasion. Making a hasty sketch of this type of use of the concept is neither simple nor easy, and must, in a short article, be superficial and rather fuzzy. Nevertheless, I hope to show that it is a relevant and necessary enterprise.

The concept is one of the key terms in contemporary archaeology, and has actually been so since the beginning of the 20th century. The continued relevance of the concept in archaeology is visible not least in titles of books on archaeology from the last 30 years or so. At the same time, the concept has not been given major importance by most sociologists. The French philosopher Henri Lefebre (1974), and later Edward W Soja (1996, 2000), tried to make a more explicit use of the term for sociology. However, when the "postcolonial" theorist Homi Bhabha (1994) elaborated the concept of *Third Space,* he did not relate to Lefebvre or Soja. There is an important difference in approach here, and this difference has an interest beyond a mere historiographical one, as I hope to demonstrate.

Social logics is another tricky concept, which has a relevance in discussing encounters, but also in relation to spatial organisation. In recent years, the philosophy of Alain Badiou has attracted wide interest, and his way of addressing social logics and the topoi are of great use here. Finally, we will address how a social logics in scattered, by looking at the works of Derrida and Bhabha.

This short article is "theoretical", in the sense given to the word in archaeology. We will, then, first look briefly at the way space was used in early German 20th century archaeology, and then briefly comment on traditional

"geographical" debate on colonialism, and the criticism of these positions launched in the postcolonial debate.

Kulturkreislehre and Kossinian Siedlungsarchäologie

German-speaking scholars played a major role in introducing space as an important parameter in archaeology. The *Kulturkreislehre* (the Culture-Circles school) was developed in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Among its main proponents were Fritz Grabner, Wilhelm Schmidt, and the archaeologist Oswald Menghin. The basic idea was rather simple. Evolutionism is not a good model for studies of human culture. Ideas can only appear at one place, and diffusion is thus a major mechanism for social change. Following through the history of humans, there have been various cultural circles, each starting at a particular point in space, and spreading out over vast areas from that point. These circles generally appear at different points in time. Thus, they have followed each other. The earliest circles were far more primitive than the later. It is possible that one circle spread over into an area which previously was dominated by another.

In terms of methodology, the culture circle school made distribution maps, showing how different artefacts and other types of customs (e.g., kinship systems) of a particular circle have spread over vast areas. The lists of traits are often, as understood, a mixture of very different sorts of elements. There is no real argument on how the traits were integrated.

Oswald Menghin tried to apply this method directly to archaeology (e.g., 1934). To take one example, he defined a ("European") Mesolithic circle, which had occupied areas from North Africa up to far northern Europe. Menghin, like other members of the school, avoided questions of integration as such. However, he does touch some issues related to it in a methodological and theoretical book from 1934. Here, Menghin argues that Jews are not to be accepted in Austria. Either, the Jews collectively must become Austrians, or they must leave. A culture must be pure; the mixture of cultures is bad. It should be mentioned that Menghin followed these convictions when he (for a short period) became minister of education in Austria (in relation to the German Anschluss).

While the Kulturkreislehre in a sense had global ambitions, Kossinian *Siedlungsarchäologie* had not. Siedlung in this context should be read as the homeland, the Heimat, more than settlement in general. The word Siedlung had to do with geographical location, the place on which (in this case) a particular People (Volk), or a particular Tribe, or subtribe, within a People, lived. Earth and land were of particular importance, space was not a general category, but linked to particular, specified areas. Further, Kossinna (1911) explicitly stated

that archaeology was only about Europe (and, he adds, *possibly* about Indo-Europeans to some extent). Mainly, archaeology should be about Germans. Kossinna was strictly opposed to what is today called ethnoarchaeology. Europe was unique from the very beginning, much "higher". Kossinna was sceptical even of classic archaeology, since it distorted, in his view, real German archaeology. He, apriori excluded other regions of the world as topics for an archaeology (1911; cf. also 1928). His methodology was in part similar to that of Kulturkreislehre. It was about plotting on maps the distribution of artifacts (flint axes, or certain types of ceramics, for example), showing the distribution of particular "peoples" or "tribes". These maps were generally of such a scale that large parts of Northern Europe (or even larger areas!) were included, and the amount of artifacts plotted relatively small. Given some knowledge (or supposed knowledge) of chronology, these maps were taken to indicate the origin and spread of a particular "people". A certain artifact was, often with no arguments, taken to represent, say "Germans", during the Stone Age.

Kossinas archaeology, like Menghins, had political ramifications. Kossinna wrote political pamphlets, notably in the end of the First World War, in which he used his archaeology for immediate political purposes. He eventually also became a member of Germanist cultural organisations, close to the NDSAP. Some of his pupils became important names in Nazi-archaeology. Kossinna must be seen in relation to the German development in the latter half of the 19th century, with a remarkable economic growth, and the search for an identity for the relatively new state. What is most striking in Kossinna is the *exclusion* of human populations in vast areas of the globe, apriori, from *archaeology.*

Kossina plotted archaeological finds, particular types of objects on maps. Kossina explicitly wrote that archaeology only had to do with Europe, and particularly Germany. This trait is a very important element in his way to think archaeology (and the world, it might be added).

Kossinas way of making archaeology came to be very popular in Germany but also beyond, notably in Sweden. But it affected archaeology in most countries. Even several archaeologists, who eventually came to attack Nazism, embraced Kossinnas methodology. Gordon Childe, an archaeologist from Australia, who lived a large part of his life in England, was heavily influenced by Kossina. Childe used various perspectives and made his own particular blend. In Childe there is British diffusionism, 19th century evolutionism, and even some influence from Marx (or, rather, from Engels); and perhaps, most importantly, a modified "Siedlungsarchäeologie". Childe wrote influential texts, and his arguments are often very good. Childe was very active as a political essayist, and at times expressed ideas about Aryan or European superiority. But his criticism of Nazi ideas are well-known. It should, however, be noted that he

often criticised kulturkreislehre in his more popular books, but seldom Kossina (cf. Childe 1936).

There is, however, I believe, still much to learn from Childe. His modified Kossinianism discussed "archaeological cultures", defined by a particular set of artefacts, and their spatial distribution. Childes definition of culture became very popular in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, and was used in many countries, for example in India. Childes perspective is splendidly expressed in a description of what culture means in archaeology, using examples from the ruined 2nd World War Europe (Childe 1956: 16-17). The ruins of the common English home had a brick construction, and particular vessels could generally be found in them. Similarly, the bombed North Russian home from the same time period had a wooden construction and exhibited a slightly different set of objects. These two sets represented two cultures, Childe asserts. This formulation is indeed effective and somewhat congenial. I have found no better or more elegant definition of the traditional culture concept in terms of archaeology. While Childe does elaborates a more complex scheme, within which these "culture" groups are to be analysed, there are strong links to Kossinnas method.

To summarise, the "spatial turn" in early 20th century German archaeology established immediate links between a given People (Volk) and a certain geographical area, the Heimat. This link was conceived as palpable and immediate, and the link to "land" and "earth" was of greatest importance. In Kossinna's vision, space is a fundamental part of analysis, but certain particular spatial units, not space as a general concept.

In post 2nd world war Anglo-Saxon and French archaeology spatial analysis slowly changed focus from large scale maps to the spatial analysis of more limited entities of study, like a Valley bottom (Willey's Viru valley study in Peru is a case in point, cf. Willey 1953) or even individual buildings. This change in the scope of spatial analysis is a major event, and the consequences must be taken seriously. I will return to this below.

Critique of colonialism: centre-periphery models

Inspired by the process of formal de-colonisation of European colonies in the post Second World War period, there emerged a set of models for the interpretation of the exploitation of colonies. In all these models, space and geography are paramount variables. Analysis of colonialism often operated with the conceptual pair "centre-periphery", in which the centre lived from exploiting the periphery. The entities were thought as physically separated entities, with a very distinct geographical centre exploiting the periphery. London, for example, was the centre of the British Empire, exploiting colonies at far away places. This way of thinking is still common-place (and, despite the problems involved in

these models, I believe there are good reasons for that, as will be understood below).

Among the theorists dominating the debate in the 1970's André Gunder-Frank, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Samir Amin can be mentioned. Gunder-Frank started by discussing the dependent character of Latin-American nations. The backwardness of Latin America was to be explained principally by this dependency. It was, thus, important to build broad popular alliances to fight these foreign influences. Wallersteins magnum opus, *The World System* (1974-1980), in several volumes, discusses how the world came to be dominated by Europe from the 16th century. In this study, there is a capitalist system expanding over the globe, invading larger and larger areas. The logics of this system is in the focus of analysis, and the lack of independence of the periphery is stressed. In other words, the idea of the inclusion of the periphery in one *system* is the core of analysis.

Samir Amin mainly worked on the 20th century, focusing on economics, and discussed how Europe, the United States and Japan (and some other countries) exploited other countries. Amin discussed of course the exploitation of natural resources (with little or no retribution), and exploitation through the use of low-paid workers, both in industry and in other fields (eg.1973, 2003). Amin dwelled probably a bit more on the particular traits of the general economy in the periphery than did Frank or Wallerstein.

The centre-periphery model differs from Kossinna's archaeological spatiality in several ways. Kossina also discusses cultural expansion, and it is even a major topic. But there is no attempt at identifying "structural" links between different groups. When there is a link, it is superficial, or a mere subordination, in Kossinnas archaeology. There is no possibility for a partial integration between two groups. Both entities remain the same; they keep their "essence". The centre-periphery models stipulated a much more elaborate link, a structural connection. However, only few centre-periphery studies addressed the direct effects of encounters in detail. In short, the general system was in focus, and the interrelations were (strangely, in a way) of relatively little interest.

Network and Nodes: Castells and Latour

The centre-periphery models came into question from the beginning, but for the most part in the 1980's. Latin American involvement in Africa was discussed (particularly by Brazilian companies), and the role of China as a potential new economic superpower was stressed. The general transition from Keynesian "welfare" economics, which gave the state an important economic role, to neoliberal economics, downplaying the role of the state, also played a role, as did the general "postmodern" trend.

The so-called network theory questions the use of traditional spatial perspectives in social theory. While many approaches to the social have taken situations occurring in particular geographical areas as the point of departure, and discussed how various factors within these entities relate to each other, network theory questions such an approach. In Kossinnas analysis, the Germans during certain periods fought against the Romans, or against the Slavs, and this had to do with the control over certain continuous territories. In the centre-periphery model, the geographical centre benefited from the exploitation of the periphery.

Manuel Castells is a famous sociologist, originally from Spain, and is well-known for a three volume analysis of the network society. Network theory stipulates, in Castell's terms, that a set of interconnected nodes constitute a set. The network may, with Castell's examples, be related to the activity of the stock market all over the world. Or it may be about the coca plantations, and illegal airports linked to these, and, of course, the cocaine market. These are examples of networks (Castells 1996:508). In Castells study, the network is a special stage in the development of the world. It is the characteristic trait of the "information society". Castell admits there are social conflicts and social difference. But, in different to previous periods, at this stage, the social battle is primarily a cultural battle (Castells 1998:400). Castells does not do away all through with the concept of space. Some areas are still seen as the (extreme) periphery, being, in a sense, outside the "system" of the information society.

Bruno Latour has launched a more theoretical model, which includes the interaction between people and things. In Latour's model, people and things at times make the same operations, and they can, in these cases, be said to be equal, they are actants (Latour 1993). One and the same actant can thus be a machine or a human being. Latours network model has been praised, but also severely criticised, particularly for equating humans and machines. Latour also uses the concept of node. In an early text, he spoke of the 18th century French explorer, trying to exploit the world, as a node. Wherever this individual set foot, the network is present. There is no centre of the network, only a set of nodes. Each node has the same "network quality" as any other (Latour 1987).

The network model, particularly in its more extreme forms, is intellectually inspiring, and has, beyond doubt, some valuable points. The question is if it is a sufficient model for analysing social relations. If we take the more extreme version, in which all analysis, independent of period or topic should be analysed exclusively by the network model, the problems are evident. Even for an analysis of the contemporary world, the setbacks should be evident.

Let me illustrate with an imaginary example. If a British colonial administrator came to live in an Indian town in the 19th century, his environment changed dramatically as compared to, say, London, or a small English town.

The food was not the same; it could not be, even if strong efforts were made. The landscape was different, the way people were dressed in general was different, and the buildings were not really of the same type, with few exceptions. Even if the administration tried to create small copies of England, they never succeeded. One of the ideas of being in India was to exploit it. One way was by using local servants, and they certainly differed from servants in, say England. And apart from these issues, there was the bigger question of how to cope with the population living in India, how to administer people in the plantation or the factory. Apart of dress, food, and the like, there were also differences in conduct. Well, this list could easily be extended. The point is simple. It cannot, from the point of view of immediate social action, be possible to "forget" the difference in geographical settings. At times they are more pronounced, at times less, due to various factors. But the geographical factor is still relevant. What seems of particular relevance is the interrelationship between people and how these are articulated in particular settings. In order to develop tools for another way of addressing the social and in particular the social use of space, many basic issues must be re-considered. In order to contribute to such a development we must turn briefly to the question of social logics.

Unity or disunity?

While pragmatic philosophers (Putnam, Searle or Rorty) tend to downplay the role of cultural difference, other types of approaches (like structuralism or hermeneutics) stress the fundamental difference between cultures. Marshall Sahlins is a case in point, when he, discussing the case of Captain Cook and Hawaii, argues on the "closed" character of an individual culture. Viktor Li has made an extensive criticism and argued interestingly on Sahlins and his critics, and points at the tricky problem of the relation between "cultures" (2001). What happens when two different sets of people meet, have an encounter? To disentangle this question, it is necessary to address the question of social logics.

Can we consider our environment as *one* world, in the pragmatic sense, or are there different, socially constructed worlds, with different rationalities or logics? I would like to stress that I do not find this an easy problem. I am a staunch materialist, I do not think I am necessary for the universe to exist, or for the universe to be thought about. And I am induced by the fact that certain other people suffer tremendously to think that there are measures we all can agree upon (cf. Mohanty, 2003, and Coole 1996).

In a physical sense, *the world* is. There are physical characteristics, which can be measured and discussed, and their effects discussed with a certain detail. And there seems to be certain common traits to all humans, even though they

are hard to define in detail, even though they have changed over the last 20 000 years. There does seem to be some general patterns in human behaviour. But they are very hard to define, and, further, we cannot exactly state at what point these patterns emerged.

In many ways, I find Putnam's argument valuable and sound (Putnam 2000). But still, I cannot follow him. He does, as I see it, underestimate certain problems in human life, namely the relevance of the social. One problematic aspect in Putnam is that all human action is considered to be strictly intentional, that the world is still "Husserlian" and egological. While intention (of different "types" and scales) is of utmost importance, it is not enough in order to describe human action. But it seems fairly clear that, if we only use a general information of physical properties and processes (including biology), and some "general" ideas of human conduct, this information is not sufficient to describe or explain, and still less to understand, what humans have done in various historical circumstances. There is another relevant field, that of variation in social and cultural patterns. However, these patterns are hard to get at. Traditional models, like those elaborated by hermeneutics or structuralism, seems outdated and of little help. Thus, we must seek elsewhere for suitable models. Alain Badiou, a French philosopher, has, during the last 30 years or so, elaborated an alternative proposal, which has attracted growing attention during the last couple years. While not embracing his philosophy all through, I find it rather illuminating and interesting for the problems addressed in this article. I will, therefore, summarise briefly some of his ideas.

Alain Badiou, the Infinite and the Multiple

Badiou sees the "linguistic turn" as an obstacle for philosophy, as an obstacle for getting at what is (to get at, say, the social field). "Common language" may become a cage, a prison (1998:193) which hinder us to analyse important issues, or even to get at them at all. The use of language as a general model for the social, applied in much hermeneutics and in structuralism, was a major setback. *Mathematics,* then, is a major element in Badious thinking. Badiou states that "Ontology is mathematics". Ontology is the state of being. In another phrasing, Badious writes that "being is what existence becomes if the world is mathematics" (Badiou 2004:236).

It is necessary to comment of Badious understanding of mathematics. He understands logics as a part of mathematics', not the other way round (Badiou 2004:3-58). There is no unified logic; there are different logics, within the large open field of mathematics. Mathematics teaches us about what *must* be said concerning what *is;* not about what is *permissible* to say concerning what we *think* there is. (Badiou 2004:16). With a polemical tone, he continues:

> Mathematics provides philosophy with a weapon, a fearsome machine of thought, a catapult aimed at the bastions of ignorance, superstition, and mental servitude. (Badiou 2004:16)

It is still not completely clear what Badiou means by this reference to mathematics. To what extent is he making a metaphor, and to what extent is he actually talking about trying to make such mathematical models in practice? Be that as it may, what seems interesting is that he proposes another way of thinking about key issues.

The most important point in Badiou's discussion, as I see it, is that he insists that it is necessary to see that there are different social worlds, and that our common language gives limits for our ability to identify, to find, another world (as it could be, for example, in archaeological evidence). While Wittgenstein became disillusioned when he saw the limits to given logical systems, and preferred to stay in the world of "common language", Badiou believes it important to go beyond our inherited vocabulary and grammar, into the realm of the unknown, or new, *different* worlds.

In his large study *L'être et l'événement* (Being and Event) from 1988, Badiou addresses the question of what is, that of being (*être*). What is, the "being", is to Badiou *an infinite number of multiples.* The multiples are any sort of "thing", they cannot be reduced to a common denominator, they "have no One" in Badiou's terminology. One multiple may contain other multiples, but the multiples can never be reduced as such, they cannot be defined as in terms of "atoms" or "monads". These multiples build up the inconsistent multiplicity and the quantity of multiples can grow indefinitely. The infinite character of the multiple is one of the keys to Badiou's philosophy. Badiou believes Deleuze to have defended a *Spinozian* philosophy, which requires the *absolute unity of Relation* (Badiou 2004:235), i.e. that everything always is related to everything else. According to Badiou, Deleuzes world was one of unity, in which all events happened on the same surface (in the *folds*), so to say.[15]

We have, according to Badiou, no direct access to the multiple. The multiple is there to us in *appearance,* which brings us to the second part of Badiou's major argument.

[15] Badiou *could be* understood as to question the general validity of an important law in physics: that energy cannot be created, only transformed. At some occasion, Badiou has commented that physicians are less open minded than mathematicians, that physics tend to create closed worlds of thinking.

Event and Appearance

The multiple is there for us in its appearance (*apparaître*). This appearance is a particular logics, a logic that defines a particular world, a "transcendental phenomenon". In Badiou there is a certain echo from Descartes, the Kantian synthetic apriori, and the Popperian "objective knowledge", in affirming that there are two modes. One is that of "things", which have existence, and the other one is that which exists only in our thoughts. It is in this second order of thought that a world has its appearance.

Thus, there is a logics of worlds. These logics are of a special kind, they are constituted by a special field of distribution of "topoi". There is no universe, and *the* world is not; there are *worlds* (Badiou 2004:217). While the multiples are infinite, one world is finite.

Within one world there are limits to what can be seen and what can be done. What particularly interests Badiou is how a change comes about, and what such a change means. Here he discusses various levels of intensity of transformations. A *modification* is the mode in which in which objects in the world appear (they can not be without some change). A *fact* is a transcendental novelty, but one endowed with a low degree of density. A *singularity* is a transcendental novelty whose intensity is strong, but which has few consequences. An *event* finally, is a singularity with consequences of maximal intensity (Badiou 2004:236).

The conceptualisation of Badiou is still in construction. A long awaited book, *Logics of Worlds* was published in 2006. Discussing the concept of the "transcendental" in his doctrine (a term Badiou seems to favour, rather than theory), he discusses what he calls a "vulgar phenomenology" to illustrate some issues. Part of his argument is based on a discussion on a an opera ('Ariadne and Bluebeard', from 1906, made by Dukas on the basis of Maeterlinck's novel). Here, the relation between different persons in the drama are discussed as intensities, as differences in intensities (2006, cf. 2004:189-219). All relations can be measured this way, Badiou believes. Thus, a given world is a relational network of differences, which give to each multiple an appearance. The "transcendental" is the operational set giving sense to the more or less of differences in a world. The transcendental is local, intra-wordly (Badiou 2004:197). An important point to Badiou in this context is that the difference at this intra-worldly level has "absolute" character, that there is a sort of zero, which makes these measures seem "absolute". But there is also a maximum; no particular world can be infinite. At the same time, there is a possibility to think some things that are not in the given world (Badiou 2004:204).

In measuring differences there are three fundamental standards. In one case the conjunction is a commonality between two beings in some sense; another is when two beings are measured by a third; and, finally, two beings have nothing

in common, and the value is zero, they are disjoined. Badiou calls these measures inclusion, intercalation and disjunction (Badiou 2004:204-205). There is yet another concept, that of "envelope", which designates a unit within a world, "that being whose differential value of appearance is the synthetic value appropriate to that part". In this discussion, the concept of series appears (Badiou 2004:211, a concept which probably stems, in part, from mathematics, but also from Sartre). The series is an envelope containing beings whose appearance are very similar in relation to a "dominant" figure. The specific value of conjunction between one of the beings and the dominant being is almost equal to the average of all. Badiou here also develops a measure of "dependence" between beings in a world. Finally, he introduces a discussion on the concept of the reverse in a world, which is fundamental for his general argument. The reverse is not like the negation of Hegel, but has some resemblance to that concept. The fundamental difference is that the reverse appears within a world, it is not a general essence. All this discussion is largely technical, a characteristic of some of Badiou's writing.

World in Change

In relation to an *event* (the maximum of transformative intensity) a world may fall apart, and a new "constellation" may appear, a new logics. The word constellation comes from a poem of Mallarmé, *A cast with a dice,* in which a new bright constellation of stars appears after a throw with a dice.[16] Here Badiou also introduces a difficult concept, *Truth -Event.* This concept has been used in a variety of ways. It seems that a Truth-Event is an event which is undeniable to all persons in a world, or perhaps in various worlds, an event that calls into question the logics of a world. A Truth-Event calls for decisions and transformations. Badiou uses the French revolution as an example of a Truth-Event, but he also hint at that the so-called 9/11 event is, if not a Truth-Event, something very close to that. I guess that the Second World War also was a Truth-Event, in a sense, within this conceptualisation.

Badiou also argues politically in relation to a truth-event. There are, in the face of such an event, different ways to act. One of these ways is to try to stay with what emerged in that moment of truth, to be faithful to it. In a discussion on Paul and early Christianity, he argues about Paul's fidelity to an event. In a similar vein, he talks about his own fidelity to the '68 events in France. Fidelity

[16] The poems of Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898) are frequently used among French intellectuals. Just to quote one example, Derrida worked much on Mallarmé, cf. for example a piece called "La Double Séance" (which was originally a presentation in front of an audience, initially published in *Tel Quel* in 1970, later in *La Dissémination,* Derrida 1972a: 199-318).

to Badiou is, however, not fidelity to a given doctrine or to a given political party, but rather fidelity to the event as such. A Truth-Event may, then, give raise to a new world, or new worlds, with new logics. According to Badiou:

> The universality of a truth is upheld by subjective forms that can be neither individual nor communitarian /.../ Inasmuch as it is of a truth, a subject subtracts itself from very community and destroys every individuation. (Badiou 2005b:24).

In the creation of a new world, antecedent identities are crushed and a new pattern emerges. Thus, in this type of transformation, older categories become obsolete and irrelevant. There is *not* a continuity of previous communities, which would mean that there is no "German prehistory", nor an "American prehistory", for example. In discussing Paul and early Christianity, an important point is the idea that anybody could become a Christian, independent of their origin, ethnicity or previous religion.

Badiou's Worlds

The conclusions from the above are not directly straightforward, but nevertheless of great importance. It is necessary, I think, to look at the social as consisting of several distinct "worlds", though they are based on multiples, of which several are, in many cases, very similar. These worlds have different temporal and spatial extensions, and varying levels of generality. To a certain extent (and Badiou would probably *not* follow me here) it may be correct to speak about an "archiworld" corresponding to the first humans. Though many things have occurred, and major change has taken place, there seems to be some continuity. On one hand, we have biological continuities, but we will not dwell on them here. On the other, there are some other "social" continuity. The scale and character of externalised products is particularly relevant, the trace of social worlds (Leroi-Gourhan 1964-1965, Derrida 1967a). What we deal with here is the formation of the social as a phenomenon. It *could* be that there are certain (though elusive and little understood) general patterns in the social sphere of the human. The small 30 0000 years old objects found at the Palaeolithic site of Sungir (Russia) are rather intriguing, in displaying several artistic forms later repeated frequently in different aesthetic contexts.

Badiou has his own way of addressing this problem. In tune with his general Platonian orientation, he compares a horse from the "30 000 years old" paintings in the cave of Chauvet with horses painted by Picasso. His conclusion is, to summarise, that they are different, they belong to different worlds. But there are also similarities, "invariants". These similarities Badiou explains by similarities in what a horse actually is. Both the cave painter(s) and Picasso had

come to grips with certain truths about the horse, the idea of "horsity" (caballéité is the French word, cf. Badiou 2006:25-29). As to the Platonianism of Badiou, and his insistence on the transcendent, I still have my doubts, and while his argument on horsity is interesting it is, still, only a general suggestion. Another French philosopher, Jocelyn Benoist, has discussed the limits to the concept of intention, and argues on the importance of certain material physical conditions in the elaboration of mental models. One of her examples is the idea of squirrels. The squirrel is not the same animal in Europe and in North America, and the association of the word varies accordingly. She remits this to the physical differences, the difference in behaviour of the different "squirrels" (2005: 256-260). Thus, the referential world is not the same. In a sense, Benoist argument lies close to Badiou. But Benoist avoids the argument of an absolute idea ("horsity" in Badiou), and simply refers to knowledge of the external world. It is probable that the horse has changed its behaviour relatively little since the cave paintings were made, and the similarities between the cave painter and Picasso is that they simply happened to observe the same aspects, and were capable of illustrating it. It is not necessary to speak about "horsity" as far as I can see.

Badiou would hardly subscribe to the term "archiworld", but I still believe it a necessity for our argument, though this archiworld can never be an empirically known world. It is beyond our capacity to define it or to give it a chronological position. Any intent to define it will fail, and will also be an act of violence (the most violent of all acts, defining what a human is, one and for all).

Worlds may well be placed as a box in a box in a box, also in Badiou's thinking, but a new world can also make previous boxes irrelevant, and create a new patterning in which "a subject subtracts itself from every community and destroys every individuation" (Badiou 2005:24). Any world has appearances, and relations between these appearances (321). Reading Badiou carefully, there are many different kinds of worlds at different levels and scales. There is, for example, a larger change occurring in relation to the French revolution. At another level, the battle at Gaugamèles (Alexander and Darius III), is also a world (296-305). At yet another scale, he discusses how a manifestation at the Place de la République today may create a world (cf. Badiou 2006:211-215). And, at yet another scale he addresses love and the couple, and discusses how a world may be created in such circumstances. Badiou himself admits that world is a very vague and little defined term (2006:123).

The world and the subject

What is in the centre of Badiou's discussion is the concept of subject, or "subjectivated". Several French thinkers have used this term; Althusser used the

term discussing how the state created subjects by "interpellation", and Judith Butler is among those who made it popular (1997). Subjectivation is here a process whereby a social "agent" is created. This is thus a very important element in any social world. Butler particularly dwells on female subjectivation. Other examples could be "slave", "serf" or "wage-labourer", or, in another register "Swede", "German" or "French". Badiou's use of the term is different. In order to get a bit closer at the concept of subjectivated in relation to that of world in Badiou, I will shortly summarise some of his discussion in *Logics of Worlds* (2006).

The existence of a subject is, in Badiou, a necessity for there to be a world. If there is something beyond "bodies and language", this is the subject. A subject is what produces effects on a body according to a certain logics, productive or anti-productive (2006:53-54). The subject is related to an event, or rather to the traces left by this event, and the subject only exists in Badiou as transcendental, and in a relation. What is particularly difficult in Badiou is the concept of object, which is not the same as subject. To Badiou, there is a subject (with no object), and object (with no subject), and an objectivity to the subject (which is the body). In a sense, then, the body has a potential to be a subject. Badiou speaks of worlds without subject, worlds without people (at this point, I find Badiou particularly difficult, though I see that he does follow a logics).

An object, in Badiou's terminology, is a multiple with a given "indexation", a shared indexation within a given world (211-244). In relation to the manifestation in Paris, mentioned above, Badiou speaks of a group of anarchists with given characteristics as an "object". Similarly, certain elements in a painting may constitute an object (the columns in a romantic painting Badiou analyses, for example). It is necessary, Badiou's adds, that the "atoms" of the multiple are real parts of the referred multiple. The object is thus defined by three: a multiple, a given indexation, and a real material existence (not pure fantasy).

Objects have different characteristics in a Badiouan abstract sense, in relation to e.g., level of appearance, identity, symmetry and triangular inequality. I will not dwell at them at this occasion. A particular type of object is the corpse, the body. Badiou is particularly intricate here. Corpse is not only the physical human body but may also correspond to a new tangible "social institution" or "social phenomenon", such as a new political entity, previously non-existing. The corpse is the material condition for subjection. The subjectivated body, in Badiou, is the body making a difference, capable of creating something new.

Badiou like to define himself in relation to various masters. One of those is Sartre. While he once was an ardent "Sartreanist", he has a much colder relation to this master today. In a book on the 20th century, Badiou prefers Foucault

rather than Sartre (2005a). In Logics of Worlds he talks about Sartre, but very little. He mention Emmanuel Terray (a French anthropologist), once a fellow Sartrean, who is reported as having stated that he read Badiou's book *Being and Event* in a Sartrean spirit. However, Terray is also said to be, today, critical of the idea of transcendence and Platon (580-581). Be this as it may, there is; as I see it, a strong Sartrean element in Logics of Worlds. First and foremost in the intention, in the political aim, which is often rather explicit. It is about the heroic, about looking beyond the rules of the day, about resistance, and about the role of the intellectual in all this. There is an air of Sartre in all this. But also at other levels Sartre is there, despite the sharp differences, stressed again and again by Badiou. Badiou tend to down-play the role of intention, which is one of the key issues in relation to Sartre. At times, however, he comes close to Sartre, fro example when defining "the object", or the "corpse". Badiou is also fairly negative to stress the importance of the physical; he seems to share an aversion to things with the young Sartre.

Badiou also establish a relation to Derrida in his Logics of Worlds. In order to elaborate our argument, we must shortly address some aspects of Derrida's thinking.

Derrida, the trace, the text and "différance": the limits to singularity

We may say that Badiou establishes co-temporality, "the contemporaneous" in his concept of world. However, there are times within time in these worlds, as we have seen. Derrida's philosophy largely had to do with a critique of the notion of co-temporality. Derrida initiated his fame with some studies on the phenomenologist Edmund Husserl. In Husserl's original argument for phenomenology, the point of departure for Heidegger and Gadamer, the individual spoke with herself, in a sense, in order to make an observation, to perceive. Derrida calls this an *egological* philosophy (Derrida 1967c). This "relation to oneself" was not "social" and only involved the "subject". In opposition to this position, Derrida stressed that all experience was social, that nothing could be experienced outside of a field of social conventions and signs. A key point in the argument against Husserl is that there is no "no-time" in which the subject can relate to itself, no "outside time" event (Derrida 1967a; cf. Hägglund 2002). Temporality is an irreducible condition. An element is constituted only when related to other elements. There can be no "pure" subjectivity since the subject must be constituted through duration in time, through temporal displacement. In the process of temporalisation, traces are constituted, which implies a spatialisation of time. Evidently inspired by Heideggers idea that death is an important marker for Being, Derrida believes

that the subject is a collection of memory traces, but also the presence of a possible future, which may eradicate traces. The I is, thus, the finite, the awareness of an eventual death.

The consequences of Derrida's critical remarks on Husserl are manifold. One important consequence is that "pure" subjective intention is impossible, and that other variables, beyond intention, must be taken into consideration in all social analysis. Any subjective statement includes the use of social information in its construction.

The critique of alphabetic thinking and the concept of text

Apart of a critical reading of Husserl, Derrida defined his basic ideas in a critical discussion of structuralism. This approach had been inspired by Saussure, a French linguist, and his discussion of the difference between sign and signified and the langue/parole relation, discussed above. In this perspective, the spoken was the base for writing (the alphabetic sign used to make words), and the spoken was seen as a pre-condition for the sign. Language was thus, in this view, based on the spoken. According to Derrida this whole view was based on the presumption that the alphabetic text was a universal phenomenon. Through reference to Chinese writing and various historical examples, Derrida demonstrated that this was far from the case (Derrida 1967b). Derrida was particularly inspired by the French archaeologist André Leroi-Gourhan and his discussion on prehistoric communication (1964-65). Leroi-Gourhan was specialised on the old stone age, the Palaeolithic in France, and especially the so-called Magdalenian phase, the age of the famous cave art. To Leroi-Gourhan, early writing appeared as "mythogrammes", in which several images run out in different directions from a determined centre. There is, thus, no determined order in which to read. He contrasted this to the linear construction of words and sentences in alphabetic writing. But he also had a vision, the idea that electronic machines (the computer) would open up reading, again making it possible to read in different directions. To some extent the homepage, as we know it today, is such a mechanism, but it is combined with alphabetic text.

Derrida elaborates a special concept, *différance,* in relation to his critical analysis of phonological analysis of language. Différance is a sort of mechanism producing difference (1967b:, 1972a, 1972b:1-29). It is about the *spatialisation* of time and the *temporalisation* of space. Time produces spatial traces, but these may always be erased, since such a risk is always present when a trace is brought back to active use. Another key concept is that of *text.* Text is not what we commonly understand by written text, but rather the complex web of traces, constructed in a variety of ways, and in which information can run in between

different formats. The linear written form is only one particular means of communication.

In a detailed analysis of the work of Levinas, Derrida makes the famous statement that the self is not identical to itself (Derrida 1967c). The process of temporalisation makes any assertion as to the "absolute sameness" impossible. The "same" always incorporate diverging elements. Derrida here talks about "the original violence", the intent to make the same identical to itself. Much of what Derrida have written is to criticise various ways to state that the same is identical to itself. It may be mentioned that this argument of Derrida resembles that of Theodor Adorno in *Negative Dialectics* (1965). From this argument, Derrida thus criticise Levinas for not seeing that any subject is constituted socially, that there is no pure subject which can be related to a pure Other.

Derrida and the critique of Lacan

Derrida pointed at the limits to any sort of social system. The logics were never perfect or complete, they always failed to "close" the structure altogether. In this context he introduced the concept of *dissémination,* of spreading the seed (Derrida 1972a). In an interesting comment in a dialogue-book called *Positions* (1972b:112-121), he states that dissemination is the process of what resists to come under the spell of the Symbolic Order in Lacans terminology. What disseminates is what escape subjectivation, signification, law etc., all that which is dictated by the Symbolic Order in Lacan. It is what cannot even be conceived as imaginary or real. The dissemination is what will not "return to father". Dissemination is the Text. It is not polysemic (accepted variability), it is beyond that, "pure" dissemination.

In another article, Derrida criticised Lacan explicitly. Making a structural analysis of a short novel by Edgar Allan Poe (*The Purloined Letter*), Lacan insisted that the Symbolic Order always works. In the context of the novel, it is about a letter gone astray, finally to be retrieved. Lacan asserts that a letter always reach its destinatory. Derrida opposes this idea, insisting that information may very well end up at the wrong place, causing problems to the Symbolic Order (1975). Derridas argument has much to do with the frame of the story (for example, the complex role of various narrators), the "surplus" elements in the story, left behind by Lacan (the existence of various letters, "fakes" and original etc.), and the general Text surrounding it. The short novel is not a universe in itself, rather it has similarities and connections outside it, and a rich content, far beyond Lacans analysis.

World or Worlds?

Social bonds seem to construct patterning, not always or only intentional patterns, but patterns which affect the way we handle problem resolution. Theodor Adorno once used a good example. Writing in the 1960's, he mentioned the Vietnam War and the so-called "scientific management" of war, discussed by the US-war machine. In reports from the war, when discussing the failure of a given operation, the military often argued that the cause was that the enemy acted irrationally. While irrational action is more common than we often think, this is hardly a sufficient explanation here. What may have been the case was that the US-military lacked capacity of analysing the world or the "truth-play" of the enemy, the given field of logics within which the "enemy" operated (Adorno 1969:xx).[17] Instead of staying in the known linguistic world (the situation), such a search must imply breaking the walls of the linguistic cage, as expressed by Badiou.

But Derrida has made an important contribution in pointing at the impossibility of "perfect" closed social logics. Thus, though there are and have been a large set of different worlds they are not entirely "closed" to each other, what Derrida called the Différance or Dissemination. Even Badiou has accepted this notion, and talks about these elements, those who will not fit into a given logics in a world, the *inexistent* (2006:571). These elements are there, but they are not recognised, they are there but not as part of the logics of a given world.

The inexistent is part of what allows for moving between different social worlds. In a sense, Derrida has created a means by which we may move between worlds by means of a (diffuse) world. But while worlds have logics or rationalities, there are no closed social logics to the world. In Badiou's terminology, the world is inexisting (though it is there, and it affects us).

Having, then, established that there are logics of worlds, while these are not "perfect", but always constituted by various sets (worlds in worlds), and by the existence of "différance", we may turn to Homi Bhabha for an argument on the relation between "worlds".

Bhabha and unhomeliness

Bhabha is well-known for his contributions to the debate on the encounter and (the critique of) "postcolonial theory". Frantz Fanon, in *Wretched of the Earth,* a criticism of the European colonial politics in Africa, insisted on the embodied nature of exploitation, how it had affected people in immediate physical ways.

[17] In the case of war, it *may* of course be great luck that the military fail to get at the logics of the enemy.

Thus, he spoke about the need to retrieve histories and traditions, but he was not a romantic, had no wish to restore the past. What the colonial subject experienced was, in Homi Bhabha's words, an "unhomeliness" (1994). This is not to say homeless. There is a physical home, but it is a scary, awful place. Bhabha uses an expression from Henry James, "incredulous terror" to describe this. In this colonial setting, there is no defined world in which to operate. Bhabha quotes Elizabeth Fox-Genovese discussing the frequency of murders, self-mutilation and infanticide in slavery plantations, and discusses the story of Beloved in Toni Morrison's novel. The limit between public and private is of little relevance, and no evident cultural "code" is operative. Not only the colonised, but also the coloniser is largely lost in this terrain (even if the coloniser is, generally, equipped with more efficient weapons, and has the advantage of being able to *go home*, until this home is no more).

Slavoj Žižek, in a recent study, *The Paralallax View* (2006), discusses the relation between "economics" and cultural patterns. Arguing on the Abu Ghraib prison (the US institution in Iraq, a result of the occupation), and the torture which took place there, Žižek discusses how the photographs taken by the torturers are like scenes, scenes from a certain type of underground US-culture, which elaborate on obscene fantasies. Thus, beyond the criminal act of torture, there is a cultural content to this, a non-official culture of the US. This is what Žižek goes at, these strange fields of thought and images, which are important in the life of, in this case, these torturers. Žižek summarises that if we intend to change the life at earth, it must occur also in this field. "The true act is to intervene in this obscene underground domain, transforming it." (Žižek 2006:366). In this case, there is an unequal encounter, in which the "truth" of a certain world is established. In this case, the cultural clash is closed, and the possibilities for "action" of the prisoner are even smaller than the possibilities open for the 19th century slave.

The terror of this unhomeliness must not be forgotten, or left behind, in analysis. *It is the core of the issue.* But there is more in this. To Bhabha, this unhomeliness is a place in which change can take place, and I would like to phrase it "the root of change". While Gayatri Spivak (1999) has been sceptical on the ability for the exploited subaltern to "speak" to the coloniser, not even the more drastic measures are observed as messages, Bhabha seeks to identify a potential for change in the field of "unhomeliness". To use an expression from Žižek, we could say that "dialogue" is commonplace, but empty, while true communication works on the effects of a traumatic impact. Bhabha is truly Derridean here, in looking at the effects of a violent "*différance*", rather than a "speech act".

The Third Space

The expression Third Space has given fame to Bhabha and the term is used frequently, also in archaeology. But there is not much of homogeneity in its use. It is thus necessary, for the purpose of this article, to construct a particular way of working the concept.

Bhabha writes that cultural enunciation is complex. It has a *place of utterance,* but this is crossed by the *différance of writing* (1994:36). I interpret this as the relation between a sort of localised social spatiality and a wider social text, which is used in transferring information. In Badiou's terminology, there are local and wider worlds, and there is "the inexistent". This field of différance makes it possible, at least partly, to "crack" the code of a world, to open up a closed logic. This is a social process, which often involves the encounter. In the Third Space such a process may take place. Communication, from I to You, passes through a Third Space of enunciation. In this Third Space, specific languages, cultural codes, social situations, and other conditions are operative, beyond mere intention. This Third Space incorporates ambivalence, fluctuation, instability. It is only in such a Third Space "true" communication can take place. The same symbol may be taken up and appropriated, translated, read anew. It is in this process a new subject is created, in Badious terminology. It can come to be - but must not be - the beginning of a new world.

Third Space, Spatiality and Archaeology

But this Third Space is, according to Badiou, "unrepresentable in itself" (1994:37). This is evident by the logics of the argument. Soja has used this term in spatial analysis, but not inspired by Bhabha, but rather by Lefebre, a French philosopher, who used it for other purposes. Third Space is used, in Soja, in an immediate, non-mediated way, in relation to human life and physical entities. Bhabha's Third Space is, on the other hand, not true spatiality; it is at a *crossing between a locality (spatiality) and a différance (temporality).* Further, Bhabha's Third Space is unrepresentable, precisely because *it is not a representation, or a "world",* but the scattered pieces of representation(s)/world(s).

Thus, applying Bhabha's Third Space to archaeology is a great challenge. Soja was right in insisting that the social sciences must take space seriously. But archaeology has since far back used space as a key concept. The issue in archaeology is to change the ways we work the concept, to start to get at the intricacies of space. We must finally abandon the search for absolute and eternal social units, defined by their spatial limits. But this must not induce us to adopt a strict network analysis, in which space is dissolved. Traditional sociology (e.g. Giddens, Badiou) has a point in stressing the difference between the local entity

of humans and the wider world(s). The local, geographically anchored, is a suitable point of departure for analysis, searching for patternings, which, subsequently, are compared to other similar case studies. Such an approach is not foreign to archaeology. What I suggest is that archaeology take this methodology, which has been used, but seldom theorised, in a more systematic fashion. What must, then, be in focus are both worlds and différance. And, in the case of an encounter, we must search the unhomely – and there is no better place to start than in the analysis of living houses, in the "home".

There is no space here to enter archaeological examples. Some short comments will have to suffice. In a case study on a Northwest Argentinian example, I have tried to start to elaborate an example in an archaeological analysis of a "Third Space" (Cornell & Galle 2004). The case is taken from the locale of El Pichao in the Calchaqui Valley system, a sub Andean semi desert. In the beginning of the 15th century there was a large densely habituated settlement at this location. There is a wide variability, attesting for various "subworlds" in operation, but there is, at a general level, a certain degree of homogeneity in e.g. standards for the construction of houses, in ceramics and in lithics. There were several units of rooms making up something like individual farmsteads. They all exhibited particular traits, but also large similarities, particularly in the use of internal space. At approximately 1500, or slightly before, there appear, within some units, new traits. These include spatial re-accommodation (closing openings, digging holes in the floor in small rooms), and making burials of children inside the houses, with few accompanying goods, but including some ceramics differing from those previously used at this location. In this case, the new ceramics is inspired by Inca imperial styles (from Cuzco, Peru). The re-accommodation and new uses of space may be analysed in terms of a "Third Space" operating in space and on materialities.

We know from written sources that the Inca had a presence in this region, but we still know little about the details of this expansion. In the case of El Pichao, it may be suggested that certain actors from a local or regional frame operated using the Inca phenomenon for certain more or less explicit purposes, related to power (or possibly for trade, or for both purposes). There is, thus, a local encounter of different worlds, which give material traces, which operates in materiality. This encounter gives us shattered material traces of a Third Space. This Third Space does not appear in spatially continuous units, but rather in particular bundles at particular spots.

Searching for the Third Space must not be a search for a predefined set of objects. Rather, it must be he search for what is not a pre-existing pattern, for new combinations of traits. This requires a methodology very different from that of Kossinna or Childe. While the origin of elements is of interest, the most

interesting part is how these elements are combined, and how the local world(s) are related to the larger play of différance.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

EMPTINESS AND FORM: A MICROARCHAEOLOGY OF BUDDHISM

LINUS HAMMARSTRAND

Introduction

Knowledge regarding the history and nature of the many traditions labelled "Buddhist" within the Western academy are generally derived from two primary sources; scripture and modern Buddhist devotional practices. Archaeological material has seldom been utilised in this context, except in the largely unscientific clearing of "Buddhist" monuments. This limited archaeological approach has hitherto mainly served to support narratives based on doctrine, rather than letting remains of actual practice tell their tale (Coningham 2001:61). Consequently, the archaeological record has been rather neglected within the field of buddhology, as recently discussed by several scholars (see Schopen 1997; Trainor 1997; Ruppert 2000; Coningham 2001; Kieschnick 2004; Fogelin 2006).

The focus on doctrine as primary source of knowledge regarding early Buddhism is problematic for a number of reasons, not least because of Christian and post-Christian connotations. Herein lies implicit ties to colonial and neocolonial discourse, something that complicates matters by influencing how a non-Western subject of study is perceived within and by the Western academy, something that does not only influence an exclusively Western audience. Thus, in a way they can be said to serve in upholding unequal power relations, as discussed by several scholars within postcolonial discourse (see Bandaranayake; 1978; Said 1978; 1993; Childs & Williams 1997; King 1999; Lyon & Papadopoulos 2002; Kane 2003; Hodder 2003).

An archaeological approach to the study of early Buddhist social life might present us with alternate views of early Buddhist social practice, even though a

general caveat must be issued here. Archaeology is hardly a neutral science. Narratives based on material remains might as easily be imbued with preconstructed ideas of homogenous social collectives labelled "Buddhists" as those based on doctrine. An archaeological microperspective, however, might provide an alternative. By providing the tools for deconstruction of the essential subject of study, it might help to transcend stereotypes and preconceived ideas regarding the constituents of an essential, early Buddhist identity. This approach can never reveal the entirety of Buddhist experience, but might at least provide a more nuanced academic perspective, something sorely needed. In order to illuminate the possibilities inherent in this approach, the early Buddhist stupa will be briefly discussed as a social actant.

This approach entails an attempt to discern what potential the early stupa might have had to influence the minds and practices of early followers of the Buddha (see Cornell & Fahlander 2002:53; 62f; 66f). What can the stupa as a mute monument reveal of past power relations? To what past individuals or social collectives can they be linked? Another interesting question is how their location in the landscape can illuminate the various roles of the stupa in past social contexts. By submitting material remains to closer scrutiny, I intend to see if and how they can deconstruct and revise the general views of early Buddhist social life, while at the same time discussing whether Buddhism and religion as concepts are valid points of departure for analysis. Hopefully this approach can illuminate practices otherwise overlooked or ignored, while at the same time contributing to a more open, reflexive interpretation of early Buddhist traditions, without resorting to exhaustive and final interpretations and thus killing the subject by severely limiting possible identifications.

Early Buddhism: A Textual Narrative

Most of our knowledge regarding the Buddha and his earliest followers are based upon the preserved writings of two Chinese pilgrims, *Faxien* and *Xuanzang*, who travelled to the sacred sites of the Buddha's homeland in the fifth and seventh century CE (Coningham 2001:63).

According to theirs and other materials, *Siddhartha Gautama*, the historic Buddha and presumed founder of the Buddhist faith, was born during the first half of the first millennium BCE. He was the son of King *Suddhodana*, a raja of the *Sakyas*, a clan of *Kshatriyas* in the Himalayan hinterland. Acting upon prophesies regarding Siddhartha's future life as a renunciant, his father attempted to divert Siddhartha with worldly pleasures in order to avoid this fate. At the age of 29, Siddhartha nevertheless came face to face with the darker sides of life. At an illicit outing from the sheltered life in the palace he was confronted with four sights that revealed to him the ultimate transience of life. He in turn

beheld an old man, an ill man, a dead man and a *sadhu*, a wandering ascetic and holy man. He was so immensely shaken by these encounters that he subsequently choose to abandon his family and his comfortable life in the palace and set out in search of enlightenment in order to gain liberation from the suffering of life. He donned the robes of an ascetic and searched for six long years under the guidance of various teachers until he, dissatisfied and near death from starvation due to overly strenuous meditations and austerities, travelled to *Bodh Gaya* for a final attempt at awakening. Here, at the age of 33, Siddhartha finally attained enlightenment under the *Bodhi* tree. At dawn, after 49 intense days of continuous meditation he finally achieved liberation from the suffering of birth and death. He was henceforth known as the *Buddha*, the Enlightened One, or as *Shakyamuni*, the Sage of the Shakyas (Coningham 2001:63f; McArthur 2002:9f).

Following his enlightenment, the Buddha begun to preach his doctrine, his *Dharma*, which in short states that all beings are tied to the cycle of rebirth through unsatisfied desire. This knowledge, contained in the Four Noble Truths consists of suffering (*dukha*, a term denoting all agitated states of mind), its cause, the removal of the cause and the way leading to the removal of the cause.

According to *Buddhadharma*, existence as such is marked and characterised by *dukha*. The root hereof is desire, which stems from false ideas of a separate, independent self and it is this misconception that binds us to the Wheel of Life and its inherent suffering (Koller 2002:137f). It is possible, however, to break free from this, through a long and arduous process involving intense meditation and a life lead in accordance with strict moral precepts (McArthur 2002:9ff). Advocating the middle way between indulgence and asceticism (both of which results in further suffering), the Buddha advised the Eightfold Noble Path as a path to liberation (Coningham 2001:64; McArthur 2002:9ff).

The initial exposition of the teachings, is known as the *Dharma Chakra Pravartana*, or "turning the Wheel of the Law" and is celebrated as a pivotal act in all Buddhist traditions. Following this initial sermon in Sarnath, in Northern India, a handful of fellow mendicants converted and thus the sangha, the monastic order of renunciants was formed. The Buddha travelled extensively though Northern India for the next 45 years, preaching his doctrine and converting lay followers and mendicants alike. During this period he visited many kingdoms and nascent urban centres and gathered followers from all over the social strata, from kings and Brahmans to merchants and artisans to beggars and outcasts. An order of nuns was instituted as well, something hitherto unheard of. At the ripe age of 81, the Buddha suffered from dysentery while travelling from *Kusinagara* and died and underwent his *mahaparinirvana*, thus attaining final liberation from the cycle of life and death (McArthur 2002:10). After his passing away, his body was cremated and his ashes divided into eight

portions and distributed among various tribes of followers. A totalling number of ten stupas were then according to tradition erected over his relics (Coningham 2001:65).

This narrative, briefly outlined above is in accordance with scripture, from which most of our knowledge of the Buddha's life stems. Scripture as sole source of knowledge regarding early Buddhism is not wholly adequate though, since most scriptural material were not compiled until after several centuries following the death of the Buddha. Buddhism, if at all possible to define, was initially an oral tradition (King 1999:63f). Considering this, it is rather odd that material culture and the role materialities might have played in past social contexts have been largely neglected by the Western scientific community. To summarise the current situation in buddhology in Robin Coningham's (1998:122) words;

> Buddhist research is dominated by textually based scholars or by historians of art or architecture, relegating archaeologists to a solitary role of primary producer, not venturing further than the description of excavated remains (see Rowland 1984; Fischer 1993; Knox 1992; Chihara 1996 for examples of this).

Within the field of buddhology, the view that Buddhist materialities cannot be understood without the support of scripture is generally so pervasive that whenever something fail to conform to scripture or present day practices, it is often viewed as a local aberration or as a degenerative practice. There are, however, an increasing numbers of scholars that have begun to question this along with the antiquity of certain practices encountered in the archaeological material. These practices might at times be in opposition to traditionally held modes of Buddhist behaviour (Coningham 2001:61), thus creating possible conflict and discord between excavators and those who speak for, or claim to speak for various Buddhist communities regarding sensitive material. Archaeological material might confirm certain tenets of the faith and thus be welcomed, but it can also be used to question and subvert certain tenets and thus be viewed as potentially threatening (Bergquist 2001:183). Even so, herein lays great potential. One benefit with an archaeological approach is that "heretic" and extinct traditions are at the long last able to speak for themselves, as was indeed the case when studying material remains of the traditions of Donatism and Manichaeism in the oases of Central Asia (Insoll 2001:1, 23). Thus, in the case of Buddhism, traditions that once were, or even traces of embryonic traditions that never came to be might reflect in the archaeological record, as remnant threads and fibres of a weave that never came to be.

Archaeology and religion

Archaeology has great potential when it comes to studying social practices within the field of early Buddhism. However, something that needs to be addressed in this context is the concept of religion, often used when attempting to define and characterise Buddhism. When discussing "religious" or "mystic" traditions, as is generally the case with Buddhism, there is often a tendency to make use of inherently Christian concepts, often applied to non-Christian traditions (see King 1999:7: Andrén 2002:8; Insoll 2004:5). One prime example hereof is the emphasis on scripture as *loci* for Buddhist essence. This emphasis, when studying "religious" traditions is likely an inheritance from the raging theological battles fought in Northern Europe during the Protestant Reformation, when added emphasis was placed on the written word as conveyor of, and as a mean of understanding Christian religion and the relation to God (King 1999:62). When other "religious" traditions begun to be studied in earnest within the Western academy, this view carried over, and thus religion in a Christian and post Christian context is more a question of living life in accordance to doctrine or systems of belief, rather than of practice (King 1999:37). A consequence hereof is a study generally based on scripture, rather than on material remains of social practice (King 1999:70). In the case of archaeological research carried out in an early Buddhist context, a good deal has as noted above focused on identifying monuments referred to in various texts, thus, as some scholars argue, severely limiting the practice of archaeology (Fogelin 2006:15).

This is not in any way to deny the value of scripture as source of knowledge or to claim that there is no relation between scripture and practice whatsoever, merely to point to the inherent distortion resulting from an extreme focus on scripture. Both scripture and interpretation of material remains are necessary in order to understand a "religious" tradition (Carter 1993:6; Eckel 1994:53; Deetz 1996:211, 178; King 1999:71; Fogelin 2006:15). As Fogelin (2006:3) candidly remarked; if you find a turtle when excavating, you would be hard pressed to define its potential function in a past social context without resorting to non-archaeological sources, such as scripture.

A glaring problem with the concept of religion, which is often used when discussing certain literary sources, and one that significantly limit its use in this context, is the created dichotomy between religious and non-religious spheres. It is highly debatable whether such a simple division exists at all. Where does "religious" life begin end and where does it end? Perchance religion as a concept, is best to be viewed as the result of a desire to classify what is in effect an unclassifiable part of life for much of the world's past and present population? (Insoll 2004:7). Religion is certainly not a subsystem or something

that can be conveniently compartmentalised. It often acts over the whole range of life and thus, archaeology of religion has to be total archaeology, including all facets of the archaeological record (Insoll 2001:10), thus making the need for the use of the concept of religion in an archaeological context rather moot. Furthermore, "religious" identities, like all identities, are notoriously difficult to discern in the archaeological record. For some, religious commitment constitutes the axis of their existence, while for others it has a far more periphery role to play (Insoll 2004:13). People living in the same area with similar material culture might also view each other as radically different, while people with different material culture might view each other as similar (Normark 2004:136). This indeed has obvious repercussions for material culture and for studies thereof, further complicated by a tendency of most traditions to overlap, with blurred edges, rather than slotting nicely into predefined, rigid typologies (Insoll 2004:9).

A perhaps more interesting approach in light of this might be to let certain strands of thought from post-colonial theory (Said 1978; 1993; Spivak 1987; Young 1990, Bhabha 1994) inspire us. Concepts such as "hybridisation" and "creolisation" might help us to challenge traditionally held perspectives of essential identity. In light of this, it is doubtful whether religion as a concept is useful when discussing early "Buddhist" social practice and traces hereof.

Archaeology and Buddhism

Early Buddhist archaeology in South Asia is, as noted, mainly historic in nature. A consequence hereof is that it is mainly sites mentioned in scriptures that have been subject to archaeological inquiry (Andrén 1997:68f). According to Deetz (1996:38), this reflects a common tendency among historical archaeologists to mainly examine sites based on connections, real or imagined, to a certain individual or occurrences mentioned in scripture. In the context of early Buddhism, the emphasis has generally been on examining sites associated with the Buddha and his life (Insoll 2001:15). The consequences hereof are legion, chief among them a distorted view of the past due to an exclusive focus on the historical record (Deetz 1996:41). By studying scripture in order to discern what early Buddhist social life might have looked like, there is an implicit focus on what a small, educated elite wrote. As Schopen (1997:114f) argues; it would have been far more interesting to study actual material remains of early Buddhist social practices rather than what certain members of the sangha wrote about them.

Scripture certainly do not reveal everything and need to be complemented with archaeological material in order to provide a richer understanding of the past. This is especially true when it comes to everyday occurrences, something

that often fails to make it into the textual material, but is readily available to the archaeologist (Deetz 1996:11). The archaeological record can also provide information of times from which there are no datable scripture and here archaeological and epigraphical occasionally provides the only sources available for analysis (Fogelin 2006:15).

Certain practices, such as mortuary practices in an early Buddhist context, are also seldom encountered in the scriptures, except for details of the funeral of the Buddha himself, in the *Mahaparinirvana Suttanta* (see Fogelin 2006:47). Thus archaeology has great potential to shed light on these practices and thus help to provide a richer understanding of past social practices in early Buddhist contexts.

Regarding a "Buddhist" archaeology, it might be more fruitful to perceive the subject of study, in this case Buddhist remains, in a more fluid way with no distinct beginning nor end, rather than as remains of a coherent, archaic and original tradition (Andrén 2002:7). In many ways, a world is created from previous ones, and thus nothing is created from nothing (Oestigaard 2004:40). In line with the concept of interdependent arising, frequently discussed by Buddhist theologians; everything created also creates, without beginning, nor end. There are thus no separate entities, only mutually dependent factors in continuously changing processes (Koller 2002:174f).

This indeed seems to be the case in regards to remains dating to the era of Early Buddhism (Obeyesekere 2002:3), as exemplified by the site of *Bodh Gaya*. This site developed close to the ancient sacred site of *Gaya*, indicating a continuation of tradition between Buddhist and earlier traditions (Chakrabarti 2001:55). Also, most early Buddhist symbols are generally indistinguishable from those of other, earlier traditions. This is not to wholly deny a potential archaeology of Buddhism, merely to suggest that its manifestations are complex and that our current typologies and generalisations are far too simplistic (see Coningham 2001:87).

According to the current checklist, a Buddhist site includes a *stupa*, a *chaitya* (worship hall) and a *vihara* (monastery). Such monuments are frequently identified with a Buddhist locale but represent the remains of only a tiny fragment of past social practice (Coningham 2001:71). The majority of archaeology carried out in this context generally focuses on formal Buddhist sites, containing at least one of the monuments listed above. This approach severely limits the interpretation of excavated material. Furthermore, as discussed above, much archaeology in a Buddhist context also focus on the smallest group, the *sangha*, although a beginning of examining urban lay communities has been reported. Typologies are also currently changing and a number of new artefacts are now being classified as Buddhist, including various

types of bells, *dharma chakra* pendants, *Bodhisattva* images, birch bark manuscripts and votive stupas.

Perhaps more interesting is certain everyday objects found in Buddhist context do not conform to the expected and herein lays another great potential for archaeology. An example hereof is a find at the *Jaulian* vihara in *Taxila* where arrowheads, ear ornaments, gaming pieces and terracotta goddesses where found together with artefacts generally conforming to Buddhist typologies, such as lotus medallions, terracotta Buddhas, stupa plaques and inscribed conch shells (Coningham 2001:89). Another unexpected and rather startling find hails from monasteries dated to the *Kushana* dynasty (beginning of CE), consisting of wine amphorae and seals indicating that monasteries actually traded with wine, something explicitly forbidden in the *vinaya (*Liu 1994:123). Dietary remains might also provide an interesting venue of investigation regarding early Buddhist social life. Few faunal reports from excavated sites have been further analysed and there are reportedly many cases where bones have been thrown away due to their unexpected presence, since monks were forbidden to take the lives of animals according to the *vinaya* (Coningham 2001:88).

To summarise, lately there has been some changes within the field of "Buddhist" archaeology and typology. What is still debatable, however, is whether it is strictly necessary to take as point of departure ideas of static social collectives, endowed with essential nature, such as ideas of Buddhists and Buddhism while studying material remains of past social practice in Northern South Asia. If we rather take the fluidity of tradition discussed above into account, we might be able to discern and take into account traces of social practices generally not conforming to the expected and thus let these practices come to the fore, rather than leaving them buried under the sands of time or blocked from view since they do not conform to the expected.

The Spectre of Colonialism

Archaeological inquiries might provide a promising, albeit problematic prospect, by presenting us with new material denied the world for millennia. Archaeology as a discipline however, in Asia as in many other places, has had, and still has, close ties to colonial and neo-colonial discourse, something that in many ways colours our perceptions of the past. When studying the pre-colonial past in South Asia it is important to take into consideration the effect colonialism had on both colonial and postcolonial historiography and thus be aware of the context in which these texts were produced (Fogelin 2006:19).

During the heyday of British colonialism in India, archaeology often served to legitimise and uphold the political rule of the colonialists (Andrén 1997:63).

Although never the only or most prominent colonial mean to uphold continued colonial dominance, archaeology still frequently served in this function. It came to play an important role in the search for the pre-Colonial past in South Asia, especially during the 19th century when topographic studies begun to be undertaken in earnest. In colonial India, colonial officers and soldiers often conducted this search further illuminating the close ties between archaeology and continued colonial dominance.

The mapping and exploration of ruins, sculptures and inscriptions in colonial India served in fulfilling a wide range of purposes, chief among them the enhancement of the colonialist's knowledge of the of their colonial subjects. The remains of India's were placed in relation to remains of European history and, superfluous to say, were seldom considered being on par with the high art of Greece and Rome, the perceived aegis of European culture. Rather, they tended to be positioned beneath these in a subsequent hierarchy of civilisations (Lyon & Papadopoulos 2002:2f). In a Buddhist context, only Tibet, which was never colonised, managed to escape this and still retains a place of honour in Western imagination, supported by the work of many travellers and authors (see Hedin 1980; David-Neel 1987; Harrer 1998; Govinda 2006) (Faure 2004:2)

Many of the early British Orientalists scholars tended to focus on remains of "high" culture, rather than on flexible local varieties and frequently they also searched for the origins or *loci* of these "pure" traditions in various scriptures, rather than in local, living traditions or among material remains (Bose & Jalal 2004:58ff). Insofar as they made use of the archaeological record, the notion of "Indianness" was frequently grafted onto a few artefacts, deemed to represent the essence of local culture, as defined by said colonial scholars. This subsequent creation of an "Indian" essence, linked to certain artefacts served a dual purpose. On one hand it indicated a previous "Golden Age" of Indian history, although never on par with the European, but it also attempted to indicate how far contemporary, colonised Indians had fallen from their past exalted state, thereby justifying a continuation of colonial rule (Lyon & Papadopoulos 2002:2ff). Following the *Sepoy* uprising of 1847, however, many archaeological and anthropological rapports begun to downplay the role of this previous "Golden Age" and tended to portray the colonialised populace more as passive recipients, gradually submitting to dominant colonial powers (Lyon & Papadopoulos 2002:7). This is indeed a good illustration of how archaeological interpretation to a high degree is dependent on the surrounding political climate (Kyvik 2004:93; Normark 2004:146).

Archaeological methods and practice in the colonial context had other, even more dire, consequences for the colonised Indians. By creating standards for exploration and preservation of the past and by forcing these upon the colonised subjects, the early archaeologists helped to destroy local methods for

preservation of the past and its remains. This had serious repercussions not only on a cultural and cognitive level, but also on a material level. Large quantities of material, likely more than was "preserved" by the colonial archaeologists, were destroyed in this process, material that had hitherto been preserved for millennia by the local populace and their ancestors (Bandaranayake 1978:41). The reasons for this witless destruction was manifold, ranging from accidental destruction to outright plundering, something that is by no means unique for India and that has, throughout its history, been a most lucrative trade, often occurring under doubtful scientific auspices (Cornell 2004:60).

Thus, the colonial advancement, by dint of sheer destruction of material remains and of local structures for preservation of the past, placed the initiative in the hands of the colonialists. It provided access to resources, and thus helped to create and uphold unequal relationships, where the colonised subaltern was at a distinct disadvantage in relation to the colonial oppressor. To conquer the past is to conquer the future, and by developing an understanding for the history of the oppressed, it became possible for the oppressor to lead future development in desired directions (Bandaranayake 1978:50ff). The colonialists, by forcing their views upon their subjects, inhibited local modes of expression, which resulted in a monopoly on what constituted legitimate knowledge for the Western, scientific discourse, thus resulting in a colonisation of the mind.

A Colonisation of Mind

As for colonialisation of mind in a colonial and post-colonial context, much of its history can be traced to the European Enlightenment and the subsequent differentiation between sacred and secular, mind and matter, church and state (King 1999:3f). Since the Enlightenment, the Dionysian, poetic, mystical, irrational, uncivilised and "female" aspects of Western societies has generally been suppressed, to the advantage of the Apollonian, rational, reasonable and "male" aspects (King 1999:3f).

When Western scholars in earnest begun to study the "Orient" and its traditions, they tended to "discover" "Dionysian" aspects of culture. An explanation hereof might be that, wittingly or otherwise, attempts were made to exorcise the Western "Orient", the "Orient" of Medieval Europe (King 1999:3f). Thus, the West, by defining the Orient as Other in relation to itself, forced it to play the role of recipient for qualities deemed as undesirable by dominant Western discourse. Orientalism, as discussed by Said (1978; 1993) is mainly a product intended for a Western audience it also serves to define and describe non-western culture in a way beneficial for the West, or at least for dominant Western discourse. Generally being defined as a "mystical" or "religious" tradition, Buddhism belongs to the category of traditions that often serves as the

shadow side of rational philosophy and science in the post-Enlightenment West (see King 1999:33; Ahmed 2002:4). In the eyes of dominant scientific discourse, "mystical" Buddhism is defined as a "spiritual" quest and attempts are often made to discredit Buddhist thinkers who ventures into terrain that "true" philosophers refuses to enter. Following this line of reasoning however, neither Socrates, Plato, Augustine, Spinoza, Kierkegaard nor Pascal ironically could have been considered to have been philosophers in this sense of the word (Faure 2004:64). A consequence hereof is that the study of early Buddhism is in many ways affected by a double colonisation. On the one hand it is affected by the colonial and postcolonial condition in South Asia. On the other hand it is affected and discredited by the dominant scientific discourse within Western academy. However, if certain types of rationalism can only be denounced in the name of certain kinds of reason, as is the case with science and "religious" traditions, it must be said that this very denunciation of irrationalism is in itself irrational, since claiming to be arguing against particular a way of reasoning, scientific discourse is in itself operating within a certain field of reason, and can thus only express itself in the language of that field (Faure 2004:19).

Western logic, upon which science and archaeology depends, rests upon the principle of contradiction. According to this principle, it is impossible for the same attributes to belong and not belong, at the same time, to the same subject, within the same relationship. This principle is however only valid for discourse, not for the nature of things, nor for extra linguistic reality. There can only be contradiction between different statements, not between one thing and another, something that is unfortunately often confused (Faure 2004:34: Tolle 2004:28). Thus, language, instead of simply describing reality, also modifies it (Faure 2004:38).

Religion, and Buddhism in their classificatory aspects, can and sometimes are applied to various traditions in Asia and elsewhere, past or present, as a tool for control, manipulation and administration (King 1999:6). A possible remedy, in line with the aim of postcolonial theory, might be a bilingualism of discourse, something that would help to create consent between competing systems of meaning in a pluralist society (Bergquist 2001:182). Certain Buddhist thought might also be helpful here, in challenging the underlying principle of unity by introducing the notion of two truths, one "relative" and one "absolute" (see Faure 2004:35; Eckel 1992:76). In accord with this notion, conflicting statements, or views, might be equally true at the same time, without resorting to facile syncretism. This double truth may be conceived of as an attempt to come to terms with the experiences of our everyday reality, where we constantly pass to and fro between incompatible systems of meaning.

Colonial Encounters: Rational Buddhism

Buddhism and the Western study thereof have in many ways been highly influenced by the colonial environment and the inheritance thereof. The first living Buddhist tradition encountered by Western scholars was the *Theravadins* in Ceylon and Southeast Asia. A consequence hereof is that the *Theravadins*, among many scholars, is still believed to constitute the most ancient and venerable of Buddhist tradition (King 1999:159). This implies a search for a pure, original Buddhism, in lieu with the discussion above, something that has long occupied, and still occupies many Western scholars of Buddhism (King 1999:148). According to Durkheim, however, this search for an origin of religion, an absolute first beginning, must be dismissed as unachievable, for like any human institution, it begins nowhere (Insoll 2004:45).

Western attempts to define "pure" Buddhism have in many ways affected various social collectives in the past but also among present day Buddhists. Within unequal power relations, such as the colonial or post-colonial condition, subaltern groups tend to increasingly respond to the wishes, norms, values and needs of powerful groups (Bandaranayake 1978:52f). An illuminating example of this is the Westernised, rational, hybrid Buddhism that manifested itself in the meeting between Western scholars and Buddhist monks in Sri Lanka, during the heydays of the colonial era in the early 20th century (Trainor 1997:14). Its most striking characteristics were the absence of the many ritual aspects common to all traditions of Buddhism. Instead it was suffused with scientific ethos and a Western derived rationality.

This particular brand of Buddhism, with heavily downplayed ritual elements, often evolved supported by Western scholars in opposition to Christianity, with its otherworldly focus and perceived incompatibility with modern science (Trainor 1997:14; Jacobsen 2000:239; Obeyesekere 2002:151; Faure 2004:4). Elements not conforming to the rational ideals of this particular Buddhism were generally deemed religious and consequently ignored or explained away (Obeyesekere 2002:151). A consequence hereof is that many social practices, particularly those with "ritual" dimensions in early, "pure" Buddhist traditions have been viewed as periphery within Western academy, even though they patently existed early on (Jacobsen 2000:239).

The minimal Buddha created within this context displays typical Orientalist arrogance and is largely a Western fiction. By attempting to reconstruct an original doctrine defined by Western reason (and in opposition to Christianity), Orientalists attempted to kill two birds with one stone. Due to superstition, as defined by Westerns scholars, the colonised Buddhists had fallen from their original lofty philosophy and were in dire need of the European Enlightenment (Faure 2004:65). Not only were the colonial subject in need of benign colonial

rule, as demonstrated above, they also were in need of science and scientific reason, in lieu with the discussion of intellectual colonialisation. However, the Buddhist renaissance during the 19th century, of which this rational tradition was a part, was in all fairness not only a phenomenon instigated by Western scholars. It was also to a large extent also a local reaction against Christian missionary work in South East Asia, and went in line with a growing wish for self-determination. This movement provided the catalyst for local study of "Buddhist" past and also saw the re-sanctification of various sacred sites in India and elsewhere (Coningham 2001:66). It also inspired Anagarika Dharmapala, a wealthy Ceylonese, to found the *Maha Bodhi* Society, a pan-Buddhist organisation working for a Buddhist revival throughout Asia. Interestingly enough, he was inspired by the search for a pure, original tradition, as perceived in the *Pali* canon, while raging against the previous multireligous use of the temple at *Bodh Gaya* (Lahiri 2002:108). Thus, in reclaiming the site from the Hindu proprietors, its archaeology was mainly ignored and elements indicating blurring of distinctions or hybridity in any form was seen as evidence of degeneration or debasement and subsequently ignored, rather in line with the *modus operandi* of the colonial scholars themselves.

Archaeology in the Postcolonial Orient

There is currently strong global opposition against colonial and neo-colonial narratives, as expressed both by increasing ethnic conflicts, but also as a heightened expression of ethnicity at a local level, where a multitude of parallel and apparently contradicting myths has replaced earlier Eurocentric ones (Eriksen 1996:88ff; Hodder 2003:140). Archaeology in the postcolonial context is never performed outside the political sphere and cannot avoid involving itself in discourses regarding identity (Kane 2003:7f), since remains of the past are frequently infused with powerful symbolic capital, capital that can be used both to support opposition and subjugation (Hamilakis 2003:73; Kyvik 2004:94). At the same time they also provide structure to various ideas, such as that of a nation, an ethnic or religious group, such as Buddhists in this case, by providing them with an aura of authencity and tying them to the territory (Hamilakis 2003:73; Oestigaard 2004:29; Normark 2004:132). The preservation and recreation of the past are governed by agenda and while certain aspects are displayed, others are hidden (Fahlander & Oestigaard 2004:12). This implies that interpretations of the past to a large extent are influenced by values derived from the chosen group identity and surrounding political climate, as discussed above (Lyotard 1997; 9ff; Herbert 2003:111; Oestigaard 2004:8; 44).

Inherent in archaeological practice lies the implication that the past can be studied in an objective manner, a rather culture specific notion (Hodder

2003:145). This is viewed by some as offensive, and as an attempt of cultural conquest of the past, furthered by the belief in the universality of science, a belief that reveals a colonial attitude to the study of the past (Meskell 2003:154).

Archaeology is thus by no means a pristine, neutral science, devoid of its own past. To be aware of how power influence interpretation is of great import, since the subject of science is by no means separated from the object of study. This is not to prescribe to total relativism, but rather to dictate the conditions for critical knowledge, the very prerequisite for true knowledge (Bourdieu 1992:29). What archaeology can and should do in this context is to actively seek to identify the neglected areas it has been partly responsible for creating. Archaeology can be used to question concepts perceived as endowed with essential nature, such as race, class, religion and ethnicity, something that otherwise tend to infuse archaeological interpretation. Thus, archaeology can contribute with a critique of narratives concerning essential identity (Kane 2003:7f), in this case the concept of Buddhism, thus opening up locked position and making transformation and reinterpretation possible.

Transcending Boundaries: Microarchaeological approaches

Exclusive focus on scripture needs to be avoided when studying early Buddhist social life. The very concepts of religion and Buddhism are problematic as well and satisfactory methods and theory needs to be developed when studying remains from past social life within the Western academy. Microarchaeology might provide an alternative here. Rather than attempting to fit archaeological data to anthropological forms and compartments created beforehand (i.e. of Buddhism) it takes as a point of departure the material itself, thus ridding archaeology from the up to down perspective (see Normark 2004:119).

Concepts central to the microarchaeology proposed by Cornell and Fahlander that might be of use in the analysis of Buddhist remains are among others; structuring practices, structuring positivities and social formations. A structuring practice can result in series of similar actions. Structuring practices and positivities are dependent on each other in as much that practice is structured by positivities, which in turn are upheld by acting individuals. Structuring positivities provides the framework for rational decisions and subsequent acts, and identifications (such as gender, religion, ethnicity, age etc.) can provide an example of this. Social formations are decided by structuring practices and positivities that influence their formations. A benefit with the concept of social formation is that it is not as rigid as that of society, culture or ethnic group (Cornell & Fahlander 2002:12ff, 62). Neither does it have to be defined territorially or socially (Cornell & Fahlander 2002:45ff). A social formation can be compared to a thread spun of fibres, where each fibre

represents a structuring practice and positivity, each with different extensions in time and space. That fibre at all stick together is due to the fact that they are all entwined, thus giving mutual support to each while giving rise to a thread. A multitude of threads may then form a rope, and thus achieve greater extension through time and space (Cornell & Fahlander 2002:17f). Cornell and Fahlander also stress the importance of studying the internal relations of different patterns. These relations can be neutral or in conflict (both constructive and destructive) or work as mutually reinforcing and can thus result in new phenomena (2002:45ff), in lieu with interdependent arising above.

Another potentially useful concept is Sartre's seriality (see Sartre:2004). Sartre argues that many socially constituted collectives are better viewed as series rather than as groups or as social categories. According to him, in order to be a member of a group, intentionality is demanded, but also a certain awareness of the goals and agendas of the group. Most of what we usually refer to as groups endowed with essential identity is in reality series, brought together by situated individuals and their common situations (Fahlander 2003:32). Sartre claims those individuals, through their practice and relation to materiality, forms temporary series. The classic example with the buss line aptly proves the point. The buss line consists of various individuals, with different ethnic background, sex and they belonging to different social classes. What unites them is practice, in this case to stand in the line, waiting for the same buss, but also the materiality, the bus stop itself. These individuals are not truly integrated as a group since they are all standing there as solitaires. In certain respects the serie is endowed with a short lived identity, e.g. though common views about the price of the bus fare. This result in the creation of a temporary group where the differences and the plurality of the different individuals are temporary negated. A serie, however, has the potential to become a group when something extraordinary occurs a group is formed in response to this (Cornell & Fahlander 2002:41f). Agency, which is of great importance for this theory, is not something occurring only between individuals. It is also affected by the material context (Fahlander 2003:34). Materialities can prohibit, as well as encourage behaviour (Fahlander 2003:34; Oestigaard 2004:48) and social relations are thus not only a matter of interaction between different individuals, but also between individuals and materialities. (Fahlander 2003:34). Following this line of though, it should be possible to track series of various temporal and spatial lengths in the archaeological material. It should also be possible to discern clusters of crossing series, series that do not necessarily have the same extension as the locale. From there one can ascend one level and search for similarities and differences between different locales in a larger context (Cornell & Fahlander 2002:111f), or, in other words, from thread to rope.

The Buddhist stupa as a Social Actant

In the many Buddhist traditions, the stupa is the most prominent symbol of the Buddha's final enlightenment, his *mahaparinirvana* and it can be found anywhere Buddhist teachings have gained a foothold throughout history. It serves as a tangible reminder of every being's inherent possibilities but also as an urging to follow the path to *nirvana* and liberation. It is found in various shapes and forms, ranging from the Chinese *pagoda* to the *chörten* of the Himalayas, to the classical Indian stupa or the *dagoba* of Southeast Asia (Cummings 2001:42). In pre-Buddhist times the stupa usually consisted of an earthen mound raised over the remains of a cremation, marked with a wooden pole in the middle.

The Buddhist connotations of the stupa first appear following the *mahaparinirvana* of the Buddha and his subsequent cremation. These stupas, built over the remains of his cremation were, according to scripture the first to be built in a Buddhist context, something supported by the limited archaeological evidence available. The oldest known possible Buddhist stupa is located near *Vaishali*, but it is presently unclear whether it is one of the original ten stupas (Allchin 1995:243). It might be a pre-Buddhist stupa, later assimilated in a Buddhist context (Coningham 2001:81). Its age remains a mystery and it might indeed be as old as 6th century BCE (Allchin 1995:243) and so far there has been no radiocarbon dating to weaken this claim (Coningham 2001:68). The earliest stupas are all rather small, with the *Vaishali* stupa measuring only eight meters in diameter. Later stupas, such as the stupas built during the *Mauran* era (3rd century BCE), of which the *Sanchi* stupas are the most famous, are all larger structures (Coningham 2001:81).

The relics contained in the stupas obviously played an important part in past social relations and all over Asia, and rules venerated and fought over them. It is only recently, however, that Western scholars have begun to take their role in the development of early Buddhist traditions seriously. Previously, they were often classified without taking into consideration their perceived sanctity and the role they played in past social contexts. According to doctrine, the relic (and thus the stupa) offered a way for the believer to create good karma for himself by paying homage to the stupa and the relics contained therein (Schopen 1997:131f; Ruppert 2000:18). A closer scrutiny of material remains related to the relic and stupa cult might provide us with solid and early evidence of how Buddhist practices actually appeared, something otherwise difficult to discern (Ruppert 2000:4). Not only were they considered fields of merits and thereby valid recipients of gifts, they were also most likely believed to possess powerful magical powers. Therefore, by controlling relics and stupas, influential members of society might have used them in order to uphold and extend their power and

influence. Thus, the stupa builders rose in the esteem of their subjects through their display of piety and the building and veneration of the stupa and its resident relics might therefore have served to legitimised their power (Ruppert 2000:3f). The relics might also have served in the spreading and consolidation of the faith (Trainor 1997:39) and by their inherent mobility and wide circulation, new politics and economies of the sacred was made possible. The remains of the Special Dead were thus invested with political and social capital and came to serve in upholding and opposing hierarchies of power (Ruppert 2000:2), illuminating the social aspects of materialities, this case, stupas and relics.

There are indications, both scriptural and archaeological of the early stupa being viewed as a personification of the Buddha and as a living presence in its own right. The notion of rebirth in a paradisiacal realm or even attainment of *nirvana* itself, if dying in the proximity of the Buddha is mentioned in the *Mahaparinirvana Suttanta*, something that possibly inspired large numbers of believers to visit the sites related to the Buddha and his relics. In many sutras these locales are referred to as if the Buddha himself never truly left them, which lends further credence to this notion (Schopen 1997:117f). The relevant passage in the *Mahaparinirvana Suttanta* refers to dying in the presence of the Buddha himself or in places connected to his life. Archaeological materials, however, indicate that sites containing his relics might also have been included (Schopen 1997:124f). Apparently, the relics were perceived to be infused with the same purifying influence as that of the Buddha himself. The cognitive leap from attaining liberation by dying in the presence of the Buddha to depose the already dead in the vicinity of the stupa and its relics are a rather small one. The oldest preserved archaeological material implies a pattern supporting this notion, most visible at the oldest and most untouched locales. The *Dharmarajika* stupa in *Taxila,* dated to the 2nd century BCE, as well as both the Sanchi and *Barhut* stupas exemplifies this. These locales consists of a central structure that at one point or another was either visited by the Buddha or contained his relics that is in turn surrounded by a multitude of lesser structures. *Bodh Gaya*, the site of the Buddha's awakening is another example, where hundreds of smaller stupas surrounded a central structure. Many of these lesser stupas is generally held to have been votive stupas, but this is not always the case, since a fair number has been shown to contain ash and burned bones, thereby indicating funerals. In *Bodh Gaya*, so called *kulas*, a portable stupa mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim *Yi Jing,* has been found, and they have occasionally been known to contain bones and ash, even though the majority is votive in nature (Schopen 1997:118ff). These smaller stupas are apparently not part of the original construction plan, as made apparent by their random and often chaotic placement that occasionally contradicts the original construction plan. The

overriding aim appears to have been to get as close as possible to the central structure, indicating that many of the smaller stupas containing funeral remains might have been consciously deposited. The portable *kulas* indicate that the remains of certain dead members of society were indeed transported to these sites for the final interment (Schopen 1997:122f). This is rather similar to medieval Christian burials in Europe, but also to secondary burials in Scandinavian Bronze Age burial mounds. Most likely, however, the underlying, structuring eschatologies differ vastly.

Inscriptions found on some stupas further indicate that they might have been viewed as personifications of the Buddha. The inscription found on the main Stupa in *Sanchi*, dated to 2nd century BCE is particularly interesting, since it states that whoever harm the stupa will suffer the effects of committing one of "the five deadly sins with immediate retribution. These include murdering or harming a person of rank, something that lends further credence to the notion that the early stupa was perceived as a living person of rank i.e. the Buddha.

None of the early stupas has been found in their original form and they appear to have all been altered or destroyed at some point or another (Allchin 1995:243; Liu 1996:32). This destruction might have been unintentional though, since most stupas were interestingly frequently remodelled but seldom levelled. The perceived sanctity of the stupas might have demanded that earlier incarnations of the stupas were placed inside of later ones rather than destroyed (Coningham 2001:81), lending further credence to the notion of the stupa as built body for the Buddha.

The location of the stupa in the landscape might also divulge something of their roles in past social relations. Many monasteries and adjoining stupas are found in or in connection to ancient urban centres, or along important trade routes and the stupas in *Sanchi, Taxila* and *Mathura* are all examples of this. In some cases, such as *Bamiyan* in today's Afghanistan, they were even directly linked to the *caranavanserais* (Liu 1994:107), illuminating the close ties between the *sangha* and the growing merchant class.

As for the social aspects of the landscape, the individual is not only an object in the landscape; she is also an integrated part of it and both she and various social systems are intimately linked to the physical surroundings (Cornell & Fahlander 2002:117). By linking the physical world and the experience thereof to social systems, spatial experience becomes infused with power relations and is thereby a conflict ridden media, through which, individuals act and are acted upon (Tilley 1994:11). The building of monuments, in this case, stupas, becomes by their very materiality, symbols for different ideals, while at the same time capturing the ancestral connection to the landscape and thus legitimise ownership for a certain group i.e. Buddhists (Tilley 1994:203). Certain places are charged with meaning by having

monument built while other posses special attributes or are by their very existence deemed as meaningful and thereby important (Cornell & Fahlander 2002:117f). This might be possible to trace to a certain extent but it should be kept in mind that the landscape experience is subjective in nature. A distinction between different types of landscapes, such as sacred and mundane are not always appropriate since different landscapes can be one and the same at the same time and thus lack arbitrary division (Insoll 2004:88).

In *Xuanzang*'s travel notes from the 7th century CE the landscape is described through the eyes of the pilgrim and is marked with both literal and metaphorical traces of the life of the Buddha. Each and every village seems to have had a shrine or a relic that could be tied to the Buddha himself or to his followers. In his notes the very landscape seems to have had a dominating role in determining his understanding of the Buddha and his teaching and the very act of moving in this landscape seems to have forced him to revise his earlier concepts of the Buddha and his life, defined in Tang era China. Alfred Foucher, an early indolog, argues that when it comes to the life of the Buddha, the details thereof to a large extent existed as common memories tied to specific sites or objects, long before they were compiled in textual form. These mnemonic tags continued to influence the congregation and its experience of what it constitutes to be a follower of the Buddha for as long as there are materialities tied to the teaching that could remind them of it (Eckel 1992:51f).

The stupas, by virtue of their vast numbers and the multitude of different social practices, often with "ritual" overtones tied to them through the ages, makes for interesting subjects of study from an archaeological point of view. If social interaction is a matter between acting agents and materialities, stupas and remains within and around them might provide us with frozen traces of past social life and thus provide clues to what these practices might have consisted of. Depositions, burials in and around them, their location in the landscape, traces of offerings made might all provide information and inspiration to narratives regarding what life in Northern India might have looked like among some social collectives generally labelled Buddhists. Rather than attempting to fit archaeological material to anthropological forms and compartments, the material itself might shed unexpected light on early "Buddhist" social life, without thus being hampered and limited by the concept of Buddhism and what is to be expected in a "Buddhist" context.

Conclusion: Emptiness and Form

Archaeology in India or elsewhere is by no means a pristine, unsoiled enterprise, motivated purely by the search for knowledge. Archaeology has often served as a tool of oppression and the very notion of science itself can at times be viewed

as intellectual colonisation (see Normark 2004:115). Knowledge is power but the reverse is equally true. Research regarding early Buddhism is in many ways an expression of this, first by being defined by Christian and post-Christian standards in a colonial and neo-colonial context, but also by being circumcised and presented as an exclusively rational tradition, devoid of the very ritual elements that provides the very foundation of everyday experience of Buddhist identity for countless adherents. At the one hand, in certain contexts, it is presented as a religion and in other contexts as a rational philosophy. Neither is fully correct and even though Buddhism, if at all possible to define, has elements of both it cannot be fully reduced to either. An archaeological approach might present us with rather different views of early Buddhist social practice, even though narratives based on material remains might as easily be imbued with preconstructed ideas of homogenous social collectives labelled "Buddhists" as those based on doctrine, as indicated by the discussion of archaeology and colonialism. An archaeological microperspective might help to transcend stereotypes and preconceived ideas concerning Buddhist essential identity by tracing series in the archaeological material and, from this, attempt to identify threads, fibres and clusters might serve in deconstructing the notion of essential Buddhism and thus make possible alternative Buddhist identifications. Buddhism is not a conceptual, ahistoric unity existing apart from local expressions of it and every attempt to present it as one is an attempt to kill the its subject by reducing its possible identifications.

The notion of a Buddhist essence presupposes a beginning and also creates a dichotomy of Buddhism and non-Buddhism while phenomena not corresponding to the ideal of Buddhism are deemed to be heretic or degenerative. This creation of boundaries is problematic due to dangers of creating boundaries at all the wrong places but also because fixed boundaries become battle lines (see Wilber 2001:20). This mirrors the Western philosophical tradition of the dilemma, where life is viewed as a constant struggle between opposites (see Faure 2004:34). These opposites do exist at a certain level and it is possible to speak of binary opposites such as Self/Other, West/Orient, rationalism/mysticism, coloniser/colonised, Buddhists/non-Buddhists. They are, however, by no means absolute even though they are true at a conceptual level and their effects might certainly be discerned and felt. Here it is important to remember that a concept is a significator, not the signified, even though it refers to it. To use the old *Zen* analogy; the finger pointing at the moon is not the moon. The finger might be necessary in order to see the moon but it is not the same. The concept of dual truth operating at two levels simultaneously might clarify this. Thus the finger can be a finger and the moon a moon without trying to make a finger out of the moon or a moon out of a finger while at the same time acknowledging the relation between them. This is

in accordance with the concept of the tetralemma (A; B; A and B; none of them), insofar that something can be both A and B at the same time, resulting in a bi-lingualism of discourse or a disharmonious harmony. This implies a use of the double truth as discussed above where conflicting statements often are equally true at the same time without resorting to facile syncretism, even though syncretism certainly operates at one level.

We are here faced with two distinct yet interdependent levels of reality, neither of which can be reduced entirely to the other. It is the relation between the two; their co dependant origination if one so will that constitutes their ultimate reality. The concept of the tetralemma might be of use in archaeology of Buddhism insofar as Buddhism might be viewed as scripture, material remains, both at the same time and neither of them. The fourth term of the tetralemma opens up for the Otherness of the Other, that which can be discussed but not defined. Herein boundaries are dissolved and removed. This removal the boundaries, which separates thing into categories that enables differences to be, is to confuse, which etymologically means to make thing flow together. To be confused is to no longer know whether one thing might not be something else, to be uncertain of the identities and meanings of the things around us and to suddenly see the familiar turning to the unfamiliar before our very eyes. Confusion takes place when we realise that our rational faculties are not enough to understand what is happening and in a way, confusion takes place because of our rationalism, because we are clinging to something blinding us to the actual situation. Through confusion reality does not become delimited or restricted and remains utterly unknown (Almond 2004:39ff). This transcendence of boundaries can be painful at times, but the benefits of transcending locked positions are that, once transcended, their relative nature is illuminated. Crossing boundaries then become a source of play rather than conflict, insofar that every subsequent crossing can be viewed as an act of play. Boundaries and what they represent is thus viewed with new eyes and therefore confusion might be considered as a necessary part of knowledge. Confusion and understanding contain and presuppose each other and are thus empty of self, except in an intersubjective sense. In accordance with the third term of the tetralemma, they might be one and the same, at the same time and it is therefore possible to be both confused and knowledgeable at the same time. The concept of seriality might be useful in deconstructing Buddhists as a homogenous social collective. The relation between materialities and individuals is also a promising venue for investigation in regards to past social formations. Instead of being discussed as a group endowed with essential identity, early Buddhists might be discussed both as serial collectives, groups and intermediate formations. Their relation to materialities makes them possible to discern in the archaeological material and in this context the stupa might be discussed as a social actant. Being perceived

as a sacred presence by early Buddhist, the stupa served to transform, or rather, to add a dimension of sanctity to the cognitive landscape and thus to the experience of the physical landscape as well. These in turn influenced social relations connected to these landscapes and thus also power, politics and economics. A closer examination of the stupas and their location in the landscape might provide a fruitful undertaking and perchance, also provide unexpected results. This way of reasoning is not specifically applicable on early Buddhist stupas but also to on remains of other "religious" traditions as well, such as remain of Roman and Greek religions, early Christian remains and so on.

In his critique of concepts such as "centre", "essence" and "subject" Derrida (1978:278-293) draws attention to the absence of the meaning that these concepts indicates. A centre that would make possible and give coherence to changes and differences must in itself be unchanging and therefore absent. The centre is described in terms of presence while it in reality is absent in the structure it is supposed to constitute the centre of. It is a function, in which the absent centres, a sign is placed, filled with différance, that in itself is empty of content and only consist of external mirror images of other sign's mirror images. This is not only relevant for centres in structures, but also for the centre of the words, or concepts, and for the way that they can be fixed. This means that a meaning of a word is spread throughout the entire language. Applied on a subject one can say that the meaning of a subject includes all subjects. Bachtin and Mead discuss similar ideas concerning the subject. According to Bachtin, descriptions kills the subject since the human subject is constantly changing and recreating itself in relation to others and therefore not something permanent or unchanging (Todorov 1981: 96ff). According to Mead we are all individual reflections of the social process, each and every one of us from our own, unique perspective (Mead 1976:149).[18]

An alternative, in line with the discussion of intersubjectivity might be interbeing (Hahn 1988) insofar as there is no self, only in intersubjectivity and self in relation to others in the present, past and future (Van Esterik 2000:79f). From this vantage point a characterization of a subject (or object) is nothing but an application of an agreement upon etiquette of something that is better described as a kaleidoscope, filled with continuously moving prisms: a continuous play of différance! A microperspective could provide the tools for this analysis and thereby provide a richer, albeit more complex view of the "Buddhist" past, where perceived limits do not necessarily have to be limits of the though concerning possible identifications of threads and fibers.

[18] *Indras* net, each mesh of which is adorned with a pearl that reflects all the others- thereby symbolising the perfect interpenetration of all phenomena (Jacobsen 2000:218f; Faure 2004:17).

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CHAPTER EIGHT

KEEPING UP APPEARANCES: ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER IN SCANDINAVIAN FUNNEL BEAKER TIMES

GUNLÖG GRANER & LEIF KARLENBY

Figure 1. "*When two people meet a relationship arises".* The Italian priest and explorer Alberto de Agostini meets an Ona Indian of the Tierra del Fuego in third space.

When two people meet a relationship arises, a type of zone that is neither one nor the other, but a place where there is opportunity for new occurences. This of course also applies to when groups of people meet. When these meetings occur between larger groups it is often described as "ethnicity". In the space that is created between two ethnic groups a strengthened version of one´s own culture often developes. This space can be equalled to that which Bhabha (2004) has termed as the "third space".

With this as a starting point we intend to discuss the "cultural" boundary that could be observed in Central Sweden during the Early Neolithic period. This is illustrated by examples from the Funnel Beaker Culture sites Skogsmossen, Fågelbacken, Barksta, Bäcklunda and Hidinge, today situated in the provinces of Närke and Västmanland. Not far from these sites, southern agricultural technology met with the northern Mesolithic hunter-gatherer. What we see expressed as differences in the material culture can be explained through the creation of a third space between these two groups, manifesting itself in a strengthened ethnic identification. The third space allows for alternative interpretations of the dynamics between groups. An ethnicity without either historical/geographical or genetic key signatures grows forth as an ongoing process of human relationships. Or as Thomas Hylland Eriksen expressed it: "…e*thnicity is essentially an aspect of a relationship, not a property of a group."* (Eriksen 2002:12).

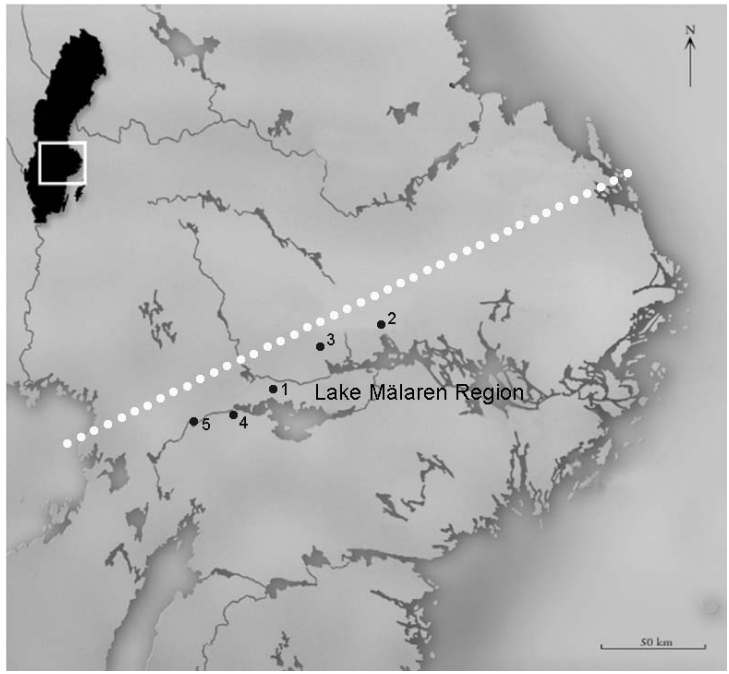


Figure 2. Map showing the lake Mälaren region with the sites discussed in text. 1) Skogsmossen, 2) Fågelbacken, 3) Barksta, 4) Bäcklunda and 5) Hidinge. Dotted line shows approximate location of border between hunter-gatherers and the Funnel Beaker Culture. Map by Henrik Pihl.

Archeological background

In Central Sweden the archeological material from the Early Neolithic shows that there are clear boundaries between areas with differing sorts of material traces. Along an approximate west-east line the set of objects and settlements of the south differ to that of the north. To the south of the line are people that were part of the agricultural Funnel Beaker Culture. In the north they were hunters and gatherers.

Approximately around 3900 B.C., the Funnel Beaker Cultures earliest settlements emerged simultaneously in an area from southern Denmark to northern part of the lake Mälaren region. But long before the agricultural settlements were established other traces of change can be seen in the region. A division of the Mesolithic society occurs already around 4500 B.C., when in the south one had begun to incorporate parts of the Ertebølle Culture way of life and symbolism (Knutsson & Knutsson 2004:16-17).

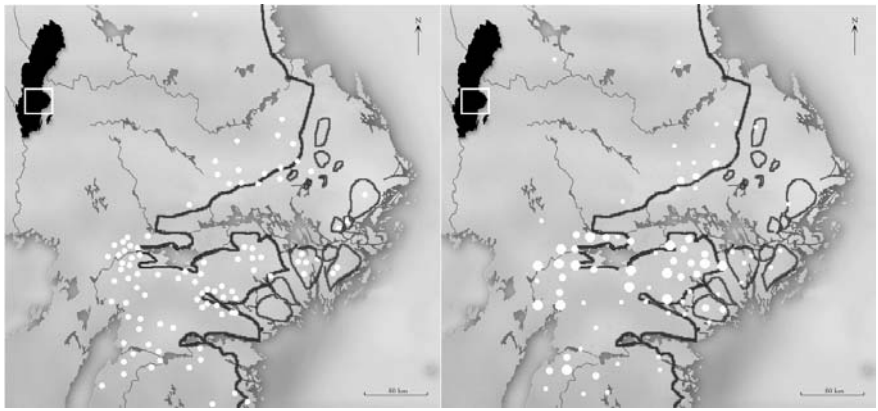


Figure 3. Maps showing the distribution of a) polygonal axes and b) green-stone axes (based on Hallgren 1998). Black lines show the Neolithic coastline. Maps by Henrik Pihl and Leif Karlenby.

It was the descendents of this southern group or groups of people that later chose to adopt the Funnel Beaker material culture and way of life, as a continuation of the cultural boundary that had been established earlier. When people south of the border assumed a partially new identity as farmers, the hunter-gatherers north of the border oriented themselves more clearly towards the north (Knutsson & Knutsson 2004:16). Most noticeable is that the use of slate objects began on a large scale north of the border at this time.

Figure 4. Examples of Funnel Beaker Culture polygonal axes (above), greenstone axes (left) and hunter-gatherer slate objects (right). Photos by Örebro County Museum, Leif Karlenby and The Museum of National Antiquities in Sweden.

Today a number of Early Neolithic Funnel Beaker sites have been identified south of the border, and they are situated mainly along the prehistoric coastline. But there also are finds of axes along the north-south oriented ridges in the inland. These axes are commonly interpreted as connected to nearby settlement activities, suggesting places for burn-beating farming (Apel et al 1995:87-95).

According to a model of the Swedish Funnel Beaker Culture (cf Hallgren 1998:65) settlements can be divided into different types. The main settlements were the inland farms with focus on burn-beating cultivation and stockraising. Inland sites that lacks traces of grinding tools and axe production might have been hunting stations or shelters. Hunting stations have also existed along the streams and coast. At the coast there were meetingplaces where larger groups gathered to fish, hunt for seals and to bury the dead.

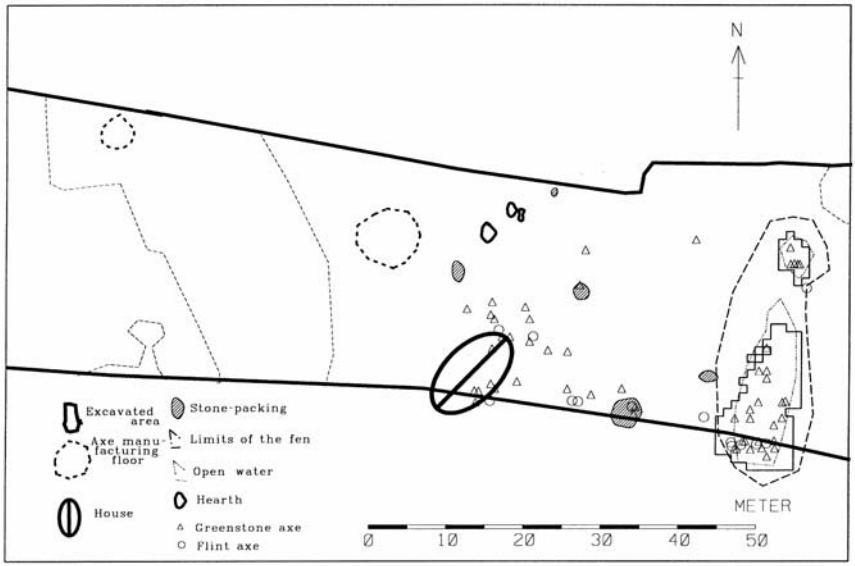


Figure 5. Plan of house, yard and sacrificial place at the Skogsmossen site (after Hallgren et al 1997:87, figure 11).

The activities at the individual settlement site appear to have been divided into strictly seperated areas of activity, for example one area for grinding, one for the production of axes, another for special quartz workshops etc. This pattern was very pronounced for example at Skogsmossen. The meticulous organisation of space at settlements and other places of special function might reflect a society that was carefully organised and strictly governed. Personal freedom was restricted by many rules and laws.

The northern border of the Funnel Beaker Culture is also defined through the spreading of polygonal battle-axes and finely pecked greenstone axes south of the border. These show signs of a farming region based on burn-beating and stock-raising. Interestingly enough, along the northern Mälaren shore is an area lacking the characteristic Funnel Beaker Culture axes (figure 3). This can

represent a meeting zone between the hunting and trapping people of the north and the Funnel Beaker farmers. This piece of shore and the wooded area north of it, might have been the hunter-gatherers territory. The Funnel Beaker site at Skogsmossen, situated on a peninsula just south of this area, might therefore have been seen as the last outpost to the north.

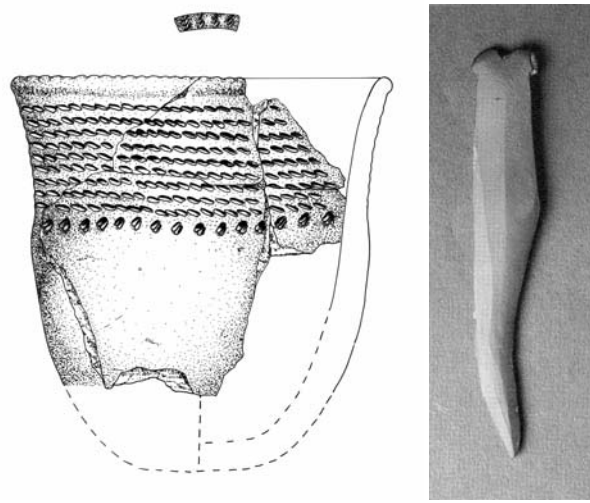


Figure 6. Finds from the Skogsmossen site: example of ceramics (left) and slate knife (right). Drawing by Gunlög Graner, photo by Gabriel Hildebrand, The Museum of National Antiquities in Sweden.

Sacrificing to farming gods at Skogsmossen

The Skogsmossen site has been interpreted as a combined living and sacrificial site, as a farm that had been included in a burn-beating economic cycle. It consisted of a living area with a two-aisled house. In front of the house was a courtyard and a concentration of axes. Stone packings with traces of raised posts separated the house and the area with axes from the kitchen area with hearths and grinding stones.

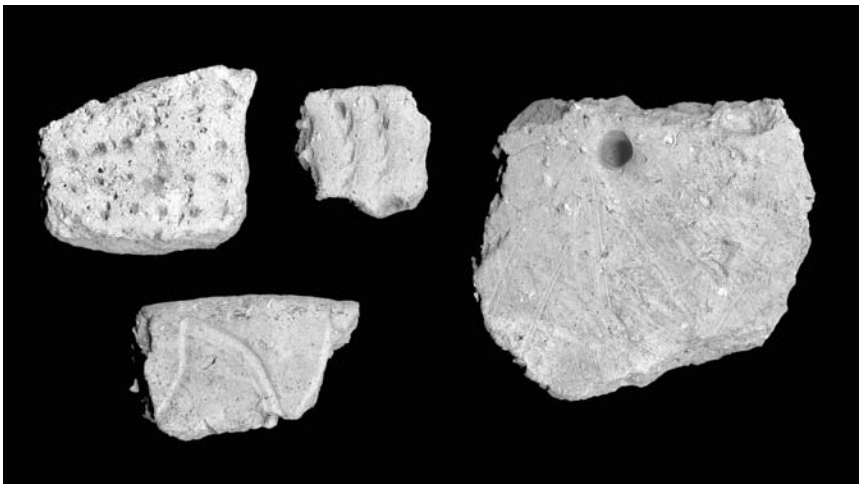
East of the house was a small marsh where a large number of objects were found. There were amongst other things a quantity of ceramic objects, grinding stones and both burned and unburned axes. Macro-fossil analysis show that grain had been put into the marsh. There was also cores of quartz stone, flint arrows and a slate knife of northern swedish origin. This is especially interesting

because the knife shows that the people of Skogsmossen in some way have had contact with the northern groups.

The objects reflect a large number of sacrificial offerings and have a clear connection to a fertility cult (Graner 2005:9-34). The sacrifices have been carried out during the greater part of the Early Neolithic sequence in Central Sweden (Hallgren & Possnert 1997:113-136).

Gatherings at Fågelbacken and Barksta – and death

Fågelbacken is today situated on a ridge just outside the Middle Swedish town of Västerås, but was during the early Neolithic a peninsula where people from different inland farms gathered twice a year, as argued by Sundström (2003:131). The site was used during the whole Funnel Beaker Culture sequence. Some kind of common funeral rituals have been carried out. For instance there are traces of structures like a mortuary house, stone packings with raised posts, and pits containing potsherds and burned human bones. The pits normally contained bones from more than one individual. The funeral activities might best have been carried out during the summer. In the winter one gathered for seal hunting, which is most successful on the ice during the winter. Bones from seal, otter, roe deer and different fish have been found at the site, which also included a living area with huts. (Apel et al 1995).



Figur 7. Ceramics from Barksta, Kolsva parish, Västmanland. This place was in use at the transition between The Funnel Beaker Culture and the Pitted Ware Culture. Photo by Jenny Holm.

Barksta is situated some 20 km west of Fågelbacken. It was a Funnel Beaker Culture site in use at the very transition when society began to change towards the Pitted Ware Culture. Once situated at the point of a peninsula, Barksta had the same type of location as Fågelbacken. Also the combination of stonepackings and pits with burned human bones and ceramics (interpreted as graves) seems to be common traits. At Barksta a pit was found containing potsherds and human burned bones. Alongside there was a stone packing with more potsherds and burned animal bones. A cultural layer containing potsherds and burned animal bones from seal, badger, swine, dog and different fish covered it all. (Holm 2005:45-58). At Fågelbacken there were, as mentioned above, huts and a mortuary house, none of which were found at Barksta. The Fågelbacken site was more extensive and maybe the two settlements show on a differentiation in size for this type of seasonal gathering-places.

Figure 8. View of one of the houses at the Bäcklunda site. Post-holes are marked by white paper plates. It was about 10 meters long and 4 meters wide. The preserved construction consisted entirely of post-holes that formed an oval shape. It is most likely that the posts were bent towards the middle and connected to a raft and to each other. In that way a rather sturdy construction was created that would stand for both strong winds and heavy weights. Photo by Leif Karlenby.

Funnel Beaker Culture axes have been found about ten kilometres north of Barksta and they probably indicate the location of an inland site. Barksta can either be interpreted as one family´s place for funerals and other cultic or ritual activities, or maybe as a smaller gathering place for more than one family, settled over a vaster area, of which we have as yet only identified one settlement north of Barksta (Holm 2005:57-58).

Sacrifice and liminal behaviour Bäcklunda?

In the Neolithic the Bäcklunda site was on a small island just off of the mainland. At the site there were houses and huts and cooking pits. Just at the ancient waters edge, there were ten trenches of varying length and depth containing postholes. They were situated in a row and appeared to form a stockade or an enclosure. It was not closed and would have functioned quite poorly as a physical structure for keeping people out – or in. It probably had more of a symbolic function.

In the area we know of several more sites and they are generally found in two topographically different positions. They have been situated either on small islands off of the mainland or directly on the mainland shore, in the latter case the sites often are larger and indicate a more extensive usage, maybe as meeting-places. On the island sites, stone axes and occasional finds such as cores and flakes of flint are found. There are often no ceramics found at these locations. They probably had a special purpose in relation to the larger "real" settlement sites (for a model, see figure 10).

As already mentioned, it appears as though people divided the various activities spatially during the Early Neolithic period. Sometimes, but not always, one has also arranged particular areas for religious activities. The earth gave life and most certainly had its gods and tales, but still birth and death and maybe ancestry were strongly associated with the sea. The graves at Fågelbacken and Barksta points in that direction. We also have interpreted Bäcklunda as a site for special religious and ancestral acitivities connected to the Sea (cf. Karlenby 2005).

Inland hunting or farming at Hidinge

Our last example is the site at Hidinge where there were a large number of structures from the Early Neolithic. Amongst other things there were three houses or huts of the same type as those found in Bäcklunda. There were finds of flint, quartzite and quartz. Within a small, deposited layer there were burnt bones from pike and pig. In a pit we found pieces from several clay vessels of the Funnel Beaker type and also pieces of a clay plate, typical for the period.

Hidinge has many traits in common with Bäcklunda, for example the occurence of huts and the location of the site on a weak, sandy elevation surrounded by water. Although there are differences as well. For instance that Bäcklunda was situated on an island in the sea and Hidinge was situated a good distance inland, alongside a lake and next to the mouth of a small river. The site also differs from the inland settlement site Skogsmossen, for Hidinge is missing the obvious connection to sacrificing. Hidinge is an example of places with a more indistinct character, where traits from both inland and meeting place settlements are found. This probably depends on the fact that the Funnel Beaker Culture reality was much more complex than shown by our model.

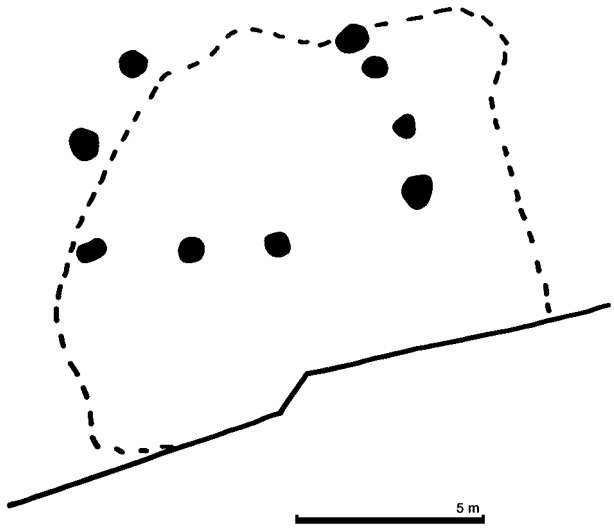


Figure 9. Plan of house at the Hidinge site. Postholes are black, cultural layer marked by dotted line.

Society´s duality and the system´s collapse

For the Late Mesolithic, social structure has, with the help of ethnographical parallels, been suggested to have been non-hierarchical and equal. In an effort to maintain equality in the community, the hunter-gatherers applied an exchange system, created rules against a concentration of prosperity and maintained a certain degree of mobility (Sundström 2004:181-188). It has been argued that this ideology was also maintained within the Funnel Beaker Culture (2004:191-194). Starting with the careful polishing of the greenstone axes, Lars Sundström

suggests that behind the identically looking axes lay the importance of maintaining an egalitarian structure. In fact this is characteristic for societies with a hunter-gatherer economy.

If this was the case, equilibrium was constantly threatened by the agricultural existence, but was strengthened through legendary hunter-gatherer forefathers and an idealisation of the old style of living. This was – according to Sundströms model – maintained at the coastal meeting-places (2004:189-191).

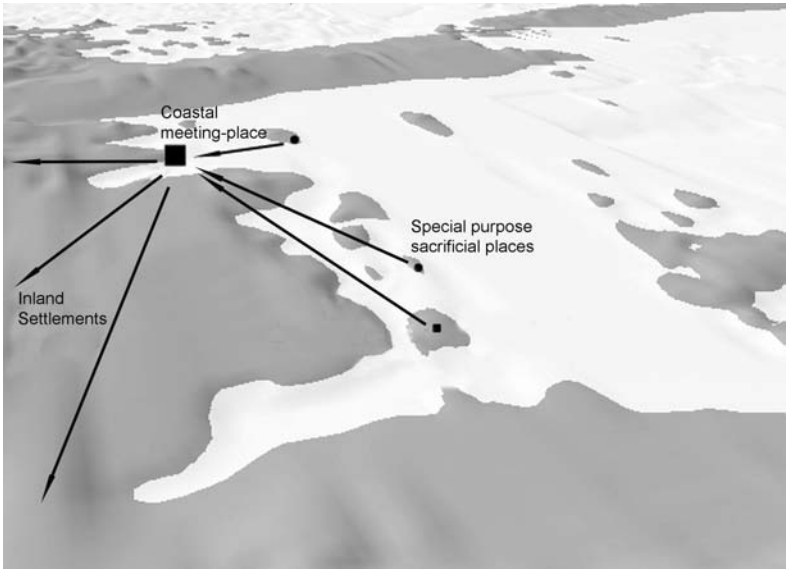


Figure 10. Model of the idealised Funnel Beaker cultural system, organising life in different multipurpose sites.

The archaeological record gives us a glimps of a community with a strong internal social control, maintained through an intentional division of space into specialised settlements and ritual areas but also through a deliberate division of the space within these sites. The Funnel Beaker identity must have been extremely vulnerable and exposed as a result of the closeness to the hunter-gatrerer culture north of the border, and there were also problems within the local Central Swedish Funnel Beaker society due to the ambivalent attitude towards its own identity. As an example, there are lots of places in southern Scandinavia, and specially in Denmark, where Funnel Beaker ceramics have been sacrificed in wetlands. But no other place in Scandinavia corresponds to the amount of finds in the marsh at Skogsmossen. In that respect the extensive

sacrificial offerings could be seen as a reinforcement of the southern Scandinavian tradition. The group´s way of life seems to have been threatened. This is most likely due to a closeness to the hunter-gatherer groups. The reinforcement of the own identity is thus a border phenomenon.

A society with a strong tension between the old and the new emerges. On the one side it had its farmer identity (as at Skogsmossen) with all its special rituals and a fertility focused cosmology, on the other side was the old hunting-gatherer identity, re-lived and never abandoned at the coastal meeting-places (as at Fågelbacken, Barksta and maybe Bäcklunda). Two social ideals collided and needed to be linked together. That such an identity dilemma arose at the border between the Funnel Beaker Culture and the hunter-gatherer groups is hardly a coincidence. This conflict between ideology and practice has possibly existed within the entire Swedish Funnel Beaker area. But it should have been especially tangible and of a constant current interest in the border zone near neighbors who lived as did the idealised forefathers. Some time around 3300 B.C. the situation became untenable. The Funnel Beaker groups came to let go of their ambivalent lifestyle. On the northern border the solution was that one actually abandoned the Funnel Beaker Culture way of life and made the transition to a hunter-gatherer existence, with the new characteristics of the Pitted Ware Culture.

Referring to the site Skogsmossen again, it is common that sites with accumulated wetland offerings have been used for long periods of time and continually for the entire Neolithic period or longer. This is not the case with the marsh at Skogsmossen. The sacrificing there gives more of an impression of having had come to a powerful crescendo and then an abrupt ending. The depositing ceased when the farming Funnel Beaker Culture disappeared from Central Sweden. The sacrificing was closely tied to a fertility cult. That they ceased shows clearly that the reorganisation of the society towards a Pitted Ware Culture involved an ideological-religious change where sacrificing in marshes no longer was of interest or desirable. The transition meant that one no longer had an interest in the farming gods.

In the southern Scandinavian Funnel Beaker area they had another strategy. There instead one held tightly onto the Funnel Beaker Culture. This society continued to develop during several hundreds of years, forming the megalithic Funnel Beaker Culture.

The Funnel Beaker Culture´s ethnicity

An important concept in order to understand the processes we speak of here is "ethnicity". Used and misused in archeology during the 20th century the concept has only unwillingly been used in later years. Our discussion is based on the

definition of the concept *ethnicity* that has been presented by the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1998). From that it is clear that ethnicity is not necessarily the same as culture. Cultural phenomenon – this also applies to the material culture – is spread between different ethnic groups and simply because one group uses the same types of objects as another, does not mean that they consider themselves to belong to the same group of people. However, in some cases, as in the relationship between the northern hunter-gatherer groups and the Funnel Beaker Culture farmers, the means – or one of the means – for expressing ethnic affiliation consists of the material culture, as the differences in material culture are so clearly articulated.

The need to express an ethnicity is the greatest at places that border towards other ethnic groups. In a lengthy ethnic situation it is necessary that both groups are interested in maintaining a difference between the two. It is obvious that the Funnel Beaker Culture was very eager to keep their ethnic sense of belonging clear and safe from alteration, but also the Mesolithic groups seem to have been anxious about this. Ethnicity does not exist in a vacuum. *"It takes two to tango."*

The Funnel Beaker groups have accentuated themselves against the Mesolithic groups and they in return have made their mark. The lake Mälaren region groups have further distinguished themselves from other Funnel Beaker groups by abandoning this "culture" and moving onto the Pitted Ware Culture. This joint and simultaneous change could possibly indicate an "*emic attribution category*"[19] shared by people in this area – an understanding of oneself as a group as opposed to both South Scandinavian Funnel Beaker Culture and northern Mesolithic groups.

How then can we understand the pronounced ethnicity that emerges through the material culture left after the Funnel Beaker groups and the Mesolithic hunters from the north in a "third space" perspective? The transition from being a farming funnel beaker maker to being a hunting and fishing pitted ware maker was just as little a *return* to something that had passed as the transition from a hunter-gatherer to a farmer was a development *towards* something, like a more developed and better existence. Changes should rather be seen as continuous, as a process that is driven forward through the meetings that occur in the third space. The ethnic definition of a group occurs in collaboration with other groups and changes are a result of discussions, meetings and conflicts. Bhabha speaks of a hybrid process that creates the third space. That which we encounter there is not a blending of two original elements that form a third, but the third space is the creative space where completely new positions are developed. The hybrid

[19] *Emic* as in the "natives" own perspective, its opposite being *ethic*, the researchers perspective (Eriksen 2002:12).

process involves a sort of negotiation situation. The third space allows for negotiation.

Bhabha´s concept of "the third space" constitutes a confrontation with the concept of binary opposites as for example man:woman, nature:culture etc (Bhabha 2004:53 ff; cf Odin (2005) and Hannula 2001). Naturally the same applies to the division that groups of people create when they choose to identify themselves with one ethnic group or another. The idea itself behind the ethnic thought is the dichotomy between Us and Them, but the result is more a melting pot where elements from both sides will be shaped by – and in turn reshape – one´s surroundings. The conditions for new ideas, thoughts and ethnic definitions are created in the third space. It was in just such a space that the conditions for the transition to a Pitted Ware Culture were "negotiated" forth.

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CHAPTER NINE

LETHAL ENCOUNTERS. WARFARE AND VIRTUAL IDEOLOGIES IN THE MAYA AREA

JOHAN NORMARK

Most inter-societal encounters are fairly peaceful, or at least non-violent. However, the third space (Bhabha 1994) where encounters take place also includes hostile activities between different people. These encounters create a space where different "ideologies" clash and generate a non-symmetrical third space. This text shall discuss such lethal encounters in the Maya area. Warfare has an intimate relationship with ideology, power and inter-societal encounters in Mayanist studies. In the mid 20th century it was the belief in the lack of warfare that dominated since people during the Classic period (A.D. 250-900/1100) were seen as peaceful time worshippers (Morley 1946; Thompson 1942). For example, Proskouriakoff (1955) made a contrast between a militant Postclassic period (A.D. 900/1100-1540) and a peaceful Classic period.

More recently, the Classic period rulers in the Maya area (figure 1) have been described as warring and blood-thirsty shaman kings whose primarily goal and ideology was to hunt down enemies who would become sacrificial victims to feed the kings' ancestors and cosmos in general (Freidel 1986, 1992; Freidel, et al. 1993; Schele and Freidel 1990; Schele and Miller 1986). Webster (1993) has labeled these ideas the Killer King Complex. For this group of researchers, war was primarily an elitist ritual practice which did not involve the "commoners" (Freidel 1986, 1992). Warfare was used as a way to legitimize an ideology, which usually is not distinguished from cosmology. Therefore, Ringle questions the legitimation models since they do not describe how legitimation can create belief and legitimation must therefore be based on earlier beliefs (Ringle 1999:186).

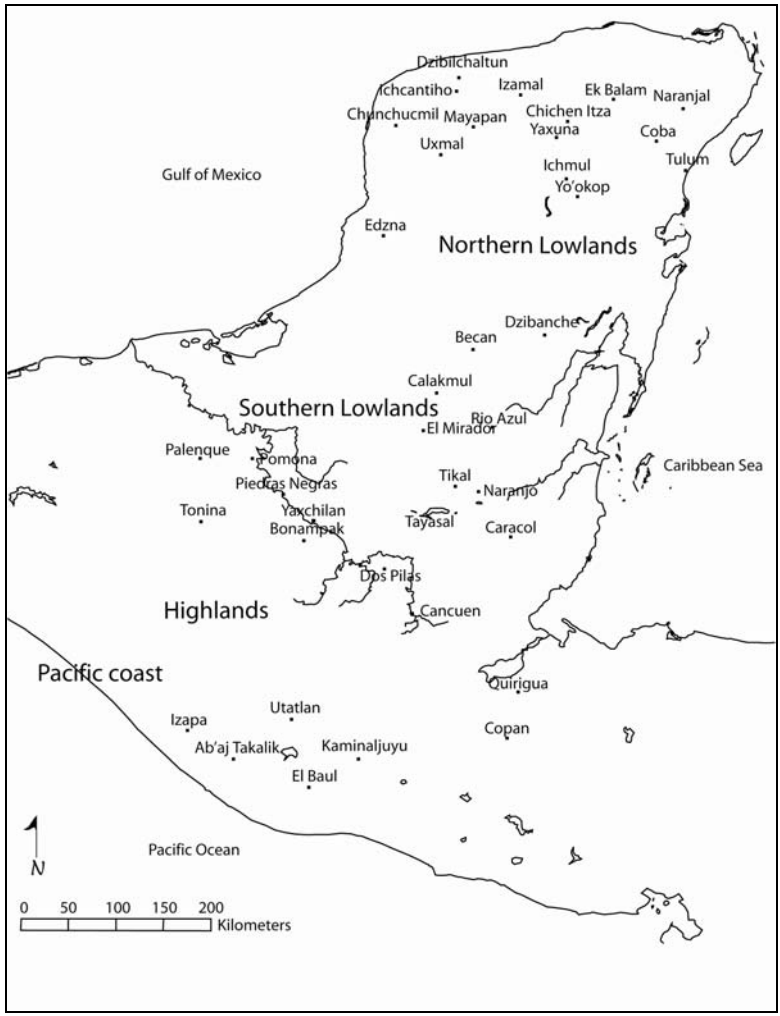

Figure 1. The Maya Lowlands.

Rice (2004) has recently put forward a new synthesis of the royal ideology during the Classic period. Still, this view relates to shared norms among a widespread population of elites. Warfare is still in the "ideological" models, although not as dominant as in the Killer King Complex. Many are those who now are trying to piece together a political history of the Classic period from epigraphic and iconographic remains, often following Martin and Grube's

(1995, 2000) "super-power" model. In these attempts, warfare, as seen in epigraphy and iconography, is crucial, sometimes combined with archaeological traces of fortifications, massburials, termination rituals or other patterns of destruction that potentially could be the result of warfare between regional powers (Ambrosino 2003; Brown and Garber 2003; Pagliaro, et al. 2003; Suhler and Freidel 2000). Ideology is still part of the general background of warfare. However, economical or political motives are far more common as explanations (maybe apart from the termination rituals) (Bey 2003; Culbert 2000; Gunsenheimer 2000). Still, when ideology is mentioned, it is heavily entwined with the royalty and their need to express and exercise power related to warfare.

Ideology

Although differences in ideology across the Maya Lowlands are noted in the models mentioned above, the aim seems to be to find the ideal ideology that remains fairly unaffected by most inter-societal encounters. This is generally found as a shared external macro-level structure. However, if there is something the Mayanist models on ideology share, it is a lack of a deeper notion of ideology itself. In the Mayanist models, there are no explanations of how this "shared" ideology is reproduced, transmitted, and internalized at the most basic level - that of the human agent. One reason for this may be the general confusion of what ideology is.

The concept of ideology was invented by Antoine Destutt de Tracy during the Enlightenment. Then it stood for the science of ideas. Ideology defined in his way was the right way of thinking that acted as a guide to thinking. It had the form of a tacit object to which one believed or not (Turner 1994:56).

Marx later argued that society is shaped by production. Relationships of production were believed to be masked and ideology came to stand for the rationalizations of why such differences in power come about. Ideology was likened to religion because it was believed to mystify the real capacity of human beings that arose as a contradiction within a class society (Wolf 1999:25, 31-32). This is also similar to the way archaeologists tend to use the term ideology: as something generated by the elite from their religion/cosmology, and then given to the masses in order to maintain economical, political, and social power. Ideology tends to be seen as such a unified scheme or configuration to manifest power (ibid:4). It has also been seen as both a necessary and a positive force as well as a legitimating repression. The former creates subjects, the latter subjugates them (Shanks and Tilley 1987). The central point here is that ideology is supposed to be shared, as something external to the past agents, then internalized through socialization or other transmitting processes. Finally it affects people's behaviour or practices (Turner 1994).

Most people, from archaeological researchers to laymen, believe there is such a shared thing that possibly exist, or is being formed, in a third space. This form of ideology is a set of representations that deals with the real social relations people live in. It is assumed to be real because it is the way people live out their subjectivity. Ideology is argued to be imaginary because it prevents self reflection of the subjects' own existence (Shanks and Tilley 1987:74-75). However, I believe that an understanding of human behaviour should emphasize the lack of shareness of ideology as an external structure, a thing-like phenomena, and as a set of representations. It is only by force and habits that people appear to configure to the same "thing."

The Mayanist focus on ideology tend to take the form of more or less complete and shared cosmological symbolic orders, as seen in texts by Demarest (2000), Freidel (1992), Rice (2004), Ringle (2004), Schele and Miller (1986). These approaches to ideology in Mayanist studies do not explain how ideology was created, maintained, or transmitted in the encounters and situations of either day-to-day interaction or in extraordinary encounters, such as warfare between people with different actual ideologies (habits). Ideology seems to be a prerequisite for warfare, maintained by it, a self-generating and growing system in the same Mayanist works. This ideology is therefore approached from the outside, as an external thing that encompass people, a static model in which duration has been erased. There is also a predominant macro-perspective inherent in these studies.

Aiming high and low

The aim of this text is to show that for what Mayanists, and other archaeologists, have termed "ideology" is to have any credibility it must be shared, aquired, and reproduced. So far, no theory has been able to explain how such an external structure is shared and internalized without falling back on externalities that are believed to transpire through an equally external time. The concepts of system, structure, discourse, ideology, practice, culture, and tradition are similar in this sense (Normark 2006a). What we have as human beings are *habits* that are different from other people's habits during an encounter, and the only thing we do share with other people, from an archaeological perspective, is participating in a material world. What we make out of this material world has little to do with the "traditional" quasi-objects of culture, tradition, practice, or ideology. These "actualised things" are made up by the researcher from an ever changing *virtuality*, to use the French philosopher Bergson's (1998) terminology. Warfare takes place in this virtuality as well, but warfare is approached from its actualisations (the static representations).

I choose partly to follow Webster's definition of warfare as the confrontations between people of different identity. The members of these collectives have a common interest which they want to defend or to intensify by using violence and killing. Warfare is also used to maintain a status quo or to destroy old power relationships (Webster 1993:418). However, these shared interests are generally seen, or at least treated, as homogenous, and does not explain the processes that takes place in-between the individual habits, in the third space.

Archaeological remains of warfare indicate past violent encounters between people. What "really" happened, as seen in the fortifications and in patterns of destructions, are seldom seen in the epigraphical and iconographical records that inform us of specific rulers' views of the events. These events have also been filtered through scribes. Sure, the information had to be in line with a "generally shared" view but there was probably enough room to twist the "truth". However, I do not wish to reduce the monumental art to propaganda as Marcus (1992) has done. Still, it is the epigraphical and iconographical data that dominates in Mayanist studies on warfare and ideology.

Warfare shall in my discussion be treated as intentional and nonintentional acts in the encounters between human agents and materialities in *nested networks* where conflicting interests (*actual ideologies*) clashed in its most violent form. I attempt to propose a habit related perspective that could be an alternative to a "traditional" ideological model. People believe that they share an ideology, culture, or practice. However, although we encounter similar situations and materialities, we always interpret them differently.

The habit related perspective is the basis for penetrating into the virtual depths of human consciousness. Rather than following Žižek's Lacanian inspired ideology (Fahlander 2003; Žižek 1989), I rely on Bergson's distinction between two different tendencies of consciousness; *instinct* and *intelligence* (1998). These in turn rely on how the *virtual multiplicity* (duration) differentiates into *actual multiplicities* (spatial entities). The attempt is to reach a notion of "sharing" that belongs to virtuality, or pure duration and the becoming of the world. This sharing is called *virtual ideology* and it is directed towards what is immanent in matter. In the process of becoming, the fluidity of the world actualises into the static entities of language, representations, and materiality that are manifested in an actual ideology that is assumed to be shared. This actual ideology has been explained as an external quasi-object by social scientists. However, as a contrast, the foundation for the virtual ideology is not linguistically or semiotically based, it is directed towards matter and it acts its knowledge.

An actual ideology is basically what others call ideology, but the actual ideology is a *difference of degree* to other actual ideologies, meaning that it can

be conceptualised as everything from individual habits to a macro-ideology. Consolidation of relations of power takes place by forcing different habits into similar action. Habit relies on intelligence which is incapable of understanding changing processes and seeks, or rather creates, static and transcendent entities.

Archaeological, iconographic, and epigraphic remains shall in my view not be seen as representations of a shared external and actual ideology, but rather as *actualisations* of a virtuality that differentiates according to inner qualities. In this sense, fortifications are material traces that not necessarily "tell" the same story as the "Star War" glyph. Mayanist researchers put them together to get a more complete view of warfare, as if the evidence were just a difference of degree of the same warfare during the 2000 years that spanned from the Middle Formative to the Postclassic. However, they are *differences in kind* (Bergson 1998; Deleuze 1991). We need no meta-narrative of super-powers (Martin and Grube 2000), *may*-cycle centres (Rice 2004), or "cult-centres" (Ringle 2004) to get a more holistic picture of warfare and ideology in the Maya area, since this picture will consist of static and already isolated entities approached from the outside. The dynamics lie within the virtual, not in the static actualisations that has been dealt with in earlier ideological studies.

Earlier ideological models on warfare in the Maya area

As mentioned, there is a top to bottom (elite to commoner), and a macro to micro approach that is dominant in the Mayanist models. Although it is likely that the royal symbolism made use of broadly held beliefs (Houston and Cummins 1998), the monumental art, that mainly is used in ideological studies, creates a skewed picture of a plurality of human agents since our knowledge of "commoners" is scarce, despite recent attempts to emphasize their role (Lohse and Valdez 2004).

Warfare or other forms of competition is often seen as the primary reason for social and ideological change, because in macro-level models there tend to be an ideal structure that people follow. People are trapped in structures they share and cannot change. To be able to break it, something drastic must take place, preferably from the outside, since an ideology or a social formation seldom changes itself in drastic ways. More drastic than internal or external conflicts that escalates to warfare is hard to find. Mayanists have therefore focused on a macroperspective of ideology and warfare since they often emphasize the social whole rather than its assumed parts. For example, some earlier models on the origin of states (a macro-entity) in the Maya area singled out population pressure and warfare as crucial for the emergence of states. Ball (1977) and Webster (1977) assumed that the elite took control over land and other crucial

resources and legitimized themselves through war. The rest of the population had to submit to an elite with military superiority.

Factional competition models that largely follow in a similar vein focuses on conflicts within classes and on alliances between classes. It is assumed that intra-elite competition limited exploitation and the ruling strata needed to finance their lifestyle through war with neighbours (Brumfiel 1994:3-10; Clark and Blake 1994:17-21). Other models have combined factional competition with centralizing tendencies that is seen at some larger sites. These models emphasize a fluctuation between centralization and decentralization of political power, often as effects from tensions between kingship and kinship (Blanton, et al. 1996; Iannone 2002; Marcus 1993; McAnany 1995). Here the emphasis is more on how to resolve internal conflicts through ideology. Ideology in these models tend to focus less on cosmology.

Like many other proponents for ideological models, Demarest argues that no state-directed subsistence system was needed in the Lowlands. Control over labour would have been more important than control over territory since the state would have had little control over the local economy. The power which was based on ritual, marriage alliances, and warfare, would have gone through fluctuating phases. Demarest argues for a theatre state where rituals and ideology were used to gain and maintain power. Since the state was dependent on ideology, it was vulnerable to ecological crisis and military defeats from inter-elite status rivalry (Demarest 2000:289-291; 2004:109).

In reaction to earlier ideological models based on "foreign" analogies, P. Rice (2004) has revived and expanded ideas of Edmonson (1979) and Puleston (1979). Her model is based on direct historical analogy and by this it is assumed that the "Maya culture" in the Southern Maya Lowlands was a difference of degree to the one in the north. She argues that the Classic period people in the Southern Maya Lowlands had the same calendar-based political organization that existed in the north during the Postclassic. This is the 13 *k'atun* cycle (a k'atun is 7200 days or roughly 20 years), also known as the may-cycle. The cycle was seated in a city that became the cycle seat (*may k'u*) for 256 years with an additional 128 years as the guest of another centre. Other towns in the realm of the centre fought to seat one of the 13 k'atuns in the cycle, something that gave political powers for almost 20 years (Rice and Rice 2004:134). What has earlier been seen as "status-rivalry", factional competition, or centralization of political power is, according to Rice, the effect of either ritual competition or warfare between sites in order to seat a k'atun. These k'atun seats held secular powers and was in control of tribute rights, land titles, and public office. Since these changed every 20 years, warfare would have been fairly continuous, at least in archaeological time (Demarest, et al. 2004:566).

Problems

Most of these models above and in the introduction rely on historical and anthropological analogies. Such analogies give an aura of static social formations, despite the fact that every author claims that this is not his or her intention. By expanding the area of analogies (both spatially and temporally), researchers can always find an analogy suitable for their objective(s) (Normark 2004, 2006a). A model is a static and spatialized way of describing the world, but they tend to become quasi-objects, and a focus for research in themselves. Mayanist models are often high-level abstractions of grand patterns, derived from a small set of disparate evidence, cross-cultural or direct historical analogies, that are filled with the same content.

Mayanist model building too often relies on ethnographic analogies (either direct or general), a generalized culture-history, social evolution, and a rudimentary ideological concept (in terms of its psychological connection). This is because the macro-perspective dominates. Such perspectives offer fairly easy "package" solutions, a way to fit different aspects together that maybe should not be put together.

Thus, these macro-perspectives tend to study structural constraints that limit action. However, these structures do not act or act upon agents. Is there any such process of structures on the "micro-level", on the level of the human agent? Giddens proposes a structuration between agent and structure. He argues that institutionalized patterns are to be found even in microsituations that are fleeting and limited. Encounters are passing, and only their routinized character is therefore useful to study in this view (Giddens 1984:141). However, warfare may have been particularly disturbing for maintaining routine practices among people.

There is a major assumption that runs through most Mayanist models on ideology, that I have hinted at earlier. This is the sharing of ideology or routine practices. Do people share anything, and particularly a united ideology, culture or practice? How is such an ideology internalized in some individuals, but not in other individuals? These questions are not answered when one fall back upon an externally oriented culture-history and a generalized view of social formations. What is being neglected is that ideology needs to be both within and between people, otherwise it is not shared. The problem is that these quasi-objects are all believed to be collectively shared, that everyone possess the same thing. There must in such cases be a transmitting process where these collective quasi-objects become internalized into mind and body. This process is never explained properly (Turner 1997:345-347). What are these shared ideological reasons behind lethal encounters according to Mayanists?

Reasons for warfare

Let us first begin with a popular topic for ideology: disguising the control of the economy and the modes and means of production. Among ideology-model builders, there has generally been a belief in the incapability of the royalty to control agriculture and production (Demarest 2000). For example, field walls in the Petexbatun area in Guatemala suggests that agricultural production occurred at either a household level or a corporate group level (O'Mansky and Dunning 2004:88). One of the most aggressive sites, of this area and the entire Maya area, is Dos Pilas. It is argued that this site could never support its own population with agriculture. The site is believed to have been a predatory tribute state (ibid:93). Controlling trade routes could therefore be another reason for warfare, suggested by the fact that the most violent areas were along the riverine trade routes. Since agriculture seems to have been rather stable in the Petexbatun area during the Late Classic, despite the troubled times, this might indicate that agriculture was not controlled by the kings, and not likely the target for warfare (Dunning 1998:147).

The case of Dos Pilas may be an anomaly in an understanding of what economically motivated war at most sites. Ashmore and others argue that militarism in the central Petén in Guatemala grew during the Late Classic because of the need for foodstuff to subsist their increasing populations (who were refugees according to Demarest). The Belize River valley would have become a target for expansion or alliance building in order to counter balance scarcity (Ashmore, et al. 2004:321). However, models that argue that "societies are haunted by the possibility of material scarcity… is only a short step to the supposition that conflicts over scarce resources make up the fundamental motor of social change" (Giddens 1984:34). Not surprisingly, this is a predominant theme in Mayanist studies. In Ashmore's model, the Belizean area becomes a buffer zone, reminiscent of Rathje and others' (1978) earlier core-buffer model. The model relies on Malthusian ideas of scarcity and growing population (Grosz 2004).

There is one way to control agricultural produce indirectly, and that is a produce converted to tribute. It is often argued that "the intent of conquest was simply to divert the flow of tribute and to appropriate labor" (Ringle, et al 2004:512). Tribute, warfare, luxurious systems, and services by common people are believed to have funded the royal administration. Tributes were, for example, depicted at Palenque where the ruler *Ahkal Mo' Naab' III* unloaded tribute (Webster 2000:95). Slaves or captives of war may have been part of tribute or booty. At Toniná, there are indications that at least artisans were brought from Palenque as tribute (Stuart 1993).

However, economical motifs for warfare, apart from tribute, were not carved on the public monuments. These monuments focused on the kings themselves. The kings were seen as divine and they personified gods through the use of masks and dance performances. Centres seem to have had place-specific divinities (Houston 2000:165), and the differences between the divinities may have distinguished centres from each others. The king let images be made of his and the "polity's" deities which were thought to live in the images, temples, and bundles. A ruler took care of the god, sustained it with sacrifices in a way similar to child care (Houston and Stuart 1996:294). The patron gods were installed at the same time as the king was inaugurated, and they followed the king into war, carried in litters (Freidel, et al. 1993; Houston 2000; le Fort 1998). Since the Postclassic Aztecs held captive god effigies in special temples, subjugated to the Aztec gods, it has been suggested that similar acts may have occured in the Maya area (Martin 2001:182). Thus, the defeat and capture of both the king and his patron gods were also important in the Maya area (Freidel, et al. 1993).

It has been suggested that people went to war depending on good auguries. Therefore, there was a dependency on astrology, particularly with the so-called Star-War events (warfare assumed to relate to the planet Venus). The Star-War events did usually not occur when the right astronomical event occurred (Martin 2001:183), something which might indicate that tactics were more important than celestial objects. However, Aldana (2005) has proposed that the Star-War events did not relate to the planet Venus at all but rather related to unpredictable meteors. Therefore, the astrological interpretations may still be valid, since meteors maybe were used to initiate war.

As can be seen from these examples, there is diverse evidence for warfare in the Maya area. However, although we have physical traces of warfare, depictions of warfare, and written documents indicating warfare, the problem of joining different data to form a more complete view of the past warfare is obvious in the following example.

It is argued that, as a general rule, warfare increased in scale, frequency, and 'nature' over time. Therefore it is assumed, from archaeological, epigraphic, and iconographic remains, that warfare involved more people during the Terminal Classic and the Postclassic than in the Late Classic, at least in terms of percentage since there was a general decline in demography (apart from the Terminal Classic Northern Lowlands). Some iconographic data from the Northern Lowlands during this time show many participants, both in wars and rituals (Krochock 1988; Wren and Schmidt 1991). The general idea is therefore that warfare changed in the Terminal Classic, and partially turned to the burning and sacking of sites that can be seen in the murals of Chichen Itza (Chase and Chase 2004:20).

However, mural paintings covering whole walls can, of course, depict more people than a lintel, a stela, or a vessel where we find most Late Classic depictions of warfare or events related to warfare. Since we do not have many surviving mural paintings from the Classic period, until the Late Classic (Bonampak (Miller 2001)) and the Terminal Classic (Chichen Itza (Ringle 2004)), these few examples stand for the whole past corpus. The Late Formative (400 B.C. – A.D. 250) mural paintings at San Bartolo (Saturno, et al. 2005), does not depict war, but we cannot make a general judgement of the whole Maya area and the whole period from this fragmented and scattered evidence, particularly since some large Late Formative sites, such as El Mirador and Becan, had substantial fortifications. These are in many cases grander than the ones during the Terminal Classic (Webster 1993). Still, this assumption of increasing and changing warfare based upon fragments is common. Archaeologists blow up a full scale culture from small fragments and fill the voids with ethnohistoric data and statistical probablity that there were more warfare than what has been noted in the material traces we have.

Politics, economy, or cosmological reasons, are generally seen as the causes behind the material patterns of destruction. Researchers imagine that a complete Maya culture, that includes these reasons, existed in the past. The materialities are believed to represent fragments of this full scale culture. In this data, archaeologists seek a "cultural" or "natural" agent behind past events that formed the material contexts. This is particularly true for arguments behind the "Maya collapse". Demarest (1997:221) claims that the causes for warfare in the Petexbatun area did not depend on the arrival of foreigners, malnutrition, ecological disasters, and changes in the economy. He argues that factional competition is a better explanation, but probably not the only one. Related to this, Demarest (2004) claims that there was no primary mover for the "collapse" in the Lowlands. But at the end, when he and Rice and Rice summarize the most recent compilation of what has been termed the "Maya collapse", we can see that they cryztallize two prime scenarios/causes:

(1) Demarest suggests that change is more abrupt and dramatic in the western part of the Petén in Guatemala. It is also the area where the "collapse" first is noted. Migration from this area may have added population at other sites, initiating or increasing a local ecological stress. This would have affected demography all the way to the Northern Lowlands. Population increased and was accompanied by increased construction activities that soon was followed by disintegration (Demarest, et al. 2004:568). In short, migration has become the ultimate cause for the collapse here.

(2) P. Rice's scenario is that the socio-political shifts related to changes in economic systems or warfare that were connected to ideological advantage of becoming a may capital (Demarest, et al. 2004:564). Thus, the may cycle,

mainly known from a few Postclassic and early Colonial sources, is the ultimate cause here.

Although these approaches, that search for macro scale causes to local changes, are far from Foucault's (1984) genealogical approach to history, they actually share the idea that practices, discourses, and ideologies are external structures with a thing-like existence (Turner 1994), that also has an ultimate causative agent. Such approaches have been useful when Mayanists have wished to explain why a certain "practice" seems to persist. For example, if a researcher can argue for one set of war related "ideological practices" that seems to persist through time: sacking or terminating the temples, must be good cases. Whatever tactics were employed, cities and/or temples were sacked and destroyed from the Middle Formative up to the Postclassic. Piedras Negras has burnt temples around the time when the site was in war with Pomoná and Yaxchilán (Houston 2000). The "founder house" of Copán may have been destroyed and this has been seen as a metaphorical statement of the end of the dynasty of the city (Stuart 1993:346). The destruction of ancestral buildings, such as the founder's temple, was most likely crucial blows to the inhabitants and their actual ideologies. But were these attacks on an actual ideology shared by everyone at a site?

Trimmed habits

What we need to understand in order to answer questions like the one above, is how things belong to each other. How does an apparent continuity of ideological elements relate to a changing world? We could, of course, do as most Mayanists do and fall back on an externalised ideology that is timeless, or we could use an equally static culture concept. This will not explain anything other than what is already known from analogies. Political and social structures abstracted from the present day or the recently past are projected into the "distant" past. Do such collective ideas and structures exist in the real world beyond the creations of the social scientists?

For there to be a collective idea, such as ideology, it must be both manifest internally and externally (Dornan 2002:321). But we need not fall back upon external structures, or quasi-objects. Habituation works just as well. It is the result of individual psychology and it is an individual possession (Turner 1994:14). The idea of a shared practice or ideology relies on the belief that it is the same for everyone. As a contrast, if an external performance becomes habitualized, it does not mean that the habits are the same but the external performances must be the same. They have been trimmed to look the same externally (ibid:58). In terms of habits, similarity in external performance is not dependent on similar internal structures or external quasi-objects. There is no

external structure that is internalized to become the same for all. People need to learn and acquire habits to be able to act in the world. These habits are often fairly consistent and predictable and can therefore be manipulated (ibid:112).

Should the warring unit be seen as a group with a united macro-ideology, or as a *series* of individuals with separate habits, trimmed to look the same or that takes the same form in the third space? Warfare in the Maya area likely consisted of different people; from king or commander to "spear fodder". Most of them had different positions within the social formations that existed beyond the lethal encounter and they could perhaps be seen as a series of people forced to form a group (Sartre 1991). These most likely did not share an extended and external "ideology". However, in the particular event when they faced the enemy, they had a common but short lived identity. This identity makes the differences between persons at the time of the actual encounter fairly irrelevant, but not in the long-term.

A settlement under attack severely changed the conditions of daily life and it is hard to see how a shared ideology could remain stable unless it existed outside the human agents, in some way (but not as a quasi-object). People had different experiences during these encounters and these had varying effects on their lives after the violent event. Under such stressful conditions it is less likely that people acted knowledgeable. Thus, the stress transformed the habits of people of a community in different ways. However, the workings of the deep part of our consciousness ("instinct" as Bergson calls it), would remain fairly unaffected, and people would still reproduce what went on before, although the "discursive", or rather "intellectual", portion of our consciousness would change. Representations may have looked the same but they may have changed meaning.

Towards a virtual ideology

In order to understand this deeper part, I shall use Bergson's distinctions of consciousness. Following Bergson, I see the deep part of the consciousness as a nonnumeric, qualitative or *virtual multiplicity* that cannot be reduced to static representations of signs such as the index, icon, or symbol (Aijmer 2000; Bauer 2002; Gell 1998; Knappett 2006; Peirce 1955). This virtuality lies at the bottom of our selves and the world itself; it is pure memory and pure duration. Since we cannot express it in words or other signs, we transform it to an external thing. We spatialize our understanding of the world and we make it into *actual multiplicities*, or static representations, such as language and symbols (Bergson 2001). With our intellect, that only works from static entities and solids (simultaneities), we break down the whole, externalize it to be able to analyse it from the outside as something transcendent rather than as something immanent.

Then the intellect put the spatialized parts together, to a non-complete composite where perception and memory are integrated (Bergson 1998). It is then assumed to be an external thing that need to be internalised in everyone. One could say, using Bergson's terms, that this is the virtual depth of memory that actualises itself on the perceived surface. This takes place within each human agent, and forms our habits through the *actualisations* of the virtual.

Let me explain in greater detail. Bergson makes a distinction between two versions of difference. This is best exemplified by his conceptualisation of time and space. He criticises science and philosophy for mixing time and space, making time similar to space (Bergson 2001:92). Our mind sees time as a difference of degree to space. Time has become spatialized, and duration has been divided up into static instants separated by space. The flowing whole of duration cannot be described through these instants or actualisations. This is also reflected in dialectic thinking, or other dualistic reasoning. Dialectics set up contradictions on a scale with degrees; space in one end and time at the other end. Degrees are believed to be homogeneous (spatial) units of measurement. The dialectics confuses *difference in kind* with *difference of degree* (Borradori 2000). The ideological differences discussed by Mayanists are only seen as degrees of one and the same ideology. They are not seen as differences in kind. The ideological content of a particular symbol is therefore seen as the same in the Middle Formative as in the Terminal Classic.

Here it is important to note that Bergson emphasizes that perception belongs to space and memory to duration. These are seen as different tendencies of our consciousness. The pure memory is best explained by Bergson's memory cone (figure 2).

An inverted cone stands with its point (S) downwards on a plane (P). This plane is the plane of actual representations of the world (the symbols or materiality archaeologists use). The cone represents true (regressive) memory (SAB). At the base (AB) we have unconscious memories that come up during dreams. While descending towards the point we find an infinite number of past regions that is closer or further away from the present (S). Memories descend down the cone from the past and affects present perception and action. Bergson argues that we go from the past to the present, or from recollection to perception, and not the other way (Deleuze 1991:63). This means that the present is known from the past. True memory is therefore progressive. Pure memory precedes images and semiotic signs and it is unconscious (Borradori 2000).

Intellectual thinking takes place when pure memory moves into singular images. This movement takes place because the cone is supposed to rotate, like rotating the lenses of a telescope. First we see nothing of the virtual, but by adjusting the lenses we get a clearer picture and form a static and actual

representation (ab). This interpenetration to fragmentation goes from unity to multiplicity (Bergson 2004). At the point (S), which is the present, memory, and duration are in their most contracted phase, and perception is at its most deflated phase, making it spatial and material to which we are adapted (Deleuze 1991:88).

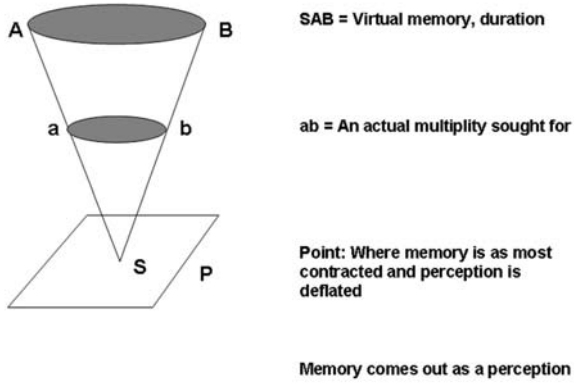

Figure 2. Bergson's memory cone (adapted from Bergson 2004:211).

Our knowledge is dependent on intelligence that relates to perception and space. It has an analytic, external, practical and spatialized approach. The human mind concentrates on repetitions, linking the same to the same, and in this process it is distancing itself from duration. It dislikes what is fluid and solidifies it (Bergson 1998:46). Intelligence has a broad knowledge and creates external tools (artefacts, architecture, and writing).

Instinct is another tendency of the consciousness that relates to memory and duration. It does not represent its knowledge, it acts it. The instruments of instinct are part of the body (eyes, arms, and legs) and they are attuned to the objects they deal with as they have evolved in conjunction with the objects (Grosz 2004:227).

However, instinct and intelligence are not self-contained and mutually exclusive. Both intelligence and instinct were once interpenetrating and still retain parts of their common origin. Therefore, intelligence has not evolved from instinct, they have both existed since the beginning of life since Bergson argues that consciousness is related to motion rather than the brain and the nerve system. It is more of a distributed agency, like that some current cognitive science suggests (Clark 2003). However, intelligence and instinct can never be

found in a pure state since they are tendencies and not entities (Bergson 1998:135). For this reason, Bergson is suspicious of language and other representations, something that usually is of concern in most ideological models. For him, language consists of symbols and these divide the continuity of duration and therefore leads us to illusions. Bergson claims that "language is not meant to convey all the delicate shades of inner states" (Bergson 2001:160).

Virtual ideology

A past external and actual ideology in the Mayanist conception is believed to be accessed from the various materialities, symbols, and other signs found in the archaeological record. This is assumed to be the result of human practices or social, political, and economical structures. However, the ideological models are static as they are formed around actualisations. These models are already made up from various elements that are seen as differences of degree of one externally existing 'ideology' or 'culture'. As a contrast to this, from my reading of Bergsonian philosophy we can see that:

> The world is changing, but we cannot understand the changing processes. Our intellect freezes and fragmentises the processes into static entities and solids, make them into differences of degrees that relates to space and perceptions.
>
> We use these solids to form and understand the whole, but what we will have are only static entities separated by space, devoid of duration. Thus, we will not understand the virtual as our instinct does. A discrepancy occurs in our consciousness.
>
> Memory comes out as perception, meaning that memories drive us to perceive, everything that would be new in an encounter is interpreted into what we know from our habits. The Other is transformed into the Same.
>
> Signs and language are actual multiplicites, and these cannot be used to understand the virtual, changes, and life.

Human beings share the virtual, but we try to explain the "sharing" from the actualisations (symbols, languages, and materialities) to generate a totality. The external or actual ideologies Mayanists discuss are therefore formed around the actualisations and not the virtual, or put another way, from idealised types rather than processes. Due to the workings of our intellect, these ideologies seek the totality from the outside, from the macro-level, from structures, that we think includes all isolated actualisations. Since these are static, they generate a security and stability in a changing world. The intellect creates and seeks this stability to be able to work, calculate, analyze, communicate, etc. We also think

we share this ideology with others since we have spatialized and externalised it to a transcendent quasi-object that is believed to exist beyond what we can see. We relate a physical pyramid to the quasi-object of religion which has no physical existence. Therefore, researchers use symbols, pyramids, and fortifications as nodes in establishing a non-complete ideological model on warfare. When we (and the past human agents) try to explain the world, it comes out as different actualisations that may generate conflicts as they may not coincide with others' views of the same actualisations that they have generated through their habits.

If some actualisations are more persistent and similar among a wider population, these could be used to form an assumed actual macro-ideology by certain interests. The creation of ideological elements, for example royal symbols, was a need to form a continuous or rather static and all encomapssing totality of discontinuous and fragmented actualisations. It never completely succeeded. The solids and static entities did not generate the totality, and thus left it open for various interpretations, or representations that the intellect contemplated upon. The differences in understanding the actualisations were and still are the foundation for social constructions. It was from the actualisations that the social was constructed.

During extraordinary events, such as in the lethal encounters, the actualisations were shaken, but the virtual continued even though it split up along different tendencies. Thus, continuity and differentiation existed in the virtual, but the past human agents sought this continuity in something that did not bear a continuity and differentiation. The differences of degrees that exist within Mayanist ideologies are the result of the becomings of actual multiplicities from a virtual totality. This is why there are similarities between a typical quadripartite world view today and in the 7th century, despite great social upheavals in between, such as the Spanish conquest. The virtual has been continuous, generating certain actualisations that look the same as others, but they have split up, forming new sets of actual ideologies. Although the actualisations may resemble each other, the interpretations concerning them differ.

Iconographic and archaeological remains could rather be seen as differences in kind, they do not necessarily tell the same 'macro-ideology' or 'macro-narrative'. The *witz* hieroglyph ("mountain"/pyramidal temple) need not relate to the same actualisation as the pyramid itself. However, researchers see them as differences of degree and generate a homogenous ideology from this. Macro-level models on ideology, such as the may-cycle or the theatre state model, have been formed from disparate data that have been patched together to fill in assumed "voids" of the past (Normark 2006a).

I believe that the elements that make up Rice's (2004) "may-cycle" model existed, but not as the whole transcendent cosmology it aspires to be. Certain interests emphasized some existing elements while bringing in other elements. Rice acknowledges changes but continues to see the model as a difference of degree during 2000 years.

A network of ideologies

Thus, all actual parts are forced into the greater entity of the "Maya culture" which is a conglomerate of loosely connected actualisations. This is also true for ideology and warfare. They are squeezed into the same mould that consists of artificially united actualisations. The parts of this mould are defined and determined by the whole artificial mould. This is an idea that typology in the Weberian sense is partly to blame for. In typological classification the types are ideal and variations are just differences of degree to this ideal. The variations become parts of a whole rather than making up the whole (DeLanda 2002).

In a *populationist* view, the unique individual entity is more important that the idealised type. In DeLanda's Deleuzian inspired approach to a social ontology, each level of scale has its own history of *individuation* process. His ontology of individual entities specifies the historical processes that have created the whole. He sees institutions and centres as concrete social individuals. A social individual must maintain an identity through time even though entities of different scales intervene (DeLanda 2000:5-6). In such a perspective, the institution of the may-cycle at a site could possibly remain intact although other entities or processes intervened during warfare. Thus, a populationist view of the social units involved in warfare look at local historical development of these units rather than having a predefined concept such as state or polity. This unit rather takes the shape of a *network*.

Most Mayanists use either a pan-peninsular or a regional approach to compare units created from materiality, such as ceramic complexes that are unique for each site, and fit them into a larger pattern of a ceramic sphere. It is assumed that the sphere reflects other entities as well, such as an interaction sphere, polity, state, or something else that has a near complete territorial coverage which also brings along quasi-objects, such as culture and actual macro-ideologies. I am not disagreeing with the idea that these spheres reflect some kind of social pattern, I only disagree with the social entities usually used in such approaches since these tend to reflect idealised types of predetermined identities.

It is likewise argued that the basic warring unit would have been an entity based on territory, usually of a lesser areal extent than these spheres (Webster 2000). However, we lack sufficient knowledge on how extensive these

territories may have been, although Emblem glyphs (royal titles associated with land) have been useful in such studies (Berlin 1958). However, studies on Emblem glyphs have generated models that describe the political units as everything from small polities (based upon Thiessen Polygons), to regional states, and to "super-powers" (Barthel 1968; Marcus 1976, 1993; Martin and Grube 2000; Mathews 1991; Rice 2004). This is the result of different and/or new decipherment of certain glyphic compounds. It is another question if these glyphs correspond to actual or perceived political units, and by whom and when during the Classic period. It is often the case that a researcher mixes various data set (ceramic complexes and spheres, Emblem glyphs and other glyphic data, architectural styles, distribution of obsidian, etc.) in order to establish a social, economical, or political entity or process that was responsible for the patterns. In order to fit everything into the same mould, differences and oddities need to be removed.

In my view, the ceramic and architectural complexes would represent *populations* of materialities with diverse histories which are not isolated from the surrounding world, otherwise we would not be able to date them. However, these need not relate to political boundaries or territories associated with the royal titles of Emblem glyphs or with regional cultural spheres based on the distribution of ceramics and architecture. The local histories work on different levels and follow different social tendencies, not all fitted into an interaction sphere, polity, or state. Most tendencies stay within the local area, and few enter from the surrounding area, but to say that the tendencies reflect regional economies, political territories, or ethnic boundaries do simply not fit my approach here (Normark 2006a).

I use the idea of the network, slightly inspired by Latour (1987, 1999, 2000) which does not rely on a complete spatial coverage which the sphere metaphor and the territorial models imply. In the network metaphor there are nodes and links that may bypass certain geographic areas, political bondaries, and institutions. These networks fluctuate in their temporal and spatial extent. The networks have a *rhizomatic* character, meaning that there is no single trajectory or straight line between various nodes (Deleuze and Guattari 1988). There is also a distinction between a ceramic network and an architectural network. These represent differences in kind and do not have to follow the extent of other material networks. Each place belongs to a multitude of *nested* networks where ceramics and architecture may coincide, but they may not necessarily coincide at a nearby site. Ceramics and architecture work along different courses. A vessel can be brought to one site and copied by local ceramicists, but copying a temple design either needs to bring a foreign mason or architect to another area, or the need for a local mason or architect to memorise the foreign architecture well and later copy it from memory. In this network, actual ideologies transverse

material nodes (*polyagents* in my terminology), they might be caught up and hauled into certain sites by local actual ideologies if they are of interest to certain individuals, groups, or institutions or they may just bypass the territories, resulting in no encounter (Normark 2006a). In a sphere model, everything is more or less affected by the same homogenous culture, variations are just of degree. The network allows for dynamics and do not force every location into the same "cultural mould". Each site or place has its own unique processes of becoming.

Every site is a network of polyagentive nodes that are nested in other networks. There are no strict boundaries in the virtual, and the actualisations are only temporary entities that change through the workings of both actual and virtual ideologies. Warfare can be seen as the way how actual ideologies force themselves upon other actual ideologies that spread by taking over certain nodes and establishes the control of the links between them. The lethal encounters need not affect all nodes of the network, just certain key nodes. Actual ideologies, that always differ between individuals since they depend on habits, force themselves upon local actual and virtual ideologies for a period. The virtual ideology, that is shared by all, forces the actual ideologies among people to adapt to local situations and in the end make even very different actual ideologies (such as those by a Spanish conquistador and a contact period Yucatec farmer) only differences of degree. The Other turns into the Same, due to the workings of local processes.

Chichen Itza's lethal encounters as a network of ideologies

In recent years, several studies suggest that Chichen Itza in the Mexican state of Yucatan, became an "empire" that ravaged the Northern Maya Lowlands during the Terminal Classic (Andrews, et al. 2003; Carmean, et al. 2004; Dahlin 2002; Suhler, et al. 2004). This is generally attributed to the distribution of Chichen Itza affiliated ceramics in termination contexts associated with deliberate destruction of buildings. However, the presence of these ceramics at other sites can also be explained by other means than conquest according to Ringle and others (2004:512). Ringle and others (2004:507) argue that "actual evidence of battles and skirmishes is extremely scarce in the north."

The reason why researchers end up with such different conclusions despite access to published data from other sources is a good example of how actual ideologies work among the researchers themselves. I shall briefly propose another scenario.

The Terminal Classic (roughly A.D. 800-1100 since the dates are site specific) in the Northern Lowlands is defined by the predominance of Puuc Slateware and Florescent architecture. Chichen Itza is often seen as breaking

this pattern during this time since it had some specific architectural (Modified Florescent) and iconographic traits that once were believed to be either the remains of Toltec invaders from Tula in Central Mexico (Morley, et al. 1983), or "Mexicanized Maya" (Putun) that lived along the Tabasco-Campeche coast (Thompson 1970). Schele and Freidel (1990:355-376) argued that they were "Maya" and that they only displayed connections with other people in Mesoamerica. Chichen Itza has also been seen as a multiethnic social and political centre (Andrews 1990; Andrews, et al. 2003; Jones 1995; Krochock 1998). Lincoln (1986) argues that the architecture at the site reflects different use rather than different ethnic groups. Ringle and others (1998) suggest that the so-called "Toltec" style was the result of a interregionally spread "cult" focusing on the divinity Quetzalcoatl/Kukulkan, where Chichen Itza was the eastern centre of this "cult".

It was earlier believed that the "New Chichen Itza" became important after the Puuc centres "collapsed". This idea was based on the belief that the Cehpech ceramic sphere/network, partly associated with the Puuc area to the west of Chichen Itza, preceded the Sotuta ceramic sphere/network associated with Chichen Itza. However, work at several sites indicate that the ceramic spheres/networks and the Florescent and Modified Florescent architecture networks overlap in time (Ball 1979; Lincoln 1986). Several types of the Sotuta sphere/network ceramics have been found in mixed deposits together with Cehpech materials from around 850-900 and later (Milbrath and Peraza Lope 2003:3).

There is a close relationship between Cehpech and Sotuta spheres/networks. Most of Chichen Itza's Sotuta ceramics are Slatewares, a variant of Cehpech ceramic wares (Suhler, et al. 2004:454). The spheres/networks used different resources for clays and temper (Dahlin 2002:334). The distribution of ceramics belonging to the Sotuta ceramic sphere/network is usually seen as the extent of the influence or interaction of Chichen Itza. This influence is either attributed to trade, tribute, gifts, booty, or conquest. I focus here on some recent conquest models.

Andrews and others (2003) argue that Chichen Itza's growth during a time of stress, caused by drier conditions (Gill 2000), led to the depopulation of other centres. Dahlin argues in a similar vein that Chichen Itza's major military politics was to gain and conquer territory in central and north-central Yucatan and to secure access to the coastal areas. The other sites declined and Chichen Itza expanded. This may reflect a concern for war booty and extensively farmed agricultural land rather than tribute (Dahlin 2002:334).

Suhler and others (2004) are also proponents for an expanding Chichen Itza "empire". Chichen Itza is believed to have begun its imperialistic politics between 900 and 1000. Yaxuna would have been the first target that cut Coba

off from accessing the central Northern Lowlands through its long causeway. Uxmal fell in the early tenth century and Dzibilchaltun also fell victim (Suhler, et al. 2004:456-457).

Others that propose an expanding polity also consider the possibility of alliances. Chichen Itza and Uxmal may have formed an alliance around 900 (Carmean, et al. 2004:431). Such an alliance may have been useful for Uxmal's own expansion (Schele and Mathews 1998:234).

Ringle and others (1998) do not believe in the conquering empire model, maybe because their investigations at Ek Balam never focused on contexts where termination rituals could be found. Instead, they argue that Chichen Itza was a new type of centre. Other centres in the Northern Lowlands based their power in controlling towns and the worship of traditional deities and a few local ancestors. Chichen Itza is believed to have become a transcendent spiritual centre focusing on the "cult of Quetzalcoatl" (Ringle, et al. 2004:513). The evidence for the "cult of Quetzalcoatl" is that Sotuta sphere/network ceramics are only found in small portions outside Chichen Itza. Chichen Itza's typical architecture, such as gallery-patio, colonnaded halls, and serpent temples are mainly found at Chichen Itza according to Ringle (2004:213). However, gallery patios are known from Nohmul and Becan and colonnaded halls have been found at Culuba (Johnstone, personal communication 2006). It is argued that Plumbate ceramics and fine paste imports were distributed at sites that participated in the "cult of Quetzalcoatl" that involved ritual, feasting, and pilgrimage. Thus, these wares are not seen at other sites due to ideological differences (Ringle, et al. 2004:504). In this model, it is likely that Chichen Itza only intervened in disputes, rather than going on in massive campaigns (Ringle 2004:213).

Ringle suggests that the "cult of Quetzalcoatl" was a network connected with certain sites but not with others. My idea of the rhizomatic network is not related to political boundaries, units, or an actual macro ideology since human interaction occurs along different trajectories. On some occasions, different trajectories of actual ideologies intersected and aligned in the same geographical areas (such as some of the elements of Ringle's "cult of Quetzalcoatl" and Rice's "may-cycle"). The physical location of Chichen Itza and its adversaries/allies had several important nodes for virtual ideologies that were stationary and persistent (sinkholes, caves, buildings, etc.). These acted as backdrops for far more spatially dispersed but temporally short lived actual ideologies, such as the "cult of Quetzalcoatl".

Even if Chichen Itza went out on campaigns to conquer, and/or spread actual ideologies by violence, the local virtual ideologies did not end. It might even be the case that the virtual ideology allowed for actual ideologies to reemerge in a slightly changed way after the lethal encounters. The virtual ideologies were

connected with the immanent in the stable material nodes, not with transcendent actual ideologies.

The virtual ideology also allowed for something new to settle and become nested in preexisting networks. Therefore, there is a virtual continuity between the Florescent architecture and the Modified Florescent architecture at Chichen Itza (Cobos 2003). There were political and religious processes that affected the architecture, but they only affected the actualised patterns, not the virtual dynamics.

There is a category of structures in the Northern Lowlands that seems to postdate the monumental architecture since the structures sometimes are constructed by architectural elements from nearby monumental buildings. There are small post-monumental, or open-fronted, structures at Uxmal, Sayil (Carmean, et al. 2004:432, 435), and Ek Balam (Ringle, et al. 2004:491, 502). Nohcacab in the Cochuah region has two open-fronted structures (Normark 2006b; Shaw and Johnstone in press). Bey and others (1997) argue that the post-monumental structures were a short lived attempt to keep a centralised control on a local level. Carmean and others (2004) relate them to people associated with Chichen Itza. This would have been a joint attempt to take control over the remaining sites. It could also be evidence of a conquest by Chichen Itza. Shaw and Johnstone (in press) believe that these structures are associated with the breakdown of large centralized power, and that they are part of the "collapse" process and reflects a transition to the Postclassic, rather than necessarily having any political association. I would see the open-fronted structures as remaining nodes of a once widespread, but by then gone, network whose actual ideologies were diminishing on the expense of other actual ideologies that had a closer association with the virtual ideologies of the local area. The actual ideologies associated with the open-fronted structures did not continue for long. Nohcacab's buildings and topography became important nodes for actual ideologies during the following Postclassic period, indicated by the many small shrines and altars that cover earlier buildings. These structures were related to the same virtual ideology as the earlier settlement that focused on fertile depressions (Normark 2003, 2006a, 2006b).

Chichen Itza may have been a regional power as late as 1050-1100 (Dahlin 2002:327). However, a drought dated to A.D. 1020 is by some believed to coincide with the decline at Chichen Itza (Gill 2000; Hodell, et al. 2001). Sotuta and Cehpech sphere/network ceramics disappear around 1050-1100 and are replaced by Hocaba and Tases spheres/networks. Chichen Itza is believed to have been conquered by Mayapan around this time. There are Mayapan-style materials in connection to the final terminations at some of Chichen Itza's structures, such as the Caracol, the Temple of the Warriors, and the High Priest's Grave (Suhler, et al. 2004:458). New networks spread out from

Mayapan that nested with preexisting networks, sometimes through lethal encounters. Some of the nodes of the older actual ideologies were picked up by Mayapan's networks, such as that of Kukulkan/Quetzalcoatl and the may-cycle. Other nodes for actual ideologies may have been abandoned and new ones formed when the new actual ideologies intersected with the local virtual ideologies, such as when the Chen Mul inscensarios were placed at Postclassic shrines on top of earlier buildings across the Northern Lowlands.

Obviously, there are many ways to explain these different patterns of Chichen Itza's role in the Terminal Classic Northern Lowlands. The problem occurs when one tries to fit them together into a mould of culture. There are currently few traces from "dirt archaeological contexts" of actual Chichen Itza related warfare in the Maya area. The evidence is based on iconography and certain interpretations of the intentions and the identity of the agents behind termination rituals. Evidence from some sites could suggest that some nodes of an actual ideology related to some of the elements included in "the cult of Quetzalcoatl", the may-cycle, or an expanding Chichen Itza empire, eventually reached to other sites in the Northern Lowlands, sometimes through lethal encounters. Chichen Itza's ideological impact among a wider population in the Lowlands may have been low, since its network bypassed most groups and serial formations.

Maybe these actualised patterns should not be seen as representations of one single, homogenous history that fits a macro-level model. It is here researchers fail when they search for the "Big Picture", a great narrative that fills the assumed empty past with meaning. The actualisations cannot describe the whole, they can only relate to fragments as do our intellect. A network of populations is well adapted to such fragments whereas the culture concept of idealised types is not.

Conclusion

During lethal encounters, a third space was created in which people's experiences could not be reduced to their former identities. The fluid third space that affected the identities was quite virtual in itself. It was only after the encounter that things stabilized into actual ideologies that others may have recognized. For this to occur, the actual ideologies needed to align with the local virtual ideologies.

Thus, the only ideology that can be said to be shared is the ideology related to Bergson's virtuality. When the virtual actualises into the entities our habits forms around, it generates a need to relate to others for ontological security. It is not a question of groups with different shared ethics or macro-ideologies that clash in lethal encounters. There are series of individuals with particular habits

who experience the encounters very differently. They can only be seen to act for the same cause and intention because they are forced to the same encounters. In a lethal encounter, they may seem to share an identity or even an actual ideology, but that would only be for someone standing on the outside and see them as a mass.

Macro-level models on ideology, such as the may-cycle, the "cult of Quetzalcoatl" or the theatre state model, assume from disparate data that have been patched together to fill in "voids", that warfare and ideology belong to each others. Still, there is a discrepancy concerning the frequency of warfare if one is to judge data from depictions of war-related events, inscriptions mentioning conflicts and battles, and actual physical evidence of the wars in the ground (Normark n.d.). We do not know if the intentions for war were for collecting tribute, gain work forces, or human sacrifice. These may all be "effects" of war, but they are not necessarily the "causes" for war.

The lethal encounters took place between series of people that experienced the ongoing events differently when they occurred. Since we cannot really understand this from our "mute" material, archaeologists have taken the "easy" way out. They have elaborated upon structures that are seen as persistent, universal, determinant, and most importantly – external to the human agent. My view of a virtual ideology sketched out here is also persistent and universal, but it is open-ended, immanent and set in duration of matter itself. It is not just a pre-linguistic understanding of the world, it is a non-intellectual, "intuitive", understanding of the world (in Bergson's meaning of the word). Intuition is lying submerged in a virtual memory (the temporal), that here and there actualises its tendencies into perception (the spatial), that we try to put into words, to be able to communicate with others. A whole has been disintegrated into parts and put together ("constructed") again, but it will never be seen as a virtual multiplicity, only as an actual multiplicity, expressed in language and symbols.

The distinction between the virtual and the actual, in which the latter emerges from the former (not being its dialectical opposite), is the foundation for a world view that focuses on processes and becomings. In Deleuze and Guattari's (1988) and DeLanda's (2002) continued work on Bergson's notion of the virtual, they seek a "new realism", and very well a "new materialism," that flattens out the ontological hierarchies set up by social constructionists and "naïve" realists. Thus, the virtual and the actual opens up a path where we do not have to rely on essentialism or static representations that are too often found in archaeology.

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CHAPTER TEN

THE SPREAD OF MIDDLE EASTERN GLASS

ANNA IHR

Introduction

Glass is the world's oldest known synthetic or man-made material (Doppelfeld 1966:7). Although man-made glass has the same chemical composition as natural glass, for instance obsidian, the man-made needed a lower melting point as to be plastic enough to be worked up (Doppelfeld 1966:7f.). When, and exactly where, glass was invented will never be certain. However, we do know that it was first made in the regions of the eastern Mediterranean (Newton & Davison 1989:19). The oldest known glass items are beads found in stratigraphic layers from 4000 BC in Mesopotamia and Egypt. By 1500 BC the tradition of melted glass threads, wrapped around a clay core became the earliest vessels. Shaping by blowing, though, started far later in Syria or Palestine around 100 BC (Hoffman 1996:186; Haggrén 1999:20) and "...turned glass into a cheap commodity which could be mass produced" (Newton & Davison 1989:24). As we understand, the technique of glass was developed in the Middle East, hence it was here, the core of former Mesopotamia and later Islamic world, the earliest glass objects were designed (Frank1982:17f), produced and later spread through Europe and Asia. A decline in glass production is found during the 13th till the 9th century BC due to politically unstable nations as a consequence to the collapse of great Empires and migrations of peoples. Although, it must be stated that the art and knowledge of glass production did not die out altogether (Newton & Davison 1989:22).

We find several references to glass and glass-making from early Arabic and/or Muslim writers. Al-Azdi in the first half of the 11th century speaks of different glasses from green paste which includes enamel (mina), gilt ornamented vessels (qutuli mujra bi-l-dhahab), plain cut or faceted glass of good

quality (mukhram majrud) and cut crystal (billaur makhrut) (Lamm 1941:16). Al-Yaqubi writes in around 880 that glass-makers (and potters) moved from Basra to the new capital of Samarra after al-Mu´tasim founded this metropolis in 836. At the same time Lamm tells us, that the nobles had the possibility to call in workers from all over the Islamic world, as to receive workforce in construction sites of new palaces or in the founding's of new cities (Lamm 1930:7). This kind of inter-cultural movement of workers commonly occurred within the Islamic world. The main production centres for glass in Iraq were Basra, Qadasiya-on-the-Tigris and Baghdad during this `Abbasid period (Lamm 1941:14). In contemporary Europe, oriental glass was widely acknowledged: "The Oriental enamelled and gilt glass, so highly appreciated in medieval Europe, was known as 'glass in the manner of Damascus'. Sometimes one also finds the expression ' Moorish glass', or 'glass from overseas' "(Lamm 1941:68). The spread of glass manufacturing was very rapid. Starting as we have seen in the Middle East, the production methods were spread with traders in the Mediterranean and soon reached the Islands off Greece and into the Roman hegemony. Starting in Syria and spreading to Egypt, Damascus and Alexandria came to be the two major distribution centres. The Alexandrians were famous for their mosaic workshops, while the Syrians invented the method of glass blowing (Frank 1982:19f). Obviously, within the distribution of glass and the movement of glass makers, encounters of some sort between the action or agency, as Giddens prefers to call it, occurred. According to Anthony Giddens, it is not just the behaviour of the particular actors taken separately, in a situation of interaction, but it is also very important to stress that the observation of action includes the observation of the setting of interaction (Giddens 1979:57).

The concept of interaction, then, is in some way shaped and organised as an integral part of that interaction as a communicative encounter (Giddens 1979:83). Giddens agencies do not refer to a series of discrete deeds interlinked, but to a "continuous flow of conduct" (Giddens 1979:55). As patterns of interaction exists and are situated in time, it is only when they are examined over time, which we find any form of 'patterns' at all (Giddens 1979:202). Hence Giddens term of 'social structure', includes two elements, not clearly distinguished from one another: first, the pattern of interaction, implying relations between actors or groups; and secondly the flow or continuity of interaction in time (Giddens 1979:62). So far we have seen two variables, the actors or groups and time, but there is a third one; the unintended consequences of action. These are of central importance to social theory, as they are systematically incorporated in the process of reproduction of institutions. As long as such unintended consequences are involved in social reproduction, they become conditions of actions themselves (Giddens 1979:59). With the pattern of interactions and the flow of interaction in time, we find it inevitable that the

know-how and production of glass is spread throughout Europe. Not only due to the social structures according to Giddens, but also by the notion of glass as beautiful items and as commodities more expensive than ceramics and thus increasing the social status of a household owning glass.

At the onset of Islamic rule, the foundation of Baghdad was a consequence of increasing economic growth with trade in the Persian Gulf as the major contributor. Already by the 9th century the Gulf had become a passage of Far Eastern, East African and Indian commodities to the markets of the Near East. With the rise of the ‘Abbasid caliphate, the seaborne trade routes from the Persian Gulf experienced a new momentum, due to the change of the capital to Baghdad (Hourani 1951:64). Earlier Damascus had been the main city and capital, from 660-750 under the Umayyad dynasty. Baghdad grew rapidly, becoming a metropolis and attracting both art and wealth. It triggered trade to this part of the world, not only by land but also by sea. In the Persian Gulf the main port was Siraf and al-Ubullah, where large ships had to dock, and the goods had to be transported to Baghdad by river craft (Hourani 1951:64). By the mid 9th century the establishment of a regular trade route to China, was a fact (Hourani 1951:66), while ´Adan functioned as the main port for the trade in the Red Sea and down the African coast (Wheatley 2000:131&134). “These markets, however, were already declining in the tenth century and, in the eleventh, the fall of the Buyids and the consequent fragmentation of political power led to a deep depression” (Whitehouse 1982:333). Looking at strict economic causes Whitehouse concludes that demands on the markets of Iraq, created the boom of the Gulf trade, while decreasing demands simultaneously shaped the depression of the 11th century (Whitehouse 1982:333). As the Fatimid rule in Cairo (969-1171) grew more and more dominantly over Baghdad, the seaborne trade increasingly moved towards the Red Sea and thus the ‘Abbasids lost their monopoly (Lowick 1974:321). Later the invasion and destruction of the Syrian city of Raqqa by Hulagu, grandson of Djingis (Chingiz) Khan in 1259, led to a relocation of glass-makers to the west. Another effect was that with the Mongol’s, Chinese art motifs came along, which ”eventually led to a revolution of the ornamental art of the Near East” (Lamm1941:60). With the Mongol invasion a small revival of the trade in the Persian Gulf seemed to happen. Now, Hormuz was the centre of trade down to Indian and further ahead (Lowick 1974:322).

It is clear then, that the period around the former millennium, in the Islamic world, was an era of major change in political structure. The ruling power of the Umayyad caliphate with its seat in Damascus, is first overthrown, and shifted to `Abbasid rule with Baghdad as centre and later to the Fatamid rule in Egypt, seated in Cairo. The shift to `Abbasid rule was not only geographical, but also politics, merchandise, philosophy and religion changed. With sailing routes way

over the ocean to China, Baghdad became the main centre for trade to East Asia. We know that with the circulation of peoples, ideas and material culture can transport long way and spread. Also, we know that in times of political unrest, people move and seek better lives in new areas. Hence we can conclude that with political turmoil follows a spread of workforce, know-how and production. But the know-how and artefacts do not spread solely by political structure, trade relations do matter as well. Economic conditions as trading do therefore play a central role. We have seen that artefacts and workforce travelled throughout the Islamic world, both as a consequence of political unrest, as well as merely trade relations. With political unrest in the Middle East, Northern Europe and Scandinavia received know-how, for instance glass, and simultaneously trade relations brought Indian artefacts as north as Scandinavia. Thus we see an intercultural move of specialised handicraft, where trade relations not only distribute items, but also know-how in production. Accordingly, political unrest gave Western Europe an influx in know-how.

At the same time, contemporary western and northern Europe experienced a political turmoil themselves (Tait 1991:98). In Scandinavia, the late Iron Age society, also known as the Viking Age, gave way to a new system where the 'Vikings' became divided into three different nations. With the creation of three states in Scandinavia; Norway, Denmark and Sweden, borders became suddenly important. Earlier instead, we had seen the pattern of cultural unity in northern Europe (Nielsen & Rasmussen 1986:48), where the western part of Sweden, Denmark and southern Norway formed a unity with a similar cultural tradition, whilst eastern Sweden had/has a dissimilar one. Although it must here be stated that "there were not three peoples, but many different communities" (Svanberg 2003:103). From anthropology we have learnt that people can change group of identity and a person can be a member of several different sorts of groups at the same time (Svanberg 2003:111,191).

Western Sweden had its interests set towards England and the western parts of the European continent, whereas the Easterners sphere of interest stretched east, finding its way to Finland and Estonia. Essentially this means that what is found in an archaeological context in western parts of Sweden, does not have to be found in the eastern parts, even though at the time being, the newly created nation Sweden, was supposed to be homogeneous, populated by one people. So we find the western Scandinavians in a unity of interest and cultural tradition, disconnected to the Easterners. It thus seems likely that the seaborne connections were far more frequent and important than the land based one. The waters dividing Sweden from Denmark can be seen as contemporary highways. Good sailors travelled far, why we find 'Vikings', in southern Spain invading, or at least trying to, the city of Cordoba 844 and in Constantinople (Istanbul) as merchandisers and mercenaries. Meanwhile we find Arabic and/or Muslim

traders and settlers throughout the Mediterranean Sea. Muslim historians travelled the known world, describing and documenting different peoples and regions. The connections between the Islamic world and the Northern European are thus widely known, but the spread of glass is less documented. As for the discussion held in our discourse, the 'Vikings' and the 'Viking Age', is a constructed system of presuppositions, influenced by nationalistic doctrines, where the term 'Viking Age' became commonly used in the late 19th century (Svanberg 2003:19).

To summarise: In the introduction some background information was given as to the invention of glass as a material. We also found political turmoil in the Islamic world as well as on the European continent and Scandinavia, giving a move of power structure, peoples and goods. Merchandise is closely connected to governments and administration seats, as a capital moves, so does the trading route. It is clear that seaborne trade was of most importance both in the Islamic world as in the north European.

Production and Decoration

What makes synthetic glass so special is that it can be moulded, kneaded, rolled, pressed and poured. One can prolong glass, melt it together and it is flexible. Besides, one can paint, carve and colour it (Doppelfeld 1966:8f), just to mention few manipulation traditions. Mediterranean glass was/is made with a mixture of Soda, while later northern production was made with potash and as such of lower quality. Glass manufacturing in southern Europe, with adding soda as flux (-ing agent), combined with uncontaminated, white/clear sand, gave a more or less colourless glass, while the transalpine potash tradition in combination with northern iron contaminated sand gave a greenish colour. This green coloured glass, called forest glass, gained its name not only due to colour, but also by its placement of glass houses in the woods. Forests provided both firewood and woodland ash for flux, often taken from bracken (Tait 1991:153). Usually when liquids cool a sudden change occurs and they form crystals. Glass, though, is a material which should not form crystals; it simply gets stiffer and stiffer until it becomes rigid, still retaining its liquid structure (Frank 1982:2). The major constituent of glass is silicon dioxide, usually derived from ordinary sand. Oxides like this have very strong inter-molecular bonds, giving a tightly braced structure in three dimensions. Glass, when melted with a perfect surface, is about five times stronger than steel, due to its inter-molecular bonds (Newton & Davison 1989:17). Knowing this, glass can be used for many purposes. Already during the Roman time, window glass (crowned glass) was manufactured (Frank 1982:25). Strong inter-molecular bonds explains why pure silica-oxide glass mass does not melt until very high temperatures. Therefore a fluxing agent is

added, as to lower the melting point. Just below the melting point, glass mass can form crystals, which is bad, as it makes the cooled item very fragile. This occurs with the cooling process, which is why the glass must be cooled very quickly through this range, giving no chance to form crystals. But care has to be taken, as the cooling process in general has to be done slow. If the glass is cooled too rapidly, the artefact has no time to release internal stress, giving flaws in the structure. Under these flaws the bonds crack and fractures occur, and once this starts it can spread right across the material. Hence, the rate of cooling affects the glass inner structures (Frank 1982:3ff, 14). No loss herein, as broken and cracked glass can be reused and remelted. The purpose of adding old glass is to lower the melting point.

A cargo ship that sunk outside the shores of Seçre Liman, Turkey, carried one ton of raw and scrape glass. Likely it sunk around 1025/36 AD (Henricson 1990:10; Tait 1991:114; Newton & Davison 1989:34). Its cargo was collected in a Syrian port and its destination was set for the Black Sea, an area we know was frequently visited by Nordic ('Viking') merchandisers. The shore area south of Seçre Liman and Burdrum seems to be a dangerous one, as already in 14th – 13th century BC there sunk a ship, loaded with glass cullets amongst other items (Davidson Weinberg 1992:18). This ship was also headed westward, where glass was one of the trading goods. The two shipwrecks confirm trade and commerce patterns in the eastern Mediterranean. Cullets or waste glass was added in the melting procedure of glass, as this melts at a lower temperature. Lowering the melting point this way, speeds up the melting process and a significant amount of waste can thus form the batch (Davidson Weinberg 1992:16; Frank 1982:123).

Manganese was used to decolourise, and different metal oxides for adding colours. Iron oxide is for brown and green colours, while blue is gained from cobalt. Opalising in Roman and pre-Roman era was by calcium antimonite, while by the 5th century AD tin oxide was used (Newton & Davison 1989:11). Cobalt, though, is not frequently found; Iran is the only place in the Near East. As for the European market cobalt had to be imported from former Persia via the Levant (Frank 1982:76, 17f, 23), and certainly this colour was eagerly sought by the Europeans. As seen in different production methods and in different times, we find different types of colourings, except for the Cobalt blue, which in all times had to be imported from beyond the Eastern Mediterranean coast.

It was first in the mid-9th century that the recipe for glass making changed in northern Europe, going from naturally occurring soda as the alkali to a potash-lime-silica mixture (Tait 1991:111). Potash/forest glass becomes opaque and crystallises more easily when it decays, and becomes very fragile (Haggrén 1999:16). Therefore great care has to be taken in archaeological circumstances,

handling glass. Many glass items have long been lost for archaeologists. Soda has stronger chemical bonds and thus decays in lesser extent. Contrary to forest glass, soda glasshouses were set within town areas and this glass is by far better preserved in archaeological context than forest glass (Haggrén 1999:20). Forest glass ovens are rarely detected as they either still are set in remote areas or have been ploughed over by later farmers. Furnaces set in dense settlements have either vanished by reuse of material or covered by later structures. Hence we see an inconsistency in field archaeology as to either detect or just by random luck to find furnaces. Though, looking at the amount of fine glass found so far, we could expect more furnaces yet to be found. Another explanation to why so few glass furnaces have been found in archaeological excavations can be that they have not survived the ever-changing world, as they often lay above ground.

There are many different types of ornamentation; while the glass is still hot decoration can be done by adding threads, blobs or prunts or simply shaped by blowing. Ornamentation after cooling down is done by lustre painting, enamelling and gold painting, this being most common in the Islamic world, but also engraving and grinding do exist (Tait 1991:chapter 4; Haggrén 1999:9). Carved or cut glass was done to resemble pressure stones, known to be used by the Romans, but this technique was not revived in post-Roman Europe until the 17th century (Henricson 1990:38; Tait 1991:112). Carving in glass is very costly, demanding a highly skilled workforce, and thus those artefacts are rarities (Tait 1991:119). While glass blowing traditionally was common in the Mediterranean area, the rest of Europe held this tradition only on a very small scale (Haggrén 1999:8). In the late Iron Age and the early Middle Ages, glass with prunts became common in Europe. As a form, the prunted beaker may have entered Europe from the Middle East (likely Iran) (Tait 1991:153). Early Islamic production features surface manipulation rather than polychrome decoration. Polychrome decoration seems to have been prominent in later periods around the 12th-15th century. An exception to polychrome, though, is the lustre painting. This method is known for ceramics since the mid-9th century and for glass by the late 8th century (Tait 1991:125). Islamic glass in the period of the former millennium was uncoloured and ornamented with lustre and/or gilding (gold plated). The most famous gilded items are Mosque lamps.

Lustre is a method of applying paint on the glass in various combinations of sulphur, silver oxide or copper oxide in a medium of vinegar. These decoration methods still exist today. The vessel is then placed in a reduced kiln, after which the paint emerges with a lustrous glitter. Items like these were a luxury in the west (Haggrén 1999:13). In the Islamic world lustre with polychrome painting was used until the 10th century, and then replaced by monochrome. Now, the technique of lustre-painting on white background was developed in Mesopotamia as copies from fine Chinese pottery, preferably with blue

decoration (Lamm 1941:18). As stated before, trade contributed to new ideas of art, and so the Chinese blue and white pottery became heavily popular in the Middle East. This blue and white was imitated both on ceramics and glass.

The credit of polychrome painting must be given to glass makers in Cairo, perhaps even as early as the 6th or 7th century. The earliest specimen is found in Fustat (Old Kairo) and bears the name of the Governor of Egypt in 722 (Tait 1991:125). Glass with paint on both sides (inner and outer) is older than one side only. Representations with birds on enamelled and lustre-painted glass are often found (Lamm 1941:21). In contemporary Europe, polychrome painting was primarily used for beads. Brightly coloured drinking vessels were not in use here except for in Venice, Italy (Tait 1991:106). The tradition of enamelling has long been known, as an eastern Mediterranean invention and the technique of enamelling soon reached the Rhineland region by immigrating workforces. The eastern Mediterranean groups of enamelling differ much from the western European group of decoration, indicating a mode of fashion by producer or by the customer (Tait 1991:85f.).

> Enamelled glass had been made in Egypt, as well as in Syria, during the Roman period, and the Egyptians had since times immemorial been great masters in the colouring of glass. The mosaic and millefiori glass of Alexandria had, before the enamelled glass attained its fame, been one of the staple products of Egypt (Lamm 1941:19).

Clearly glass production had many purposes speaking of forms and types, like beakers, bowls and bottles, windows, jewellery and lamps to mention few. Glass, though, is not only bound by the craftsmen, but also to epochs of imperialism and colonialism. The world's first glasses bear the name kartuche of Tuthmoses III. He established a glass production centre in Tell el-Amarna 1370 BC (Newton & Davison 1989:20). In the late Hellenistic period a new high in glass production starts, which is continued by the Romans, as a hegemony, who spread it throughout Europe. With the fall of the Romans a short decline in glass production occurred. Soon, though, with the establishment of the new Islamic dynasties, the production and know-how of this art carried on. The synthetic material of glass, always received a boom in times of political stableness. For instance Damascus came to be not only the capital of the Umayyad dynasty, but also the main centre for glass manufacturing during this era. The new established Islamic dynasties carry with them the know-how of production of this synthetic materiality (Doppelfeld 1966:9). Ibn Khaldun points out that only big and delicate cities have the luxury and culture, giving room for professions intending to produce the affluence like glass-blowers (Ibn Khaldun 1989:366). As we have seen before within the discussion of Giddens social theory, the study of social activity involves the elapse of time, just as that activity itself

does. To speak of social stability does not mean abstracting from time, since 'stability' implies continuity over time. A stable social order with no major change in power structure, is one in which there is a close similarity between how things are now and how they used to be in the past. According to Giddens, though, it is not only time or history participating, but also histocricity. Histocricity, Giddens state, is a consciousness of 'progressive movement' as an attribute of the social life of certain societies, especially those of the post-feudal West, where this consciousness is organised actively to promote social change (Giddens 1979:199). Looking at glass and glass production in the West European continent, we clearly find the 'progressive movement' or the promotion of social change, found its way by means of imports of both the know-how of production, raw materials and the end product as such. Also the spread of lustre painting technique might be set in this promotion.

To summarise: Above has been discussed some of the chemical constituents of glass as a material and the techniques of manufacturing glass. We see that different recipes are held in different regions and different times. Glass is both solid and fragile, usable for many purposes. Colourings and decorations are strongly dependent upon fashion and administration seat. New times with new regimes, gives new trading routes and therefore new influx in fashion and colours. Ornamentation on glass is another feature highly dependent on fashion. Closing up this chapter, evidence of the relation between stable and durable regimes and the glass production has been pointed out.

Circulation Pattern

During the Hellenistic era, mosaic glass and cameo technique was achieved. Several places in Syria, in Western Europe and the city of Alexandria in Egypt were production centres (Newton & Davison 1989:24). The invention of blown glass was a incitement to the richness of Roman glass and all centres of glass production came under Roman dominion (Newton & Davison 1989:24). This applies both the western European region as well as the eastern Mediterranean.

When the best glasses were made in Syria, during the first centuries of the Roman Empire, these Syrian glassmakers where highly respected and therefore regarded as Roman citizens (Newton & Davison 1989:18). There was a continual movement of glass artefacts, but also of craftsmen throughout the Roman Empire, so it is very difficult to tell where a single specimen was made (Frank 1982:20f). With the Roman hegemony the circulation and spread of glass artefacts and production centres, continued taking its way north. The Brenner pass in Switzerland is one transportation route to the transalpine countries (Newton & Davison 1989:27). Later Bohemian glass houses were owned by German order or fraternities. With the German fraternities, Bohemian glass

objects spread up north, to the Baltic see. This type of glass was thin, almost uncoloured often decorated with a blue thread. They are commonly found in Estonia, Finland and eastern parts of Sweden (Haggrén 1999:21f). However western Scandinavia did not receive these items. Instead we got glass from the western regions like the Netherlands, Great Brittan, France and the Rhine lands of Germany (Haggrén 1999:26f), with a glass tradition of the former Western Roman Empire.

After the Roman decline, glass-making continued in the former Roman hinterlands and as such the spread sustained. Soon the northern regions of the Empire had their own glasshouses, Cologne, Bohemia and Namur (Belgium) are some famous sites during the Roman period. The invention of glass blowing and the hegemony of the Roman Empire, created a cheaper commodity. With 'mass production' glass ceased to be a luxury item and became more generally consumed in domestic households than ever before and after, all the way up until the 19th century (Newton & Davison 1989:24).

Until the 3rd century we find evidence of strong connection between Eastern and Western glass manufacturing. Mainly Syrian glass-makers were moving from the Eastern to Western Roman provinces. The most famous one is Ennion, a Sidonian moving to Italy (Newton & Davison 1989:24,25). "Fashion and innovations spread with the continuous traffic of glass-makers with the result that types originally made in the East began to be produced in the West" (Newton & Davison 1989:25f.). One type is the snake thread trailing-group known from Syria since the late 2nd century and which some 100 years later was produced in the Rhineland and Britain (Newton & Davison 1989:26). In the mid 4th century, the division of the Roman Empire cut down the East-West connection and therefore different glass-making traditions at different places, developed. The production became more provincial, but the transalpine glasshouses where firmly established and did continue their manufacturing. In time, the former Roman Empire was divided into a northern Teutonic tradition and a southern Egyptian-Syrian one. It has to be noted, though, that the new Teutonic patrons demanded a different style, simpler and plainer items, resulting in the loss of older Roman techniques. By now migrating peoples in Europe took power and the production of glass decreased due to political unrest. Again we see that political instability greatly influences the access of glass in the senses of decreasing trade and lack of stable cities. As glass production is highly influenced by the political situation, we now find in the Teutonic influenced regions a situation, where glasshouses moved away from established settlements into the woods, the so called forest glass. Forest glass houses were established in wooden areas such as Bohemia and Germany (Frank 1982:22).

Meanwhile in the East, the industry continuously flourished. Even after the Islamic conquest when new styles and techniques were developed, shown in, for

instance, the decoration methods of gilding. By the invasion of Timur Lenk (15th cent, Damascus fell 1400-1402) in the Middle East, though, it meant nothing less than a catastrophe for the glass industry. Glass production decreased significantly and drove many glass-makers out of Damascus (Frank 1982:21, Lamm 1941:68). Some were taken to Turkistan by Timur Lenk, but many fled to western regions, thus giving European glasshouses a boom. At this time we find glass houses on the island of Murano, Venice in Italy when glass-makers from Constantinople settled here in the 11th century (Newton & Davison 1989:19). We also find glasshouses in Bohemia (11th or 12th century some scholars state 14th century), continuing in the Rhine region and Namur in Belgium (Tait 1991:chapter 3, 113f). Looking at these distribution patterns, Scandinavia is seen as the outermost periphery of the contemporary world. But still we find very interesting artefacts in archaeological excavations showing on merchandise contact to other parts of the world. Beads of carnelian and cut rock crystals brought from the Orient, indicates contact to the East (Svanberg 2003:187). Also reticella decoration as thread added decoration is in early 'Viking' graves found, when the tradition of that specific decoration tradition was not used in central Europe for 500 years. Where and if this type of decoration was used in other parts of the world in the meantime has never been shown upon, but the Franks did not (Doppelfeld 1966:71). What we do know is that with the spread of Christianity goods were no longer buried in graves by the late 7th century in continental Europe. Though the more barbarian parts of Europe, like Scandinavia, converted to Christianity far later, which gives us a good reason to dig for glass in northern graves (Nielsen & Rasmussen 1986: 48f; Tait:109).

Frequently glass artefacts are found in Scandinavian graves as early as the 1st century AD (Henricson 1990:32). In Scandinavia more than 260 pieces of oriental origin, from the Roman era have been found (Lamm 1941:99). A Roman wine set (Henricson 1990:33), cobalt blue blown bowl (Henricson 1990:34) and a medallion beaker (Henricson 1990:37) to mention but a few artefacts. Further on we have 'Viking' glass working sites in York, Britain (Tait:109) and lustre painted fragments found in Barkaby, Sweden, 9th or early 10th century (Lamm 1941:21f.). During the mid-10th century the production decreased in continental glass houses, due to political turmoil, which in turn leads to a decrease of glass items found in northern Europe. Nonetheless, some east Mediterranean glass continued to travel to western regions, reaching Italy, Britain and Sweden by the 9th and running through the 11th century (Tait 1991:111). The custom of glass started as a luxury item within noble families in the Nordic countries. Soon, though, glass spread to the bourgeoisie in Scandinavia, Finland and Estonia (Haggrén 1999:4).

Many Islamic lustre-painted shards (fragments) are found in European and Scandinavian houses. Most common are fragments of conical beakers. The interesting thing about the beaker is that the conical form exists in Cologne in layers dating back to the 4th century (Doppelfeld 1966:72,fig.82). The type continues after the Roman fall into the Frankish era of production and they were very popular during the Islamic era (Lamm 1929). After the Islamic decline, Venetian copies flooded the European market. These copies are made very well – similar size, colourings and even the writing was duplicated. In the beginning with Arabic look-alike writing, later Latin phrases were in fashion. Remembering Giddens, he recognises that not all interaction, here seen in the spread of glass, which takes place in the presence of others has to be 'face-to-face' (Giddens 1979:203). He mentions crowd behaviour as an exception, while in this paper indirect interaction might be found in the spread of a certain fashion. Lustre painting is a typical Islamic mode of decoration, which started as an attempt to imitate Chinese blue and white, later highly appreciated in Europe. The type can be detached into two divisions, one with an Islamic tapering, the other with a West European shape and colouring. The European design rarely has gold painting unlike the Islamic examples, and the colours are partly on the inner, partly on the outer surfaces. The Islamic painters exclusively painted the outer surface (Tait 1991:152). "...Middle Eastern glass which culminated in the distinctive and sophisticated wares of Islam" (Newton & Davison 1989:31). However different Islamic dynasties supported different styles of decoration. We see for instance that during Salladin, an orthodox Kurd ruling and uniting the eastern Mediterranean area in the mid 12th century, human figural decoration became forbidden. It is mainly now that the geometric designs make the corner stones in Islamic art. Turning back to the conical beakers, northeast of Gothenburg, in Lödöse, a single fragment of such a conical beaker is found. This one has been taken to be either of Islamic or Venetian origin. Looking at the decoration, it seems more likely that the shard from Lödöse is of an Islamic origin. In Dorpat (Tartu), Estonia, at least 12 beakers have been recovered of Venetian origin. These are rare items, very thin, less than 1 mm, and less then 100 found in the world (Haggrén 1999:18). Comparing the one in Lödöse to the ones in Tartu, the eastern ones are clearly Venetian. This is seen in the human figural decoration of Saints. The Lödöse one has a single Arabic letter, written in a band above a bird/dragon. Either Islamic or Venetian, it is clear that the type of thin conical beaker is an old form, and studying decoration on beakers around Europe, we can see the earliest are of Roman and later Islamic origin. The conical beaker type became popular in late Iron and Early Middle Ages in Europe and soon copies of the shape with decoration, now in more suitable Christian motives, were produced and spread. Hence we find that an Islamic tradition of enamelling beakers became a fashion in later European glasshouses.

Giddens unintended consequence, can be seen in these changed beakers, where type and shape is kept, but motives of decoration altered to fit a new society.

As for Lödöse, this place was Sweden's western gateway, while Åbo in Finland was the eastern (Haggrén 1999:12). In Lödöse, glass slug (waste product) has been found, in the vicinity of a Dominican monastery. The amount of slug found, can not be from beads production, rather for the making of window glass for the monastery. In the same excavation archaeologists discovered glazed oven bricks made in limestone. This furnace has not yet been excavated, but by geo-radar scanning it has at least been located. Concerning the glazed limestone bricks, the furnace presumably was used for very high temperatures, followed by the amount of glass slug found, archaeologist believe the furnace was used for glass melting. As for dating the site, the Dominican monastery, is recorded from the early Middle Ages, giving the presumed glasshouse to be of a date as early as the mid-13th century. Other glass furnaces excavated in the region connecting western Sweden and Denmark, are commonly dated to the early 16th century. The Lödöse date would mean we are talking about the very first glass house/furnace in Scandinavia (Jeffery 2002:171).

We do know that the making of glass in the German town of Cologne is as old a tradition as the city itself. The town was set at the northern borders/front of the Roman occupations (Doppelfeld 1966:7). Cologne as a centre of trade and manufacturing had its own glass production, all from the beginning of the cities creation and thus goes back to the beginning of the first century AD (Doppelfeld 1966:10). The town never ceased to exist, it rather was gradually taken over by the Frankish cultural tradition. This includes the glasshouses (Doppelfeld 1966:70). Little is known of the production in the Rhineland between the 8th and the 15th century, though few small, crudely made vessels indicate ongoing manufacturing (Newton & Davison 1989:28). Production continued in old Roman furnaces and the new settlers of Cologne never got into the forest glass production (Doppelfeld 1966:75) as the rural neighbourhood did.

Islamic glass-making centres developed along trading routes, such as Aleppo (Syria), Siraf (early Islamic port in the Persian gulf), Nishanpur (Persia) and Fustat (Cairo). Alexandria was no longer the main production centre as it was in the Hellenistic time (Newton & Davison 1989:33), but still production continued in lesser extent. The most important Islamic glass production centres during the last millennium were set in Cairo, Egypt and Damascus, Syria, the latter the main victim of the crusaders and thus the eastern world's gateway to Europe (Haggrén 1999:13). Islamic gold-painted and enamelled glasses were eagerly sought by westerners, and some items were brought back by the very same crusaders (Tait 1991:135).

The decline of the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt meant a decline of Egyptian art, while during the rule of power was the centre of art and production, but as for the rest of the Muslim world the fall of the Fatimids in 1171 gave a rise in Islamic art. This can only mean that Egyptian artisans move away from their homeland to work in foreign courts (Lamm 1941:58). Lamm believes that Egyptian glass-makers influenced the art of Syrian and Mesopotamian gilded and thickly enamelled glass.

In conclusion, we see that glass items are usable in chronological dating, as art and decoration is influenced by political structure and fashion, just like ceramics. Harder is the scientific dating of the material, as no general scientific method of exact dating does exist for glass (Frank 1982:65). Further we can identify the spread patterns of the items, as we recognise the origin of know-how in glass production. The preserved vessels provide a picture of how glass of a specific type was distributed over the entire Old World (Lamm 1941:69). Therefore the spread can tell us or at least give a hint of how, where and when trade was directed in Europe, resulting in connecting two diametric opposite regions like Scandinavia and the Near East. Though, as Giddens concludes, there is no logical or even methodological distinctions between social science and history (Giddens 1979:230), and therefore studying glass, as an archaeologist, ought to be done with the knowledge of history, but also of social science.

Following historical retrospect of production centres and distribution patterns, we can see that Islamic artefacts were exported as far north as Scandinavia. A deeper discussion whether this trade was explicit or implicit is though not analysed in this paper. Although political reconstruction occurred both in the Islamic World and Scandinavia, the two regions kept some sort of relations.

Conclusion

The chemical constitution of this material is in a way fragile, but no loss therein as it can be remelted and as such be reused, therefore many items have been lost for modern archaeologists. We also find some inconvenience in the location of furnaces, where the ones seated in forests still have not been found, the city seated on the other hand are long gone or are buried under layers of more modern buildings. Hence so far, few furnaces have been excavated and more knowledge of glass, its production and distribution might be gained in the future.

Looking at the background of the invention of glass and its earliest production, we can conclude that the know-how of its materiality was spread from former Mesopotamia and later Old Egypt, to the European continent going

all the way north to Scandinavia. Even during times of political unrest we see the spread of glass first as a luxury item, but soon, with the invention of blown glass and later the production of potash glass, as a material of every man and household. Political unrest has a direct influence on the production of glass. Not only as to the amount produced, but also to the geographic location of production and distribution centres. Here trade routes play a major role. This is most vital, as it seems clear that glass manufacturing is dependent and reliant upon stable regimes, governing for a not too short a time. Hence enduring regimes increases the glass production. A further discussion on politics and economics is that trade and economical stability, creates societies of welfare, which in turn is needed for a good sell of the imported commodities.

We find that glass both has an intercultural and a transcultural spread. The first is shown in the movement of glass masters within the Islamic society, while the transcultural is seen in the apprentice system and in trade relations. A third spread can be found in trade and situations of piracy and/or invasion. Piracy and raids were in some expand, conducted by the so called 'Vikings', but we also see that the invasion of crusaders into Islamic territory brought a slight influx of glass into the European continent. As Giddens clarified, that the west European marked was promoting social change, glass in this relation became a highly appreciated commodity and imports of both the end product, the raw material and the know-how of production.

Here the furnace and Islamic shard found in Lödöse, might just be a single item indirectly traded to these northern regions. But it could just as well, looking at the clear Islamic decoration and the position of the settlement as the western gateway of Sweden, be an evidence for early and direct contact to the Mediterranean. At the same time there is a spread and an encounter in the materiality as such. Here is the discussion of fashion vital, where for instance Chinese blue and white was duplicated in the Islamic world in the form of lustre ware, which later spread and became highly appreciated throughout Europe. As always in art and in production of artefacts, we see that fashion plays a major role. Fashion is not only created in a certain time and place, but also exported to foreign countries and areas. As such Giddens expression of an indirect or non 'face-to-face' interaction appears, as the fashion might spread, but not the technology as such. This knowledge can be used in the creating of a chronology of artefacts.

Giddens definition of interaction as a communicative encounter is clearly seen in the spread of glass, as such as glass is affected by different time and different modes of fashion. Different time creates different political and economical structures where glass operates, and thus the spread, the fashion and the purpose of glass can to some degree reveal the structure of a system. One such system might be trade. Following Giddens, there is a 'continuous flow of

conduct' and adding the relations between actors or groups and the unintentional consequences of action, creates the social structure. Unfortunately, this social structure seen in the light of the social status of the glass masters has not been revealed at the time being. The social status within the occupational group has not been investigated in a wider sense by students of glass, but it can be assumed that it would have been fairly high. This can be concluded through the notion that glass was in the beginning constituted from an expensive raw material, with an expensive production process as it takes long time to produce a single specimen. Therefore it can be said that glass, at least before the production of forest glass, was a luxury commodity. The production of a luxury commodity, by a trained workforce, must in the eyes of the society be seen as a high status occupation. Adding that these skilled workers, were called in by different nobles and/or sultans gives a hint to the low access of the glass masters.

The social structure of glass as such, is accordingly sadly investigated, but few relations herein have been pointed out, for instance, glass started as a luxury commodity, but following the invention of forest glass, it became a cheaper and therefore more commonly used artefact. The unintended consequences of action, with the move from city centred production only, due to environmental contamination by the furnaces, to more or less isolated forests with the use of local raw materials, made glass rural. Following this discussion it can be said that glass production went from being global to being provincial.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE PRECIOUS POTTERY DISC: HARAPPAN TOY ARTEFACTS AS TRACES OF MOMENTARY ENCOUNTERS

ELKE ROGERSDOTTER

Traditional archaeology tends to define and distinguish cultures of the past by particular type artefacts, such as, as is commonly the case, variants of pottery. This in turn has awakened critical revisions and disputes whether or not, or to what extent, differences of pottery, for example, can or should be taken to signify the totality of differences of particular cultures or socio-economic groups. The sovereign state given to pottery seems with this to risk leading into a sort of dead end. At least if one decides to halt one's inquiry at the task of separating and classifying cultural complexes, without asking for deepened insight into the nature of the specific divergences.

This paper aims to present an approach into the subject of inter-societal differences and similarities in archaeological research, suggesting the use of toy interpreted materials. The essential question considers how changes of toys come about, and what these may signify.

In established archaeology, toy interpreted artefacts have for most part been excluded from deeper analysis. This can be said largely to depend on the view of them as uninteresting because of their belonging to children's sphere. This in turn is stressed to give a low value to the objects, the 'toy' solely referring to a morphological description without reference to any social significance (Sofaer Derevenski 2000:7). Toy materials tend to be 'just there', seemingly 'scattered all around' the settlement and/or with a tendency to be of rather 'crude' appearance; circumstances which in fact appear to form important criteria for toy identifications (for the Harappan realm, cf. Ardeleanu-Jansen 2002:212). Yet, if one looks closely, differences of rather marked or regulated character do appear among toy artefacts, signalling changes over time and space and, as I

would like to put forward, well worth some further consideration. This paper will focus on a specific type of toy material and its appearance at two particular sites.[20] With this, the importance is hopefully emphasized of concentrating on details when dealing with such 'delicate' matters as toys.

Pottery discs - belongings of games of hopscotch

Among the various toy interpreted artefacts originating from the Indus or Harappa cultural complex (its urban phase proper set to ca. 2600 – 2000-1800 BC; Ratnagar 2001:1), one finds a type of pottery disc that is grounded from a potsherd into a roughly rounded shape. This object is recurrently being assigned to the realm of children's games of hopscotch (e.g. Artefact book of Bagasra excavations 1996-2004; as is to be seen, a large number are even labelled individually as 'hopscotch'). The term should in this connection be understood in a broader sense, an umbrella term that is not only to be associated with the well-known game where the player in turn have to leap between squares or lines – scotches – marked on the ground following particular rules. Hence, it is used to refer to similar sorts of 'outdoor' games as well, like the piling of discs into heaps that must be knocked down etc. An illustrative parallel may for example be the various ways of playing with marbles.

The identification of the grounded discs with games of hopscotch relies partly on comparisons with the contemporary, as children today in various parts of South Asia may ground potsherds to be used in different games (pers. comm., Ajithprasad, Krishnan, Shinde 2004). At the site at Harappa, finds of grounded pottery discs, apparently grouped together in clusters of three to seven items, have been considered in relation to a game called *pittu*, played today by children throughout Pakistan and northern India:

> /…/one player throws a ball to knock down a stack of pottery discs/…/. The defender of the stack must quickly pile them in the graduated sequence as the rest of the children scatter in a raucous game of tag (Kenoyer 2000:132).

Finds of grounded pottery discs are consequently not confined to the spatial or temporal boundaries of the Harappan cultural complex, but appear both at contemporary, non-Harappan sites (pers. comm., Shinde 2004), as well as in later periods in the history of the South Asian subcontinent, such as within the

[20] The outline will partly be based on a previous study of selected toy identified materials belonging to the Classical Harappan settlement at Bagasra, Gujarat. These items were subjected to a detailed analysis in order to study differences and similarities of appearance, spatial distribution, etc. The analysis, which revealed interesting indices of regularities, subsequently formed the basis for a social theoretical discussion on the toy concept in relation to archaeology (Rogersdotter 2006).

'PGW' and 'NBPW' cultures, where 'hopscotches' appear at sites like Atranjikhera, Ayodhya, Hastinapura etc. (Gosh 1990:179). Early Historic finds include for example the pottery discs reported from the 'Rang Mahal' culture (ca. 200 – 500 AD) in today's Rajasthan (Rydh 1959:Pl.78.12). The shape of all these 'hopscotches' though, as is stated, "/…/remains unchanged from the Harappa to the historical times" (Gosh 1990:179).

This discussion will concentrate on a few pottery discs originating from two different sites of the Harappan period, both located in what is today the Indian state of Gujarat: Bagasra and Padri (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Map depicting some Harappan and Harappan affiliated sites in Gujarat. Bagasra is located near to the Gulf of Kachchh (Kutch) and Padri near to the Gulf of Khambhat (Cambay) (after Excavations at Bagasra 1995-1996: A preliminary report: appendix, Figure 1 (unpublished), used with kind permission from the Dept. of Arch. and Ancient History, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda).

The grounded pottery discs revealed at Bagasra display various sizes and shapes. They have been found in fairly large numbers all over the site (Artefact book of Bagasra excavations 1996-2004). Of these, 60 items were included in a

previously undertaken analysis of selected toy artefacts from Bagasra (Rogersdotter 2006; cf. footnote and figure 2).

At Padri, grounded pottery discs appear in markedly great numbers, similarly spread all over the site in varying sizes and shapes (Artefact book of Padri excavations 1990-1996). Approximately 35 of these discs have previously been roughly documented, as well as in most cases photographed (Department of Archaeology, Deccan College, Pune, visited by the author 2004) (Figure 3).

Figure 2. Grounded pottery discs from Bagasra
(photograph by the author).

Figure 3. Grounded pottery disc from Padri
(photograph by the author).

One may suggest some clear differences in appearance to be noted between the pottery discs of Figures 2 and 3 (these discs have been chosen since they can be said to represent a kind of 'average' appearance of the two assemblages,

respectively). As illustrated by the portrayed disc from Padri, the items originating from this site tend to be of a generally larger size and of a heavier, courser and less rounded constitution than the analysed pottery discs from Bagasra (although a few examples from the latter site may display more profound sizes than average, while 9 items tell of an irregular, hardly rounded shape). Since only the discs from Bagasra have been comprehensively analysed, it is at the moment impossible to make comparisons as to detailed differences/similarities in geometrical shape. Probably following from the less rounded shape, it is however to be noted that a majority of the documented discs from Padri show a tendency to a kind of 'angular protuberance' on one side (visible to the left in Figure 3) (perhaps this could be imagined as a sort of handle, emerged during the grounding, or for holding the disc before throwing it within a particular game?). With a few exceptions, this kind of angular protuberance is not detectable among the assemblage of discs from Bagasra.

In sum, then: the illustrated pottery discs apparently oppose to the above mentioned statement concerning the constitution of 'hopscotches'. The shape does *not* remain unchanged, but exhibit changes, or differences, in appearance even within one and the same period of time (the Harappan).

Gujarat: a Harappan southeast fringe

Bordering Pakistan in the northwest and the Arabian Sea in the south, Gujarat constituted once (together with parts of Maharashtra) the southeast 'fringe' of the vast area encompassed by the Harappan cultural complex (for notes on geographical extension, see e.g. Jansen 2002:105; Parpola 1986:399). It has yielded a number of settlements of 'Classical Harappan' character.[21] Besides, over 500 sites described as Harappan affiliated have so far been discovered. The degree of this affiliation varies and its significance is a question of debate among scholars involved (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:129f; pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). The large number of sites displaying not only features of typical Harappan shape, but pottery and other material different from that as well, have in more recent time led to a shift in research focus. Rather than trying to define Harappan characteristics according to unilinear evolution models, the marked regional diversity has been emphasized. On the basis of among others radiocarbon dating, regional, non-Harappan 'Chalcolithic traditions' have been recognized that have turned out to be contemporary to or sometimes even earlier than the Harappan appearance in Gujarat (Ajithprasad & Sonawane 1993:1;

[21] A term that is used to define the type features from the Indus valley proper and adjoining regions. It is preferable since it appears less loaded with problematic consequences than terms like 'Urban Harappan' or 'Sindhi Harappan' (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004).

Choksi 2002:277; Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:130f).[22] Naturally, this has similarly put the traditional assumption that Harappans did not migrate from the 'core' area of Sindh into Gujarat before 2500 BC in a more complicated light (Shinde 1998:173). These accentuations can be seen in line with a general reviewing of traditional statements as to 'typical' Harappan features. A focus on diversity has with this been highlighted that challenge the traditional idea of a markedly homogenous and uniform, centralised 'Pan-Indus system' (Ardeleanu-Jansen 1993:6). The Harappan 'characteristics' can be shortly summoned by such phenomena as grid-planned town layouts with internal divisions, brick-built structures, a striking absence of 'monumental' buildings or convincing signs of warfare, a high degree of standardization and centralization, highly specialised craft technologies and long-distance trade. These features are thus to be complemented – and/or questioned! – by today's emphasis on a marked proliferation into various ecozones, a diversity of people and cultural traditions, the interconnection of different kinds of settlements through far-reaching networks and a high level of communication and mobility that in turn have been proposed in different ways to have underpinned both ideological ideas and leadership, the latter viewed by some researchers as divided between several elite groups and based on craft control and economic and religious networks rather than through warfare (for more on Harappan features and challenges of these, see e.g. Chakrabarti 1995; Kenoyer 2000; Mughal 1997; Possehl 2002; Ratnagar 2002). In this context, today's emphasis on the complexity and difficulty in understanding a range of aspects of the Harappan realm must be stressed as well (see e.g. Wright 1991:214f).

Bagasra

The site at Bagasra (160 x 120 m) constitutes a relatively small, Classical Harappan settlement not far from the Gulf of Kachchh (Kutch) with distinctly urban features (Sonawane *et al.* 2003).[23] It points at four phases of occupation. The first three belong to the urban Harappan period (ca. 2500 – 1900 BC, with no occupational levels prior to this indicated), while the fourth constitutes a Post-Urban Harappan phase (ca. 1900 – 1700 BC). Classical Harappan features include 'Red Ware' and 'Buff Ware' and objects such as steatite seals and beads of semiprecious stone, as well as signs of town planning with mud brick structures following a systemic layout and an impressive wall that encircled the

[22] Within the Harappan context, the term 'Chalcolithic' is used to describe both Pre-Harappan and Post-Harappan sites as well as settlements contemporary to and in varying degrees affiliated with Classical Harappan features (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004).

[23] Excavations of the site have been conducted by the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1996-2005.

northern part of the settlement. Besides, traces of the regional Chalcolithic traditions 'Sorath Harappan' and 'Anarta' have been revealed as well (mainly on the basis of pottery; the rare possibility to trace a stratigraphic context of these different Chalcolithic cultural traits has been particularly emphasized[24]). Various toy identified objects are present, some of typical Harappan appearance and most of them belonging to phase II (ca. 2400 – 2100 BC; the phase richest in archaeological materials). Due to its location at the intersection of the three regions Kachchh (Kutch), Saurashtra and North Gujarat, it may have acted as an important link in cultural interactions. Besides a subsistence pattern probably based on agriculture, stock-raising and exploitation of mammal and marine fauna, the settlement displays clear marks of craft activities probably conducted on an industrial scale. The most prominent appears to be a shell working industry, followed by stone bead production (Sonawane *et al.* 2003).

Padri

The reasonably large site at Padri (210 x 340 m) is situated near to the Gulf of Khambhat (Cambay).[25] The site exhibits two distinct Chalcolithic phases of occupation, with the earliest being dated to the second half of the fourth millennium BC (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:132f). This phase, by others termed 'Pre-Harappan Padri culture' (Period III) ends by ca. 2600 BC. The following phase, consequently termed by some the 'Mature Harappan' (Period II), covers the time bracket of ca. 2400 – 2000 BC. These are in turn underlying a later, Early Historic phase (Period I) (Shinde 1998:173; pers. comm., Shinde 2004). Period II is dominated by the 'Sorath Harappan' pottery, lacking the Classical Harappan type-fossils. It reveals as well a small quantity of a non-Harappan pottery called 'Padri Ware' (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:132). This course red ware, appearing in two varieties, has not been found on any other Harappan site, and it is the dominant ware of the preceding Period III (hence the term 'Padri culture') (Shinde 1998:177). It seems to have certain features in common with a ware from north Gujarat (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:133). Similarities have further been noted with the 'Savalda Ware', found in the neighbouring state of Maharashtra, which has been taken to suggest cultural

[24] The stratigraphic sequence roughly summarized: 'Anarta' pottery appears in phases I and II. Phase II is dominated by Classical Harappan pottery. 'Sorath Harappan' pottery appears sporadically in the upper layers of this phase. This is the dominant feature in phase III. Phase IV consists of a late 'Sorath Harappan' pottery type (Sonawane *et al.* 2003). For more details on these pottery types as well as on the particular, Chalcolithic traditions of Gujarat, see Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994.

[25] Excavations of the site were conducted by the Department of Archaeology, Deccan college in Pune, 1990-1996.

contacts between Gujarat and the 'Savalda' culture, though this idea finds little support in archaeological data (Shinde 1998:178ff). Besides pottery, other aspects remain unclear. Tools etc. from copper and locally available lithic raw materials are present (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:132f), as well as some unusually large storage jars. Remains of mud-built, rectangular structures surround a multi-roomed brick structure, lacking indications of a planned layout (pers. comm., Shinde 2004). Apart from the numerous finds of grounded pottery discs, toy artefacts are rather few (Artefact book of Padri excavations 1990-1996). Subsistence patterns are elusive to define. Nor directly situated on the coast, neither, as it seems, having been surrounded by fertile land, it is unclear whether the settlement may have been only seasonally occupied, perhaps functioning as some kind of manufacturing centre. The production of salt has been proposed (pers. comm., Shinde 2004), as well as objected to (Sonawane & Ajithprasad 1994:133).

As is to be seen, there exist a number of non agreements of how to term and describe the settlement. The divergent interpretation suggestions are here though somewhat simply depicted, since it is far from the ambition of the paper to deepen further into this particular debate. The subject is complex and deserves its own space of consideration. However, rather than constituting an obstacle, the ambiguity of the site may be suggested to put extra emphasis on the intriguing character in focusing on 'unusual' aspects, such as differences in toy materials.

Expressions of encounter

From the descriptions above, a premise emerges based on the appearance of two quite distinct assemblages of grounded pottery discs, found at two, roughly contemporary sites that are situated not far from each other, but generally supposed to represent different 'cultural traditions'.

With a traditional approach, the visible differences between the discs from Bagasra and from Padri would probably be taken to simply point to a difference in the assets of potsherds for children, automatically leading to different grounding techniques and different appearances. As no ceramic analysis of the discs has been undertaken, it is for the moment not possible to go into detail in this question. Since the two sites point to different pottery assemblages though, it seems plausible to assume that there indeed was a difference in availability of potsherds. However, this does not adequately account for the regular feature exhibited in, for example, the difference in size or roughness, or degree of rounded shape. Differences in pottery types should hardly condition the size or brim shape of a disc, and even if items originate from a course ware, they can nevertheless become smooth when accurately polished. Another possible

reaction would perhaps be to relate the differences to the result of chance, following the view of toys as 'just there' as something 'self-evident', scattered all around without any particular significance and thus without the need for further consideration. As is obvious, this does not sufficiently explain any regular features either. There is furthermore within these 'traditional' explanations no room for any reflection upon the interesting circumstance that, on one hand, there is the remarkable spread of this item as *idea*, while, on the other, there is the *simultaneous* appearance of constitutional differences. A third way of answer would perhaps be to relate the differences to divergent, deeply rooted cultural 'traditions'. The paper will return to this in the following.

Criticising the view upon ideas to be capable to spread on their own, Aléx accentuates in his essay, dealing with the growth of cooperative ideas, the necessary involvement of humans behind any such movements. While literary travelling, encountering the new, humans are claimed to act as indispensable messengers that bring the ideas back home, i.e. to further areas (Aléx 2001:95f). Approaching the pottery discs as ideas, the items and their distinguishable differences could with this line of thought tentatively be visualized as expressions of some kind of human encounter. This perspective appears particularly interesting when recalling the specific Harappan context, with its tense relationship put forward by today's research focuses between on one hand the significance of specialization and uniformity, on the other the challenging phenomena of mobility and diversity. It may however appear equally intriguing when suggesting the presence of yet another premise underlying the discussion. While assigning the pottery discs to the sphere of hopscotch, it is generally thought that the items have been grounded by children (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004) – in other words, they can be seen as dictated by children themselves. Then, what kind of encounters may we expect when departing from these particular premises? What may be traceable, when considering differences in toy identified materials that is firmly located within a child-conditioned realm? And, in reverse, how will this perspective affect our inquiry of change?

A widened toy concept: access to a children's world

More recently, the opinion has been raised in for example parts of gender archaeology and research on children in archaeology of the marginalized child and its toy as a Western construction. As a consequence, some scholars criticize unproblematic toy classifications outside the Western realm, since among others blurred demarcations turn the toy inseparable from, say, ritual items (cf. Lönnqvist 1992; Sofaer Derevenski 2000). The use of the 'toy' for archaeology, or the universality of the idea of adults producing purpose-built toys meant for children, have with this recurrently become questioned (e.g. Crawford

2000:170ff). It is of course not possible to state the pottery discs solely and with certainty as toys; they may have functioned only parts of their lives as a toy (a device for hopscotch), or may have had totally different or multiple functions. A problematic toy concept should however not bar the items from deepened research considerations. Despite the uncertainty, the necessity should be put forward of venturing the 'toy step' as well, besides the more common, ritual one, or no step at all, to see what comes out of it.

Firstly, a 'liberating' of the temporally and spatially bounded toy can be suggested by the application of alternative toy approaches, developed in disciplines such as educational studies (for a comprehensive review, see Lönnqvist 1992). Questioning the traditional, Western thought of children as mirrors imitating adults, by which the toy solely becomes a socialising instrument (among others criticized within the view of play as something immanent; see e.g. Huizinga 1955), these address the world of children, separated from and unknown to the adult world. To get at the objects and their shifting meanings within this perspective, a hermeneutic approach is stressed that shifts the focus from the toy (the object), to the handling of it within the play (the action). This allows for a separating of the plaything (anything used for play) and the toy (a cultural artefact, given by the adult). Since both play items and toys continually form and transform during play, the focus on action leads however to the simultaneous disappearance of this division, as it is non-existing within the world of children. With this, demarcations in time and space disappear as well, while the toy receives a rather wide, but likewise vague, definition (Lönnqvist 1992:22ff, 79ff):

> /…/an element in children's creative activity on the whole. This is irrespective of type, material, production and historical time of use (Lönnqvist 1992:55, *my translation*).

Accordingly, then, the toy may become reachable for non-Western contexts too. Secondly, by taking a somewhat alternative turn, applying a social theoretical reasoning, a yet further widening of the toy concept may be proposed. Rather than stopping short at dichotomies like, for example, toy/ritual object, this route may on the contrary be suggested to lead to the diminishing of the particular either/or character of the question 'is a specific thing a toy or not'.[26] With the prospect of getting away from rigorous definitions, a possibility can be suggested of proceeding without the need to define such unanswerable issues as how to define a 'child' or separate it from adults in a particular past. In the end, this may provide a way of avoiding stated problems of the toy, since these can be suggested at least partly to result from all too narrow toy

[26] For a detailed outline of this social theoretical route, see Rogersdotter 2006.

definitions. One may in contrast be enabled to view the items within a supposed toy realm, while simultaneously relating them to diverse social uses *in addition* to their possible function as children's (play)things (which naturally could include ritual uses as well, for example when dealing with artefacts which possibly could be interpreted in terms of children's 'life markers', e.g. within the sphere of initiation practices; for more on this, see Rogersdotter 2006:95ff).

A suitable starting point for a subsequent building up of this framework may consist of a closer look at the study previously carried out on the assemblage of pottery discs from Bagasra. This yielded namely some interesting features of regularities, grouped under the term *ordered similarities* (Rogersdotter 2006). With two exceptions, it was for example possible to sort the items into ten different groups according to geometrical shape (Table 1). This sorting rested mainly on a principle of 'halves', since a large number of the discs display a brim whose one half differs from the other half. The largest group consisted of discs of a circular shape and the secondly largest of items displaying a half circular, half irregular constitution. Among the smallest groups appeared for example egg shaped and rectangular shaped items. When considering spatial distribution, particularly in relation to the wall encompassing the northern part of the settlement, it turned out that most of the circular shaped items originated from the western and southeast parts of the area inside the wall, while most of the 'half-constituted' and irregular shaped in contrast belonged to the southern area outside the wall as well as to the inside and outside areas of the northeast corner of the wall.

A first comprehension of these regular features may be obtained by looking at the various ways children play games of hopscotch today. In the Indian state of Kerala, for example, one variant consists of a circle of cashew nuts which must be knocked out with a potsherd, while another tells of the piling of discs of graduating sizes into small pyramids that have to be knocked down. While in the former a bottom part of a pot is preferred, the latter requires rather irregular potsherds since these are more easily knocked. Other games may require the handling of a disc by foot, which naturally makes smoothly rounded discs preferable (pers. comm., Ajithprasad and Krishnan 2004). The different geometrical shapes could accordingly be seen in terms of game rules. This would also point to the significance of particular shapes. Indeed, children today may generally prefer to use their own discs, since these for example may be believed to give extra good luck (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004).

Group	Name of shape	No of discs
1	Circular	13
2	Circular-irregular	12
3	Irregular	9
4	Circular-edges	7
5	Circular with edge – edges	5
6	Almost circular	4
7	Circular with edge – irregular	2
8	Circular with two interrupting edges	2
9	Egg shape	2
10	Rectangular shape	2
Total		58

Table 1. The pottery discs from Bagasra related to shape groups.

The discs can thus be suggested to express certain amounts of value, which in turn would reject to a picture of the items as irregularly spread out but support the idea of regularity. A child valuing its disc or discs would probably not spread it or them unconsciously around but would strive to handle its possession(s) with care. With this, the concept of *symbolic capital* by Bourdieu can be emphasized (for a comprehensive overview of this, see e.g. Carle 2003). Though children indirectly may constitute bearers of for example the family's symbolic capital, they could likewise be seen as actively struggling for assets of capital forms regulating social positions in between them. This would turn the thought of a planned production (planned ways of grounding), dictated by specific preferences, quite logical. Various properties of the discs could be seen as quality differences, expressing differences in taste. By this, the suggestion of the discs to be shaped according to different games turns intermixed with the idea of preferences, so that in fact the two lines of thought turn inseparable.

The games of today are furthermore not necessarily played 'by all', but may be regulated by age and gender. The cashew nuts' game is for instance played by boys under the age of 14 (pers. comm., Ajithprasad 2004). The regulated features could thus tentatively indicate a management with the discs according to stated regulations, dictated both by specific game rules and, in extension, by age- and gender divisions. This may locate the discs within an immanent, Foucaultian force of power that flows through society, impossible to tore into

separateness or to 'possess' but existing in its practice, in a constant subduing and regulation of the body and its various fields of action. That is, a power that exists through ongoing, simultaneously working networks of tense relations that clashes and intermingle, executed by strategies and mechanisms that are the result of prevailing strategic positions and thus in turn embody and maintain the social structure (Foucault 2003:28ff, 203ff). As game items, the discs tentatively become embedded into such immanent, permanently clashing networks of power, carried out by strategies constituted by the playing with the discs in the games that, consequently, maintain prevalent (children's) positions.

Since this is pointing at the discs as interacting parts in the creation and recreation of power relations, the role of the pottery disc itself turns in focus. It can be exemplified with a ball-game, where the ball-in-the-play may dictate a specific way of behaviour. This kind of partaking of material constitutes a central part of the microarchaeological reasoning developed by Cornell and Fahlander (2002; Fahlander 2003). Aimed at forming an operative, social theory for archaeology, these approaches (here somewhat simply reproduced) direct their focus towards structurating or serial practices, tracing material remains of action. By this focus, the need to confine the study into pre-defined, homogenous social entities such as 'culture' becomes eliminated, providing a way of an opening up of social structures. The theory of Sartre of serial action forms a central part in this discussion. Shortly said, this suggests that with a focus on routinely, often semiconsciously performed, daily practices, the border between the human- and the non-human spheres turns elusive, since practices form in relation to materialities. This opens up for the potentiality of both humans *and* materialities to partake in social events. In the end, since these kinds of practices bear a collective, repetitive character, the events are accentuated as traceable for archaeology (Cornell & Fahlander 2002; Fahlander 2003). The regulated features revealed by the analysis, as well as the ordered divergences seen between the two assemblages of pottery discs, could accordingly be approached as the visible patterns of particular, daily practices. Like the ball-in-the play, the discs would point to practices that, in extension, maintain power regulations.

Embedded into this social theoretical framework, the items could accordingly be given more prominent roles than just constituting passive consequences or reflections of particular social structures, which would be the outcome would we follow any of the traditional views outlined above. With the discs being dictated by children, the regulated features would rather offer to us glimpses of an elusive, yet highly essential children's world. What emerges before our eyes is a world of social strategies and mechanisms that structures social positions between children, the outcome of a children's encounter that is based on principles outside any adult control. Even though we do not know the exact

content of these principles, they may with this perspective tentatively turn within reach. The two assemblages of discs could thus be proposed as the visible traces of particular children's encounter. Through the regulated character of their differences, they could be suggested to tell us about deeply embedded divergences in this encounter, signalling differently structured children's worlds. How, then, could this be interpreted? At this point, it becomes important to recall that children's encounter are always and everywhere set into adult social structures. Children's worlds do not float in solitude, but are necessarily criss-crossed by adult conditions.

Children – adults: an impossible encounter?

Simultaneity

Children do not constitute isolated, independent entities. As critical voices claim though, they should likewise not be comprehended as a *tabula rasa*, ready to be filled with content by adults. A number of scholars within fields of child- and toy research accordingly address the unknown world of children as a more promising perspective (cf. Lönnqvist 1992:22ff, 357f). But this is not to say that either a world of children versus a world of adults, or a passive, imitating child versus an independent, 'adventurous' child, should be seen as simplified opposites. When interrelating with the world of adults, the social agents of children's world act within a range of roles, from proper rebels to copying imitators, which highlight the encounter of children – adults as fluid and complex (Lillehammer 2000:51; Lönnqvist 1992:372ff).

I would in this connection call attention to a specific kind of *simultaneity*, by which one could perceive one and the same action as interwoven by, seemingly contradictory, rebelling and imitating features. This may become easier to grasp with the metaphor by Wittgenstein of *fibres* and *threads* used within the microarchaeological thinking (Cornell & Fahlander 2002:26ff). While a fibre could be comprehended as a structurating or serial practice, intertwined with other fibres into a thread or cluster of practices, the metaphor calls according to Cornell and Fahlander attention to the fact that the latter not necessarily must consist of unanimous fibres, extending through its whole length. The fibres may interrupt their course or collide, simultaneously affiliate with other threads, etc. The metaphor is thus emphasised as a suitable way of getting at the complexity of relations that appears when striving towards an opening of the social structure. Daily practices carried out by children could be suggested to constitute such a thread, made up of several, not necessarily coherent, fibres. If proceeding down a further micro level, one practice could at the same time be seen as a thread, made up of a range of imitating and rebelling properties (like a

particular way of playing a game of hopscotch, dictated by a children's world that is though at the same time permeated by adult attitudes).

Three lines of demarcation suggested by Lönnqvist (1992:80) as a way of separating the 'childish' way of acting and thinking from the 'adult' way serves another useful way of thought. These tell, in turn, of a difference in sight (children use an inner world to a larger extent than do adults) and about two differences in ordering (children order things according to a multidimensional character, transforming the items and giving them additional meanings, as well as according to unexpected moves, while adults in contrast follow a more behaviour motivated ordering).

Hence, a children's world beyond the reach of adults should be viewed as not excluding, but rather incorporating phenomena of the adults' world, though tentatively in transformed, subversive forms. While interpreting the regulated features of the discs from Bagasra as expressions of various games, these could thus possibly be suggested to imply something in line with uniform features as well (recalling the specific Harappan context with special attention to its tendency to uniformity). While children mimic adults' attitudes, it should not appear too far-fetched to imagine children absorb a 'standardized thinking' if this is endeavoured by the social structure surrounding them. Perhaps this may be revealed in the ordered character of the distinguishable shape groups? (In this connection, a comparison of their spatial distribution with established interpretations of the various areas of the site, especially intriguing when bearing in mind the impressive wall dividing the settlement, would naturally turn of relevance as well; for more on this, see Rogersdotter 2006:92, 105).

At this point, it would have been of particular interest to undertake this kind of detailed analysis of the assemblage of pottery discs from Padri as well, to find out if a similarly high degree of regularity would be produced. If not, would it strengthen the more the assumption of the discs from Bagasra to reveal efforts towards uniformity? If yes, would possible differences in the regularity between the two assemblages reveal to us divergences in deeply rooted 'social immutabilities' of the two sites?

Complexity and Contradiction

Objecting to the traditional idea that children in play automatically reproduce what is expected from them, Lönnqvist (1992:374f) highlights the particular principle of children's sphere that manifests itself in the fact that children may receive and use objects or messages in most unexpected ways, not necessarily correlating with the intention of the (adult) giver. As this may emphasize the particular simultaneity and fluidity characterizing the realm of children – further illustrated by the momentary correlation of fibres in a thread, revealing the

degree of complexity of social interactions (Cornell & Fahlander 2002:28f) – the contradictious nature of a child – adult encounter becomes accentuated. One could in fact ask how these kinds of encounter may come true at all, bearing in mind the fundamental differences in worldviews, in languages, in lines of demarcation, and how a social structure accordingly manages to keep together?

Bourdieu claims that though social life appears within ongoing change, society can nevertheless continue since the order emerges *thanks to* its changes. Individuals contribute to the survival of it through their actions, within which the social structure is expressed. With this, the social structure appears recognizable despite its changeable character. Since society is embodied by the ongoing struggle for symbolic values, the concept of capital, working on both individual and institutional levels, turns essential for the insight of reproduction and change of social positions and thus, in extension, of the maintenance and transformation of the social structure (Bourdieu according to Carle 2003).

Here is an important link to be seen between children's world and the phenomenon of change versus continuity of the social structure. Children's essential role in this has among others been highlighted in relation to the question of change in archaeological research, since "/…/society cannot be perpetuated without children/…/" (Lillehammer 2000:19). A central issue recurrently raised is whether the world of children could be accentuated as a culture of its own, or should be seen as a recreation of the already existing (Lillehammer 2000:51f). An accumulation by children of symbolic capital, which modulates social positions between them as well as within their fluid encounters with adults, can be suggested as playing a key role in this connection, offering us a hint of the way the social structure will keep. Power relations within children's world will be formed that will successively knot this world together into a next generation, ready to shoulder the (different, though yet the same) social structure.

Coming so far, the idea that the differences of the two assemblages of pottery discs would be the outcome of distinct 'traditions', repeated on and on by successive generations, may be seriously doubted. This kind of unchangeable image seems too stiff when considering the simultaneity of change and continuity, implying a social structure that is not only permeated by, but dependant on and constituted by an ongoing movement, never repeating exactly the same motions. As the past can be seen as accumulated capital, the presence of the past in the present is in the view of Bourdieu (1990:54ff) rather pictured as an *active* engagement, through a reactivation of practices similar in structure to the existing. With the outline presented here, pointing to the essential role of the fluid children's world within this reactivation and movement, the materialities of this world – the toys – seem in contrast to become quite centrally located within the change-continuity character of the social structure. The

differences of the pottery discs from Bagasra and from Padri could therefore be taken to display the intricately linking of children's world to adults' world, the former consequently turning different from other children's worlds if the latter would differ from other adults' worlds. This would emphasise both the interplay between the imitating and 'adventurous' properties, as well as, closely connected to this, the important question concerning differences in the pattern of change and continuity within different social structures. The divergences of the two assemblages could thus perhaps be suggested to indicate differently constituted change-continuity patterns prevalent at Bagasra and at Padri, respectively.

A tenacious 'either/or'

While pointing to the essentiality of children's world within the concept of change-continuity, taken to be expressed in the pottery discs from Bagasra and Padri, an unresolved issue may however remain in the fact that the children of this outline nevertheless appear to conform to the prevalent in the end. The 'childish' way of coping with the world seems with the theoretical approaches presented here to be expected, sooner or later to become incorporated – or, at best, incorporate itself – into the conditions of the adults. The world of children, discussed within child- and toy research whether to be seen as a culture of its own or not, appears in fact to point at the existence of a sort of 'either/or', with nothing in between. Though the above mentioned, specific simultaneity opens up for actions to be interwoven by both rebelling and imitating features, this could at the same time be suggested to display a state of 'either/or' as well, even if succeeding in melting the two features together. A thread, lastly, made up by this kind of 'either/or'-fibres, remains silent as to how it manages to hold together.

Based on these conditions, there seems to be no other alternative left for the contradictious adult-child encounter (with the partakers departing from totally divergent worldviews and languages, as we remember) at all to come true than that *one* of the partakers (the child), undoubtedly must leave the encounter in an altered state of mind, while the other partaker (the adult) with the same necessity must remain unaltered. The two poles of the 'either/or' – the imitating and the rebelling properties – act like a scales that can in reality only tip in favour of either the former or the latter. Sooner or later, though, it must obviously be the former, since this appears as the only way a thread made up of 'childish' and 'adult' fibres may last. In the end, this will produce a rather biased change-continuity pattern.

With an adult-child encounter based on these premises, with the child as one-sidedly subjected to alteration, a satisfactorily interpretation of the

differences in appearance between the discs from Bagasra and from Padri, respectively, could probably conform to the general (rather superficial) idea of Classical Harappan features to be 'finer', indicating better quality in materials, more labour-investments, a more regulated character, resulting in a general opinion of Classical Harappan cities and towns to express a more 'cultivated' standard of living compared to their neighbouring counterparts on the countryside, for example, or to settlements representing other cultural traditions.

Would this be a satisfying interpretation? Should the roughness and largeness displayed by the pottery discs from Padri be interpreted in line with a 'rougher' appearance of the settlement on the whole, expressed in its mud-built structures, its irregular layout, etc.? Though one should count on a rebellious character involved in the children's world at Padri if following the approaches above, this world would thus nevertheless conform to a long-established state of being, following a determined direction staked out beforehand, an unspoken strategy not possible to question, bend or break.

Perhaps would it be possible to stop here. Even if, to my opinion, the discs from Padri in that case should display more irregularities, like a diversity in weight for example, and in varying appearances of the particular protuberance. The regular character of the divergences between the pottery assemblages appears to object to this as well. However, this interpretation would at the same time seem to take us back to the starting point since it resembles established ways of describing the past by use of a morphology-centred focus. Whether right or wrong, the essential question is what this kind of inanimate statement would contribute with.

According to Cornell (2006:14), the hermeneutic view put forward by Gadamer tells of the 'ideal' human encounter (brought about by spoken dialogue) to attain a common horizon of understanding, if there is sufficient co-incidence of intention between the partakers. The successive conformity of children to adult conditions could possibly be seen in line with this, the result of implicit ambitions towards a common horizon. As we have seen, though, this will result in a one-sided change-continuity pattern, while it is at the same time questioned by the regular divergences shown by the assemblages. Any ideas of 'meeting halfway', seems not to lead any further, at least not when applied on this specific encounter.

In Butler's (1999:172) reading of the interrelation of body and soul emphasised by Foucault, one finds a convincing overturn of the idea of children as one-sidedly subdued to adult-directed introductions into prevalent attitudes. Since the soul or the interior (interpreted as culture as well) in this context rather turns up as a surface signification, inscribed on the body, the inside-outside opposition becomes disrupted. While this reversal appears to accentuate a vertical character, undermining the picture of separated inside- and outside

entities, it would tentatively reject to the thought of an introduction projected from above onto children, penetrating a passive surface of theirs to form a growing interior, since this apparently cannot exist.

This passage seems accordingly not only to present an alternative picture to the one of the passive child, but likewise to produce a healthy disruption of any thinking in line with tenacious entities. Could it actually be the case that we again – or all along! – are visualizing things in line with closed totalities, resulting from an 'either/or' indeed hard to dispose of? The conception of a merging of rebelling and imitating features thus keeps sustaining the idea of two entities, which may *either* merge *or* continue on their own – with the result that there is no room for alternatives, since the two entities with necessity must be separated to exist and therefore need to be surrounded by emptiness. With this, the encounters we are about to trace tentatively end up as nothing but the outcome of strategies determined beforehand.

The Momentary and the Simultaneous

The significance of interspaces

Recalling the specific fluidity and contradictious character of children's world, children's encounter (with adults as well as with other children) should perhaps better be searched for in the very *momentary*? In this way, a number of these would perhaps not escape observation. That is, an encounter of this obviously very subtle kind should perhaps rather be grasped as coming about on the basis of only *a few* conditions, a few 'strings', which for a short moment would produce a field of commonness, capable of holding itself together while at the same time floating within a sea of ignorance or alienation. This would bring us back to the above mentioned simultaneity characterizing children's world, which thus perhaps should better be comprehended from a different angle.

In her work on the creation of identity and being in the relation between two (between male and female sexes), Irigaray (2000) presents an encounter markedly different from any 'halfway meetings' or fusions. Emphasising the difference between two, she puts forward a relationship that is pervaded by mutual respect for the independence of each part as independent. The project of 'to be two' is thus not about the successive possession or 'consuming' of the Other, but rather about giving the right to Otherness, giving mutual security while turning the desire into a guardian:

> The caress leads each person back to the *I* and to the *you*. I give you to yourself because you are a *you* for me (Irigaray 2000:27).

If approaching encounters between adults and children, or between children and children, by this way of thought (which tentatively would be possible in essential parts), it would, for a 'field of commonness' to come true, obviously not seem necessary to attain total unanimity. In contrast, it appears rather essential that the divergence will remain, even become accentuated, so that this particular simultaneity – the ability of the common field to exist *at the same time* as being permeated by alienation – can come forward. The simultaneity, then, appears as a key concept in this connection: allowing a momentary encounter while permitting room for a consciousness of the difference, it could be suggested to completely rule out the possibility for an all encompassing absorption of one of the partakers into the other (i.e. the child into the adult). It opens up for an encounter on other premises:

> You remain a mystery to me through your body and through your word, and our alliance will always involve a mystery (Irigaray 2000:12).

An encounter, thus, that apparently presents a space beyond the either/or, constituted by:

> /…/a call to a return to you, to me, to us: as living bodies, as two who are different *and* co-creators (Irigaray 2000:26, *my italics*).

With the emergence of something in between, of an inter-subjectivity that, following Irigaray, would not reduce any of two different intentions but would go beyond these – a double desire, a double intention by which the "I" and the body long both for a being with you, for a being with me, as well as for the presence of a between-us (Irigaray 2000:28f) – the momentary encounter, upheld by its few strings, could thus be proposed to create a multitude of *interspaces* that would undermine the significance of stiff totalities while filling up the empty space separating them.

In a traditional approach on a children-adults encounter, the marked gap in languages and worldviews would to all appearances make an encounter based on these (equal) premises impossible. Visualizing an encounter conditioned by just a few strings though, linguistic or 'cultural' differences could be suggested to seize being a problem and rather turn of secondary importance. Indeed, one would wonder if not in fact a limited vocabulary would play a key role for the very durability of these strings. In its place, then, there would presumably be something else that would matter, something by which the mutual acceptance of the Other's independency and difference could gain strength. Most probably, something closely related to the interspaces.

The significance of fixed points

Tentatively, this could be a bit further worked upon by use of the term *dissemination* by Derrida. In the plea by Derrida for the tearing down of all kinds of closed systems (Alvesson & Sköldberg 1994:235), dissemination can be said to refer to the 'plurality of filiations' (Derrida 1995:224). It is described as putting forward a fold, an angle, which interrupts totalization and tells that in a certain place, there can no longer be any reassembly or closing in of series of semantic valences (Derrida 2004:42). It:

> /…/marks an irreducible and *generative* multiplicity. The supplement and the turbulence of a certain lack fracture the limit of the text, forbidding an exhaustive and closed formalization of it, or at least a saturating taxonomy of its themes, its signified, its meaning (Derrida 2004:42).

Thus, dissemination refers to that which resists the effects of subjectivation, semantization, law etc.; that is, in order words, that what disorganizes and escapes the Lacanian 'order of the symbolic' while at the same time resisting equally to be conceived within the 'imaginary' or the 'real' (Derrida 2004:70) (very briefly summoned, these concepts by Lacan can be said to point, in turn, to the prevalent social pattern, to the way of accommodating to this pattern and, lastly, to that which is not applicable to this pattern; Lacan according to Cornell 2006:24). Interestingly enough, Derrida (2004:70) questions in this connection the necessity of this tripartition, which may be suggested to suit the emphasis of the particular simultaneity.

Entering an encounter with a child, the adult could very well be expected to have a clearly pronounced idea of what this will end in. One can however never be absolutely sure of what is going to happen, since the child may react in markedly unexpected ways. With this radical opening of the social system, though, the taking place of the momentary encounter across any borders can be suggested to get further support. With reference to the presence of dissemination, one may propose that in place of the decreasing significance of common vocabularies or worldviews there arise within the interspaces, and well beyond any intentions, certain *bases* or *fixed points*, which thus in fact would constitute those foundations by which the few strings needed may come about and be fastened to.

What then would make these fixed points so essential? In this connection, the importance must be stressed that the adult-child encounter cannot be viewed as an isolated occurrence that would just once more tell of a motionless meeting between an adult- and a child-entity, respectively. Rather, I would highlight the creation of momentary interspaces to come about not in isolation, but, in its turn, within a larger web of similarly momentary simultaneities. The fixed

points that come forward would thus in fact condition and demarcate the encounter, constituting those phenomena which the specific partakers share (from a common horizon or not, this is not the point), those particularities which separate and therefore distinguish them from their surrounding(s). While born in and maintaining the interspaces, these fixed points could hence be grasped as something that well escapes the dominant social law, that resists any subjectivation, and, so, endlessly multiply, in the end indeed contributing to the 'fissure' that will prevent any social structure to close altogether.

To summarize, then, these alternative viewpoints appear not just to undermine, but to render the traditional idea about the adult-child encounter as necessarily hierarchical, authoritatively controlled by the adult impossible, as this seems to be revealed as an illusory effect of the thinking according to an 'either/or' and as this in the end (since it in any way is not constituting any 'true' encounter) would not point to any changes at all (and which accordingly cannot contribute with anything for this particular study). Rather, these views open up for other kinds of children's encounter. These may take place on the basis of just a few premises, and both partakers may arrive to them having an understanding of 'what is to come' – which may or may not consist of the same content, may or may not involve misunderstandings, etc. – thanks to the presence of a simultaneity that makes courses of events possible within an intervening space and thus, in the end, opens up for an encounter receptive to changes and unexpected moves (and closes it the more for the idea of ongoing repetitions of fixed 'traditions'). This encounter could accordingly be suggested as the visualized space where to search for the phenomenon of change and continuity within the social structure, as well as children's key roles in this.

This will perhaps not bring us any closer to more definite assumptions of the differences in appearance between the assemblages of pottery discs from Bagasra and from Padri. But, at least, since the items should not any longer emerge as passive results of particular social structures or as contributors to one-sided patterns of change-continuity, they could be argued as stepping into a brighter light, seeing that none of their properties would need to be obscured any more to fit in.

Conclusion

One may suggest that the spread of ideas is not only dependant on humans encountering each other. Tentatively, this requires the involvement of a specific simultaneity as well, preventing what would otherwise become an endless growth of conformity with the probable end effect that, in this case, the two assemblages of pottery discs would look more or less the same. Or, at least, would not produce any differences of particularly regular significance.

Awareness of this simultaneity and of the encounter of the momentary can be argued as particularly important when dealing with a cultural complex especially put forward as composed of such opposite phenomena as uniformity and variability. It can be suggested as a promising and exciting perspective that manages to involve more dimensions of the two assemblages of pottery discs than just a morphologically focused description of their divergent appearances. The intention of this paper is not to deny the established idea of some kind of 'cultural' difference to be seen between the Classical Harappan settlement at Bagasra and the Harappan affiliated, Chalcolithic settlement at Padri. But instead of stopping short at the task of classifying, the alternative route presented here tentatively takes a further step. Though we may not know the exact content of the dimensions of the pottery discs that this outline may have reached at, these could for example include immensely different ways of playing, or divergent kinds of games (so different, perhaps, that the common term 'hopscotch' would turn up as quite meaningless), or differences of preferential kind (perhaps giving the discs different amounts of value, compared to other objects or features in the surrounding environment). They may perhaps imply for us a belonging to different parts of the social community (in line with differently structured age- and gender regulations), or point at different kinds or degree of (adult) interference. Approaching the pottery discs through the perspective of the momentary encounter, suggesting them as contributing partakers to many-sided, non-fixed patterns of change-continuity, dimensions such as these would thus in turn imply divergences of more profound significance, existing *within the social web* of the two settlements. That is, within the specific patterns of change-continuity prevalent within the two social structures, emerged and recreated through particular ways of encounter of children-adults, as well as of children-children, framed by adult conditions. The differences between the assemblages with this become indices of subtle but deep-going diversities between these patterns.

We may presume that encounters of different kinds and both in direct and indirect ways occurred between the sites of Bagasra and Padri. Though we cannot know in detail what these sorts of encounters may have looked like, they most probably would have had their share of impact on the appearance and constitution of the pottery discs. While this has not been within the frames of this account though, my aim with this paper has rather been to put emphasis on the contribution that can be given to studies on inter-societal differences by a glance at intra-societal phenomena. Here, toy interpreted artefacts can be suggested to occupy a key role. While a closer look may well reveal a regulated pattern, one may argue that toy identified items not only ought to be taken into consideration, but that these objects may be particularly suitable when striving to avoid totalities – in fact, when attempting to trace those very delicate

encounters of everyday life. Focused on the momentary, the toys become the visible traces of those encounters that come about beyond the vocabulary, *between* the spoken, those which in course of the day may or may not cause visible effects. But which, in the long-term, tentatively would have significant impact, lastly to be revealed to us in the form of a diversity of ordered differences and similarities. The ambiguous character of the site at Padri may especially highlight the challenge that the emerged focus on diversity represents. While this can be suggested to demand a variety of approaches to be developed, this account may thus hopefully have succeeded in pointing to a contributing alternative.

The invisibility of the kind of day-to-day-encounter that is lifted forward by this paper probably largely depends exactly on its everyday, 'unglamorous' character, taking at its focal point a rather 'valueless' artefact that appears almost everywhere on the subcontinent and is even used by children today (though this in fact could be taken as a starting point for another intriguing reflection). Among that what 'pokes about' and causes changes in a particular social structure, children's encounter presumably constitutes the most invisible agent, maybe because of its ordinary appearance, maybe depending on its slow, 'underground' character, turning it difficult to 'touch'. A further reason though (perhaps of even greater impact?) would tentatively be that this particular encounter comes about and is enacted in a space in between that by hard boundary drawing-ups is more or less eradicated. The presence of an 'either/or' cannot possibly consent to a simultaneous simultaneity.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

GOTLANDIC PICTURE STONES, HYBRIDITY AND MATERIAL CULTURE

ALEXANDER ANDREEFF

The archaeological material from the Late Iron Age and Early Medieval Period in the Baltic Sea region is rich and varied, and has increasingly been taken into consideration in discussions about social encounters and interactions in the area. The aim of this paper is to illustrate the possibilities to use methodological tools developed within postcolonial theory in an investigation about the relations between materiality, social encounters, and ideological change in the Baltic region. I will demonstrate how the Gotlandic picture stones can be viewed as expressions of ideological hybridity.

This paper shall be seen as a preliminary case study, which will be elaborated further in my future work. My PhD-research deals with the impact of the Latin Western European influences on social organisation and ideology. Important perspectives derive from postcolonial, gender, and queer theoretical thought. Concepts of personal and collective social identities, as gender, and ethnicity will be analysed through the picture stone tradition, other artefacts, and the layout of settlements. The geographical frame of study is the Late Iron Age and Early Medieval (6^{th}-13^{th} cent. AD) societies in the Baltic Sea region, particularly the Swedish province of Gotland.

The Baltic laboratory

The Island of Gotland and the Eastern Baltic (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, see fig. 1) are promising areas for archaeological studies of the workings of Bhabha's concepts of third space and hybridity. Previous research has often emphasised the unique and original character of the Scandinavian and Baltic Late Iron Age societies, but on the contrary the nature of the ideology and material culture were shaped through the encounters and contacts with the Continent.

During the last decade scholars within Baltic historical and archaeological studies have put forward innovative research to put the different local studies into a larger European context. One of the more recent research projects was the international and interdisciplinary CCC-project (Culture Clash or Compromise), that engaged scholars at several universities around the shores of the Baltic Sea. The project was launched 1998 by the historian Nils Blomkvist, Gotland University (Blomkvist 2005 et al).

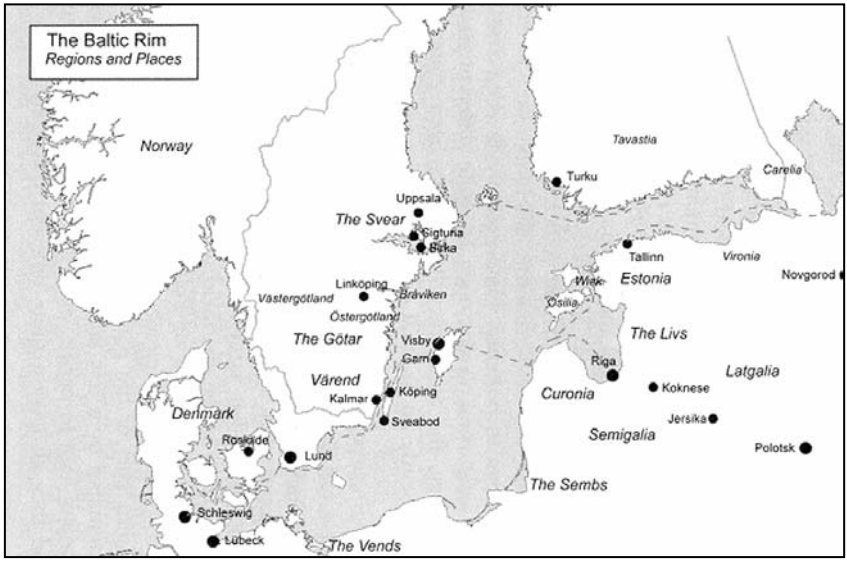

Figure 1: The Baltic Rim. After Blomkvist 2005.

The early Baltic societies can be viewed as a laboratory; they present a kaleidoscope of social forms. A variety of social structures emerge, that are very promising for analyses of social interaction at many levels, including complex patterns of power relations. Archaeological and written sources suggest that the groups manifested their differences through their socio-cultural identity. In this rather limited geographical area groups with diverse languages, economy, and ideology, lived side by side, sometimes peacefully, but more often in conflict. It must be remarked that the individual groups never were any homogenous entities in any sense; all societies are in constant change and interact with the external world.

The social organisation and ideological patterns of the indigenous Baltic societies differed from the Latin Western European norm. The outlook and material culture changed in the Baltic arena during the Late Iron Age and Early

Middle Ages. Which social strategies did the different groups develop through the encounters; adaptation, confrontation, retreat or others? These social and cultural changes lay not only in the outer political reality but had a deep impact on the society. Cultural encounters many times also had effects that were unexpected, activating and creating new sets logics and negotiations effecting social practices, and relations to materialities (see Fahlander, chapter 2 in this volume).

The impact of Continental and Christian influences had diverse consequences in different areas in the Baltic. The Scandinavian societies slowly integrated the continental ideas and material culture. The situation in the Eastern Baltic was much more complex, the development was dominated by crusading and conquest, which changed the societies in radical and profound ways. Some groups either assimilated or acculturated with the conquerors, or made them their allied (Blomkvist 2005). But colonial situations regardless of time and space show that often the colonial control was superficial. Traditional power structures within the societies continued to prevail. As long the colonial powers had the nominal prerogative, the indigenous elite were allowed to keep their control. Varying strategies of silent resistance were usually operating (Gosden 2004).

Ideological, political and cultural changes created reactions and new adaptations. Earlier research within this field has generally concentrated on the Large History, the great political changes and the wars. To subdue the colonised the coloniser often targeted the core of the indigenous society, the social relations on the micro level. But that is also the most complex target, to change what constitutes the diverse systems of lineage, inheritance, and gender relations. When these values are under threat the bloodiest conflicts have exploded. Many of the groups succeeded to keep or create an own socio-cultural identity through out the centuries until this date, despite that they have been under external power and pressure since the Middle Ages. How is that possible? One answer could be that indigenous social structures (i.e. household, family and kinship systems) were kept and strengthen (Blomkvist 2005). Strong inner social structures with material manifestations kept and sustained the group identity, despite foreign influences. Old traditions were often integrated, but got new Christian cloth, producing new social structures and materialities. Outer pressure helped to preserve indigenous cultural traits, but also reshaped them to something new.

To summarise, some working hypotheses I shall investigate in my future studies: Did the forces behind Continental influences and Christianisation try to subdue the different Baltic groups by targeting their social structures? Did the groups succeed to keep their traditions through silent resistance and hybridity? Can this be exemplified through complex family system, gender relations,

strong female roles, and how is this reflected trough the material culture? Perhaps the indigenous groups also used ideological conceptions about their past to mobilise this resistance, conceptions that also are manifested through the material culture?

Postcolonial theory and material culture

> Colonial domination does not rely on violence and exploitation alone but is supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations…power and knowledge directly imply one another (Said 1978:8, 27).

The issues of postcolonial theory have been vividly debated. The following discussion has been highly inspired by Peter van Dommelens ideas concerning the application of postcolonial theory on archaeological material. Archaeologists have during the last years started to show interest in postcolonial analyses. But the studies that exist are mostly concerning the Pacific, and within classical and historical archaeology. Nevertheless, Peter van Dommelen says in a recent article that postcolonial concepts can be applied and would give fruitful results in analysing other earlier pre-modern colonial situations, because "colonialism has been such a widespread phenomenon across the globe and through the ages" (van Dommelen 2006:108-109).

Van Dommelen has suggested that postcolonial theory is an "endeavour to go beyond colonialism in a metaphorical and ideological rather than simply chronological sense" (van Dommelen 2006:104-105).

Postcolonial debate has until recent been focused on literary studies. Most probably because the three main scholarly figures that have been connected to this theoretical thought have been literary theorists: Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha. To summarise in a few words their research approaches is off cause impossible, and would be dangerously simplistic. But for this discussion it could be useful to focus on a few of their concepts. Said is interested in the relations of knowledge and power (Said 1978, 1993), Spivak wishes to give the unheard a voice in discussions about the subaltern (Spivak 1999), and Bhabha has emphasised on the common ground between colonisers and the colonised, the third space and hybridity (Bhabha 1994).

Peter van Dommelen argues for an archaeological approach towards postcolonial theory. He appeals for material culture studies in connection with colonial situations regardless of time and space. He stresses that the role of material culture within social encounters will contribute to the progress of postcolonial theory (van Dommelen 2006:104-105). Van Dommelen has also suggested some main themes for studying material culture from a postcolonial perspective. He highlights the significance of the material dimension of representation, the use of material culture for writing alternative histories from

below (for the subaltern groups without history), and the material expressions of hybridisation processes (van Dommelen 2006:108, 112).

Material culture is crucial in shaping everyday colonial life and interactions, experience and practise. Colonial situations are characterised by the physical co-presence of colonisers and colonised. Usually a strong and very visible contrast between colonial and indigenous objects exists. Material studies can also give an insight in the lives and practises of the subaltern groups (van Dommelen 2006:112). Through material culture social identities can be constructed. Social categorisation can be based on gender, social status, ethnicity, and cultural or religious identity. In the material record, these identities can be studied through settlement layouts, artefacts, burial customs, and rituals among many other sources.

Studies of material culture can give information, and help to write alternative histories about social groups who are unknown or excluded from written documents. Archaeology has a great possibility to fill in these gaps of knowledge. The aim is to write alternative histories from below. The history of subaltern groups has almost never been recorded in the past, and when their actions are mentioned it's primarily from the dominant groups (elite) perspective. Analysing material culture with a postcolonial approach should highlight on social practise and human agency. Subalternity shall be viewed as a mean to restore agency and autonomy to social groups that have been looked upon as inferior in the past (and present). Study themes can be strategies as resistance or forms of silent resistance (van Dommelen 2006:107-108, 110). Silent resistance is not passive, and the effects can be dramatic and have large consequences.

Processes of hybridity

> …Colonial situations cannot be reduced to neat dualist representations of colonisers versus colonised, because there are always many groups and communities that find themselves to varying degrees in between these extremes…hybrid cultures are common, if not inherent, features of colonial situations because of the constant and usually intense interaction between people (van Dommelen 2006:108).

Colonial situation offers mainly three different scenarios to the native population in colonial situations: cultural and physical destruction, acculturation, or most common "the creation of a working relationship and new way of living deriving from cultural logics that all parties brought to the encounter" (Gosden 2004:82). Recently this has been discussed and understood through Homi Bhabha's (1994) concepts of hybridity and third space by some scholars (see Fahlander, chapter 2 in this volume). Prior studies show that

interrelations between different groups were much more pluralistic, complex and close then mostly suggested. "People of very different cultural and ethnic background lived together very closely without entirely losing their own traditions" (van Dommelen 2006:115). But in the same time the colonial encounters:

> …altered everyone and everything involved, if not all in the same manner and measure through an intricate mix of visible and invisible agency, of word and gesture, of subtle persuasion and brute force on the part of all concerned (van Dommelen 2006:111-112).

Hybridity and hybridisation in material culture is a possible large analytical field. Common methods are to study combined use of artefacts with different backgrounds. However according to Peter van Dommelen, its first when studying cultural practise and hybridity as a process that it provides a conceptual tool which allows Bhabha's ideas about ambivalence in the third space situations to be related to social practise and material culture. Mixing of material culture was not random but structured (van Dommelen 2006:119).

> …Joint households of people from different ethnic backgrounds led to the creation of new hybrid practices…the meanings of the objects involved could not and did not remain unchanged…it is a critical feature of hybridisation processes…(that)… existing practises and objects are recombined into new ones (van Dommelen 2006:119).

Richard White (1991) investigates what he calls the middle ground, which is similar to Bhabha's idea about third space, in a study about the contacts between Algonquin groups and the Frenchmen in North America (see also Fahlander, chapter 2 in this volume). White points out that societies have diverse concepts of power. In the colonised society the power relations often were personal, in colonising society it's institutionalised. This is crucial when to two societies interact. The level of social complexity has been important fore the outcome of social encounters, not only the state of material and technological development. The most important contacts in creating the middle ground were face-to-face contacts. Many problems and controversies between Native Americans and Frenchman revolved around issues of sex, violence, and material exchange. White underscores as Bhabha that sex and violence are key elements to understand how social interaction works in colonial situations. Different concepts of sexuality, marriage and gender created tensions that had to be resolved within the middle ground (White 1991:56, 60).

House and settlement layout on the Island of Gotland

Peter van Dommelen states that material culture constitutes an unexplored dimension of representation. He argues that houses and settlement layouts are worth studying because they reflect human perception of and actual responses to colonial contexts.

> …Domestic architecture and settlement planning…are well established and profound links between how people organise their living spaces in practical terms and their views of how life should properly be lived (van Dommelen 2006:112).

These perspectives are interesting from an archaeological point of view, and are applicable for the Gotlandic material. During the second half of first millennium the settlement pattern on the Island of Gotland changed profoundly. During Scandinavian Roman and Migration Period (1st-6th cent.) peoples lived in clusters of long houses, within a system of small cultivated fields and cattle causeways divided by low stonewalls. Remains of these "villages" are still very characteristic for the Gotlandic landscape, and one of the most famous of these sites is Vallhagar (see fig. 2). In colloquial folklore the rectangular stone foundations were called "graves of Giants" (Måhl 1990:24). This settlement pattern changed in the Late Iron Age (7th-11th cent.) to single farms, with the farmhouses in the centre of arable and grazing lands. Contrary to the case in the Scandinavian southern mainland, these single farms never moved together in villages in the Middle Ages.

The influence on Scandinavia and Gotland by the Continental form of feudalism has been intensely debated. Gotland was never feudalised, neither in a political or economical sense. Neither indigenous nor foreign nobility took control over the arable lands on the Island, leaving the landowning farmers a comparatively prominent position within the society through the Middle Ages until present. But tension existed between the countryside and the later Hanseatic town of Visby, a tension that culminated in a civic war 1288, which the burghers of Visby seem to have won. The ethnic or lingual composition of the townspeople is much discussed. From historical and archaeological evidence it seems that a mixture of groups originating from present day Germany, Russia, Scandinavia, and indigenous Gotlanders inhabited the town (Blomkvist 2005:478). Whether or not, Gotland present a colonial situation isn't the topic here. Nevertheless, I argue for that postcolonial concepts can be used to explain and understand the reception of external influences, both material and ideological, in any society.

It would be interesting to study the architecture, the internal and external layout of settlement and houses both at the farmsteads, and in Visby. This can

reveal information about the nature of the external influences affecting materiality and material culture, giving complementary versions of past actions.

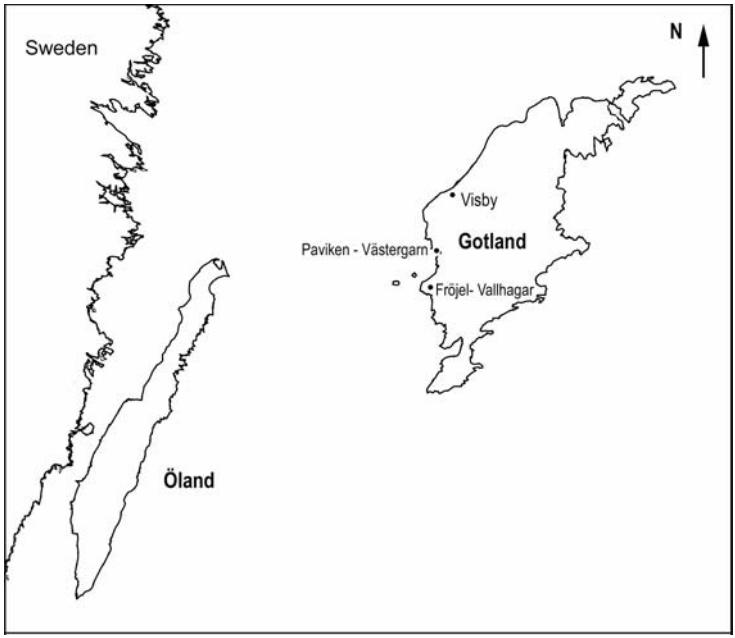

Figure 2: The island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea.

Studies of the interior layout of colonial houses e.g. in Calcutta, India, demonstrate that the division between the colonial families and their indigenous servants living and working quarters were not as strict as may be first supposed. Peoples of different status and ethnicity lived close together. An opposite example is from colonial Morocco were the French and the native population lived in special blocks separated from each other (van Dommelen 2006:113-114).

Nils Blomkvist has in his comprehensive work *"The Discovery of the Baltic"* used mostly the written evidences to give an explanation of the progress of Visby and its relation to the countryside. He can see a development from a Viking Age trading harbour and a pre-Christian cult site with asylum rights at Visby. This may be indicated by the Old Norse word *Vi-* that means cult/holy place (Blomkvist 2005:478, 489).

Dan Carlsson has identified about 50 smaller harbours and 6-7 larger ones at the Gotlandic coast. They were in use from Late Iron Age until Early Medieval

Period. Some of them still exist as small fishing hamlets. These harbours were of various size and often multifunctional. It's not yet known if some of the larger were inhabited all the year round or only seasonally, neither if foreign traders or craftsmen were among the population (Carlsson 1999a, 1999b, 1999c). In any case it was through the larger harbours foreign goods and ideas reached the Island. The harbours were localities where many small unsupervised day-to-day and face-to-face contacts and encounters took place, the harbours can be said to be the primary arena at Gotland for Richard White's concepts of the middle ground (White 1991:56, 60).

Dan Carlsson has extensively investigated the harbour at Fröjel, and earlier the harbours at Paviken and Västergarn has been archaeological surveyed by him and others (see fig. 2). In Fröjel dwelling houses, workshops and cemeteries (both Christian and pre-Christian) have been found. The site was in use from 6th-7th centuries until early 12th century (Carlsson 1999a, 1999b, 1999c). These partly excavated sites lay all south of Visby along the central west coast of the Island.

The archaeological material of these harbours and cemeteries will reveal a lot of the early contacts between the Gotlanders and the surrounding world. In respect to the naming, Fröjel, as Visby, has religious connotations. The word *Fröj-* refers to the great Norse goddess Freyja and *-el* to holy grove or place (Olsson 1984:50). It's an interesting fact that the both names are connected to cultic practices, and might represent areas of asylum. The larger harbour sites were probably congregation localities not just for trade and handicraft, but also for worship and legal matters. The site of Västergarn is towards land defended by a semicircle rampart of disputed dating (probably late 10th or early 11th cent.). The rampart may not only represent a defence structure, but also a religious and juridical border. Within the walls foreigners could trade and live under protection of special rights, as later proved in Visby. Jörn Staecker is undertaking excavations at the medieval churchyard of the Romanesque church in Västergarn, and shall also pursue with investigation of the earlier trading settlement. When Visby developed in the 12th century, all these major harbours shrank into insignificance.

The external influences behind the growth of Visby are interesting to pursue in further studies. Privileges rarely mention the town or any special position of the German inhabitants. Nils Blomkvist has shown that Visby was an embedded part of Gotlandic society, and that the Gotlandic communities were involved in the affairs of Visby. The Gotlandic *seniores* based on the countryside hold authority on the whole Island, but some foreign groups were granted autonomy in internal matters. This was the state of affairs until the last quadrant of the 12th century, then things escalated quickly towards the civil war 1288 (Blomkvist 2005:484, 487-488).

The Gotlandic picture stones

The picture stones have in earlier research been regarded as unique cultural expressions of the Late Iron Age society on the Island of Gotland, with few or any parallels. Approximately 450 picture stones have been discovered until this date (2006) at Gotland. Only four picture stones (according to my knowledge) of the Gotlandic type have been found outside Gotland, one at Öland, two in mainland Sweden, and one in Grobina, Latvia. Above this 20 fragments have been found in the Lake Mälaren area in central Sweden. The picture stones are usually made of limestone slabs, and a few of sandstone, that are cut into distinctive forms that vary in length from 0.5 to 4 m. What the form represents or symbolises is much discussed. Suggestions have varied between a phallus, a human body, an axe, a fleece, a door, a keyhole, or the world tree.

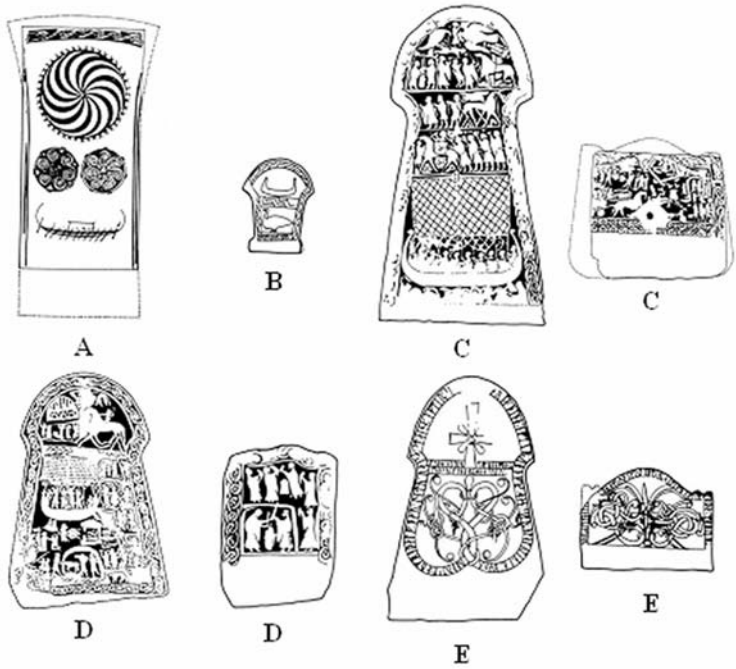

Figure 3: The typology of the Gotlandic picture stones by Sune Lindqvist (Lindqvist 1941, 1942): A, 5th-7th cent. B, 6th-8th cent. C-D, 8th-10th cent. E, 11th cent. After Andrén 1993, Göransson 1999, Nylén & Lamm 1988.

Different theoretical approaches have been applied when studying the picture stones and their motifs. Perspectives that can bee divided into functionalistic, topographical, and symbolic/mythological positions (Andreeff 2002, Andrén 1993, Göransson 1999, Lindquist 1941, 1942, Myrberg 2005, Måhl 1990, Nylén & Lamm 1988, Staecker 2004, Varenius 1992). Scholars with functionalistic approach have above all dealt with one of the most frequently displayed motif on the picture stones, the ship. Depictions of ships have been used as starting point for experimental archaeology and interpretations of ship construction and sail making. Also other portrayed objects, as houses, clothes, weapons and tools, have been compared with archaeologically found constructions and artefact to explain handicrafts and everyday life of the Viking Age (Nylén & Lamm 1988, Varenius 1992).

Within the topographical field discussions have focused on the significance of spatial relations. How the stones are located in the landscape and their relation to other ancient remains. If they were territorial markers have been a main topic, possibly bordering and emphasising districts, farms, roads, paths, fords, and bridges? Some picture stones are erected in groups and at localities with place names that have religious connotations. Maybe they were associated with sacral practices and places of the pre-Christian cult? Findings of charcoal, animal bones, and ceramics in cultural layers at the base of some of the stones might indicate that offerings or ritual meals were made at these sites (Måhl 1990, Nylén & Lamm 1988).

The symbolical or mythological perspective has been the most popular among scholars that have studied picture stones. Mostly through analogies with Norse literature have the figures and motifs been identified to specific heroes, gods and myths, and even to Biblical motifs. The imagery is then viewed as belonging to the believe systems and the cosmology of the time (Andrén 1993, Myrberg 2005, Lindquist 1941, 1942, Staecker 2004).

Picture stones as sign of hybridity

The picture stones were probably multifunctional and had many significances changing through time and the context in which they were used. Thus, indicating to be one of the most interesting artefact types at Gotland when studying ideological change and interaction. The motifs of the picture stones have been used to explain the religious and ideological changes that took place on Gotland. The picture stones are a promising material for studies of ideological hybridity.

The picture stones are divided by Sune Lindqvist (1941, 1942) into five chronological and iconographical types (see fig. 3), extending from 5th until 11th cent. AD. The earliest picture stones, type A and B, are dated to 5th-8th cent. The

tradition of erecting picture stones seems to originate in connection with the Migration Period (5th-6th cent.) cemeteries. Though, some stones of type A have been pre-dated to Roman Period (1st-4th cent.). Type A and B stones have been found, both complete slabs and in parts, located at cemeteries and within structures of single graves. On these stones are displayed ships, sun wheels and animals, such as stallions and birds, motifs that have been interpreted as symbols for fertility, and assumed expressions of religious beliefs focusing on the sun and natural world.

The nearest parallels in space are Roman Hispanic tombstones, which are ornamented with the same kind of sun wheels as the earlier pictures stones. Erik Nylén and Jan Peder Lamm have suggested that the connecting link is the Roman legions or the Visigoths (Nylén & Lamm 1988:152). Lennart Swanström has in an essay put forward an interesting idea, that the stones with sun wheels on Gotland shall be seen as signs of early Christendom. He suggests that the Gotlandic elite were influenced by the Germanic tribes in central Europe common branch of Christendom, the *Arianism*. The picture stones from that time shall be viewed as expressions for this faith, and the sun wheel shall in this interpretation be seen as a symbol for God (Swanström 1993). This idea remains to be tested, but anyway its mind liberating to discuss a very early and then probably transient Christianisation of some groups at Gotland.

Many later works about pre-Christian traditions and Christendom in southern Scandinavia have doubted that the rather late mission described by among others Adam of Bremen (*Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*) and Rimbert (*Vita Anskarii*) tells the only truth. Some parts of Scandinavia may have been exposed to Christendom or at least Christian thoughts much earlier, and also from other churches than the German (e.g. English-Irish, Byzantine) (Janson 2005, Staecker 1999, Theliander 2005).

The picture stones of type C and D are from the typological middle phase, 8th-10th cent., although the chronology is much in dispute. These types have attracted the most interest from scholars, and are the richest in iconography. When these monuments are found at original site they stand alone or are gathered in groups in the landscape, with no immediate connection to graves or cemeteries. Others have been re-used in later pre-Christian graves, and build into walls and floors of medieval churches. Usually they are interpreted to have been originally erected as memorial stones in the honour of dead male members of the society. Also the stones from the middle phase have been used to explain ideological and religious changes. Scholars have tried to identify figures and scenes in the iconography to specific mythological characters and events from the Norse literature (especially starting from the two Edda: *Poetic/Saemundar Edda* and *Prose Edda/Snorri's Edda*). Vivid displays of warriors and weapons are depicted on the stones, this presenting a paradox due to the fact that

traditional scholars tend to describe the Gotlanders as peaceful farmers and traders, quite contradictory to the witness provided by iconography. One of the main motifs the rider with the horse, regularly depicted at the top of the stones (see fig. 4), has been interpreted as either the great Norse god Odin and the divine horse Sleipnir, or Sigurd Fafnisbani on his horse Grani (*Volsunga Saga*), or the deceased man arriving to Valhalla, to whose honour the stone may have been erected (Andrén 1993:41, Staecker 2004:64). But, it's very doubtful to believe in a personalised art in the Late Iron Age; that the depictions should portray actual human persons, besides maybe in a transferred meaning, that dead persons could be identified with gods and heroes.

Figure 4: Picture stone found in two parts in a grave at the Viking Age harbour in Fröjel parish. Frottage and interpretation: Alexander Andreeff & Helena Andreeff.

Anyway it has been suggested that the depictions of Odin, and other gods and mythological figures can be a indication that at latest during the 8th or 9th century the older nature and fertility based religious beliefs (as indicated by type A and B) had been replaced by the Viking Age religion per se, the beliefs in the

Aesir gods, with a pantheon populated by Odin, Thor, Frey and Freyja (Nylén & Lamm 1988:14-15, 68-70). But it must be stated that the Norse religion is a construct by the medieval Icelandic authors. The Old Norse beliefs were more of a tradition with large regional varieties (Blomkvist, T. 2002).

But as the later Norse literature indicates the interest and use of the Sagas doesn't imply a pure pagan society, the stories were told and written in Christian societies. The most important element of the stories is the concepts of wisdom, heroism, honour and death, and these concepts are also possible to attribute to the iconography of the picture stones, and to Christian societies (Andrén 1993:41). Jörn Staecker has lately reinterpreted the iconography of some picture stones. He argues that they have scenes depicting Biblical motifs. Making parallels to other materials Staecker shows that the combined use of Christian and mythological (pagan) motifs is not a contradiction, but was customary in Late Iron Age and Early Medieval Europe. The important were the normative values that were communicated through the iconography. The blend of Christian and pagan motifs in writing and iconography is common during this long transition period (Staecker 2004:67-70).

The images are not alone. The imagery we see on the stones is only remnants of a larger world of images that were carved in wood, woven in textiles and so on. Also from references in the Norse narratives it's clear that pictures were present on ships, carriages, halls, furniture, textiles, shields and weapons (Andrén 1993:38, Palm 2004:222-225). In this light the picture stones are not as unique pictorial expressions as maybe first assumed. They belonged to a tradition of artistic expression, oral traditions and belief systems that were common understood over large area of Northern Europe.

The latest picture stones, type E, are very similar to the common runic stones at the Scandinavian mainland. It can be argued if the type E-stones at all shall be considered as picture stones. They often display runic inscriptions in ornamental loops with Christian prayers, and depictions of Christian crosses, and are dated to the 11th century. The Runic inscriptions give proof of that these late stones were memorial monuments.

Conclusions

The archaeological material from the Late Iron Age and Early Medieval Period in the Baltic Sea region has been taken into consideration in discussions about social encounters and interactions in the area. The impact of Continental and Christian influences had diverse consequences in different areas in the Baltic. The Scandinavian societies slowly integrated the continental ideas and material culture. The situation in the Eastern Baltic was much more complex, as the development was dominated by crusading and conquest. The outlook and

material culture changed in the Baltic arena during the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages, and cultural encounters many times had effects that were unexpected, activating and creating new sets logics and negotiations effecting social practices, and relations to materialities.

The theoretical part in this paper has been highly inspired by Peter van Dommelens ideas concerning the application of postcolonial theory on archaeological material. He has suggested three main themes for studying material culture from a postcolonial perspective; the material dimension of representation, the use of material culture for writing alternative histories from below, and the material expressions of hybridisation processes. The concepts developed within postcolonial as Homi Bhabha's ideas of third space and hybridity, and Richards White's model of middle ground are also applicable for archaeological studies of social interaction and encounters in the Baltic.

The study of architecture, the internal and external layout of settlement and houses both at the farmsteads, and in Visby reveals information about the nature of the external influences affecting materiality and material culture, giving complementary versions of past actions. Houses and settlement layouts reflects human perception of and actual responses to colonial contexts. E.g. the Gotlandic harbours were localities where many small unsupervised day-to-day and face-to-face contacts and encounters took place, the harbours can be said to be the primary arena at Gotland for Richard White's concepts of the middle ground.

I have demonstrated that the Gotlandic picture stones can be viewed as expressions of ideological hybridity. The picture stones were multifunctional and had many significances changing through time and the context in which they were used. The example with the picture stone tradition shows that a material that have traditionally been seen as very unique for the Island, on the contrary it's one material that must obviously show the impact or influences from the foreign world, constituting a promising study field for ideological and religious hybridity and hybridisation, which will be investigated further in my future work.

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