'Open-weave, Close-knit'.

Archaeologies of Identity in the later prehistoric landscape of East Yorkshire.

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SUMMARY.

This thesis is concerned with approaches to identity in archaeology, specifically the later prehistory of East Yorkshire, during the first millennium B.C. The region is characterised by a middle-late Iron Age square barrow burial rite, which has been interpreted as the product of the 'Arras' culture. It tackles the problem that identity has traditionally been understood as a social given (as part of an evolutionary process or an innate condition of a social group) that can be read from material remains. It argues that such models fail to make a critical enquiry into *how* identity is reproduced, with damaging social and political implications.

In contrast, the thesis argues that identity is the project through which people come to know themselves as social beings, through the webs of their relations with others and the material world. Identity always takes work, and is constituted through that work. Archaeology therefore explores how identities were reproduced and mobilised over time, through an analysis of material fragments which are both the product and conditions of identity practice.

The thesis explores the contrasting character of practices of inhabitation from the later Bronze Age - late Iron Age (c. 8th -1st century B.C./A.D.). It interprets the emergence and disappearance of the burial rite in terms of the political projects and discourses of identity which were reproduced through the strategic manipulation of the dead.

More broadly, it argues that archaeology is both an analytical and interpretative endeavour. It presents the theoretical grounds of its approach, a methodology for exploring identity, and the results of its analysis (including a report on original fieldwork undertaken at Wharram Grange Crossroads, East Yorkshire). It also argues that the way in which this interpretative process is returned to the reader is constitutive of the meaning that they make, and it develops ways in which this can be made explicit in the writing of a thesis.

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'There is no self alone at the start.'

Paul Ricoeur 'Oneself As Another'.

"weavers who set their looms in open ground have first to find the landscape's warp and weft, the shadow lines, the tracks, the spirit paths. The weaving and the landscape should concur or else the cloth would lose its shape. The wind, the water and the threads, the lines of scree, the strata of rock, the patterned strips of wool should run in unison and then the fabric would be true. The weaver and the ploughman should aline. It's not enough to know your yarn. You have to know the land as well, they'd say."

Jim Crace. *Quarantine.*

CONTENTS.

VOLUME II.

Chapter 1.

Theories of history, identity and practice:

a genealogical approach.

1.1 Introduction.

This thesis is concerned with approaches to identity in archaeology, specifically the later prehistory of East Yorkshire, during the first millennium B.C. It tackles the problem that identity has traditionally been taken as a social given that can be read from material remains. It is therefore naturalised either as part of a social evolutionary process, or an innate condition of particular social groups. In such models, archaeology fails to make critical enquiry into *how* identity is reproduced, with damaging social and political implications.

In contrast, this thesis argues that identity is the project through which people come to know themselves as social beings, through the webs of their relations with others and the material world. Identity always takes work, and is constituted through that work. Archaeology therefore explores how identities were reproduced and mobilised over time, through an analysis of material fragments which are both the product and conditions of identity practice. The task of this thesis is to understand the contrasting character of these practices of inhabitation over time in the context of later prehistoric East Yorkshire.

The first part of this thesis discusses how identity has been approached with particular reference to the later prehistoric archaeology of East Yorkshire (Chapter 1). I intend to reveal the means by which certain paradigms were reproduced, and how these informed an archaeological understanding of historical process. I will argue that these models have to resort to external dynamics to explain social change because they fail to see history as emerging through human practice. The second part of the thesis will develop this alternative view, arguing that people work persistently at their relations over time (Chapter 2). Identity is never finalised, but emerges through the performance of those relations, not only with other people, but with the material world of animals, objects and places. In the third section, I will ask how we might apprehend this identity work through archaeological analysis (Chapter 3). In outlining this methodology, I will argue that the way in which we return this analysis to an audience - through writing and illustration - is also constitutive of their interpretation.

My archaeological case study focuses on the emergence, development and disappearance of the square barrow burial rite in East Yorkshire, which has been seen as the distinctive cultural signature of the 'Arras' culture (Stead, 1979a). Chapters 4-6 present an interpretative analysis of different fields of social practice, to provide an historical context for its appearance and abandonment. (The thesis will therefore be structured chronologically, from the early-late Iron Age, c.8th century B.C.-1st century B.C./A.D.). The analysis suggests that this was a period of long-term transformations in the relationship between people and place, leading to a gradual erosion of the 'open-weave' of community relations, and a closer focus of the 'close-knit' interests of the kin group. The funeral rite must therefore be understood as part of the way in which these social tensions were negotiated; part of the identity projects through which people came to understand their place in the world, and their relations with others.

1.2 Interpretation: a genealogical approach.

All understanding arises through, and is mediated by, the forms of its reasoning and the explanatory procedures which accompany and precede it (Ricoeur, 1981). In this hermeneutic circle, we move from explanation to existential understanding, and from existential understanding to explanation; we cannot release ourselves from the dialogical and participatory nature of interpretation (Bakhtin, 1981; 1994). The models that we use, and the language and images that we deploy to persuade others generate the interpretations we make (Lakoff, 1980; 1987). Metaphors are therefore constitutive of theory, because they provide terms for features of the world which we are still trying to explore (Boyd, 1993); they allow us to open up interpretative possibilities by appealing to our existing knowledge in a novel or radical fashion. Our analysis only comes to have meaning through this art of persuasion and recruitment (Kuhn, 1993), and it is always carried out through certain paradigms, whose tenets or principles should be made clear.

For Foucault, this requires a genealogical approach to research (1972). He argues that ideas do not have a necessary linear history of development, but come about through a lineage of discourses, in which certain ideas beget others. Discourses can be approached in themselves, in terms of the specific rules and interests they advocate; the conceptual boundaries they erect and how items are allocated within them (Latour, 1993: 16). A genealogical approach to theories of identity, history and practice rejects the idea that these discourses follow inevitably, one from another, in an inevitable evolution of thought. Instead, it seeks to understand relations between ideas, and the mechanisms by which they come about.

1.3 Iron Age studies: identity and otherness.

Iron Age studies in Britain have faced the problem of identity through two issues; Celtic identity and the familiarisation of the later prehistoric past. The idea of a pan-European Celtic unity (be that an ethnic relationship, a cultural style or 'spirit', Spriggs, quoted in Megaw and Megaw, 1996: 178), has promoted an identity that is shared across large regions of space, and has cultural continuity over long periods of time. Without demonstrating how this unity could have been sustained, it has drawn its argument mainly from classical references dating to the 1st century B.C./A.D. Apart from the danger of reading these texts back upon a prehistoric past, they are themselves political documents. Their authors made general statements about the character of social groups who were coming under colonial government, in a deliberate attempt to homogenise them (Webster, 1994 and 1997). Such descriptions valorised aspects of their character and vilified others, to demonstrate that they were both worthy of colonisation, as well as in need of it. This political strategy resulted in an exoticisation of the 'other':

> "a pyschomachia, in which different places and peoples could be subsumed to the official Greek and Roman world views and made to represent aspects of both the Greek and Roman psyches... [so that their cultures] were physicalised through their mapping out on a landscape of contact with difference." (Piccini, 2000: 20).

However, more critical approaches to these documents and a loss of faith in the notion of Celticity (e.g. Fitzpatrick, 1991; Chapman, 1992; Collis, 1994, 1996; Champion and Collis 1996; James, 1999) have been aggressively received; British academics have been accused of both xenophobic anti-Europeanism (Härke, 1998) and even 'ethnic cleansing' (Megaw and Megaw, 1996: 180, 992, 1994).

In contrast, identity has also been seen as a problem in later prehistory because the Iron Age has become 'too familiar'. Hill has argued that the popular model of sedentary settlement, mixed farming regimes and hierarchical society have anaesthetised us to the difference of the past (1989, 1995, 1996; Cumberpatch, 1995). It subsumes otherness in its own terms, closing down interpretation (Fabian, 1983). He has therefore criticised a 'common sense' approach to mundane processes, arguing that they are always informed by moral and sacred beliefs, and structured through ritual practice (Hill, 1993 and 1995). In conclusion, the two discourses have pulled against each other; exoticising or familiarising later prehistory according to the political agenda being served.

To engage with Iron Age studies is to engage with these issues; I must therefore make my own position clear. To "think absolute difference is impossible" (Jones, 1999a: 535), and yet as Battaglia argues, we must guard against finding only ourselves in this project (1999: 120). What archaeology has to achieve is some form of convergence with the real, which achieves a reflexive awareness across difference (ibid, 1999: 119). The aim of such a practice is to:

> "unlearn the habits of thought which we bring to bear on the world through a thorough examination of their histories and antecedents" (Gosden, 1999: 203).

As Gosden argues, this is simultaneously an archaeological and anthropological endeavour (1999), and this thesis therefore makes no apology for the interdisciplinary nature of its approach. In fact, this rest of this chapter will be occupied with the argument that theories of human nature and material behaviour arose through the inter-relationship between these two discourses. These will be explored with particular reference to East Yorkshire, so that the 'problem of identity' arises directly from the case study.

1.4 Theories of history, identity and practice.

In the following section, I will present three paradigms, which have contrasting understandings of human behaviour, historical process and the material world: social evolutionism, culture history and systems theory. In revealing the models and metaphors through which they make their argument, I will argue that each one fails to understand history as social process. They are therefore forced to explain change as the result of external forces or innate processes. In these discourses, identity is reduced to a given property, an effect to be 'read' from the archaeological record, rather than a series of relationships which are reproduced through human action.

1.4.1 The 'march towards civilisation': social evolutionism in archaeology.

1.4.1.1 Mortimer and Greenwell: antiquarian evolutionists.

When John Mortimer finally published his *Forty Years Research in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, he summarised his life's work as an account "of the rise and progress of bygone races" (1905: xii). His desire was to place local monuments within the evolutionary sequence of mankind, and he believed that his excavations had revealed the material traces of a series of prehistoric invasions. The speed with which changes appeared to have occurred led him to believe that on each occasion, an established population had been replaced by a more advanced and technologically sophisticated people. Thus:

> "The presence of the chariot with its artistic accomplishments would seem to point to a somewhat sudden introduction of *a higher state of civilisation*, as we do not find in any of the barrows indications of a gradual development of the arts." (Mortimer, 1905: lxxv - *my emphasis*).

This model of aggressive invasion appeared to be supported by the great linear earthworks of the region, first studied by Lane Fox (later Pitt Rivers in Greenwell 1877). Greenwell (a contemporary of Mortimer, who published his opus on *British Barrows* in 1877), argued that they were military works, raised by "a body of men advancing from the East, and gradually entrenching themselves as they extended their progress" (1877: 124). The distinctive character of the square barrow cart burials and finds such as the Arras mirror and Grimthorpe sword and shield boss left both men in little doubt that this Iron Age invasion was from the Continent, as they were:

> "found much more frequently in France, principally in the north-eastern part, the department of Marne and adjacent districts, as well as in the Côte-d'Or and Switzerland...[and thus] the tribe who dwelt in that part of Yorkshire, where these cemeteries are situated, may be regarded as kinsmen of that family of Celts who occupied the north-eastern and adjacent part of Gaul, as they were related to some sections of the population of Britain itself." (Greenwell 1906: 261 and 307).

It seemed to Mortimer and Greenwell that their task was to contribute to the intellectual project of describing "all races of men, in their march towards civilisation" (1905: xxiv), by describing Yorkshire's role within it. The next section will discuss the principles of this social evolutionary approach, and the mechanisms by which it entered the vocabulary and methodology of East Yorkshire antiquarians.

1.4.1.2 General principles.

The Enlightenment Project sought general theories of explanation, by which the order of the world could be explained as the result of natural laws. According to the principle of uniformitarianism, creation could be explained as an uninterrupted succession governed by these laws, which were still in operation and therefore observable. Direct observation was thus believed to give one access to objective knowledge; to see *was* to know (Fabian, 1983). What people saw - in the natural world, and within social world which was subjected to the same scientific scrutiny - was great diversity, which could be classified and ordered, according to a discourse of progress and improvement. Pre-dating theories of natural selection, evolutionism argued, very simply, that change was the result of successive adaptations made by an organism. These adaptations were believed to be linear, moving towards an increasing specialisation or refinement. Despite Darwin's insistence that such adaptations occurred in response to particular

environments, evolutionism was promoted as an innate and pre-specified, motivational force within living organisms.

These laws of nature were also seen as moral laws of the universe. Predictably, man was the epitome of biological development in this evolutionary schema, but this was also a social accomplishment. He [sic] was superior as a species *because* he possessed language, art, politics, history, and other species did not. Moreover, the perceived primitivism of societies being encountered in colonial contexts convinced intellectuals that even within the same species, some men were more evolved than others. This theory naturalised an ideological narrative of moral progress, supporting the colonial programme. But in encountering primitive others in distant locations, Fabian argues, distance in space came to be thought of as distance in time (1983: 12). One could be 'here, now' observing the world, whilst the distant object of one's study was simultaneously 'there, then' in another stage of evolution. Social evolutionism, and the hierarchical models of progress which it supported, were only made possible by this peculiar severance of these other peoples from the present; a denial of their coevalness (Fabian, 1983).

1.4.1.3 Railway sections and social forms.

It was an easy gesture to transplant this model of human evolution onto prehistoric studies, which, in turn, appeared to validate the principle of social progress. The massive landscape transformations wrought as part of the Industrial Revolution resulted in huge sections being cut through the strata of the earth. Here, in the fossilised remains which were so clearly differentiated by beds of strata, was demonstrable proof of the evolution of creatures over measurable periods of time (published by Lyell, in 1830 as the *Principles of Geology*). And if the principles of stratigraphy were capable of revealing these evolutionary processes in ancient epochs, why should they not be applicable to periods of more recent history; human prehistory? Spencer made the analogy explicit, deliberately aping Lyell's title in the 1876 *Principles of Sociology*, in which he outlined the evolutionary sequence of different social forms. As Tylor stated:

> "the institutions of man are as distinctively stratified as the earth on which he lives. They succeed each other in series substantially uniform over the globe... shaped by similar human nature acting through successively changes conditions in savage, barbaric and civilised life." (Tylor, 1888: 269).

The principles of stratigraphic analysis were applied in the field as well as in this hierarchical scheme of classification. The nascent discipline of archaeology flourished in Denmark and

Germany from the 1840s; artefacts commonly found together in the same strata were grouped as type fossils. Laid out, they quite clearly indicated a technological progression from stone to bronze to iron, providing Thomsen and, later, Worsaee, with the basic structure of a 'Three Age System' of prehistory (Trigger, 1989). Technology could thus be paired with social form (Bowler, 1989). However, it was therefore believed that each social - or racial - group, therefore had an innate technical capacity; rapid or radical technological transformation could only be brought about through the arrival of new people or races (Evans, 1864, 1872 and 1881).

1.4.1.4 On the train with Ishmael Fish: societies, publications and exhibitions.

With this idea, we return to Mortimer and Greenwell's interpretation of the later prehistory of East Yorkshire. Peter Bowler has argued that the above principles came to have such public currency through an unprecedented network of intellectual thought, shared between members of different disciplines, in the mid-late 19th century (1989). Moreover, gentleman scholars (like Pitt-Rivers, from a landed class, or Mortimer, a seed merchant in Driffield) gained their prestige and sense of identity from being conversant in a number of fields.

Societies flourished in this period, such as the *Geological Society* (founded 1807), *The Ethnological Society* and *British Archaeological Association* (both founded in 1843), *The Anthropological Society of London* (founded 1863). (The *Society of Antiquaries* had formally been in existence since the turn of the eighteenth century). Although many of these were based in London, provincial societies played a pivotal role in organising early archaeological excavations (such as the *Yorkshire Antiquarian Club*, working in the East Riding in the 1850s), as well as providing a local forum for debates, lectures and support for publications. Other societies included the *East Riding Antiquarian Society*, the *Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society*, and finally the *Yorkshire Archaeological Society* (founded 1863), of which Mortimer was an active member.

The proceedings published by these societies (including *Archaeologia, Antiquary, The Naturalist, Man* and even *The Gentleman's Magazine*) disseminated ideas between experts, as well as the results of fieldwork. The mass publication of books such as Darwin's *Origin of the Species* (1859, reprinted 1865) and Lubbock's *Prehistoric Time* (published 1865, which directly analogised prehistoric and primitive peoples) were also important means by which Mortimer and Greenwell, amongst other scholars in the region, appraised themselves of social evolutionary thought.

But perhaps the most influential mechanism by which these ideas were impressed upon people was public exhibition. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was a revelation to Mortimer, who travelled down by train to see it, with Ishmael Fish (the railway missionary stationed at Burdale). In bringing together a snapshot of 'the whole of mankind' (Prince Albert, quoted in Stocking, 1987: 3), it juxtaposed contemporary technology, ancient peoples and primitive weapons, geological and archaeological specimens. Mortimer never recovered from the experience, and avidly set out purchasing antiquities and excavating local monuments, so that "there might be brought together on one collection all the treasures I could obtain" (1905: x). As a keen visitor to the British Museum (in Hicks, 1978: 28), Mortimer must also have seen the exhibition of Iron Age antiquities such as the Battersea Shield and Waterloo helmet, displayed as part of the 'late Keltic' exhibits mounted by Franks (James, 1999: 58). His passion for this prehistory of his natal district emerges in his writing as well as his deposition of the collection in Driffield in 1878, for public viewing (Marsden, 1999). Interestingly, this was the same year that Pitt Rivers museum moved to South Kensington (Gosden, 1999). Pitt Rivers' display of archaeological and ethnographic artefacts side-by-side, was originally designed to dissuade his estate workers from revolutionary tendencies, by persuading them of their place within the natural 'order' of things (Pitt Rivers, 1891; Bowden, 1991). But as a prehistoric collection, it remains the most explicit statement of social evolutionism; meshing the distant and foreign with the ancient through the "web of their resemblances" (Hides, 1996: 31).

1.4.1.5 Craniological studies.

Greenwell made another contribution to this discourse, besides the evolutionary sequences of material artefacts recovered from his excavations. The technique of craniology went hand-in-hand with early stratigraphic studies, as a means of identifying the biological - or racial - type associated with distinctive assemblages of artefacts (Morse, 1999; Davis, 1855, 1865). The cephalic index was a measurement designed to identify the successive arrivals of increasingly advanced racial groups, bringing with them the next wave of technological advances (Cowles Pritchard, 1826 and 1843). In British prehistory, craniology was pioneered by Dr. John Thurnham; a doctor, superintendent of a mental asylum, amateur archaeologist and curator of York Museum (c.1839-1848, Marsden, 1999). Working with John Barnard Davies (who had collaborated with Thomas Bateman, the Peak District antiquarian, on the '*Britannic Collections*'), they published the *Crania Britannica* in 1865, which (they believed) demonstrated the general nature and distinctive racial elements of skull forms which were "not transmutable" between races (Thurnham and Davies, 1865: 2).

Importantly, part of the collections used in this analysis came from Thurnham's excavations at Driffield, on the dipslope of the Wolds (undertaken with the *York Literary and Philosophical Society*). The volume became a handbook for archaeologists, and similar analyses were undertaken for Greenwell by Rolleston (1877) and by William Wright (in Greenwell 1906). Wright concluded that the Iron Age burials he analysed represented "a fresh immigration from the continent" (in Greenwell, 1906: 323) who had violently displaced the earlier Neolithic population and were "living in a tribal fashion" (ibid., 1906: 314), a view reproduced in the influential *Victoria County Histories* (1907: 386; Allison, 1974).

1.4.1.6 The idea of invasion.

By the turn of the century, a number of theoretical and methodological assumptions were in place; social progress was believed to be unilinear and progressive, and the identity and evolutionary state of a social group could be ascertained from their artefactual assemblages and distinctive racial physiology. However, rapid social and technological change was believed to result from social competition between groups at different evolutionary stages. Where it was observed in the archaeological record, it was assumed that there had been an influx of people, who had either replaced or subjugated the indigenous population, according to Worsaee's model:

> "All facts, for instance, seem to shew that Europe was not peopled at once, by a race of mankind who bore in themselves the form of all future progress, but that this race gradually received the addition of others who continually supplanted the former, and laid the foundation for a more advanced civilisation." (Worsaee, 1849: 134).

Invasion and migration were historical realities of the nineteenth century; this model was informed by, and had great resonance with, colonial experience (Fabian, 1983; Gosden, 1999). What these authors failed to acknowledge was that imperialism was only made possible *through* historically specific resources, such as a international economic system, extensive trade networks, an industrialised transport and military infrastructure, as well as the public currency of such an ideology. Nevertheless, ethnic conflict between inherently 'unequal' races or societies at different 'stages' of social evolution was naturalised, and an invasionary tendency was 'read back' into the past as a normal and healthy dynamic of historical change.

Although the chronological distinction between long barrows (of the Neolithic) and round barrows (dating from the late Neolithic/early Bronze Age), was quickly recognised, it was not until 1906 that Greenwell formally published his data on the distinctive 'early Iron Age' burials

of East Yorkshire, interred under a square 'fosse'. By this time, the model of mass invasion was entrenched in Mortimer and Greenwell's interpretations of prehistoric monuments, earthworks, artefacts and human remains (Section 1.3.1.1).

However, both archaeologists were slightly troubled when it came to discussing the Iron Age material. Greenwell believed so resolutely in the racial science of craniology, that he was forced to interpret the similarity between Neolithic and Iron Age cephalic indexes as the result of interbreeding between Neolithic and Bronze Age peoples (1906). Mortimer also suggested an alternative explanation for the artefactual and technological changes he was seeing in the archaeological record. Perhaps, he argued, they were "introduced by the Phoenician or some other traders or settlers" (1905: lxxv). This model of mercantile contact, trade or exchange, may have been influenced by his own experience as a market trader in Driffield, bringing seed corn, domestic goods and implements to rural areas. This paradigm dominated later prehistoric studies of East Yorkshire, but as I will argue in the rest of this chapter, at a variety of scales.

The conceptual categories we use to describe society are constitutive of the capacities we ascribe to people (Lakoff, 1987). The taxonomic approach to social life was flawed on two counts. First, societies are not bounded; they do not behave as closed organic entities, and their motivations are quite distinct (Giddens, 1984). The organic metaphor employed in social evolutionism reduced people to creatures adapting to externally imposed stimuli. There was no understanding of prehistoric change as the result of human action; as history. Second, the basis of classification thus became social hierarchy, evolving from savagery to civilisation, from simple to complex society. This ideological narrative of progress failed to approach each society on its own terms; through its distinct social and material character.

1.4.2 Associated traits: archaeology and culture history.

1.4.2.1 That complex whole.

Culture history was the response to this critique. A loss of faith in the criteria by which invasions might be recognised led archaeologists to adopt a material-driven strategy, which promised to identify prehistoric groups on the basis of their distinctive cultural traits alone. Tylor defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (*Primitive Culture,* 1871: 1). Childe translated this into an archaeological methodology:

> "We find certain types of remains - pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, and house forms - constantly recurring together. Such a complex of associated traits

> we shall call a 'cultural group' or just a 'culture'. We assume that such a complex is the material expression of what today would be called a people." (Childe, 1929: v-vi).

In works such as *The Dawn of European Civilisation* (1925) and *The Danube in Prehistory* (1929) Childe depicted European prehistory as a 'mosaic' of different groups, distinguished by their variety (Gosden, 1999: 52). Importantly, this model allowed for the co-existence of groups at different stages in social development, in the same region. The archaeologist's task was to characterise their distinctive cultural identity, and analyse their social complexity from this set of associated traits.

In one sense, Childe's model appears remarkably sophisticated, making the argument that cultural identity was reproduced through distinctive kinds of material practice. However, the paradigm was prone to abuse; many archaeologists believed that they could therefore read identity from these individual cultural 'signatures'. Distinctive assemblages of traits were parcelled up and labelled as different cultures, without investigating the *historical* process by which these groups came to do things in particular ways, nor their relationships with others. In seeing culture as an expressive totality, societies were normalised, seen as static, unitary and stable. This stemmed from Childe's belief that culture tended towards the 'dead weight' of conservatism and tradition, in order to facilitate the learning of social behaviour and ensure the reproduction of society. In this model, culture appeared to be prior to people; to have some existence outside of human practice. Culture became the adaptive agent in this historical materialist approach. Incremental change could be explained as technological innovation or drift, but as Childe believed that successful cultures arose from "a particular racial vigour and genius" (1925: 151), linguistic and intellectual superiority (1926: 3), these bounded edges of cultures with different capacities and at different stages of social development, became 'flash points'. It was at the boundary that inequalities were manifest, and tensions and aggressions emerged. *Rapid* change was still therefore attributed to physical migration or invasion.

What had been advocated as a methodology to investigate cultural variation became a self-fulfilling model of ethnic identity and conflict, which was to be horrendously abused in the application of Kossina's (1911) work in Nazi Germany. Although Childe increasingly withdrew from this elision of cultural variation and racial identity - insisting that archaeologists return to the material assemblage of traits as the foundation of their discipline - this paradigm dominated archaeological practice.

1.4.2.2 The 'ABC' of the Iron Age.

Christopher Hawkes used the culture historical approach to map the spread of cultures across space, arguing that these tended to defined by given topographical features and regions (1931 and 1959). His synthesis of Iron Age material culture was impressive and subtle, aimed at an independent understanding of the chronological sequence and definition of groups within Iron Age Britain (Evans, 1988: 399). His 'ABC' of the Iron Age proposed a basic chronological structure for the 1st millennium B.C., subdivided by a series of local variations. Over the middle part of the century, art historic syntheses aided this project, such as Jacobstahl's *Early Celtic Art* (1944) and Fox's *Pattern and Purpose* (1958). As archaeological investigation progressed, Hawkes hoped that these could be refined further, and their relationships traced. In practice, it morphed into an unwieldy classification system, with countless numerical divisions and subdivisions. Clarke accused him of basically imposing an alphabetical system upon what was still envisaged as a series of migrations:

> "A... was in effect defined by 'Hallstatt' invasions, the B by the 'Marnian' invasions', and the 'C' by the 'Belgic invasions'." (1966: 185).

Writing during the Second World War, and in the immediate post-war period, Hawkes' explanation of such changes was still militaristic and prone to migrationist models of change, describing prehistoric raiders:

> "roving and spying out the land... [if] enough of their own people would follow them over... good land could be taken, iron worked and all this country settled" (Hawkes 1959: 177).

In his insistence that the boundaries of these cultures tended to be "physiographically clear" (1959: 172), Hawkes also lay his work open to criticism by archaeologists such as Hodson, who advocated a return to a purer approach in which cultures were mapped "in their own right" rather than by "fixed geographic limits" (1960: 140). There was another agenda here; in this post-war climate, many archaeologists were reluctant to see the inhabitation of Britain as a narrative of migrations from the Continent. Clarke criticised this 'invasion neurosis' and its dependency on external motors of change as dangerous because:

> "it feeds on itself and distracts attention from what is of much greater importance: when all is said *the object of British archaeology* is surely to tell us about the lives of people who, generation by generation, age by age, in *unbroken succession* occupied and shaped the culture of the British Isles." (1966: 173 - *my emphases*).

Clarke argued the Iron Age could be characterised by its 'cultural archaism', rejecting invasion models as explanations of cultural change, leaving himself "open to alternative explanations for the appearance of exotic traits" (1968: 299). Hodson's model of the 'Little Woodbury Culture' supported this indigenous account of later prehistory (1960, Fig. 1.1). Together, their preferred rhetoric emphasised cultural continuity and gradualist models of change, to the disgust of Hawkes, who responded vigorously, rejecting the idea of the "inherent dynamism of economic and social life" (1968: 299).

1.4.2.3 A reasoned case? East Yorkshire and culture history.

Despite their differences, Hawkes and Hodson's temporal and regional classification of material culture still informs our understanding of the Iron Age, and how it might be generally characterised. But the Arras culture (named after the first square barrow cemetery to be excavated in detail, Stead, 1979), as well as the Aylesford-Swarling group, were special cases in both of these models. They represented troubling amalgams of indigenous and exotic traits, with too many Continental affinities. In Hodson's model they were set apart from other cultures; invasionary spectres at the feast of indigenous models of cultural change. Clarke proposed several models, allowing for a migrationist interpretation:

> "The invaders with La Tène culture *for which a reasoned case has been made...* were the offspring of the Parisi who introduced the Arras culture to East Yorkshire." (Clark, 1966: 186 - *my emphasis*).

However, in the same article he proposed a more diffusionist approach, in which new styles, traditions and rites were introduced by an "intrusive aristocracy who for some centuries at least, lorded it over the native element" or else were the product of a "highly complex web of trade connections" (1966: 186).

Hodson's PhD student, Ian Stead, tackled the issue head-on. Taking the Arras culture as his frame of analysis, he methodically explored not only the character of the square barrow burial rite but also other fields of practice; settlement, agriculture, technology and art. It was still, therefore a traditional approach, in which "cultures [were] defined by recurring groups of type fossils" (1965: 1), which were "an assemblage of archaeological types regularly associated in a limited area" (1979: 89). There was no paradigmatic break here.

During the course of his analysis (from the 1965 publication, *The La Tène Cultures of Eastern Yorkshire*, to *The Arras Culture*, 1979), Stead changed his interpretation, arguing that:

> "what had seemed a clear distinction between two cultures [the Arras 'cart burial' group and the North Grimston 'sword burial' group] has now been eroded: the material belongs to a single culture, the Arras culture" (Stead, 1979: 5).

And like Hawkes, Stead argued that this culture had a topographical unity whose:

> "limits to the east and south are definite and obvious, the water of the North Sea and the Humber (obvious to all modern politicians); to the west the River Ouse now appears with almost equal clarity... [and] only to the north is the boundary not a waterway, and there the distribution is limited by the bleak North Yorkshire Moors." (Stead, 1979: 89).

1.4.2.4 Second-hand cartographies: the Arras and the Parisi.

This unity however, tended to be 'read back' from classical texts referring to a tribal group called the Parisi (Ramm, 1978; Crowther, 1989; Halkon, 1997). Taken from Ptolomy's *Geographica* (written 130-170 A.D.), there is good reason to be suspicious of this document. Firstly, it represents an imaginary voyaging, culled from the accounts written by other authors (e.g. Hipparchus); a second-hand cartography, a map of colonial locales, listed in relation to each other (such as main Romanised towns, *Petruria,* probably Brough; *Gabrantuicorum portuosis sinus*, possibly Filey or Scarborough, and *Oceli Promontorium*, Spurn Point). It is therefore an administrative document which is also geographical propaganda, naming places of imperial importance and not others. As Ronayne (1997) argues, naming people and place is part of the appropriation of both; once named, they can be set aside, diminishing their influence.

Secondly, even if the Parisi had an ethnic unity by the 2nd century A.D., this may well have been a product of the Roman conquest of East Yorkshire in 71 A.D.; the threat of invasion may well have galvanised a regional solidarity which had little reality in later prehistory. Again, in the application of the culture historical model, and the naming of these entities, archaeological analysis aimed at identifying their cultural distinctiveness, rather than explaining how this 'worked' in practice; how such identities were actually structured and reproduced.

1.4.3 The machine in motion: systems theory and Iron Age studies.

1.4.3.1 Analytical archaeology.

Systems theory offered a more dynamic account of social process, which rejected descriptive culture histories, and made an analytical enquiry into how humans actively reproduced themselves within an environment of which they were a part. The key text in this paradigmatic shift was David Clarke's *Analytical Archaeology* (1978, 1973). In it, he made a deliberate shift

away from the concept of a culture, and towards society as the unit of archaeological analysis. This was envisaged as a single sociocultural-cultural *and* total environmental system, a "stabilised but constantly changing network of intercommunicating attributes forming a complex whole" (Clarke, 1978: 42). This definition was drawn from Adam Smith's model of society as an organic body, composed of social beings whose function was determined by their place within the whole. It also drew on Durkheim's systemic approach to social interaction, which sought to understand individuals *within* the context in which their social behaviour was learned; total social facts (ways of thinking or acting) were transmitted through social traditions, which encouraged the system to remain homeostatic.

The analogy allowed archaeologists to consider human behaviour within a social system, comprising a series of attributes or subsystems:

> "Material culture, economic structure, religious dogma, and social organisation are on this hypothesis merely subsystems arbitrarily extracted from their coupled context by the specialist academic." (Clarke, 1978: 42).

These different components oscillated randomly along intercorrelated trending trajectories which were transformations of previous states in progress (Clarke, 1978). The dynamism of the model was important because it offered archaeologists a way of modelling social change through the interaction of these spheres. Systems theory was therefore legitimated through a 'hard' methodology, the rigour of prediction and hypothesis testing, the modelling of cause and likely effect. What was to become known as processualism promised the discipline a new, objective methodology which was both scientific and anthropological. It encouraged experimental testing, modelling, and the conducting of ethnographic studies which could be used as analogies for past material practice (epitomised in Binford's middle-range theory, 1965 and 1972).

However, in practice, the system's tendency towards homeostasis was frustrating; if it tended towards dynamic equilibrium, how could social change actually be explained? Inevitably, the environmental conditions within which the system operated came to have determinate force, despite Clarke's insistence that transformation should be approached as the *particular* outcome of a range of system dynamics. Society was reified as the manager of pressures, adapting to a set of conditions which emerged from the model as givens; logically, the responses of the subsystems were presumed to become more efficient over time. The system appeared as a

machine in motion; self-regulatory and homeostatic, with an environmentally determinist mechanism and evolutionary trajectory.

Unfortunately, Clarke's diagrams lent themselves to this reading of his work; they were static and schematic, giving messy, political histories a neat, illusory order, like the twisting wires of a flex (Fig. 1.2). This electronic metaphor (which had great resonance in the 1960s and 1970s; the early computer age), made it hard to disentangle representation and analytical procedure from social 'reality'; systems theory's language and illustrative strategies suggested that social life *really did* operate in these terms. Humans were reduced to components of the system. Sophisticated, formulaic language filtered out 'soft' social or ethical questions, deceiving archaeologists into believing these complex interactions could be identified and quantified.

1.4.3.2 Landscape, social relations and material life.

The effect of this paradigm on Iron Age archaeology was initially beneficial; it prompted archaeologists to consider aspects of mundane, daily life, as essential subsystems in the circuit. Techniques of environmental sampling and economic analysis developed quickly in this period, and experimental archaeology (such as the Iron Age reconstruction centre, the Butser Ancient Farm Project, set up in 1972, Reynolds, 1979 and the Overton Down Experimental Earthwork Project, Bell, 1963), received academic credibility and financial backing. However, disregarding Clarke's more subtle approach, proponents of this new paradigm argued that the environment acted as the organisational mechanism of social change. Material culture was reduced to an adaptive strategy:

> "the system of the total extrasomatic means of adaptation. Such a system involves complex sets of relationships among people, places, and things whose matrix may be understood in multivariate terms." (Binford, 1965: 209).

Whilst social practice should always be explored within the ecological and material conditions in which, and through which, relations are reproduced (Barrett, 1999b; Edmonds, 1999b), this environmental determinism lost the interactive subtlety that Clarke had striven for. Also, it encouraged archaeologists to take a two-dimensional approach to identity and social relations. According to Clarke:

> "The obvious role of material artefacts... embraces material culture as an elaborate means of environmental regulation and control. An increasingly elaborate material culture provides an increasingly powerful regulation and control mechanism" (Clarke, 1978: 409).

This key argument appeared to justify the social typologies developed by Marshall Sahlins and Elman Service (1965), who had argued that increasing social complexity could be identified through the efficiency of its economic structure. The metaphor used for society in this model was a thermodynamic, energy-capturing system, in which the energy available for cultural output (social relations of power) was determined by the efficiency of the energy-capturing system (Clarke 1978: 291). The environment still had a causal role in this model, as systems competed and spread to the environment which best fed the energy requirements of each social form.

This societal adjustment to given habitats encouraged archaeologists to bring a landscape approach to their work. If distinctive forms of social complexity (band, tribe, chiefdom, state, Service and Sahlins, 1965; 37) depended on particular economic systems, these could be recognised from the patterned exploitation of resources within the landscape. Both Renfrew (1973a and b, 1979) and Cunliffe (1986) used spatial techniques drawn from 'New Geography' (such as Thiesson polygons), to analyse the spatial patterning of sites within the landscape, and economic patterns of behaviour between sites. This analysis allowed them to model population dynamics, structures of power and resource management, and 'read off' the systemic signature of different kinds of social complexity.

1.4.3.3 East Yorkshire; a warrior society?

The dynamics of such systems hinged around a set of pressures; social change in the Iron Age was attributed to population increase, coupled with climatic deterioration, resulting in the depletion of soils, enforced colonisation, accelerated production and centralised redistribution, and an overall increase in aggression and violence. This causal explanation was still being presented by Cunliffe in 1995a: 102, despite his claim that he had imposed no model upon the data (see Fig. 1.3):

> "The 1st millennium was a period of rapid change... Every change in the system enhanced the trajectory and momentum of the whole. It was, in short, a millennium of intensification in all aspects of life." (1995: 102).

The Iron Age was transformed from a pastoral idyll into an exploitative, intensely hierarchical, warfare-obsessed group of chiefdoms (e.g. Cunliffe, 1986 [1983]; 1995c), an image that was all too familiar, in fact, from the portrayal of the Celts in the classical texts! However, archaeologists were keen to stress the indigenous continuity of such societies. In this era of the Common Market, transformation was modelled as the result of social interaction, trade and

exchange - "commercial liaison rather than invasion" - offering an economic rationale for cultural change (Harding, 1970: 236).

In East Yorkshire, this paradigm emerged implicitly in the work of John Dent. His analysis of landscape transformations around the open settlement and square barrow cemetery of Wetwang Slack, led him to believe that they were the inevitable result of population growth, deteriorating climate and increased pressure on land (Dent, 1982: 453). The so-called chariot burials and warrior graves of the period also lent themselves to this model of worsening social relations, increased aggression and warfare (Fig. 1.4). The similarity between Iron Age burial practices in East Yorkshire and those on the Continent could be explained by cultural interaction, and possibly a small-sale folk movement:

> "the region was in close contact with northern France in the late fifth century, giving rise to the Arras culture... which developed possibly after a small-scale folk movement brought new people into the area from the Seine valley." (Cunliffe, 1991: 193).

1.4.3.4 The system breaks down.

Unfortunately, systems theory treated the landscape as a synchronic entity, mapping sites as if they were contemporary without enquiring into their chronological sequence, and changing character over time. As ongoing excavations began to unravel the neat synchronicity of these models, archaeologists also began to question the techniques that had been deployed and a lack of sensitivity to the actual character of the landscape. As Pryor noted rather wryly, in Cunliffe's model:

> "the (presumably) contentious boundaries of their Thiesson polygons... [passed] rather improbably through the most fertile flatlands of their valley floor." (Pryor, 1983: 190).

Monuments and artefacts became *reflections* of power relations, rather than the material conditions and products of social practice. Size was interpreted as a direct relation of status and power, and land was a resource, a physical rather than a relational space. Human action in the past was assumed to be rational, pragmatic and efficient, and social groups were conceived as bounded wholes rather than fluid and osmotic entities (Giddens, 1984). In summary, this reading of social relations from landscape patterns resulted in spatial-myopia; an inability to see 'beyond the map' of spatial distributions, to human inhabitation as a lived and intentional project.

Questions of identity were avoided altogether; there was no need to make an enquiry into the way in which people might have seen themselves or understood their relationships with others, when the proper object of archaeological practice was to identify certain forms of social hierarchy through their material patterns, representing the management of resources.

1.4.4 Small-scale invasions? The missionary model.

In East Yorkshire, Ian Stead resisted fitting neatly into any of these paradigmatic boundaries. With his grounding in culture history, he was never quite able to shake off the idea that dramatic changes in human practice might indicate some form of invasion. His own research had convincingly demonstrated that there was no large-scale depopulation; no radical eviction of people by a mass migrationary force. However, many aspects of material practice indicated that relations with the Continent were being maintained, especially links in art styles, and artefacts such as the North Grimston sword and gold finger ring from the Queen's burial at Arras, which must have been made on the Continent. And if trade relations were being maintained, then this could also be a conduit for ideological exchange. The invasionary model shifted scale:

> "The arrival in Yorkshire of artefacts from west-central Europe could be explained away by trade but the arrival of ideas - complex burial rites - must surely mean the arrival and settlement of people. They could have been tribes, but they need not have been numerically strong: perhaps they were adventurers, mercenaries, evangelists, or a few farmers. There is no reason to suppose that they were a dominant element in the community, still less that they were the rulers, but their ideas about death and funeral ritual were influential, and they enable us now to recognise the Arras culture." (Stead 1979: 93).

By 1991, these two points - that the groups need not have been an elite, but were wealthy and ideologically persuasive - were encapsulated in the idea of the "well-connected evangelist" (Stead, 1991: 184). This model drew on Childe's model of Neolithic 'megalithic missionaries', but it also had resonance in the more recent history of the Wolds. A long history of non-conformist evangelism, targeting the isolated farms and rural reaches of the High Wolds, dales and valleys, had been encouraged both by Wesley's 1770s tour (Woodcock, 1889: 16) and the building of the Malton to Driffield railway (Allison, 1995). Ishmael Fish, with whom Mortimer travelled to the Great Exhibition, was one of these itinerant preachers, stationed with the railway construction camps as they moved from dale to dale (Brown, 1995; Duckham, 1977). Woodcock, a Methodist writer keen to justify evangelism, naturalised a history of ideological invasion on the Wold, from the paganism of later prehistory, through Roman idolatry, to early

Christianity, and Calvinism (1889: 5). The Druids of later prehistory, he argued, arrived with the Brigantes tribe, becoming:

> "the real governors. They issued laws, bestowed favours, granted pardons, inflicted punishments" (1889: 4).

Stead's argument developed through a long-term project of fieldwork, excavating both square barrow monuments and settlement remains (1991 and Rigby, Stead and Pacitto forthcoming). His opinion was informed by a close, contextual grasp of the material, and the character of later prehistoric social practice. His refusal to dismiss relations with the Continent is persuasive, and this concern for issues of ideology, identity and social relations brings us back to our starting point.

1.5 Conclusion.

This chapter has discussed how identity has been approached in archaeology, through contrasting discourses on history, social relations and material practice. It has analysed the genealogical relations between these paradigms, and in each case, has tried to reveal the historical context of their ideas, and the mechanisms by which their arguments persuasively came to dominate archaeological methodologies and interpretations.

In each case, it has argued that these models reduce human action to reaction; history is either the living out of innate social evolutionary trends (leading to a narrative of successive waves of invasions), a process of inter-cultural aggression, or the internal reactions of a hermetically sealed system. Identity in these theories is either an evolutionary form, an innate racial or ethnic characteristic, or a system of management and power. All of these approaches encouraged archaeologists to believe that they could 'read' the material signature of such identities from the archaeological record, and they developed sophisticated techniques, models and persuasive metaphors to this end. But all of these models ultimately had to resort to external dynamics to explain social change, because they failed to see history as emerging through human practice.

The following chapter will develop this alternative understanding of history as process, which will require a theory of human practice that can encompass social change. It will argue that identity is constituted through that practice, and is the means by which people reproduce their relations with each other, and the material world.

Chapter 2.

The labour of relations: a theory for an archaeology of identity.

2.1 Introduction.

This chapter will propose a theory of identity as the project through which people come to know themselves, in terms of their relations with others and the material world. It will argue that identity is not a social given but takes work, and is constituted through that work. Archaeology apprehends this labour of relations through the material fragments, which are simultaneously the conditions and product of social practice. Its task is to explore the changing character of these practices over time, in order to understand the historical and social context of transformations in relations.

Firstly, it will argue that history should be understood as social process. This allows us to explain social change as emerging through human action. However, it will outline a theory of social practice in which humans are not free agents, but reproduce themselves within the political constraints and material conditions of their life-world. Secondly, it will therefore argue that identity is constituted through a network of relations between people, animals, places, things and times, and it will consider the character of such relations in small-scale communities. Finally, it will suggest that this theory of identity as relational practice allows us to approach the contingent spatial and material conditions through which certain forms of identity were made historically possible.

2.2 History as social process.

2.2.1 Weaving time: history, biography and practice.

The historical paradigms discussed in the last chapter rested upon a series of different conceptions of time, summarised by Fabian (1983: 22-23). *Physical Time* was seen as a physical constant of the universe - linear, measurable and therefore independent of human action. However, humans tend to make gross characterisations of this linear time, dividing chronology into broad epochs or eras - a time of ages and stages, which Fabian calls *Mundane Time.* But stratigraphic analysis and evolutionary studies suggested that time actually progressed through a series of changes in types, in which one superior state irreversibly

replaced another; socio-culturally meaningful events or traits captured in the idea of *Typological Time*. Fabian's argument is that all of these concepts wrench time away from events that are meaningful to humans, reducing their intentionality and self-determination (1983: 23).

Instead, Fabian supports a concept of *Intersubjective Time* which recognises that time is a constitutive dimension of social life (1983: 24). Social action is inescapably chronic, as all communication depends upon the creation of 'shared time' between actors. Activities meanwhile, bind people together in their rhythm. Time is subjective and relative to 'where one is' and how one is moving (Urry, 2000). It can appear to 'exert' different powers and directionalities upon us, according to context. Given this model of temporality, how might we conceptualise time so that it embraces *both* the scale of historical process and long-term transformations with which archaeology deals, as well as the time and moment of human action?

Drawing on Giddens (who was in turn influenced by Heideggar and the Annales school), we can divide time conceptually into three levels (1984). First, there is the *durée* of day-to-day experience; the time of human action, in which all basic acts of production and consumption are carried out. Durée is not so much in time as constituting time in its ceaseless emergence (Bergson, 1910). This is the practically conscious and ongoing time of dwelling, soaked in the phenomenal, lived experience of 'Being' (Heideggar, 1975 [1971]). It is experienced as a flow - rhythmic and cyclical. Terms such as 'day-to-day' or 'routine' are used to capture the way in which the body experiences its continual labour in the world as continuous and familiar practice. People do not experience it as 'piece work', but as a dextrous rhythm of ongoing inhabitation, in which place, time, hands, tools and substance meld. Durée is the time of this continual emergence of the world through human action. However, these rhythms obscure the fact that such practice is always novel and emergent; the impression of repetition disguises the irreversible innovation of every human action.

The second level of time is that of *dasein*, in which being is revealed as this process of becoming. Dasein is the time of mortality, which the subject knows it is a being-towards-death; it is therefore the time of the actor's life or biography, stretching across time and space. All interpretation arises from being-in-the-world, but dasein inevitably involves a temporal 'distancing' in which experiences 'come back' to us (Fabian, 1983). In dasein we are skilled in making 'present' our past before us, indeed our past is "present in us as a *project*, hence our

future" (Fabian, 1983: 91). Dasein is therefore the time of the project, and it is projective in that being both remembers and imagines the world as it might be. It anticipates future, it reflects, and this reflexivity is based on the fact that the location of our experience in time *is* unique and irreversible, and a matter of continued practice.

This time of the human life cycle - the generation - is important, because it allows dasein to fold back into durée; despite the threat of death, identity is preserved in the continuous emergence of generations. This cycle of reproduction is an important source of continuity and security in small-scale communities, against the grain of the individual's fleeting biography. But because this process is genealogical, it also opens into the third level of time, that of the institution.

Institutional time surpasses the individual, and operates in this succession of generations and solidarities, which characterises the *longue durée* (Braudel, 1980). All human action takes place in cultural praxis, that is to say, no move is made without a sense of its historical position within a flow of other moves. It is this longue durée, which provides the context of that flow, and it is at this scale that long-term projects and transformations can be witnessed, but one of its conditions is that we cannot apprehend this within our own (mortal) time. This is both a source of frustration, which fuels our desire to project a history forward about ourselves, as well as the condition of historical enquiry into the past. Importantly, the longue durée has no structural dominance over dasein, but is rather the historical and contingent coherences between conditions and actors. Institutions - and institutional time - is only reproduced through, and experienced in, the times of events and biographies.

These three concepts prevent archaeology from conceptualising history as a series of static periods or inevitable succession of stages, by making time itself a product of human action. They also provide archaeology with a temporality of practice that can shift between act or event, life cycle and episode. I have described these three concepts of time as 'levels' or 'scales' but these are inadequate, even misleading metaphors because they keep each temporality apart and suggest a nested or hierarchical typology of times; they exist only by virtue of their mutual relation with each other. If archaeology is to grasp and make use of these different apprehensions of time, we must envisage them *in* time, as process. History cannot therefore be 'seen' either in durée, dasein, or longue durée. It is *movement* itself - life in motion.

2.2.2 How history happens: a theory of social practice.

The following section will use these interwoven concepts of time to argue that history is a social process, not inevitable evolutionary progress. It will therefore employ a model that is able to reconcile human agency within the historical and material conditions in which it is always figured.

Anthony Giddens' structuration theory insists upon the dual quality of action, both structure and agency (1981 and 1984). It tries to reconcile the historical specificity of the conditions in which human action occurs, with the ability of human agents to live out their lives knowledgeably and with meaning. Agency is the "*capability* of doing things", of acting purposefully (Giddens, 1984: 9, *my emphasis*). It recognises that, at any moment in a sequence of conduct, people could have acted differently. Social action involves choice and implies power, to act or to refrain from acting. It thus refers to the contingency of what is actually done, the uniqueness of each action, and it therefore assumes that to be an agent is to be capable of deploying a range of 'causal powers', which can influence others.

In his model, structures are not so much determinant patterns of social relations or presences, but rather intersections of presence and absence. As 'rules and resources', structuring properties allow the 'binding' of time-space in particular ways; these 'systemic forms' are manifest to agents but only exist in the very "practices and memory-traces which orientate the conduct of knowledgeable human beings" (1984: 17). Structures take their most deeply embedded form as *principles* which have great time-space extension, and thus exist within institutional totalities and the temporality of the longue durée. But structural principles are simultaneously the medium *and* outcome of human agency, through the practices they recursively organise (1984: 25):

> "the rules and resources drawn upon in the production and reproduction of social action are at the same time the means of system reproduction." (1984: 19).

Principles are procedures of action, "techniques or generalisable procedures applied in the enactment/reproduction of social practices" (1984: 21), which find expression in an agent's ability to work on those conditions, in order to 'go on in life'. The mechanisms of transformation are thus always located in agency, which in turn, is always historically situated within the resources of time and space. The attraction of this model of social practice is that it insists that people are not merely the product of history, but produce it through their particular commitments to certain ways of doing things, that is, praxis. But as Giddens' debt to Marxism

makes clear, people may make their own history, but not in the circumstances of their own choosing.

Giddens' explanation of social change hinges on the idea the possibility of transformation is always open in the dialectical nature of action. The knowledge that people have of their own history is partly constitutive of what that history is, and the influences that act to change it. Unintended consequences arise from social action. Likened to 'spillage' - the unintentional slip in an intentional act - these form unpredictable and unacknowledged conditions for future action in a transformational 'feedback loop' (1984: 27). These changes are beyond the scope of the agent's power, but they would not have happened had the agent acted 'otherwise'.

However, 'resources' are deeply implicated in more major structural transformations. Giddens divides these into two forms: *allocative* (referring to capabilities, or forms of transformative capacity which generate command over objects, goods or material phenomena) and *authoritative* (types of transformative capacity generating command over persons or actors). These resources allow people to 'stretch' over time and space, to a differential degree, extending their effective power. Although this model allows us to resist some of the normative transformational dynamics presented in Chapter 1 (demographic pressure, social evolution, environment or warfare), this promotion of technological resources suggests that Giddens still relies on the application of external forces to explain rapid change (1979). Also, human and non-human objects are wrested apart in Giddens' model of resources, in a problematic fashion.

I will return to these issues below, but for now, I want to argue that structuration theory is important because it directs archaeology to the unveiling of certain strategic courses of action, whilst grasping the historical and material conditions through which they were made possible (e.g. Barrett, 1994, 2000 and forthcoming; Barrett and Fewster, 2000). This is not an account of events or individual lives but the exploration of how humans engage in regularised social practice across time and space, and what the consequences of this might be.

2.3 Identity.

2.3.1 A peculiarly modern problem?

Social practice concerns the reproduction of relations; these are the means by which people sustain their ontological security in the world, expressed in their sense of identity. Giddens (1994) believed that modernity faced a peculiar crises in ontological security, which had been placed under severe pressure by a series of interrelated processes; the separation of time/space,

the disembedding of relations through abstract systems (such as money and expert systems of technology which 'bracketed' information) and increased mechanisms of institutional reflexivity (1984, 1991, 1999). This last point was crucial; reflexivity is the condition of all social action, but Giddens insists that in modernity, there has been a chronic and rapid revision of social and material practice, leading to an excessive monitoring of the self. A sense of discontinuity, anxiety about obliteration, obsessive preoccupation with risks and lack of self-trust and integrity characterise what Giddens sees as an historical specific discourse of identity politics.

In this model, small-scale prehistoric communities are used as heuristic devices, against which to set this crisis of identity. They tend to be stereotyped and lumpen in Giddens' account, and unsurprisingly, emerge ontologically secure and stable in comparison to those of modernity. As Butler argues, the search for such unchanging societies - the imaginary before - is inevitably figured within the discursive frames of modernity (1999: 47). Giddens can be accused of overplaying the 'critical threshold' represented by changes in resources in modernity. Quite apart from the fact that such features cannot be so neatly parcelled up either side of this division (a territory well-traversed in anthropology, e.g. *We Have Never Been Modern*, Latour, 1993; see also Gosden, 1999), he also fails to attend to the fact that his character sketch is largely drawn from societies caught at the intersection of this pre-modern/modern divide.

Does Giddens' analysis mean that identity was not a problem for societies in prehistory? Without dismissing the particular crises in ontological security, risk and anxiety faced by modern societies, I will argue that identity is *always* a problem, because it always takes work.

2.3.2 Identity as relational practice.

Identity is the means by which social life is meaningfully reproduced; the way in which people learn to live in the world. It emerges from the desire to be able to go on in life, to belong with others in place and time. It is therefore always social, always relational, involving a dialectical oscillation between similitude and difference (Jenkins, 1996). Identity is the frame of memory, the grounds of competent action in the present with others, and the source of imagination for a future, and is therefore a reflexive project. As the source of their ontological security or anxiety, identity is the means by which people reach out in trust (the precondition of all relations), to the social and material world which they inhabit. It is the continuous struggle to make oneself intelligible to others, a matter of repeated expression, which seeks recognition, but it is therefore always frail, in that it must be intelligible. Social action risks failure, blunder

and misinterpretation (Butler, 1999; Berggren, 2000). And because identity is relational, it does not have complete control over itself; it is subject to the authorship and control of others.

Identity is always a matter of practice; it always takes work. It emerges through that work and is therefore never given, never finalised. It is multiple, shifting contextually and contingently with place, time and co-presence. Making identity a matter of practice reveals this vulnerability in the moment of its emergence with and before others.

This thesis concerns itself with exploring the historically specific conditions in which *certain* kinds of identity were made possible, rather than others. Giddens was correct in arguing that the discursive character and reflexive conditions of identity practice are of a different order to those in prehistory, and that in such small-scale communities, this identity work largely takes the form of non-discursive practice. But the risk in Giddens' analysis is that we cease to make enquiry into the way in which these non-discursive discourses are themselves reproduced. The next section therefore seeks a theory of habitual practice, which makes the point that identity is only reproduced *through* this day-to-day labour of relations.

2.3.3 Habitus.

A theory of non-discursive practice is offered by Bourdieu in his concept of *habitus;* systems of durable dispositions or principles of practices which are not the product of obedience to rules, but an improvisational habit (especially of the body) to do things in familiar ways (1977). Habitus is a series of moves, which are objectively organised as strategies, without being explicitly strategic in intention. It is a generative principle, a capacity to deal with the unexpected in a familiar way. Social action continually emerges in a *practically* conscious fashion, from the orientated and skilled body; Bourdieu describes this as bodily *hexis* - habituated motor functions, patterns of postures, appropriate gestures - which are charged with meaning and value. Habitus is the result of organising actions, but also designates a way of being, a habitual state (Bourdieu, 1977: 214).

Bourdieu's approach is useful because he demonstrates that, for the most part, we are not discursively conscious of our action and cannot be. We need a necessary 'blindness' in work, to the actual actions we are carrying out. The moment we stop and reflect on what we are doing, we stumble, we trip; we tear ourselves from the competent flow of that labour and thus out of the moment of durée. Heideggar used the example of hammering to describe this effect; hammer, hand and wood combine unthinkingly in the action, but it fails - when the wood fails,

or we hit our thumb - that we become aware of it as an aggregate sequence of actions and relations. Whilst this is the point of certain fields of practice (such as ritual, when certain principles are deliberately revealed, see below), habitus is the continuous product of unconscious commitment on the part of the actor, to certain ways of doing things. It is a matter of disposition, tendency, propensity, and inclination. But this is in itself constitutive, because it designates and channels appropriate behaviour, without determining it. This is what Butler has called the 'illocutionary' effect of practice, which reproduces that which it cites or names (1999).

Again, in Bourdieu's theory, agents tend to reproduce the system within which they feel secure; routines reduce anxiety because they are unproblematic for actors. There is a tacit acceptance of the way in which tradition 'brackets out' other ways of doing things, enabling people to carry on in their lives. However, as in Giddens' sketch of prehistory, this model of human practice tends to be self-producing; new or improbable practices are excluded "as unthinkable, by a kind of immediate submission to order" (Bourdieu, 1990b: 59). Bourdieu's temporal scale is short and his spatial scale local, foreclosing his ability to address long-term institutional change with which archaeology must necessarily deal. Despite his commitment to dialectical action then, structuring principles and habitual practices tend to emerge triumphant (Jenkins, 1992).

Despite Giddens' insistence on the duality of structure, - or perhaps, because of it - structure also tends to emerge prior to social action in his work (Clark, Modgil and Modgil, 1990). In retaining this dualism in social practice, the gap is kept open between institutional analysis and strategic conduct. The former gives primacy to structural properties as features of social systems reproduced in time. The latter concentrates on discursive and practical consciousness, in strategies of control within defined contextual boundaries (1984: 288). Structuration theory may reveal their mutual dependency, but analysis holds them apart to reflect upon each other. This 'bracketing' unintentionally breaks the flow of social reproduction. What is needed is a way in which to bridge this contrast between discursive and non-discursive action, of moving more subtly between habitus and the rule.

2.3.4 Habitus and the rule.

Charles Taylor argues that if, in order to 'follow a rule', we had to know what it forbade or considered deviant (formulating these instructions to ourselves before we acted), then we would need:

> "an infinite number of thoughts in our heads to follow even the simplest instructions. Plainly, this is crazy." (1993: 46).

We must be able to explain why, in fact, we do not have to resolve all these potential difficulties before we can understand and proceed. He suggests that understanding "is always against a background of what is taken for granted, just relied on" (1993: 47). Drawing on Wittengenstein, he presses home the idea that this 'background' is really *incorporated understanding*: a grasp on things,

> "which, although quite unarticulated, may allow us to formulate reasons and explanations when challenged". (1993: 48).

Taylor is trying to explain the shift from unconscious to discursive practice, in which explicit explanations are *always* made from a mode of understanding, a kind of unarticulated sense of things. Of course, we make do make representations to ourselves about the world, but these always 'abstract' from lived time and space. They are only comprehensible in the context of this 'background', inarticulate understanding; they cease to be the primary locus of understanding itself. Whilst a rule animates practice it is, at a given moment, only what practice has made it.

The insecurity of identity is therefore imminent in practice; misunderstandings will always arise from differences in these background understandings. When they do, Taylor argues, they articulate parts of the explainer's background, which have never had to be articulated before. This 'throws up' some of the taken-for-granted qualities or conditions of the actants' world, to themselves; as Eileen Scarry puts it, they reveal the 'madeness' of the world (1985). A commensurate distortion arises in their understanding, through this express depiction of an otherwise situated and embodied habit. Such a moment of making discursive the unconscious can itself be the occasion for transformation.

2.3.5 Performance.

I now want to move to the application of this approach to social practice in theories of identity. Judith Butler's concept of performativity also insists on this emergent quality of all social action (*Gender Trouble*, 1999 [1990], *Bodies That Matter*, 1993). Drawing on Foucault, her starting point is the idea that categories of identity (such as gender) are the product of historically particular, discursive practice. They are only reproduced over time by reiterative practice; they have no ontological status outside of the performance itself. Forms of identity are

therefore idealised constructs which are forcibly materialised over time; literally 'made to matter' through sensuous practical activity:

> "*a process of materialisation that stabilises over time to produce the effect of a boundary, fixity and surface we call matter.*" (1993: 9 - *her emphasis*).

Identity is thus an effect of power - a sedimentation or acquisition of being which occurs through the citing of itself. Performativity is thus "the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names" (1993: 2); it is illocutionary. Performance is not free-play; it is constrained within the discursive conditions of its utterance. There is never an 'originary act' because social practice as performance always cites:

> "a prior chain of acts which are implied in a present act and which perpetually drain any 'present act' of its presentness." (1993: 244).

Hence identity tends to reproduce itself, but because it *must* be reproduced, performance cannot be reduced to a single utterance or series of acts, which remain intact and self-identical in time. Repetition is never completely in compliance with the norms by which it is impelled, and materialisation never quite complete. Identity is constantly imagined and desired, a struggle for an accomplishment that is never fully achieved: *identification* as a practice is always this 'phantasmic' staging or effort towards solidarity, alignment, common interest (Butler, 1993: 105).

In this theory of identity as performance, Butler (like Taylor) holds open the potential for practice to be transformational human activity. But Butler's point is that there is a paradox here; the subject who would resist certain norms, is herself enabled, if not produced by such norms. Whilst not foreclosing agency, this must be defined as a reiterative or rearticulatory practice, which is immanent to power, not a relation of external opposition to power (1993: 15):

> "if there is an *agency*, it is to be found, paradoxically, in the possibilities opened up in and by that constrained appropriation of the regulatory law, by the materialisation of that law, the compulsory appropriation and identification with those normative demands." (1993: 12).

To speak of this is to speak of the politics of identity, and the point where power is involved in the ability to constrain others' sense of who they are, and the identities they are able to occupy. Agency is constrained by the discursive field it inhabits; this discourse has a history, and has material conditions, which circumscribe the kinds of identity people may come to have.

This must not be seen as a determinate relationship, and de Certeau's idea of practical tactics - the art of making do - is useful here (1984). *La perruque* is literally the worker's own work, described as work for an employer, but de Certeau uses it to point towards the way in which people have non-discursive strategies of stretching, flexing or resisting social principles, so that they are never *completely* defined or identified by them (1984: 29; Godelier 1980).

2.4 The relational network of identity.

2.4.1 Self, society and dividual identity.

The next section will develop this understanding of how identity is reproduced, into a model of the social and material network of relations. Identity is irreducibly social, arising in the synthesis between (internal) self-ascription and (external) definition by others (Barth, 1969, 1994); what Jenkins has called the internal-external dialectic of identification (1996: 44). It is therefore always reflexive and always relational. However, sociology, anthropology and archaeology have tended to take the self and society as axiomatic analytical units with which they can explore the social construction of identity (e.g. Berger and Luckman, 1991 [1996]).

However, the dualism of selfhood and society has suggested that the two are social entities, which can be held apart. Society has the tendency to become a reified institution, objectified as the sum of social relationships; a condensation of forces, which control elements that are inferior to resistant to it (Strathern, 1988: 103). In this model, selfhood can therefore only be made in its image. Also, as society holds people in various positions in some kind of unity, this model makes humans conceptually distinct from the relations that bind them together. In a debate on the issue, Strathern argues that it was this dualism which made it possible for Margaret Thatcher to make her claim that 'there is no such thing as society; there are only individuals' (in Strathern, 1996: 64). If this view of society as an autonomous entity enables people to dismiss social solidarities and affiliations, she suggests the concept of a dualism of self/society is theoretically obsolete.

In contrast, Cohen defends a notion of society as composed of self-conscious individuals (1999: 192, 1995). Acknowledging that senses of identity shift with context and event, he argues for a notion of selfhood, which 'manages' its different identities; a 'basket of selves', which are brought selectively to the fore, according to the occasion. In this integrative potential of selfhood, identity is self-directing; it reconciles, it resolves (1998, 1999). This model draws heavily on Goffman's work on *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1969). Goffman

suggested that social life was a performance or drama, in which the self was an actor who strategically managed their behaviour in face-to-face encounters. Social life was a series of acts, and identity a wardrobe of characters or roles to be played, but in both of these models, the agent appears as a sovereign entity that is both author and director of its own actions. There is little sense of historical context or the conditions of identity practice.

The problem with this approach to identity lies both in its dualism and in the metaphors it employs. Strathern argues that whilst modern Western thought may be comfortable in using these two primary units of analysis to understand the reproduction of social relations, this will not work elsewhere. In Melanesia for example, people do not express a discrete sense of individuality or bounded self; they are 'plural' or 'dividual' selves (cf Marriott, 1976), simultaneously composites of the many relations in which they are enmeshed as well as shifting nodes within a web of relations (Srathern, 1988: 13; see also Gosden, 1999: 133). Due to this composite nature of selves, the 'plural' and the 'singular' are homologues of each other (defined as correspondences, being of the same relation), in which the 'bringing together' of one is like the bringing together of many (1988: 14). Wagner uses the image of the 'fractal self' to describe this concept (1994). In every social encounter, the plural self suppresses its internal differentiation and brings forth particular aspects of what are otherwise dyadic relations. Thus gender can be thought of as a set of general capacities or potential qualities, that become manifest in particular practices and acts:

> "each singular person is dyadically comprised of a composite identity, suppressed and activated through context: activated as this androgyny is transformed, for 'male' or 'female' can only encounter its opposite if it has already discarded the reasons for its own internal differentiations" (1988: 15).

There is no resolved, sealed, fully integrated self or body, but rather a fluid set of substances and potentialities, which emerge, transform and transfer between peoples, as they engage in social practice. Identities can therefore be thought of a series of capacities, evidenced in efficacious social action towards and with, other beings and the material world.

Clearly, this is an historically and contextually specific understanding of identity, which cannot be imposed simply onto other regions and times. But more broadly, what Strathern rejects is the metaphorical basis of social constructionism; the individual is not a building block from which institutions are fabricated, nor is the body raw matter to be made into certain kinds of identity (1996). She is also critical of the metaphor of the managerial self, with a portfolio of characters to be selected or discarded according to social context. This is a disingenuous portrayal of

human identity, which has no integrity with regards to its relations, no biographical continuity of experience. Finally, if the individual or self becomes the locus of control, material objects are seen as merely 'extending' their agency, rather than being part of the conditions through which agency is itself constrained and enabled.

2.4.2 Relational identity.

What we might erect in place of this self/society dualism, and take from Strathern's concept of dividuality, is a relational concept of identity. As Paul Riceour argues in *Oneself as Another*, there is no self 'alone at the start' (1992) and for the great part of social practice, the agent never considers themselves in the singular, it "understands and constitutes him or herself as an integral part of a 'we'." (Taylor, 1993: 52; Craib, 1998). (This is something I take as an ontological truism, as well as having personal resonance for me as an identical twin: 'we' have never been alone). Moore's model of 'embodied intersubjectivity' (1994), and Battaglia's 'open subject' (1999) similarly work towards this relational understanding of identity practice.

Strathern therefore emphasises the *contractive* nature of interaction; social action always acts 'in mind of another', anticipating its effect, and this 'arcs back' upon the agent, transforming them in the process. Agency is therefore always a matter of *social efficacy* with others, of 'being able to do' as evidence of one's own internal capacities. This recursive duality of all relations is imaged by Strathern as the Sabarl axe (the *axe-as-relationship*), turning on the 'elbow' of the agent towards its stone tip. It leaves its imprint, its trace, but the handle vibrates with the felt consequences of its action (Fig. 2.1). In Strathern's terms, the agent is always:

> "one who *forms his or her own vantage point with another's in mind.* An agent appears as the turning point of relations, able to metamorphose one kind of person into another, a transformer... and that other may in fact coerce the agent into so acting." (1988: 272; *her emphasis*).

But the dialogical nature of social action is not so much a matter of calculated co-ordination as an entangled mutuality; a rhythm and cadence, an appropriate flow of gestures, as in two people sawing wood, or dancing (Taylor, 1993: 51).

For example, returning to the Melanesian case study, Strathern argues that the male-female dyad exists in all persons (1988: 15). It is the carrying out of explicitly gendered practices which 'bring forth' and contingently evoke pronounced sides of gender; these categories of identity can only emerge in the temporary discarding of the opposite part of their internal differentiation. In male initiation practices, it is by no means certain the initiates will be

revealed as men; manhood is not a biological eventuality. Instead, through the transfer of substances (as instruments of knowledge) people discern what lies within their bodies and make "certain powers and conditions known to themselves" (1988: 107). Gosden likens this lack of fixed characteristics to colours, which change according to the mix of hues pertaining to a social encounter (1999: 133). As identity is conceptualised as a series of capacities, they must emerge from the dyadic palette in social interaction; they cannot be known other than in practice, because they are properties of relations, not fixed essences of the self. Her point is that whilst certain practices promote single-sex collectivities (adopting a rhetoric of gendered independence), such as all-male cult rituals or feasting ceremonies, others sustain the particular relations in which the dyad is reaffirmed, as in the reciprocal transactions between husband and wife in horticultural production and domestic kinship (1988: 91).

2.4.3 Embodiment and materiality.

Just as identity is relational practice so is it also material practice, always embodied. This is not to say that the body is materially irreducible - this would figure materiality outside of the regulatory practices through which it is made to 'matter' (Butler, 1993). Nor does replace the individual as a unit of analysis with the body. This risks treating it as a corporeally bounded, synchronic entity, which lacks history. Instead, we should understand the body as materialised within a set of disciplinary forces. The body is totally 'imprinted' with history: it knows itself only on the condition of its own 'investiture' in discourse (Foucault, 1991 [1975]).

As the critique of social constructionism has argued, the body is not raw matter to be moulded into identity, a blank slate to be inscribed or a text or map of relations, which can be read. This is to ignore the materiality of the body itself, the way in which people embody ideology coporeally, and live their relations. Embodied identity is not prior to but emerges *in* performance. Similarly, power does not 'act on' the body; power *is* the constitution of the very materiality of the subject (Butler, 1993). Relations of power therefore work through foreclosing effects:

> "the production of an 'outside', a domain of unliveability and unintelligibility that bounds the domains of intelligible effects" (1993: 22).

People are constrained not only by what is difficult to imagine, but what remains radically *unthinkable* (1993: 94). Her interest thus becomes the interpretative matrices, which condition, enable and delimit such categories; the regulatory traditions through which the body is made material to itself. Her aim is to uncover:

> "tacit cruelties that sustain coherent identities, cruelties that include self-cruelty as well, the abasement through which coherence is fictively produced and sustained" (1993: 115)

2.4.4 Flows of substance.

I want to illustrate this concept of embodiment, by returning to Melanesian understandings of identity and social reproduction. In the model of dividual selfhood relations are embodied as flows of substances that pass between people. Moore argues that matter such as semen, fat, milk and blood are themselves perceived as performative, coming together in the making of people which is also, therefore, the making of relations (1994). The Papua new Guinean Sabarl therefore believe that pregnancy occurs through the mixing of the 'white blood' of the father, and the 'red blood' of the mother (Battaglia, 1990: 38). These rise in a gelatinous mass to transform other areas of the body (so that breasts and face 'glow' as these substances become embodied), before descending into the womb, separating and falling 'into place' as a foetus (1990: 38).

Moore and Battaglia witness identity slipping out of its skin; even the surfaces of the body decompose and metamorphose in practice (1994; 1990); there is no brute surface of matter, and embodiment relations are not confined to the body's flesh and bone. In Melanesian conceptions of social reproduction, physical substances, acts of feeding and nurturing, and the relations between people, are conceptualised as a flow, a mixing or interweaving.

2.4.5 Networks of relations.

This metaphor is developed in the work of Bruno Latour (1993). If identity materialises in practice, through the web of its relations with others and the world it inhabits, these can be approached as a 'network' of relations. Bruno Latour argues that this metaphor allows us to approach the way in which social practice occurs through the relations not only between people, but things, places and times. He argues that modernity has separated humans from non-humans, animates from inanimates, objects from subjects (1993). Their analytical continuity is severed in order to maintain our conceptual divides, which underpin the possibility of objective knowledge. This 'bracketing' of the world is a two-stage process:

1. *Purification* sorts the world into two ontologically distinct zones, one of humans, the other nonhumans.

2. *Translation* creates entirely new types of being through 'admixtures' of these zones - hybrids of nature and culture, human and non-human.

Properties of things and capacities of people are separated, underpinning modernity's concept of the order of the world. It is also the grounds of objective observation and analysis, by which we test, quantify and explain objective truths or principles about that world. But Latour argues that this work of purification and translation is constantly undermined by the emergence and proliferation of 'hybrids'. These instruments, animate objects or cyborgs refuse to be sorted; they keep crossing the boundaries of these bracketed domains. This is because we cannot, in fact, hold the messy alliance of things, beings and places apart, in practice.

Latour argues that when we begin to accept and investigate the *work* of purification and translation (what it forbids, clarifies, obfuscates) rather than merely subscribing to it, we realise that we have *never* been purely modern. We have never been able to pull apart facts, power, discourse. We have always lived on and in this 'blending' of mediators, 'quasi-objects' and 'quasi-subjects' who will not hold still, these 'tricksters' (Haraway, 1991) who will not be sorted out. In this model, quasi-objects are less formed and rigidly technical/material, and more social than we thought. Quasi-subjects are less intentional, less projective or linguistic, and more fleshy. Latour (1993:6, 89) argues that they therefore enable us to trace networks, which are *simultaneously* real (like nature, in that they are not solely of 'human' making), narrated (like discourse, historical, passionate and peopled) and collective (in joining us together, circulating in our hands and defining our relations by their very circulation).

Latour (1993) provides us with a way of thinking about the 'messy, material alliance' of humans and non-humans with which archaeology deals. We can begin to approach practice through the complex interconnections of humans with material things, revealing that just as social actants are material bodies, material artefacts can also be approached as social actants; both are complex, mobile hybrids (Appadurai, 1986). We suddenly see ourselves as threads in a netted weave of relations that are never purely social or natural, never fully inherited not innovated. We can therefore begin to analyse and write about them as if they were continuously connected: traits, instruments and practices that are at once real, social *and* narrated.

2.5 Landscape and labour.

2.5.1 Regionalisation.

Urry (2000) supports the metaphors used by Latour because, he argues, they help us to move beyond a reified and static notion of society, and provide a language with which we can grasp the flow, movement, mobility and contingent ordering of people and things. Fluidic metaphors remind us of the 'osmotic' character of identity, constituted through flows of relations. Mol and Law also use this metaphor to trace homologies between the flows of substances (blood, in their case study of anaemia), relations, and concepts of social topology:

> "neither boundaries not relations mark the difference between one place or another. Instead, sometimes boundaries come and go, allow leakage or disappear altogether, while relations transform themselves without fracture. Sometimes, then social space behaves like a liquid." (Mol and Law, 1994: 643).

Relations can be considered in terms of their properties of viscosity, depth, consistency, and degree of confinement. These flows or networks transform spatial configurations; they refigure the dimensions of time and space through practice, and periodically create 'regions' of relations.

Social action always has this 'zoning' effect, condensing in a particular place and time, through an aggregation of social actors (humans and non-humans), engaged in a particular project and discourse. Giddens describes this effect as a process of 'regionalisation' (1984, 1985, 1994); practice is temporally and spatially bounded, but it is also temporary and mobile in that it exists for the duration of its occupation. However, architecture can be used to structure these practices, concentrating or gathering action in framed 'locales', which therefore come to have some marked permanence beyond the immediate time of their inhabitation. Paths, fences, yards, tracks and houses frame activates and encounters in space, providing 'front' and 'back' regions of interaction, areas that are public and open, compared with inner regions that are screened and private (after Goffman 1969). But they also frame practice temporally, occupying certain times within peoples' day-to-day or annual rhythms of movement, drawing on qualities of light and even cosmological effects (rising and settings of the sun, movements of stars), to make this 'time' felt.

2.5.2 Face-work.

Key to this approach is the embodied orientation of people moving into and out of these spaces, and the way in which their bodies are directed by these framing tactics (Foucault, 1991 [1977]). It is in their phenomenological experience of space that certain principles, dispositions and attitudes are powerfully inculcated, as the body becomes accustomed to moving in certain ways in these locales, in the presence of particular others.

This returns us to Goffman's idea of 'face-work', and the way in which identity is marked and remarked upon, through stance, patterns of deference, voice modulations, turns of the shoulder or gestures of the hand (1969, 1999). Competent identity emerges in appropriate performance with others; stigmatisation results from breaches in this loose code of conduct, slips, mistakes and blunders. Their performance is therefore guided and informed by the material settings and props of each region.

Goffman's approach hints that, given these shifts in regionalised practice, people do not always maintain a coherent and integral identity. The deliberate loaning or adoption of gestures from a socially accepted repertoire allows them to appear to be conforming, whilst actually strategically withdrawing or distancing themselves from some of the conflicting aspects of their identity. They can therefore construct a more selective biography for themselves. People can also do this to others' bodies, in co-ordinating their appearance or successfully reproducing their obedience to certain prescribed ways of inhabiting space with others. This spatially and temporally contingent quality of performance is captured by Goffman in the idea of a 'front' region of identity, where performance is given and standards maintained or witnessed in public, and a 'back' region where such impressions lapse or are contradicted as a matter of course; a region of backstage talk, gossip, resistance and intimacy. This is close to Cohen's argument that many identity practices (especially those that work at a community or institutional level) are necessarily symbolic, maintaining an illusion of commonality across difference (1985).

2.5.3 Embodied dispositions.

These processes do not merely reproduce embodied competence at relations; they can also inculcate strong ideological values or principles. We think with space, as we inhabit it (Parker Pearson and Richards, 1994). As bodies move through spaces, which are hierarchically, organised, or zoned by gender, age or other identity categories such as kinship, they absorb not only personal meanings and memories of these spaces, but also institutionalised values, routine associations and proscribed ways of being with others (Foucault, 1991 [1977]). Nor are these merely social or political relations, but rather cosmological principles (Bourdieu, 1990b; Parker Pearson and Richards, 1994). As our body orientates us in the world, so it becomes a schema of that orientation, lending itself to a series of metaphorical relations (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980); front may becomes associated with visibility, back with hidden depths, the unseen; left and right may become associated with different activities or competences. This may lead to routine correspondences between particular regions of space, tasks, substances and relations.

Thus in her study of the Marakwet of Kenya, Moore argues that the routine organisation of tasks within the compound, and the way in which certain refuse substances are deposited, can be understood as embodying and reproducing strong concepts of gender and kinship (1996). Women are strongly associated with chaff, as the processors of food, and will often be buried just outside the compound, down and to the left of the house, where winnowing takes place and chaff accumulates (1996: 110). Men, meanwhile, are associated with animal herding, and therefore have a strong relationship with the zone where goat dung is swept, over the edge of the compound. Again, they tend to be buried close to this area of deposition. Moore argues that space can be read as a 'text' of these relations, reproduced through routine practice.

This metaphor is perhaps unfortunate, implying also that these are values are rules that are mapped or 'inscribed' on space, and then read by social performers. It holds out the illusion that we may be able to translate or 'get at' these meanings, in archaeological analysis of material patterning. Whilst they may inform us of metaphorical correspondences that are being made between place, substance and people (Tilley, 1999), we will never be able to grasp the many nuances and multiple interpretations that these may have had. Instead, this thesis is concerned with asking *how* such meanings are reproduced through the reiterative inhabitation of place, rather than what those meanings might have been.

As people engage with and submit to these changes in performance, dispositions are embodied. Even when they are absent from such locales, particular gestures can be awoken and prompted by certain visual or aural clues. Posture, voice and appearance may therefore change dramatically as people cross certain thresholds and enter different regions of practice, but these are for the most part non-discursive, tacit competences of identity; a matter of practical consciousness, dispositions.

2.5.4 Time-geography.

Regionalisation offers us a way of investigating the social *production* of space (Lefebvre, 1991); how certain *kinds* of space come into being, through practices of inhabitation (Barrett, 1999a). We are directed to their constitution through the rhythms and routines of movement and labour and the co-presence of actors - the 'roll-call' of presences and absences (Edmonds, 1997 and 1999).

Time-geography was an analytical concept designed to investigate these rhythms and regions of practice. Developed by Hägerstrand, and applied by students of the Lund school including Pred, it approached time-space as both context and constituent resources of social practice (1977, 1984). Hägerstrand was interested in the "very *togetherness* of phenomena in space and time" (1976: 331). He therefore wanted a notational means of describing and analysing the dialectical manner in which social routines (daily, annually, biographically) interacted with their physical environment (streets, buildings, transport networks). In this model, human routines could be mapped according to their movement in time and space; along these 'paths' were activity points or 'stations', constituted through 'bundles' of beings and things, at particular locales, at specific times. These were located within broader 'domains'; areas of time-space differentiated by demands of presence and absence.

Hägerstrand argued that people were constrained by both their own capabilities (individual capacities as well as the resources they could mobilise) as well as coupling constraints, which defined where, when and for how long an individual was brought into association with others, tools and materials, to complete a certain project. Time-geography therefore sought to account for the reproduction of social relations by revealing interpenetrating rhythms of presence and absence, in terms of the material, temporal and spatial conditions of practice. The potential use of this technique for archaeology is clear. However, the methodology is stronger when applied to individual or autobiographical analyses, and weaker at exploring multiple or overlapping time-geographies. Spatial boundaries and settings *can* be reconfigured in other co-temporal projects - other space-time 'zonings' of activity - which create multiple and multivocal regions of practice. In order to understand the inter-dependent micro-relations of contingent practices, we need to be able to bring these presences and absences into mutual relation with each other (Harvey, 1994: 253).

2.5.5 Taskscapes.

Tim Ingold (1993) uses the concept of the 'taskscape' to analyse the pattern of dwelling activities, foregrounding the work that people do, as the labour of relations (1993). The taskscape is the entire rhythm of routine practices; for any small-scale society, these must carefully scheduled in time and space. As a result of this, each takes its meaning from its position within this ensemble of tasks, socially performed in series or in parallel (1993: 158). The 'taskscape' is this entire ensemble in its mutual interlocking. Successions of tasks have a particular resonance according to this intimate tempo of labours. People therefore draw on their experience of the rhythm to anticipate when and where the 'proper' moment of action might be.

Time, in Ingold's model, is therefore embodied, experiential and participatory; people tend to one another in tasks. Their identity arises through this:

> "resonance of movement and feeling stemming from people's mutually attentive engagement, in shared contexts of practical activity." (1993: 160).

Relations, for Ingold, are continually reproduced through the taskscape, and because we thus resonate with its cycles (of light and darkness, growth and decay) Ingold suggests we should not draw the boundaries at the limits of the human, or indeed, the animate (1993: 163). We are bound into, and are constitutive elements of, a synergistic whole of material objects, processes and agents. Each component enfolds within its essence the totality of its relations with each and every other (1993: 154), and the potentialities and institutional constraints of these mutual engagements are constituted *through* this material practice (Butler, 1993; 1999). Every task thus reaches out, and refers to others; it remembers what has been done, acknowledges what is absent and anticipates what is to come.

But Ingold's approach also allows us to conjure the relationality of tasks. In his discussion of Breughal's painting of *The Harvesters*, he shakes loose the conceptual boundaries between place, people, labour, substance and season. He attends to the way in which the body feels the landscape through the sole of the foot; the hill *is* the pull of the harvesters' thigh muscles, on the morning's walk to work, and the slope is their loosened gait, returning in the evening. The shade cast by the tree tells us that it is late summer; it speaks of the heat on their faces the ripening crop of fruit to come. The path is the scuffed trace of their assembly, which they repeatedly re-walk, for these few days or weeks. The sheer face of the corn is their work-in-hand, half-done, and sheaves and stooks mark women's labour, in the wake of the scythers. And when the church bells sound the end of the day's work, the sight of the spire on the horizon will 'gather' their attention (literally and figuratively) form this 'field' of practice, and draw them into other places; the village, the household, the churchyard. Places that resonate with the wear of other lives, with generational time. In Ingold's approach, people are *with* each other and place, in the midst of their labour, in step.

2.5.6 Ritual and routine.

The concept of taskscape reminds us that cycles of labour are never finished, and there are no breaks in the rhythm, which are not integral to the 'tensile strength' of its pattern. These breaks tend to take the form of rites, feasts and ceremonies. They mark and celebrate particular points that have been reached within the broader rhythms of labour, and the generational cycle of the

community. What they effect is a 'bracketing' of space and time, outside of the mundane or everyday, framing practices that can properly be regarded as ritual. Ritual principles about the world are not given laws; they are "lodged in the very doing of the act" and must be reiteratively reproduced (Bell, 1992: 67).

As Bell argues, ritual *is* work, but it is a special kind of work, occupying a discrete domain (1992). Drawing an analogy with Riceour's theory of text, she argues that ritual as the special property of being able to fix meaning and distance itself from the author. In this distance, it appears to have relevance beyond the situation of its immediate performance; it is able to make a universal address, claiming to reveal certain truths or principles. Yet there is a veiling process here; ritual actually works by picking out and privileging certain aspects from the overall flow of everyday life (Barrett, 1987, 1992; Bell, 1992). Its power lies in this apparent revelation of truths that 'ring true' because they are experienced in everyday life. Ritual lifts the practically conscious into the discursive domain.

In small-scale communities, these tend to refer to the nature of the world, seasons and movements of the heavens, the proper order of social relations, cycles of fertility and decay. Ritual therefore occupies a position in practice where it both experiments with, and appears to disclose, cultural meanings (Barrett, 1991). But it must always be seen in relation to other fields of practice, because the qualities and character of ritual draw from and feed back into, day-to-day life (Barrett, 1994; see also Edmonds, 1993 and 1999). This is because identity has integrity, moving from field to field of practice to make sense of the world; ritual's 'wordly mooring' therefore internalises the principles that are being delineated, and people's competence in ritual is a function of this operation between fields (Bell, 1992; Durkheim, 1915). Because experience (at least in terms of the life of the individual), is continuous and indivisible (Berger, 1985; 14), ritual could not work in any other way. As a consequence, archaeology may make analytical distinctions between these bracketed fields of practice, but it can no longer retain its specious distinction between 'pragmatic' as apposed to 'religious' behaviour (Hill, 1995, cf Hawkes, 1953).

Formality, fixity and repetition are not unique properties of ritual, but they do make it a particularly intense form of communication, and are therefore the strategies for producing ritualised acts. This is a sliding scale, in which the degree of formality depends upon context. Again, architectural framing is a vital way in which locales becomes 'bracketed' out of time and space, during the periods of their occupation and activation (see Barrett, 1994). In terms of

performance, liturgy, litany, song and poetry are all important ritual forms, because they possess a rhythmic form, which aids rehearsal and memory. Equally, dance, procession, and bodily gestures such as kneeling and genuflection have the same capacity to generate the 'ritualised subject'. Ritual practice therefore works at producing a deeply embodied experience - a sensuous and sonorous performance of sound, taste, smell, posture and gesture, which interweave to make a powerful bodily memory. Once, embodied, any of these elements can be invoked to help 'prompt' the ritualised person into certain moves, practices or emotional states. Similarly, ritual settings and monuments may remain 'dormant' in the day-to-day rhythms that reassert themselves after such events, but they continue to act as visual cues, prompting memory and influencing behaviour (Fentress and Wickham, 1992; Featherstone, Hepworth and Turner, 1991; Rappaport, 1990).

2.5.7 Memory and moral landscapes.

2.5.7.1 The art of memory, the labour of forgetting.

As archaeological practice reveals, landscape is itself constituted through the lives and works of many generations, who have "left something of themselves there" (Ingold, 1993: 152). To inhabit landscape is to carry out repeated acts of remembrance, because it always involves an engagement with these 'ancestral geographies' (Edmonds, 1999). Communities of the Iron Age therefore dwelt within, and had to make sense of, the late Neolithic and Bronze Age landscape that they inherited (Barrett, 1999c). Archaeology can therefore investigate practices, which bring people into relation with such features. It can explore the material practices that arise from these encounters (in terms of active intervention and physical modification, association or avoidance) and thus learn about conceptions of history, place and identity, and how these change over time (Rowlands, 1994; Hingley, 1996; Barrett, 1999c). It can also apprehend the frequency of memory practices, the character of their transmission and the material mnemonics through which the past is made present to people (Bloch, 1977, 1996).

In *How Societies Remember*, Connerton (1989) argues that as a community's sense of identity is diverse, multiple and conflicting, communal memory practices are able to sustain a sense of unity across difference. Cohen (1985) similarly argues that communities must engage in symbolic practices, to reproduce their identity. Drawing on Barth's idea (1969) that identity work goes on most markedly at boundaries, he argues that symbolism brings together or glosses over a huge range of meanings, allowing people to interpret practices in their own way, attaching local meanings to a common referent (Cohen, 2000). Both authors argue that these

public practices tend to be highly performative, deeply embodied and often ritual in character (Boyarin, 1994).

Whitehouse (1992) takes this analysis a stage further, drawing a distinction between *inscribing* and *incorporating* practices. Inscribing practices involve frequent verbal repetition and dissemination of ritual knowledge through mediums, intercessors and prophets. Ideology becomes integrated into day-to-day practice through, for example, daily rituals of prayer and transportable aides-memoire (texts, icons, talismans, shrines). Because of the dispersed and individual nature of these practices, memory is quickly transformed over time, creating a diverse and participatory community of memory. Incorporating practices however, depend on tightly defined iconic or symbolic systems, the avoidance of exegetial commentary and rigorous observations of secrecy and exclusion. Infrequent performances rely on sensual assaults that overwhelm the participants, so that memory is deeply (often traumatically) engrained into the body, despite the rarity of its exercise. Memories remain more tightly controlled and authoritarian, preserving a greater integrity over time, though they are always at risk due to the infrequency of their performance.

Just as its incidental and fragmentary nature reminds us remembering takes 'work' (Appadurai, in Bell, 1999: 25), forgetting must always be laboured at (Mines and Weiss, 1997; Jackson, 1996). Forgetting is not just a function of time; the living must often undergo an elaborate series of rites in which they remember how to 'forget' the dead (Jackson, 1996). Forgetting therefore often involves gradual seepage *and* deliberate erasure (Küchler, 1993).

We always experience the present as connected to the past (Fentress and Wickham, 1992). Indeed, it is the means through which we know each other by giving accounts of ourselves (Connerton, 1989: 21). If identity is thus a project of enquiry into belonging with others, memory and identity are inextricably implicated in this remembrance of solidarities, affiliations and rejections, and the strategic and hopeful imagination of relations to come. Because identity is notoriously unstable, it relies on memory to lend it a narrative coherence (Shun, 1998). But memory, as Moore reminds us, is an artefact and a trickster "and an active trickster at that... the past is shaped and adapted to the uses of the present and of the present then as well as the present now" (Moore, in Fentress and Wickham, 1992: viii). Even when memories are said to be 'faithfully recounted', stories grow in the telling (Barth, 1987). Memory is unreliable, intermittent, partial and selective (Gilroy, in Bell, 1992: 29), and memorialising strategies

(especially communal, ritual practices) therefore serve to pare, distil and authorise particular versions of the past (Connerton, 1989).

2.5.7.2 Stalking with stories.

In many small-scale communities, identity and biographical incidents become entwined with particular places, so that the landscape acts as a mnemonic, possessing the ability to 'trigger' memories, personal and ancestral (Layton, 1995; Morphy, 1995). Places are therefore 'pregnant' with traces of people's own lives, and their day-to-day encounter involves a telling of their own hi*stories*. For Ingold, (1993) this involves an 'education of attention', perceptually attuning people into the polytemporal character of the landscape; guiding people into place.

The Apache with whom Keith Basso worked described the land as 'stalking people'; its stories 'stayed with' or hunted people, as they went about their daily lives (1983, 1996). Distinctive features, rocks, trees, gullies, old houses and deserted plots often had colourful names which acted as mnemonics for these tales, such as the story of 'Old Man Owl' at Trail Goes Down Between Two Hills, or the fight between the Pimas and the Apaches at Big Cottonwoods Stand Spreading Here and There. These narratives not only passed on tribal and kin histories, but also were moral tales, which taught the listener about ethical codes of behaviour, cultural perceptions of identity, appropriate relations (1984: 39). They were not only ways in which individuals were inculcated into sociality, but strategies for rebuking aberrant behaviour or unbecoming habits. The stories are aimed 'straight at the heart'; they 'stalk' the offender, as in the case of the errant roper, Talbert Parsons. Basso's work therefore reminds us that living in place and engaging in tasks with others is a moral practice, involving ethical relations with others and the world.

2.6 Working in the world.

In the last part of this chapter, I intend to characterise the relations through which people might have constituted their identity in small scale communities such as those of later prehistoric East Yorkshire. For the ease of analysis, I will make a distinction between places, people, animals and artefacts, before revealing in each case, how they are mutually implicated within the flow of tasks, coming to resemble a messy alliance of human and non-humans, in a network of relations (Ingold, 1993; Latour, 1993).

2.6.1 Murals of place.

> I promised to show you a map you say but this is a mural

then yes let it be these are small distinctions
where do we see it from is the question
Adrienne Rich *An Atlas of the Difficult World.*

Space is both the medium and outcome of social practice (Gregory and Urry, 1985), and therefore a constituent element of people's identity. Space has been transformed in the above discourses from sheer physical terrain (cartographic, one-dimensional, synchronous and bounded), to the making of existential place (inhabited, experiential, sensuous, meaning-laden, Casey, 1996: 14). Heideggar's dwelling perspective captures this quality of 'being in place', a residing or dwelling with things (1993: 359), which has much in common with a phenomenological approach to experience, emphasising our embodiment in the world (Tilley, 1993). However, as Urry argues, we should be careful about this idea of 'authentic' dwelling, as it is caught up in Heideggar's political project of naturalising particular forms of existence, as a means of legitimating specific ethnic interests *in* place (2000: 132). Phenomenological accounts tend to employ a universal, unidentified body (as in Tilley's cross-cultural figure of 'common biological humanity', 1993: 74; cf Section 2.4), which is mutely orientated by the material conditions in which it moves. Identity politics are absent in such accounts.

Yet identity is grounded in a sense of belonging to places with which people have intense attachments, as in the crofts of the Whalsay communities studied by Cohen (1980, 1982b). Ingold advocates the use of the term *tenure* to capture this moral attention and tending to place (1982a). We can retain a useful analytical distinction here between tenure and territory, as a way of flagging up moments when relationships between people and place change, moving from a sense of shared, communal responsibility, to a defined and demarcated claim upon property (Godelier, 1975b).

I have therefore supported Lefebvre's idea that particular kinds of space are produced in social practice; there is not one world but many (Relph, 1970; Tuan, 1971). Buttimer conceives of this as a plurality of 'lifeworlds' - mulitvocal localities which are co-existent, conflicting, clamorous (1976; see also Soja, 1989). What a theory of embodied relations brings us is the idea that the 'same' places and architectural settings are *differently* inhabited and experienced, according to the identities and authorities which people hold, as well as the tasks and projects that are being engaged in, and the discourses that are being reproduced. Our task is to disclose the structures and affordances, which give rise to the possibility of certain kinds of perceptions, reflections and relations. In so doing, we reveal the way in which places are saturated with histories, memories and desires.

2.6.2 How the living live with the dead.

2.6.2.1 Axes of relations.

Small-scale communities are characterised by several axes of social relations, which are also potential axes of authority and power; age, gender, kinship, long-distance relationships (maintained with non-kin) and finally, the relationship between the living and the dead. Whilst hierarchical relations may well have existed, I have already discussed the problem is using traditional models as a 'shorthand' to social structure (such as the tribe or chiefdom models outlined by Service and Sahlins, 1960). Instead, these will be explored through the networks by which certain individuals or groups were able to reproduce relations of authority with others, and how these enabled them to authorise certain kinds of identity. Horizontal relations (of age and gender) also form strong axes along which identity is differentiated, and (informed by the character of domestic reproduction, and the tasks to be undertaken) are often the grounds of divisions in labour (Goody, 1976; Grint, 1991). Another line of differentiation, which can emerge, is skill-based; task-groups can be composed of people who show particular aptitudes or capacities, although these are usually informed by other categories of identity (Long, 1984; Salaman, 1986).

Two points must be made following earlier arguments. To reiterate, each of these categories of identity is reproduced in practice - in the social performance by which people reveal their relational capacity and social efficacy to others. Even aspects of identity that appear to be 'innate' (gender, kinship) emerge only in their reiterative performance where they are made 'to matter' (Butler, 1993; Holy, 1996; Carsten, 2000). Secondly, these different categories of identity must be seen in their mutual interlocking *in* practice, so that they are understood as implicated in each other, and shifting according to context, encounter and co-presence of others. It is this fluidic and osmotic character of identity as practice, that I want to emphasise.

2.6.2.2 'A form of imagination concerning the possible'.

Within these relational networks, we must also consider the role of the dead. In his *Twelve Theses on the Economy of the Dead* (Fig. 2.2), John Berger argues that modernity tends to approach the dead as 'eliminated' from social life, mute, inactive. For the small-scale Alpine communities he describes, he argues this is inconceivable; "having lived", he argues "the dead can never be inert" (1994: Thesis 6); they continue to be a presence in the affairs of the living:

> "Until the dehumanisation of society by capitalism, all the living awaited the experience of the dead. It was their ultimate future. By themselves the living were incomplete. Thus living and dead were interdependent. Always. Only a uniquely modern form of egotism has broken this inter-dependence." (1994: Thesis 12).

How do the living live with the dead? In relations which exist beyond death, through the attendance of the living. Try to consider the dead collectively, Berger suggests, a collectivity which accrues across time and space; in their membership of this community, they continue to have identity. Because it is the living who bury the dead and remember them, the process of their transformation is an opportunity for the living to make statements about their identity - to authorise certain lives, by selective recall, by 'remembering' them differently. The memory of the dead then, is also "a form of imagination concerning the possible" (1994: Thesis 9).

The living are sedimentations of all that the dead have been: inheritors and descendents. This moral debt means that there can be no identity cut-out from history; it is always shuttling back-and-forth, incurring its location in the past through forebears, projecting itself into the future through offspring. The dead are also therefore a moral community, reminding the living of its appropriate relations and sanctioned identities.

Again, archaeology can explore the identity of the dead through the practices which bring the living into association with them, and a useful analytical distinction can be made between conceptions of the dead as ancestors (a generalised category, a collective which often reaches back into a sense of mythic time) or as named forebears, comprising a genealogy.

2.6.3 Folding-in: people and animals.

The division of humans from other animals is a product of an Enlightenment dualism of nature and culture, in which people are set apart as 'moral subjects' (Ingold, 1994: 21). However, this distinction will not hold in practice. Most small-scale communities exist in delicate interdependency with animals, and conceive of their relationship of one of mutual respect, which is also deeply moral. Ingold describes how the Cree Inuit hunter will carefully track a caribou, waiting for the moment of mutual recognition between hunters and hunted, in which the animal 'offers itself'; it is not taken, it is received (1998: 159). Nor is the boundary between human and non-human conceptually clear; the Ojibwa of northern Canada believe that people can change their form at will from human to animal (Ingold, 1994a). Personhood is an inner capacity not an outer form, and this will always be 'recognised' through behaviour. Ancestors of the Dreamtime in Australian Aboriginal cosmology are also fluid in their identity, amalgams of human and non-human:

> "The major ancestral beings are referentially complex entities. They frequently have no set form but transform from animal or inanimate form to human form and back at different stages of the myth." (Morphy, 1995: 193).

These intense relations arise through routine interactions between people and animals, and archaeology can investigate the character of these encounters, in terms of hunting or pastoral regimes, and the way in which animals are treated in life (where and how they are kept, tended, herded, and by whom), and in death (how they are killed, consumed and buried or deposited). This analysis moves us towards an understanding of the way in which animals were classified in systems that are 'other' than our own, because of these routine experiences.

Ingold argues that in pastoral societies, the intense character of tending encourages people to see stock has having 'relinquished' their capacity for control to the herdsmen. They often appear as jural minors or dependants, in a relationship of greater domination than the mutual trust shared with hunted species (Ingold, 1994a). However, this also are means they are capable of being vehicles of more enduring social relations, because of their long-term care (Ingold, 1980: 144). Metaphorical correspondences often arise through these practices; for the Nuer, cattle are not only the social capital of the kin group, but also metaphors of its affinal relations (Evans, 1969 [1940]). Edmonds has explored this relationship in Neolithic communities, arguing that the rhythms of pastoralism in part condition certain social encounters between people, so that cattle may have provided "a metaphor for the constitution of groups and identities of individual people" (1999: 27).

Animals and people are thus fellow participants and inhabitors of the world, mutually bound together in projects and routines (Ingold, 1996b). In this sense metaphors should be understood as drawing attention to "real relational unities" not "figuratively papering over dualities" (1994b: xxiv). In a relational approach to identity, all living beings can therefore be thought of as enfoldments, at particular nexus, of "the generative potential of a total field of relations" (Ingold, 1994b: xxiv). Instead of personhood being 'added on' to an animal, it is thus "implicated in the very condition of being alive. Animals are not just *like* persons, they *are* persons." (Ingold, 1994b: xxiv).

2.6.4 Unstable alloys: people and things.

2.6.4.1 How things are made to matter.

Butler argues that the very surface of matter materialises in practice (1993); material culture is not therefore a mere residue or fragment of human inhabitation, but the conditions and product

of its practice (Barrett, 1994, 1999a). Marx revealed the important dialectic of materiality - that particular historical relations came into being, and were generated by, specific forms of material practice, (1971 [1859], also Marx and Engels, 1974 [1845]). However, he also treated labour as the means by which people transformed the world *outside* of themselves, hence it could be alienated from them. As in Binford's model of material culture as the *extrasomatic* means of adaptation (see Chapter 1), this conceives of tools as subordinate to human intention, or else instruments of control of the body.

Instead, artefacts can be seen as the means of 'making' the world (Scarry, 1985), as much as 'making do' in the world (to borrow de Certeau's phrase, 1984). They are an extensionary power of the agent to operate in a given environment (Ingold, 1993b), a relationship we can see in the Jean-François Millet's work, where tools appear not only as literal prolongations of the body (as in the *Man with a Hoe*), but also as a means of bringing about effective gestures in the world (Fig. 2.3). Bodily weight is pressed through the shaft into earth, binding labour into the substance of the soil, but Millet captures the return of this gesture, in the upward rise of hay, smoke, light and air through the frame of the labourer, such that:

> "its upward thrust becomes the recorded outcome of his own downward thrust across the lever that reaches and lifts not a three inch square of soil, but the whole visible surface of the earth... it is as though hammer and hoe have been bent in the middle, and now any action introduces at one end arcs back on to the vary site out of which that action arose." (Scarry, 1985: 249 and 310).

Artefacts remind us that their existence is the precondition for practices or events to unfold in the way that they have done; the 'event' of the ploughed, sown, hoed field, is also the 'grounds' of this event (Berger, 1984: 197). Strathern's metaphor of the Sabarl axe gathers a more subtle meaning; agency is not merely like an axe arcing towards an intended relation (the axe-as-person), but that relation is materialised *through* the axe-and-person (1988). Material culture is thus a form of being-in-the-world through which our identity is not only embodied, but has the potential to become objectified (Miller, 1994: 399). Made things solicit human attention (Scarry, 1985: 175). In this objectification (which often happens most clearly when things break, rend or require repair), we are suddenly reminded of the 'madeness' of the world, and how artefacts are not objects independent of the maker but rather embodiments of this process 'world alteration' (Scarry, 1985: 171).

This is because within a relational view of practice, artefacts can be conceived *as* actants, within a field of relations. They "work themselves to reproduce or transform the social contexts

in which they are encountered and move" (Tilley 1999: 76); 'sponsoring' new objects (Latour, 1993), opening up new spaces in established practices, or being themselves 'refigured' within local contexts (Thomas, 1991). Artefacts intervene in relations, but they are not mere instruments; they are *instrumental* in their transformational capacity (Strathern, 1988). This is not to resurrect a theory of technological evolutionism; their innovative potential depends on people's ability to refigure the political field, and their acceptance, assimilation or rejection depends on the social and material landscape they enter (Pfaffenberger, 1988: 240).

2.6.4.2 Metaphors of substance.

Tilley suggests that material culture can be therefore be thought of as a form of 'solid' metaphor, possessing the 'punctal' quality (after Barthes, 1982) of flashing up a series of complex and intense meanings, in the immediacy of their material 'thereness' (1999). The subtle range of qualities in materials - colour, shape, taste, smell, and texture - can bear a greater variety of correspondences than the spoken word, and enfolds people in a sensual wave, which prompts almost unconscious, impassioned leaps of memory and correspondences. Their 'economy of form' lies in this phenomenological 'vividness', its metaphorical condensation (1999: 263). Their own corporeal quality is able to surround social actors, framing them and foregrounding relations in the moment of performance. This is especially useful in ritual discourse; in their shift between fields, they suddenly 'stand proud' against the grain of their day-to-day use, making present a series of connections, in a revelatory and transformative manner. They provide a different way of 'telling' relations, but artefacts are *not* merely verbal substitutes. If it could be said, Tilley argues, it would have to be made (1999: 272).

2.6.4.3 The biography of artefacts.

A relational approach to practice thus recognises that instruments are so intimately involved in labour they cannot be readily separated from the work itself. Other relations and things are therefore always implicated in the artefact itself: it brings a history *to* an operation. This previous existence of things confers responsibility upon its user, as it confers them identity from their association (Miller, 1994: 410). The kula exchange cycle is one of the best known examples of this: the receipt of shell valuables both constitutes new relationships and indebtedness, as well as bringing the receiver into a chain of previous engagements (Mauss, 1967; Godelier, 1999). Their 'appropriate' handing on of the valuable, in time, adds to this web of human-nonhuman relations. Made things therefore incur large responsibilities to their makers, and their continued existence depends on people fulfilling these responsibilities.

Kopytoff thus recognised that things could thus be said to have 'biographies' (1986; see also Weiner, 1985; Appadurai, 1986 and Strathern, 1988). The human analogy is convincing: things can be said to be 'created' or 'made', to have a use-life, to be consumed and deposited. But artefacts can also be recycled or repaired; they can pass through different regimes of value in changing hands and contexts. As Weiner states, following Mauss' essay on *The Gift* (1954), many artefacts are 'inalienable' in that they can never quite be wrested away from the previous context of their fashioning and use (1992). Indeed, their power often rests in their ability to 'evoke' meanings from other arenas of action, in their present context, and this is often where their metaphorical properties come to the fore (Tilley, 1999). Lives become 'anchored' in the material nature of things, providing fixed points around which identities develop (Godelier, 1999). In listening to women talk about their lives and things in Eastern Indonesia, Hoskins found:

> "I could not collect the histories of objects and the life histories of persons separately. People and the things they valued were so complexly intertwined they could not be disentangled." (1998: 2).

Household objects act as 'prompts' to personal autobiography, not as mere symbols or mnemonics but as constitutive elements of biography, so that things come to 'tell' the stories of people's lives (1998; Gosden, 1997). Strathern also argues that in Melanesian society, things are not seen as existing 'in themselves' but rather as metonyms for their producers, detached parts of persons. As a person circulates *through* their work, they become 'enchained' in relations with other (1988; Grint, 991). This is why exchange can never be approached as a purely economic relationship, because it sustains relations and reproduced identity (Gregory, 1982; Appadurai, 1986).

2.6.4.4 Transforming identity.

This making of one substance from another is seldom seen within small-scale communities as a purely physical transition; it is alchemical, mythical (Gell, 1992; Budd and Taylor, 1995). Technological practices are therefore risky, dangerous and potentially polluting, due to this transformational capacity (Sigaut, 1994). They often require a degree of spatial, social and even temporal isolation from other labours (Barley, 1994), and the identity of those who undertake these practices may become marked by their work, physically (by scars, cuts, occupational diseases, Edmonds, 1999) and materially (through the tools and materials they are associated with), as well as socially.

Deftness, competence and improvisational craft skill generate an alternative axis of power and authority within small-scale communities. The passing on of craft knowledge can be another forum in which identities such as gender and age-grades are marked (Edmonds, 1999: 47). 'Enskillment' is a matter of habituated, practical mastery, captured in Mauss' (1935) idea of *les techniques du corps*, or technical embodiment as a manual 'knack', bodily hexis (Bourdieu, 1990b). It is a life-long, never finished process, and a way in which people reiteratively mark their identity not only through their personal skill, but the genealogy of that skill, their part in a tradition or 'way of doing things'. These 'technical lineages' always bring into play something other than themselves (Sigaut, 1993), shuffling and sorting, and recombining practice (Latour, 1993), anticipating the future and remembering the past. As Marcel, the peasant farmer in *Pig Earth* says:

> "Why work with such effort and care for something which is doomed? And to that I reply: Working is a way of preserving the knowledge my sons are losing. I dig holes, wait for the tender moon and plant out these saplings to give an example to my sons if they are interested, and, if not, to show my father and his father that the knowledge they handed down has not yet been abandoned. Without that knowledge, I am nothing." (1992: 75).

2.6.4.5 Analysis.

Archaeological analysis can therefore examine the 'unstable alloys' created by amalgams of people and things (Latour, 1993), through spheres of practice - production, consumption and deposition. Leroi-Gourhan's notion of the *châine opératoire* offers a way of locating acts within a path or sequence of habituated gestures cumulating towards a finished piece of work (1943, 1945). Archaeological analysis can seek to locate the material fragments with which it deals within this cycle of making. This reanimation of the sequence of labour allows us to investigate how its spatial, social and temporal organisation created a set of conditions in which certain identities and relations were reproduced.

In analysing the use, movement and deposition of material artefacts, we might also be able to understand how certain objects were grouped or categorised, and how certain substances were classified. This helps us understand the routine associations and metaphorical relations sustained by artefacts. In traces of wear, repair or deliberate damage and discard, we can also begin to reconstruct something of the artefact's biography; how it may have been curated and handed-down, as an heirloom, or newly made and given up, in an extravagant gesture of offering. We are looking to trace its passage through different fields of discourse, and therefore

understand how things are not only the conditions and outcome of practice, but condensed histories of relations.

2.6.5 Relational identities: people, things, animals, places and times.

To end, I want to use the story of *A Man Holding Up a Horse's Bridle*, written by John Berger, about a man who is "small and stocky, like his own work horse, a mare called Biche" (1996: 103). The horse is immortal, because after it becomes too old to work, he buys a new one and in turn, calls her Biche. The story concerns ends and beginnings, and how artefacts are not merely trappings but conditions and condensations of relations; *traces* of lives in both senses. Once, Berger writes:

> "He held up a bridle in front of my face.
> Do you know what that means? he asked quietly.
> Yes, I said, the mare's been taken away.
> Fifteen years working together is a long time, he said.
> He still held out the bridle in front of him It was the only time I ever saw him make a theatrical gesture. The leather was encrusted with white from the salt of her sweat and the foam of her mouth.
> Everything has its end, he finally said before hanging the bridle up on its wooden peg behind the stable door."
>
> (Berger, 1996: 103).

2.7 Conclusion.

This chapter has outlined a theory of identity as relational practice. It has argued that these relations are not only reproduced between people, but between people, places, animals, things and times. These are not merely the objects of relations, but comprise the material and historical conditions of practice itself. Identity is therefore never an innate property, but emerges in performance; only *in* practice is identity 'made to matter' (Butler, 1993). Identity therefore always takes work, and is constituted through that work.

I have therefore suggested that archaeology can approach identity in later prehistory, through an analysis of rhythms of inhabitation, and how these bring together particular constellations of humans and non-humans. These are the conditions through which certain relations were reproduced, and certain kinds of identity became possible. It is only through this network of relations - this fraternity of collectives, pulsating with persons and instruments (Latour, 1993) - that archaeology can grasp the historical and material contingency of this 'identity work'.

Chapter 3.

'Telling Lives': an archaeological methodology for exploring identity.

3.1 Introduction.

I have argued that identity takes work and is constituted as a network of relations, reproduced in social practice. This chapter will ask how we might apprehend this archaeologically, and achieve an understanding of the particular categories of identity which were of importance in later prehistoric East Yorkshire.

It will argue that this can only occur through an analytical enquiry into the character of these relational practices, and it will outline a methodology and an interpretative strategy to achieve this. The chapter will suggest that such interpretation does not arise solely from the 'material', but also through praxis itself. In taking responsibility for this, I will investigate archaeology's own 'identity work', arguing that the way in which we return our analysis to the reader through written and illustrative strategies is also constitutive of meaning. I will therefore discuss multiple 'ways of telling' that highlight the performative quality of archaeological practice. The chapter will then turn its attention to the particular categories of identity which were of significance in later prehistoric East Yorkshire. The region itself will be explored in order to understand how the character of the landscape has affected archaeological practice. A case study area will be selected on the grounds of research potential, which is a function both of the quality of the archaeology and its ability to illuminate the themes outlined in Chapter 2. This final section will provide the basis for the case studies which follow in Chapters 4-6.

3.2 Analytical Methodology and Interpretative Strategy.

3.2.1 Fields of discourse.

Identity is reproduced through discourse. Discourses are discursive domains, literally defined as conversation, a connected series of utterances. Discourse is always 'language in use' (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 3); framed, pervasive habits of speaking or thinking. Barrett (1988) uses this notion to argue that, as discourse, social practice 'frames' certain understandings of the world, in symbolic codes that others recognise and with which they

comply. Discourse delineates and defines the very grounds of that knowledge, in the interests of particular social authorities. However, discourse only exists through its active reproduction, and herein lies the possibility for people to transform the conditions under which it is sustained. This is a model of social practice familiar from the last chapter (1988: 10). Thus:

> "different discourse and their rules of operation make different 'facts' and different 'subjects' sayable or 'visible' in different historical periods" (Hall, 1999: 312).

Analysis seeks to probe these strategic silences, and reveal what has been foreclosed by specific historical discourse, by "background institutions and habits" which inform the possibilities available to social actors (Fraser, 1989: 106). Barrett uses the concept of the 'field' (an analogy drawn from electromagnetism) to describe how discourse becomes localised:

> "[The field is] ...an area in time-space occupied by virtue of the practice of a particular discourse." (Barrett, 1988: 11).

These fields orientate and inform social actors, through their other associations, predisposing them through the field of memory, as they enter different regions:

> "Inhabitants employed their understandings of traditions to guide their actions, and the ways in which different practices related one to another maintained or challenged those traditions." (Barrett, 1999c: 259).

Barrett favours the analytical strength of the 'field' as it directs our attention to the spatial extents, temporal rhythms, contextual settings and material conditions through which certain social authorities or dominant understandings of the world, were maintained in the past (1988: 11).

3.2.2 Spheres of practice and analytical categories.

In order to proceed, I need to make explicit the spheres of practice and analytical categories that I intend to explore. These are of our own making, but nevertheless have dialectical potential. Although categories of thought are:

> "historical and transitory, they represent the ways we think ourselves into a reality which necessarily transform that reality in our eyes and transform our understanding of it." (Barrett, 1994: 170).

Drawing on the relational theory of identity outlined in the last chapter, and the Research Design outlined for Heathrow Terminal 5 (Andrews and Barrett, 1998; Andrews, Barrett and Lewis, 2000), I will explore six key spheres of social practice.

1. the character of a community's relationship with its dead, and with an 'inherited' landscape, including funeral and memorialising rites, attitudes towards the past (recent and ancient), and the degree to which the dead form a discursive presence in the affairs of the living.
2. the character of inhabitation of domestic architecture (construction, destruction/abandonment and re-use): houses, storage facilities, yards, fields, pathways and boundaries.
3. the production and consumption of food, its temporal and spatial organisation and divisions of labour, including crop cultivation practices (planting, tending, harvesting and ploughing, gathering of wild foodstuffs), livestock management (the relationship between people and animals, tending to the herd/flock, hunting of undomesticated creatures, kill patterns and butchery practices), processing and storage practices (scale, location, architecture), cooking, eating and waste disposal.
4. the production and consumption of craftwork, its location, organisation of labour, procurement, design knowledge and craft skill, manipulation and life-use (especially in exchange) as well as deposition, of tools, textiles, jewellery, vessels, implements and structures, covering a range of materials (lithics, ceramics, wood, fibres, metals).
5. the social presentation of the body to others, in life and death: bodily care (including illness and violence), dress, adornment/accoutrement, gestural and postural orientations, and how architecture frames, guides and influences embodied performance and encounters.
6. ritual attitudes which are practised within/across any of the above - location and patterning, scale, reach/orientation, material and social deployment, temporal sequence.

These practices deploy resources that can be broken down into more basic analytical categories. It should be emphasised however, that these are heuristic devices rather than exhaustive categories, chosen in relation to the character of East Yorkshire and its later prehistoric archaeology:

- the human body
- animals
- foodstuffs (cereals, wild plants, butchered meat, liquids)
- social artefacts (weapons, tools, vessels, mobile objects such as inherited or exchanged artefacts, totems, sculptures, charms etc., items of adornment/regalia, means of transport etc.)

- social architecture (domestic houses, meeting places, forums etc.)
- funeral architecture (graves, pyres, pits, mounds etc.)
- other ritual structures (shrines, temples, votive locations etc.)
- stores: pits, storehouses, barns
- means of enclosure: banks, ditches, fences
- enclosed areas: fields/paddocks, yards, pens, tracks/roads
- land (cultivable earth, pasture), woodland, water (springs, streams, pools, sea), outcrops, caves, beaches and cliffs

These resources (which can also be actants in their own right), are mobilised in social practices which intersect through everyday rhythms of inhabitation - spatially, temporally and socially localising encounters between humans and non-humans (Ingold, 1993).

3.2.3 Interpretative strategy.

Having outlined the spheres of practice and analytical categories that I intend to consider, I will seek to distinguish interpretatively between the character, frequency, composition and conditions of each practice, and how they changed over time. My aim is to explore how different discourses of identity were reproduced through these practices, and their transformation during the course of the middle-later Iron Age. I will be able to apprehend this through the archaeological material because these constitute:

> "the conditions and consequences of agencies which were able to act and speak in the expectation of being understood and of being effective in achieving certain aims: in short, the ability to live in a socially recognisable way." (Barrett, 1994: 171)."

Identities are reproduced in historically specific fields of discourse. These may be investigated in terms of the 'tendential constraints' upon agency and practical consciousness (Soja, 1994: 121), and presence and absence, represented by the landscape framing, regionalisation and rhythmic scheduling of different practices (Ingold's taskscape, 1993). In exploring their interweaving, we are moving close to Geertz's exhortation to provide 'thick description' which is interpretative and involves itself in the local, microscopic histories of praxis (1993 [1973]).

3.3 Writing self and other: archaeology as identity work.

Archaeology occupies two seemingly irreconcilable positions:

1. the project of archaeology is to make a critical enquiry into the historical conditions of past peoples' lives - its interest in them is non-conditional, that is to say, those lives are considered important in their own right, and worthy of enquiry
2. *but* all archaeological practice is positioned in the present and its exercise can never, in fact, be divorced from this contemporary context and its inherent perspective and agendas - all historic enquiry is enquiry into ourselves because it can never lay claim to an 'authentic' or 'true' understanding of the past

Fortunately, it is not alone in this endeavour, and sociology and anthropology have dealt much more thoroughly with the politics and ethics of their practice (e.g. Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Ricoeur, 1992; Strathern, 1991).

These are important strategies by which we caution ourselves against familiarising the past, and claiming to know it objectively. The tension in all of these disciplines lies in trying to maintain a sense of difference and 'otherness' about the past, without exoticising it (Lowenthal, 1996; Harvey, 1996; Fried, 1997). It is clear that we can never produce a real image of this otherness; it is always flooded with our preconceptions and our relation with the past (Fabian, 1983). Unfortunately, this relationship is a condition of our analytical practice:

> "All we have are the contexts of our desire to know a past, positions from which we may then examine the material conditions which others, at other times and from other perspectives, also sought to understand" (Battaglia, 1999: 143).

What archaeology therefore aims for is an ethical project of "convergence with the real motivated by *un rapport a soi*" (Battaglia, 1999: 143). This 'participant' position is obviously easier to achieve with communities of the living, rather than those who are dead; we cannot achieve the reflexive quality of 'talk' with our subject (Barrett, 1997b). But conducting fieldwork is a two-sided process, even in archaeology (Jenkins, 1994; Bender, Hamilton and Tilley, 1997), and we can still:

> "undo and gradually bring to consciousness his or her own assumptions at the same time as grasping the indigenous categories... bearing in mind that the categories are not simply intellectual, but also bodily: habits, skills and so forth." (Jenkins, 1994: 442).

We can still, therefore, subscribe to the ethic of the anthropological project - to achieve reflexive awareness across difference - a point to which I will return at the end of the thesis. Attending to this paradox of practice is part of our own 'identity work'.

Importantly, archaeology does not fabricate the historical conditions of past practice, even though it chooses particular strategies of analysis and interpretation in order to approach them. We are not free to impose *any* meaning on the past because we are limited to a certain extent by the range of possible interpretations offered by that analysis (Wolff, 1993: 102). An axiom of the approach to identity outlined in the last chapter was that experience structures conceptual categories (Cohen, 2000). In analysing and attending to the *lived experience* of past lives, we access the social, historical and material locatedness of persons in the past; to their perceptions of everyday life and the conditions of their identity practice (Jenkins, 1994). By this strategy, we guard against finding only ourselves in the project (Battaglia, 1999: 116).

3.4 Analogy in archaeology.

One way in which archaeology has routinely furthered this dialectical and interpretative endeavour, is to draw upon anthropological examples as analogies. Those social sciences which deal with human experience cannot avoid analogical relations in their work, because social life is itself fundamentally relational (Wylie, 1985). In Wylie's definition, analogy is more than a process of reasoning by which two entities which share some similarities are assumed to share others. Analogical inference is the selective transposition of information, from source to subject, on the basis of comparison within *specified* terms of similar, different or unknown relations. (Importantly, Wylie advocates the use of *relational* rather than *formal* analogies, as the latter make untenable claims of one-to-one mapping between structures). On the basis of underlying principles of connection in relational analogies, it can therefore be posited that other similarities exist between them. Because the credibility of such analogies is never secure, and remains a matter for professional competence (Wylie, 1985), I will employ them as prompts to the imagination and ways of opening up alternative interpretations, rather than as formal models.

3.5 The performance of archaeology.

3.5.1 The issue of representation.

In acknowledging the work of analysis and interpretation, I also want to suggest that the means by which we return both of these to an audience - our writing and representational strategies - are also constitutive of the meaning that is created. Representation is a loaded term; whilst it

can be read as an acknowledgement of our 'advocacy' of the past, the word also implies an activity or process that claims to access the real, and the ability to reveal what is true (Butler, 1999: 13). In fact, the very act of representation replaces the subject with a symbol or image that is said to 'stand for' or mirror the referent. Archaeology as representation approaches material remains as a record or a transcription rather than the fragmented conditions and messy outcome of human practice (Barrett, 1994 and 2000). However, Fabian argues that by using the plural of the term - *representations* - we can invoke the idea of entities, products of analysis and knowledge (1990: 753). This reveals the gap between our attempt and the past itself; it keeps open a dialectical space in acknowledging how it always 'under-reaches' experience, which can be thought of as a poetic goal for the discipline (Battaglia, 1999).

Above all, then, representation must be seen as a form of praxis (Fabian, 1990: 756) which simultaneously brings to light some possibilities whilst reburying others (Hillis Miller, 1992). As praxis is not mirroring but *doing* (Fabian, 1990: 762), we could therefore return to the metaphor of performance, to accept responsibility for this effect:

> "Representations (in the plural) will then be considered as acts or sequences of acts, in short, as performances. Performances need actors and audiences, writers and readers... representations ought to draw their convincingness primarily from communication, rhetoric, and persuasion" (Fabian, 1990: 757).

Archaeological writing and illustration are therefore forms of practice which are both constitutive *and* emergent (see Edmonds, 1999). "What is known", as Ashcroft and Ahluwalia argue "is overwhelmingly determined by the *way* it is known" (1999: 60).

3.5.2 Metaphor.

Metaphor plays a fundamental role in this project. In an experientialist approach to social life, Lakoff and Johnson argue that life is fundamentally metaphorical (1980). The essence of metaphor is "understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another" (1980: 5). Metaphors participate in one another; they are affiliative, articulating relations between different fields of practice. However, they also arise because of the very *incommensurability* of experience and expression between fields (Boyd, 1993). In this scenario, metaphors enable ideas to be conceived and conveyed in other forms (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). They therefore sponsor novel relations, making a 'fresh fusion of horizons' (Gadamer, cited in Feeley-Harnik 1996) by deploying terms from other discourses. Both have the effect of conditioning subsequent experience, strengthening the conceptual interpenetrations between some fields,

whilst quietening or masking others. Metaphors are therefore *always* partial and veiling (Lakoff and Turner, 1989).

Metaphorical practice helps people move between different fields of social practice, orientating them to connections as well as presencing the absent. It would have been a key device with which prehistoric communities 'made sense' of the world and their place in it, through the correspondences generated between the different tasks and encounters in which they were engaged. It is also therefore a useful analytical tool for exploring the relations that might have been fostered by such interpenetrations of discourse.

3.5.3 'Gleaning the unsaid off the palpable'.

However, it must be acknowledged that everyday, non-discursive praxis resists representation (Scarry, 1994); we are trying to speak about the unsaid. Scarry argues that the difficulty arises from work's indivisibility, the fact that it has no discernible beginning or end; by nature it is "perpetual, repetitive, habitual" (1994: 65). Her solution, which has resonance for the methodology outlined above, is to break labour not into units of time but rather into tasks. Exploring Thomas Hardy's handling of working identity in *The Woodlanders*, she argues that his writing conveys 'people in action', meshing people, tools and the material world in a repetitive weave of labour. His metaphorical correspondences between the identity of people and the landscape of their labour conveys their deeply embodied immersion and mutual indissolubility. Hardy also conveys the way in which work clings to the body, as a film or membrane, marking it even in periods of cessation; the worked world and the worker are forever 'rubbing up' against each other, leaving their mark so that both are altered in practice, and bear the trace of the encounter (1994: 51).

In Heaney's terms, archaeologies of everyday life are attempts to 'glean the unsaid off the palpable' (*The Harvest Bow*, in Heaney, 1990: 128; see Edmonds and Seaborne, forthcoming.). Yet as Godelier argues, this attempt is essential, because work is the means by which relations between people and the world are reproduced (1980: 167). Labour is a solidary and religious exchange (Lynch, 1989), through which people attend with care and emotion, to the 'aesthetics' of appropriate living in the world, with others (Gosden, 1999). Archaeology can achieve this by attending to the character, organisation, peopling and material conditions of working practice.

3.5.4 An attendance to experience.

I therefore intend to use two alternative media to complement the analytical writing of the thesis; poetry and photography. Poetry offers a peculiarly condensed configuration of words, which retain a strong phenomenological vividness (Tilley, 1999: 7-8). It is also by nature a performative media, to be spoken and listened to. It experiments with structure and sound, to enfold the reader in an intense and embodied, sensorial engagement with its subject. It is therefore an effective way in which the non-verbal nature of practical knowledge, the mutuality of different practices and the power of articulatory moments, can be conveyed (Jenkins, 1994: 444). Poetry uses these qualities to become an 'attendance' on experience, not giving anaesthesia or easy reassurance, Berger argues, but rather:

> "the recognition and the promise that what has been experienced cannot disappear as if it had never been" (1984: 121).

Social life is coherent because people strive to make a total or whole from differential domains of experience (Tilley, 1999: 25). Poetry works by revealing these metaphorical relations and by presencing them. However, because all reading is 'reading in' (Lakoff and Turner, 1989), it does not have to be deliberate about this. It relies on the reader's ability to supply additional information and context to the 'moment' of the poem, to unravel meaning in an act of interpretation. The art of poetry is thus the restraint of *saying* what the poem can *do*, through the reader's reading. There is a trust involved here because all reading is construal, and the poet cannot retain control over the interpretation that is made.

3.5.5 Quotations from experience.

The power of the photograph lies in its 'punctal' quality, which Barthes describes as pricking or bruising the viewer, with an intense moment of connection that strips away the broader studium of the image (1993). The danger is that a belief in the truth of the image (as a faithful representation, Molyneux, 1997), turns photography into a realm of 'pure haunted spectatorship' (Barthes, 1993), turning other lives into spectacles for an authoritative gaze (Debord, 1999).

Instead, as Gell argues, we should acknowledge that the photographer is causally operative in the image (1998). All art can be therefore be thought of as a particular form of technology that 'traps' the viewer in its web of relations. Duchamp's *Network of Stoppages* epitomises this idea that art is rhizomatic - protentive and retentive (Gell, 1998) - constantly anticipating future

works and harking back to others (Thomas, 1998). Images constantly bring relations into the present, gathering new meanings and associations (Hall, 1997). Their 'inaugurating' quality (Hillis Miller, 1992) is thus analogous to the metaphorical work of poetry. All art, including photography, is socially efficacious; it has agency (Gell, 1998).

We can therefore render the paradox of representation transparent; there is no necessary relationship between representation and the world (Molyneux, 1997). It is a deeply historical and contextual discourse (Bourdieu, 1990a; Tagg, 1999). Knowing and seeing are mutually constitutive, and we are therefore educated into ways of both seeing and telling the world (Berger, 1972 and 1989).

John Berger, Roberts argues, aims to "keep faith politically with the everyday world of appearances" (1997: 145), and the political and historical conditions of lived experience. In a series of collaborations (*A Seventh Man*, 1975 and *A Fortunate Man*, 1989a [1967]), Berger and the photographer Jean Mohr have developed the idea that a photographic image may 'sever' an instant from the flow of time but that its power derives from a close *tracing* or 'quotation' from life (Berger and Mohr, 1989b: 50). Instead of trying to recover the temporal context of the image, they therefore developed the technique of the 'long quotation', which restores images to a context of *experience*. In *Another Way of Telling* (1989b [1982]), they attempt to follow an old peasant woman's reflections on her life, "reflecting, remembering, recalling... making sense of herself to herself" (1989b: 133). They work with the idea that such memories are not narrative; on the face of it, there will be no story (1989b: 286; Kearney, 1998). A street in snow, a bowl of coffee, butchered chickens, a page from a book, a water standpipe. Berger and Mohr argue that this assemblage of images will 'cohere', because they are indexical, referring outwards through their visual affinities with each other, and the lived world. The viewer bridges the disjunctures that images make through their memory of other appearances; tacking back-and-forth to make a series of metaphorical correspondences that may have existed in this woman's life. In so doing, they relate the particular material conditions of a life to its general historical context (Bann, 1988).

3.5.6 'A shared sense of measure'.

Writing and illustration can 'freeze the frame' of interpretation (Battaglia, 1999: 123), closing down imaginative possibility, but the juxtaposition of word and text can also be used to a different end. Images and text never combine harmoniously; there is a dialogic 'weaving' (both in the sense of knitting together and also veering away from each other) created through their

opposition (Hillis Miller, 1992). In this movement back-and-forth, image and text must also complement each other, as Berger makes clear when writing about his collaborations with Jean Mohr:

> "We have needed a shared sense of measure in order to create pages which flow. An illustrated book has to advance on two legs, one being the images, the other the text. Both have to adapt to the pace of the other. Both have to refrain from repeating what the other has already done. What so often checks any flow, when images and text are used together, is tautology, the deadening repetition of the same things being said twice, once with words and once with a picture. To avoid this and to walk together, in step with the story, a sense of measure is essential." (1999: 15).

If this is achieved, the adjacency of image and text also creates interference, jostling into each other's space. This can create an irreconcilable conflict or verbal doubling, in the interpreter's oscillation between contiguous representations (Hillis Miller, 1992: 147). Photographic montage and poetry can therefore be used to reveal both the labour of past identities (in the weaving of metaphors between fields of discourse), as well as the struggle of knowledgeability inherent in archaeological practice, in trying to speak of these lives. Their juxtaposition in this thesis with analytical writing will reveal its project as fashioned, a performative text emerging not as a revelation of the real but rather as an alignment with historical praxis (Fabian, 1990).

3.6 Unconventional narratives.

The structure of the thesis will be chronological, investigating the emergence, development and disappearance of the square barrow burial rite in later prehistoric East Yorkshire (Chapter 4, 5 and 6, respectively). Such a traditional structure has recently been criticised in archaeology. Plucennik argues that narrative is endemic in the discipline, creating ordered chronologies, from field stratigraphies to site histories; linear accounts that work primarily at the scale of the 'long durée' (1999). The danger, Plucennik argues, is the inevitability that this sequential approach can generate with regard to historic process. Long-term, social transformations are naturalised rather made a subject of enquiry. This teleological function of meta-narrative can thus be seen to be opposed to a methodology of inhabitation, with its focus upon the particular and contingent. In *I Could Read the Sky*, a character gives voice to way in which narrative history fails lived experience:

> "I read a book once... the things about a book is that the man who is writing it brings all the lives from all the different places and makes them flow together in the same stream. As they move down towards the end it's like they loops and holes and shapes that all fit together just nicely so that they're just one big piece really. You can look back and see how all of them got where they are. That's the time the writer brings the book to an end and there's no seeing past it. I'd like to meet the man who wrote a book like that so I could ask him where he got those lives. I never met anything like that in all my time. I look back and I see a big field full of mud, people and animals sliding and me sliding with them. There's no end. There's just times when some are standing and some are fallen." (O'Grady and Pike, 1997: 117).

However, should narrative as a device be condemned out-of-hand? Richardson has argued that it is a recognised mechanism for 'making sense' of historical change (1995), and Hayden White (1984; 1986) and Ricoeur (1984) have argued it is a useful strategy for placing us within an historically constituted world:

> "Narrative displays the goals and intentions of human actors; it makes individuals, cultures, societies, and historical epochs comprehensible as wholes, it humanises time, and it allows us to contemplate the effects of our actions and to alter the directions of our lives. Narrative is everywhere....[it is] the primary way through which humans organise their experiences into temporally meaningful episodes... both a mode of reasoning *and* a mode of representation. People can 'apprehend' the world narratively and people can 'tell' about the world narratively." (Richardson, 1995: 200).

Narrative can therefore be used in a *genealogically* (Foucault, 1972), as a strong interpretative device. In Walter Benjamin's words, history should not be told in sequence like 'beads on a rosary', but as "the constellation which... [one's] own era has formed with a definite earlier one" (1992: 255). Using Klee's image of the *Angelus Novus*, history is the 'piling up' of the wreckage of the past, which blows us forward into the future. Archaeology is the throwing back of ourselves *from* (and not into) this wreckage, into the work of the present.

3.7 Research strategy.

3.7.1 Research area.

I will investigate the theoretical approach to identity outlined in Chapter 2 and the methodology and interpretative strategies outlined above within a specific case study, namely the chalk Wolds of East Yorkshire. The area was selected for its research potential and archaeological value. In order to investigate practices of inhabitation, I will need to move between generic landscape analysis and the specific detail of excavated sites. Both of these scales of evidence

need to be in an accessible and preferably well-published format, as it is not within the scope of this thesis to carry out syntheses of unarchived material.

The choice of the landscape transect has thus been influenced by the character of the landscape; different geologies, soils and cultivation histories have biased our historical knowledge of the region's archaeology, towards the chalk of the Wolds. Arable activity since the 17th century (Avery, 1973), coupled with keen local antiquarian interest, has resulted in an impressive surface collection of material, as well as early programmes of excavation on upstanding earthworks, which are readily visible in pasture and estate woodland (Greenwell, 1877; Mortimer, 1905). These were often financially supported and encouraged by the patronage and co-operation of landed estates such as the Sykes family at Sledmere (Mortimer, 1905: xii). Further programmes have focused on the chalk, due to its good preservation of archaeological materials and interpretative potential, as well as increased amounts of contract work brought about by chalk gravel extraction (e.g. Brewster, 1980; Dent, 1984a; Stead, 1991). These areas are also more responsive to aerial archaeology, and were therefore prioritised as part of the National Mapping Programme, due to the frequency with which the region has been flown and excellence of the photographic archive (Stoertz, 1997: Fig. 4).

In comparison, the heavier, peat covered and waterlogged clays of Holderness mask archaeological remains from aerial photography. Although wetland edges do restrain downslope movement and preserve deposits, these are now under severe risk from denudation (Van der Noort and Ellis, 1995). The general bias in research is now being redressed through contract archaeology (which tends to focus on the larger settlement areas in the Plain, such as Driffield and Hull), and targeted flying of the Plain (Pete Horne, pers.comm.). However, this inevitably affects the ability of this thesis to conjure a balanced characterisation of inhabitation activities in East Yorkshire. Interpretation will therefore of necessity focus on the High Wolds, Great Wolds Valley and chalk dipslope, whilst aiming to explore relations sustained with these other regions as far as the data allows.

Four main projects or publications have influenced the precise choice of the landscape transect; Cathy Stoertz' transcription of aerial photographs from the Wolds (1997), Tony Brewster's microfiche publication of the excavations at Garton Slack (1980), Dr. Ian Stead's excavation and publication of the square barrow cemeteries of the Great Wolds Valley (1991) and Dr. John Dent's numerous publications, M.A. and PhD thesis from the excavations at Wetwang Slack (e.g. 1984a, b and c; 1995). (Access to the unpublished text and illustrations of the Wetwang Slack final report was kindly granted by Dr. John Dent and the Humber Archaeological

Partnership, and archive access was organised by Hull Museums). Finally, this author was offered the chance to participate in the ongoing excavations of a rectilinear enclosure at Wharram Grange Crossroads (undertaken as part of the Wharram Research Project, directed by Dr. Colin Hayfield).

The case study area therefore comprises a landscape transect defined by the following National Grid Co-ordinates: SE 750 550 – TA 300 550/SE 750 750 – TA 300 750 (Fig. 3.1). (The area is demarcated by the lines of the National Grid, to facilitate analysis and avoid arbitrary divisions which might 'naturalise' geographical features as social boundaries). This region comprises areas of the High Wolds and scarp slope, the Great Wolds Valley and Wolds dipslope (all on the chalk), as well as the surrounding lower lying zones of the Vale of Pickering (to the north), the edge of the Vales of York (to the west) and part of the Holderness Plain (to the south). It also includes the coastline from Flamborough Head to Skipsea. (Fig. 3.2 - 3.4 present the basic solid and drift geologies and soils of the region). The transect was therefore chosen to incorporate a variety of environments, to reveal differences in patterns of inhabitation where possible, and to highlight differential preservation of sites and visibility of monuments in each landscape type.

A gazetteer of sites is presented in Appendix I, compiled from a search of Sites and Monuments Record databases for the regions of Humberside and North Yorkshire, the National Monuments Record, published and unpublished material. It is important to stress that this is *not* a complete record of all later prehistoric sites but rather an analytical tool. It has selected only those examples which are Iron Age - early Roman in date, where there is sufficient excavated or landscape evidence, to allow the investigation of practices of inhabitation. For this reason, cropmark sites (even those which contain square barrow cemeteries) have not been included. However these are listed in Appendix II - a landscape analysis of the square barrows. Single spot-finds of artefacts, with no archaeological context have also been excluded. (N.B. an addendum to the appendix lists the grid references of key sites mentioned in the text which lie outside of the study area).

3.7.2 Introduction to the region.

3.7.2.1 The High Wolds and Vales of York and Pickering.

> "The approach to this district on every side is by an ascent up a considerable hill or brow, except on the east side, where it is more gentle. The surface of these wolds is generally divided into easy extensive swells and plains, with many

> intervening deep dales or valleys." (Isaac Leatham, 1794, cited in Woodward, 1985: 34).

It is difficult to rival Leatham's description of the Yorkshire Wolds, which captures the sense of the open topography of the High Wolds, dissected by deep dry valleys, and framed by canopies of huge skies (Fig. 3.5). The uplift and radical folding of these sedimentary basin beds has creating a crescentic arc or arm of chalk, turning like a crooked elbow from its north-south orientated, valley-fissured spine, to head east towards the coast, outcropping at Flamborough Head (Kent, 1980). The uplifted scarp edge is still mobile (as indicated in place names such as 'Earthquake Plantation' and the field at Aldro, where it is said 'the devil farts at you', Wagner, pers.comm.), eroding and slumping down into the edge of the Vale of Pickering. The dales are formed by faults in the bedrock chalk, which have been worn open by glacial activity; steep valley heads which were formed under the weight of ice, drop into broad, 'v' or 'u' shaped dales containing discarded morainic debris (chalk and flint gravels). Occasionally, rare pillars of cemented chalk debris and calcite, formed in faults, jut out of the bedrock chalk; these are often named and have stories attached to them, such as the 'Fairystones' above Burdale (Nicholson, 1973 [1890]). Most of these valleys have flat bottoms caused by the build-up of colluvium (Bell, 1992); over 3 metres of hillwash had built-up in Fairydale (Hotson, 1985), and the rate of deposition has been exacerbated by ploughing regimes (Foster, 1978; Evans, 1992) and by aerial denudation brought about by vegetation clearance (Reid, 1885; Furness and King, 1978). The dales are sinuous and claustrophobic, enclosing corridors of sky and framing movement along the dale base, as the easiest route of passage in this landscape. Their sides are too steep for cultivation, and form rough grazing with scrub vegetation.

Although many of these valleys are true dry dales, a few contain streams or sub-surface water that rises in late winter or early spring. True springs, emerging from fissures in the chalk off the western and northern scarp, were vital for watering stock, such as Leavening Spring, which gushed "clear as crystal" according to Mortimer, and was "never known to fail" (in Hicks, 1978: 21). Otherwise, water was scarce on the High Wolds in the days before dew-ponds; dolines (created as clays gradually infilled melting glacial pockets of ice) appear to have formed High Wold ponds or meres in early prehistory (Mesolithic - Bronze Age), attracting concentrations of people and animals (Hayfield, Wagner and Pouncett, 1995; Wagner and Hayfield, 1996). However, these were drying out by the later prehistoric period and the few remaining natural ponds, indicated by place-names such as Fimber (*Fymmer* or *finn, mere* - pool amongst the tough, coarse grass, Smith, 1937: 128) and Sledmere (*slaed, mere* - the pool

in the valley, Smith, 1937: 127), as well as the spring-fed pond at Burdale, would have been extremely important 'nodes' or locales in the landscape, where people and stock aggregated on a day-to-day basis.

The High Wolds soils are thin, stripped of their Tertiary and Quaternary deposits by glacial action, which has also scarred and fractured the chalk with periglacial features (such as the dolines and 'patterned ground' features, as found at Wharram Percy, Ellis, 1981, and ice-plucks and clay-filled faults, as found at Wharram Grange Crossroads, Giles, 1999). One unusual outcrop in the High Wolds is the lowermost Cretaceous bed known as the 'Red Chalk' (an impure ferruginous limestone), and this was mined selectively in prehistory for house and hearth daub (Powesland, pers.comm.) and for decorative purposes (see Chapter 5). Lenticular and tabular flint from the chalk fractures poorly, and many of the prehistoric lithics found in the Wolds derive from glacial deposits to the south or worn beach erratics, on the rapidly eroding morainic deposits of sand, gravel and boulder clays of the east coast. Re-deposited patches of clay with flints from glacial activity make the High Wold soils hard to work, and they require both frequent manuring *and* marling if cultivated for arable, as the leaching of the soils quickly creates acid conditions. Up to 20-30 centimetres of soil may have been lost since prehistory, judging from buried soils under Kilham long barrow (Manby, 1976) and Hutton Plantation earthworks (Ellis, 1990). However, historically, this has been unenclosed sheep country, with dispersed farms and medieval Granges connected to their pasture and market by a network of sheepwalks, and 'hog' tracks (Waites, 1971). Only the discourse of improvement brought large-scale arable cultivation to the chalk dales and valleys (through the 'High Farm' systems, Hayfield, 1998; see Young, 1770; Marshall, 1788; Strickland, 1812), and man-made water systems which enabled more intense stock-rearing, especially of cattle (Best, 1930; Harris, 1996). The unploughed but stock-manured grazing pastures indicated by environmental analysis from various valley sites have disappeared gradually (Wagner, 1992).

Even in historic times, people living in these dales did not form isolated communities, but were connected to settlements in the lower-lying regions, through markets (such as Malton and Pickering, and further south-east, Kilham and Driffield, Strickland, 1812). As the diaries of Henry Best and the biography of John Mortimer indicate, routine trips on and off the High Wolds were common, but in this steep landscape, horses and carts or 'wagons' as they are known in East Yorkshire, were of great importance. The surrounding lowlands, of the Vales of York to the west and Pickering to the north, comprise Triassic and softer Jurassic shales, mudstones and marine clays, which would have supported a later prehistoric landscape mosaic

of spring-fed streams, seasonal floodplains (around rivers such as the Derwent) and more permanent meres, rich in wildlife and natural foodstuffs (Fig. 3.6). The Wolds are an ever-present frame of the southern or western horizons of these Vales, and in later prehistory, this complement of high grazing, lower cultivable soils and wetlands may have encouraged not only daily movements, but also a degree of seasonal residence.

3.7.2.2 The Great Wolds Valley and Wolds dipslope.

As the chalk shallows to the south and east (forming a syncline with an dipslope angle of 2-4°), the landscape changes dramatically. The steep-sided dales give way to broader valleys or 'slacks', with wider valley bases and low horizons, and domes of sky (Fig. 3.7 and Fig. 3.8). The Great Wolds Valley has eroded west-east along the main arm of the chalk, turning abruptly south at Burton Fleming, along a right-angled fault, before resuming its course at Rudston, to end on the coast at Bridlington (see Fig. 3.1). The valley has been created by the slow passage of the watercourse of the Gypsey Race (pronounced with a hard 'g'), eating down through and widening joints and fissures in the still uplifting bedrock of the chalk (the rivers are 'older' than the hills, Kendall and Wroot, 1924; Ineson, 1962). This stream, which has a strong seasonal flow fed by the underground chalk acquifer of the Wolds, emerges at Wharram le Street and flows east, to empty into the sea at Bridlington. However, this is not a continuous watercourse; a 1622 reference describes it 'falling into the earth' between Butterwick and Boythorpe, to re-emerge at Foxholes (Dodsworth's notes, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series xxxiv: 220, cited in V.C.H. II: 190). However, in late winter and early spring, the race assumes a much more vigorous character (see Chapter 5).

A similar race exists at Kilham and Keelythorpe, but other Gypseys are truly intermittent, like the southern winterbournes of the Wessex chalk. Along with spring or spelt holes (such as Hen Pit Hole or Tancred Pit Hole, near Kilham and Langtoft), they burst seasonally into this landscape, sometimes with violent consequences (see Chapter 5). Surface run-off from frozen chalk ground surfaces adds to this effect, and Kendall describes how such "spring floods... descend the frozen floor of a chalk valley" (1924: 83), causing rilling and erosion. Where there was no established channel or stream-bed, these waters converged and soaked away through 'sink holes', such as the one noted by Bevan near Garton Station (1994: 37). These gentler plains and swelling horizons are encompassing, without drama, and yet at certain time of the year, they were transformed by holes and mouths that sprang into life, flooding them with sheetwater.

The valley provides access to chalk pasture areas of grazing, but the build-up of soils on the lower slopes may also have facilitated their cultivation. Those with permanent watercourses would have attracted settlement, grazing and cultivation in later prehistory. Many dales were truly dry (Lewin, 1969: 12), as with Wetwang and Garton Slack. The unpredictability of itinerant springs and streams must have resulted in people moving routinely out of these valleys to the edge of the dipslope itself, where springs emerged at the onlap of the glacial deposits around Driffield (such as Kirkburn, Eastburn and Elmswell).

3.7.2.3 The Holderness Plain.

The now-heavily drained landscape of Holderness given little indication of its prehistoric character (Van der Noort and Ellis, 1995; Gilbertson, 1990). A landscape of slight rises and hillocks, composed of glacially deposited bars of tills and fluvio-glacial gravels (Reid, 1885; Van der Noort and Ellis, 1995), is punctured by kettle holes formed as these capping deposits collapsed into hollows left by melting ice blocks. The land is drained by the River Hull and by countless small streams, and would have been a richly vegetative landscape of marsh and open meres, with submerged forests and growing peat deposits (Fig. 3.9). These isolated ridges would have been connected by an extensive water network (Catt, 1990, 1991). The Brigg rafts and Hasholme boat suggest that a vibrant community made use of this extraordinarily rich environment of alder and willow carr and reedy swamps, containing abundant natural food stuffs, waterfowl, fish, as well as woodland species such as boar and deer (Millett and MacGrail 1987; MacGrail, 1990; Sheppard, 1902, 1907; Wright, 1990). This was a landscape of cleared swells of gravel, dense thickets of carr and open expanses of mere. A landscape fractured by slivers of stream and river which eternally mirrored light and cloud; tangled roots and rushes merging with the reflected branches of trees, scoring the sky.

Again, it is likely that there were seasonal movements of people in and out of this landscape. Until large-scale drainage, the moor and carr soils which developed over alluvial deposits would have been difficult to drain; grazing may have been limited and cultivation appears to have concentrated on the sands and gravels in (Didsbury, 1990 and 1995). However, Dinnan's environmental analysis detected increased but not synchronous clearance and cultivation episodes, around 645 B.C. (in Van der Noort and Ellis, 1995), and the increased peat deposition also indicates its gradual deforestation (Gilbertson, 1990). The Plain also gives important access to lithic deposits on the rapidly shifting coastline (Fig. 3.10), and to coastal networks as well as the Humber estuary to the south, across which there appears to have been routine movement in late prehistory (McGrail, 1990).

3.7.2.4 Bound to the soil?

This landscape sketch has aimed to synthesise aspects of geology, soils, hydrology and environmental factors in order to characterise the conditions of inhabitation made possible by the later prehistoric landscape of East Yorkshire. However, this was not a fixed environment within which human lives were played out. I have tried to conjure the landscape as a series of affordances which made certain kinds of social practice possible - certain rhythms of inhabitation. The landscape was therefore the *product* as much as the condition of particular forms of historic practice (Evans, 1999). I have emphasised the dramatic landscape changes within a small geographical region, and tried to conjure something of the architecture and effect of different places upon its inhabitants. Also, I have tried to dissolve the naturalised edges of these ecotones, in suggesting that people may have made complementary, even seasonally resident use of each region. Certainly, we should not assume that natural features represent social boundaries (see Chapter 1). The task of the next three chapters is to explore the actual character of these routines, and the nature of relations that were reproduced between these regions.

3.8 Conclusion.

This chapter has outlined a methodology for exploring the constitution of identity in later prehistoric East Yorkshire. In arguing that people structure their experience and knowledge of life through discourse, which is temporally, spatially, socially and materially 'regionalised', it has argued that past lives are therefore susceptible to analytical investigation. It has made explicit a series of analytical categories through which the historical character and material conditions of these practices may be investigated and compared, in order to apprehend the changing nature of discourses of identity over time.

It has also argued that relations are sustained between these fields of discourse through the metaphorical correspondences which people draw from their experience, which the methodology therefore seeks to explore. However, I have also outlined the conceit risked in such archaeological analysis, of claiming to objectively access the 'real'. In attending to the relationship between self and other, I have also sought strategies with which to reveal the praxis of archaeological work itself.

Finally it has outlined the region and character of the archaeology through which it will explore these themes, and it has justified a chronological structure for the following chapters, as an

interpretative device with which to explore the genealogy of social transformations from the early Iron Age - early Roman period.

Chapter 4.

Refiguring rites: later Bronze Age and early Iron Age landscapes of East Yorkshire.

4.1 Introduction.

4.1.1 A beginning.

The excavation, on the 2nd June 1816, of barrow W57 at Arras by the Rev. E.W. Stillingfleet, Barnard Clarkson and Dr. Thomas Hull, attracts little attention in their notes (Stead, 1979). Delighted by the impressive 'chariot' burials found amongst other Arras graves, they merely considered the ear-ring or pendant found with a middle-aged woman, in an unimpressive barrow, to be an oddity. A miniature looped and socketed copper alloy axe had been strung together with a blue-glass bead, on a piece of thin bronze wire, and hung from her ear or around her neck (Greenwell, 1906: 204, V.C.H., 1907: 387; Brewster 1971). Almost a century later, when the square barrow burials had been recognised as a distinctive Iron Age funeral rite, attributed to an invasion of the Arras culture, Greenwell found the artefact pinned to a card in the Yorkshire Museum. He voiced the confusion of the original excavators, noting that it was:

> "difficult to account for in a burial of the period to which the Arras cemetery belongs... This toy implement cannot therefore be regarded as having in its origin anything connected with the people who buried their dead at Arras". (1906: 303).

Greenwell's dismissal was, of course, based on the assumption that Continental invaders were unlikely to be making miniature copies of already antiquated artefacts (the burial is probably early 3rd century B.C. in date, three centuries after 'Heathery Burn' style axe-heads were commonly made and used, Cunliffe, 1991). The implication was that it was an *objet trouvé*, or a traded item. This may well have been the case, but its association with a typical middle-late Iron Age blue bead suggests that it may well have buried in full knowledge of its ancient and local associations, as a valued charm or keepsake. Little more than an inch long, it speaks of the fact that these communities were actively creating a relationship with the past in their present. Once this is recognised it is clear that we cannot begin our historical narrative of later prehistory with the emergence of the square barrow rite itself. We must rather understand the historical context within which it became *possible* for it to be appropriated.

4.1.2 Outline.

This chapter explores the emergence of the square barrow burial rite, in the late 5th-4th century B.C., in the context of later Bronze Age and early Iron Age practices of inhabitation. I will refute the model of ethnic invasion described in Chapter 1, by demonstrating that it was taken up as part of a long-term strategy of landscape development rather than being inserted into the landscape by a foreign element. This will require an understanding of the context of social relations and ongoing historical projects in existence in the early part of the 1st millennium B.C. In accordance with the methodology outlined in the last chapter, I will achieve this through an analysis of different fields of social practice, and how these intersected in the routine inhabitation of the landscape.

The period was one of long-term transformations in relations between people and place, which were expressed architecturally in linear earthwork projects. I will seek to explore the political discourse behind these works, in terms of the negotiation of rites of access and use of the landscape. The analysis will suggest these transformations drew upon and reactivated ancestral presences in the landscape. However, both the earthworks and this renewed relationship with the ancestral dead changed the material conditions through which people reproduced their sense of identity and belonging to place. It is within this context that the beginning of the square barrow burial rite should be set.

4.2 Open and enclosed settlement.

Later Bronze Age and early Iron Age settlement features can be characterised by their diversity. Open settlements consist of stake-built roundhouses, pits and other storage facilities, as well as isolated scatters of occupation debris which suggest shorter-lived forms of occupation. These contrast with larger enclosed sites, differing in size, form and location.

4.2.1 'Open-work'.

('pattern with interstices, fabric with noticeable space between the threads' - O.E.D.).

Open settlement remains are rare. Stake-built or ring-gully roundhouses seldom produce a fine enough crop response, they appear only on aerial photographs as clusters of pits, as at Woldgate and Kilham (Stoertz, 1997: 18, Fig. 6: 11 and 12, reproduced here as Fig. 4.1). The British Museum excavated samples of these at a number of sites: East Field and Tuft Hill, on Woldgate just above Burton Agnes; Denby Farm in Rudston, West Field (following work by C. and E. Grantham at 'Manor Farm' Kilham) and Hanging Cliff in Kilham and North Dalton (Rigby and Stead, forthcoming).

These pits can be characterised as shallow, drum-shaped features, that may have been used to over-winter seed grain (Reynolds, 1979; Cunliffe, 1984). Domestic material was deposited in their backfills, including ceramics which are distinctively later Bronze and early Iron Age in date; finger-tipped or slashed rims and/or shoulder decoration, on slack-shouldered, biconical or carinated bowls and jars, in erratic, calcite, flint and grog tempered wares (Fig. 4.2). Rarely, these are burnished, and Challis and Harding argue some of these features indicate a degree of continental influence in style, despite their local fabric and execution (1975; Fig, 4.2). Animal bone is also found in the pits, as well as craft-working debris, such as bone spatula, gouges, pins and needles, perforated chalk, fragments of later Bronze Age socketed tools, iron spearheads, and broken decorative items (such as worked jet/shale bangle fragments and headless swan's necked pins) (Challis and Harding, 1975: fig. 24-26; Rigby and Stead, forthcoming).

The pits indicate that cooking, eating and craftworking were occurring in the vicinity. Although the British Museum team did not excavate surrounding areas, hut circles plotted by Stoertz at East Field and Tuft Hill may well be contemporary with the pits (Rigby, pers.comm.). A single roundhouse at Burton Fleming (Moorhouse, 1972: 218) may also date to this later Bronze Age/early Iron Age period. Occupation scatters of material from this period have also been found at Octon Crossroads (including a small tub-shape vessel, Challis and Harding, 1975: Fig. 23, no. 2 and a bun-shaped clay loomweight) and Wetwang Slack, in Area 11 (where it was heavily disturbed by later activity, Dent, forthcoming). An undated surface spread of domestic material was also found under the square barrow cemetery at Cowlam (Stead, 1986b).

At the edge of the Wolds dipslope, in a very different landscape, C. and E. Grantham noted up to seven 'hutments' at Thornham Hill, on a sandy moraine within the glacio-fluvial gravels (cited in Loughlin and Miller, 1979: 81). Occupation layers containing early Iron Age material and redeposited timbers were also excavated here by Copley in 1953. North of Thornham is the 'lake dwelling' noted by Boynton and mentioned by Smith (1911), and at Little Kelk, a second area of brushwood and transverse wooden beams was investigated by Humber Archaeological Partnership at Turtle Hill Wood, Kelk (in Van der Noort and Ellis, 2000: 108). At Thornham Hill (also known as Gransmoor), residues associated with these domestic vessels suggest they were used to boil meat (leaving a fatty residue), as well as being used to store some kind of fermented drink made from elder seeds (Copley, 1953; Challis and Harding, 1975).

The most securely dated example of open settlement from this period is at West Heslerton, just out of the study area (Powesland et al., 1986). An area of ring-post roundhouses, four-post structures and pits were loosely defined by a pit alignment, hedged along one side (ibid, 1886: 156). This site appears to have undergone periods of disuse, inundated by wind-blown sands.

In conclusion, the open settlement of this period consists of stake-built roundhouses and storage features such as pits or four-post structures, which are only loosely enclosed by permeable boundaries such as pit alignments. They are found in a variety of locations, from the edge of the scarp at its juncture with the Vale of Pickering, to the sides of chalk slacks and valleys (as at Wetwang, Kilham, Denby and Burton Fleming), to exposed hilltops (such as Cowlam and the ridge of Woldgate, overlooking the Holderness Plain), as well as in the mere-rich environment of the Plain itself. This complementary pattern, and the exposed nature of some of the sites, might indicate that some of this residence was seasonal. The faunal deposits at Manor Farm, Kilham (the same site as West Field, Kilham) are dominated by young individuals, especially sheep but also horse, deer and fox, which might suggest they were occupied in late spring or early summer (Makey, 1990). Certainly, there is little evidence of the repeated rebuilding of these structures, and they may have had relatively short life-spans. The character of this settlement suggests small groups resided together, engaging in day-to-day tasks.

The hundreds of pits clustered along Woldgate stand out in clear contrast to this general character of inhabitation; this natural routeway from the dipslope up onto the Wolds was clearly long-established and repeatedly revisited over the course of the 1st millennium B.C. (Rigby and Stead, forthcoming).

4.2.2 'Close-knit'.

('dense, compact, without gaps between the fibres' - O.E.D)

The architectural character and landscape position of the enclosed sites of the 1st millennium B.C. contrast dramatically with these open settlements. Ovate or curvilinear enclosures are located in the mid-slope position on the northern scarp slope of the Wolds, at Staple Howe (Brewster, 1963) and Devil's Hill (Stephens, 1986). Others are located on the hilltops or shoulders of the Wolds, as at Thwing (Manby, 1980 - 1984), Kilham, and along the spine of the Great Wolds Valley, at Greenlands near Rudston, as well as on the dipslope at Nafferton and near Wetwang (Stoertz, 1997: Fig. 24, reproduced here as Fig. 4.3). Grimthorpe (Stead, 1968) lies on the northern spine of the Wolds, overlooking the Vale of York.

As a group of monuments, the first thing to note is that they enclose space physically; they *create* an interior domain, separated from the outside world, which would have contrasted sharply with the day-to-day relationship with space characteristic of the open settlements. On entering these monuments, people would have recognised that they were being brought within a defined place, which may have also symbolised a defined social unity, a 'gathering' of households. The scale of this accumulation of people would also have contrasted with their routine experiences of living and of labour.

Most of these enclosures make use of a dominant topographic position, framing impressive views over the surrounding landscape with juxtaposed entranceways, as at Thwing and Kilham. They often sit upon axial routes of movement, as if to intercept movements between upland and lowland. Where they have been excavated they are enclosed by timberwork. The palisade ditches of Devil's Hill and Staple Howe contrast with the timber-revetted box rampart of Grimthorpe, and the palisade-fronted chalk rampart and ditches of Paddock Hill. They not only speak of the management of woodland in this period, but also of the way in which the landscape was transformed through cutting, clearance and mass movement to these locales. Areas well-away from the enclosure would have been left with the visible 'scars' of tree stumps, felling debris and opened canopies of these ongoing construction projects. The appearance of this group of monuments, consisting of banks of freshly upcast chalk, would also have skylined the sites dramatically.

However, despite these common architectural features and landscape position, these are an incredibly diverse group of features, which appear to have had quite different uses. Staple Howe is a relatively small enclosure, possibly containing three round houses, four-post structures, pits and hollows (although Guilbert has criticised Brewster's 'selective' interpretation of the site plans, pers.comm., Fig. 4.4). In contrast, no roundhouses were found at either Devil's Hill or Grimthorpe, despite their greater size, although four and six-post structures, as well as pits, were present. In all three of these sites, consumption activities were indicated by butchered animal bone, querns, ceramics and a rare deposit of club wheat at Staple Howe (Brewster 1963). Craft production was also being carried out; worked stone, bone, jet and weaving implements were found at Devil's Hill, and a bronze chisel and awl at Staple Howe.

No storage buildings were found within the enigmatic structure of Paddock Hill, Thwing which sits within a Class II henge monument, remodelled as a circular enclosure with opposed timber-

framed gateways. Rather, it appears to have contained a massive round, timber building or monument, far larger than any domestic roundhouse of the period (approximately 25 metres in diameter, Manby, 1985: 2, Fig. 4.5, compared with an average domestic dwelling size diameter of 6-12 metres). Again, this enclosed site was designed to receive and hold people at a scale that was beyond the everyday. The architectural experience of moving through its opposed entrances and gateways, must have been profound, whilst the prehistory of these sites must also have made such experiences redolent with ancestral associations. This paired axis suggests that a 'through movement' was being directed by the complex; it is possible that the building was used to effect transitions from one place to another (from the Great Wolds Valley, up onto the High Wolds ridge) from one state to another (in ceremonies of transformation, such as initiations, marriages and funerals) or even perhaps, from the past to the present

Tony Pacitto's geophysical surveys of enclosures in the Great Wolds Valley, such as Greenlands, suggest that they are largely devoid of internal features, and the relationship with linear earthworks may indicate that some of these enclosures were primarily stock corrals (Pacitto, pers.comm.). Other enclosures appear deliberately distanced from the earthwork systems, apart from Paddock Hill, Thwing, which appear to sit at the centre of (or formed a nexus for) a series of pit alignments and linear systems (Manby, 1993; Stoertz, 1997: Fig. 42, reproduced here as Fig. 4.6).

The contrast in the character, scale and form of architecture involved in the enclosed sites have led to their interpretation as the hillfort residences of an elite (Powesland, 1988), situated within territories or estates defined by the linear earthwork systems. In the chiefdom model outlined by Cunliffe (1984, drawn from the evolutionary typology of Service and Sahlins, 1968), the function of such sites is to act as the residential seat of authority and the centre of a redistribution system. The presence of bronzework (as in the razors, tweezers, discs and studs found at Staple Howe, Brewster, 1963: Fig. 61), jet and glass on these sites, as well as storage facilities have supported this interpretation. For Bevan:

> "[this] segregation and separation... through location and enclosure, and access to imported objects, suggests that this relates to status or preferentially negotiated social relations... appropriated by higher status groups within settlement communities" (1997: 190).

However, this model of a 'two-tier' hierarchy of settlement has been destabilised by the analysis presented above, which suggests that the enclosures do not represent a neat category of monuments. Few appear to have been used for domestic residence, and may well have been

occupied only at certain times in the year, by specific groups. Others may well represent small, fortified farmsteads, or stock corrals. As Gosden and Locke argue from the Ridgeway Project (1998), supported by Payne's geophysical analysis of hillforts in the Danebury Environs (in Cunliffe, 2000)), we cannot make interpretations based on similarities in the form of sites. They suggest rather making enquiry into *particular* histories of occupation, and how these changed over time. However, the excavation of most of these enclosures has been partial, and (apart form Grimthorpe, Stead, 1968) remains unpublished apart from interim reports.

How might we then understand some of the commonalties in this tradition, despite the differences? We can turn our attention to the scale and character of labour expended on these projects, and away from their subsequent histories of occupation. First, we can acknowledge that few of the enclosures appear to be planned as single, planned designs. They are rather ongoing projects (Gosden and Locke, 1998 after Evans, 1988). The symmetry of the architecture of Paddock Hill, Thwing, once again stands out against this general trend, but even here, we can acknowledge that such a monument took years, if not generations, to assume its form. Within this period of time, different ideas, interests and capabilities would have informed and changed the course of the work. They would have required long-standing arrangements and strategies by which the physical resources (timber, tools, food) and social labour, could be assembled repeatedly. This speaks of an ideological and political dimension to such projects, to which different groups were committed and/or coerced in the long-term.

Nor were these ever 'finished' projects. The small-scale tips of chalk rubble onto the banks at Grimthorpe or Staple Howe might be seen as events of 'whitening', rather than heightening, creating a highly visible mnemonic. They broadcasted a maintenance of place, and an attendance to social relations at both a local and regional level. The repeated dumping of food remains, scraps and craft debris (as in the palisade ditches of Staple Howe, Brewster, 1963: 13), would also have reminded people of the time and labour spent in these places.

As Chapter 2 has argued, particular tasks enfold space and time, indeed, they make time out of place. The enclosures may well have been attended to periodically, when the rhythm of other seasonal labours slackened (usually mid-late summer, before harvest, Campbell and Hamilton, 2000). A tension exists here. They brought people together who normally spent their lives living separately in small residential groups, comprised probably of extended families. The practices that occurred in these enclosure bounded disparate groups into a broader sense of identity and community, both through the symbolic effect of their architecture, and through the

physical labour of construction work itself. Such gatherings created opportunities for meetings, exchanges and the negotiations of disputes. But they also therefore created a forum within which particular individuals or groups were able to co-ordinate, coerce and direct the labour of others. However, if more enduring relations of power were reproduced in such practices, they do not appear to have taken the form of residential authority. Rather, we could regard these enclosures as performative spaces - especially Paddock Hill, Thwing - that framed experience people and structured social aggregation. They therefore transformed both the material and physical conditions of social encounters.

4.3 Scarring the land.

In the following section, I want to explore why a discourse of community appears to be of great importance in the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age period in East Yorkshire . I will suggest, in line with Barth (1969), that identity projects tend to be at their most visible when the relations through which they are reproduced are threatened. In the later Bronze Age and early Iron Age period, the large-scale partitioning of the landscape through long-distance linear earthworks suggests that rites of access to land, especially upland pasture, were becoming contentious. I will suggest that this broader discourse of community was being gradually eroded into more segmented group interests, and that it was this transformation in social relations which some of the enclosures were designed to negotiate.

4.3.1 Chronology.

The linear earthworks share a clear morphological relationship with later Neolithic and early Bronze Age funeral monuments. Where they meet, the dyke systems change course to skirt around the barrows (as at Barrow 88, in the Aldro Group, Mortimer, 1905: 60 or Thwing, see Fig. 4.6 and Fig. 4.7), to enclose them within the circuit of their ditches (Barrow 256, Aldro Group, Mortimer, 1905: 61), or to cut straight through them (e.g. Barrow 127, Wharram Percy Group, Mortimer, 1905: 51-52). However, their relationship with the square barrow cemeteries is less clear (see Appendix II and discussion in Chapter 5). Although square barrows frequently abut linear earthworks (as at Leavening Wold and Garton Slack), in other cases they appear to be cut by linear dykes (as with Barrow D/LI, at Cowlam, Stead, 1986 and Wetwang Slack, Dent, 1984a). Excavations at Wetwang and Garton Slack have demonstrated that they continue to be constructed and refashioned into the 1st century B.C. (Brewster, 1980; Dent, 1978, 1981, 1984a).

The earliest date comes from late Bronze Age (Wilberton industry) bronze-casting mould debris, found in a pit inserted into an earthwork bank at Fimber (excavated by Mortimer, Challis and Harding, 1975: 15, Fig. 21:1). A late Bronze age dirk was found under the bank of a linear earthwork at Walkington Wold, which also contained middle-later Iron Age pottery in the primary fill of the ditch (Bartlett and Varley, 1972). Redeposited early Bronze Age material was found in association with early Iron Age finger-tipped and stabbed pottery, in the primary fill of the earthwork bank excavated by the Granthams, near the Tatton Sykes Monument (1965). Similar ceramics have also been found in the earthwork ditches of the 'Great Wolds Dyke' at Thwing (Manby, 1980: 328) and in the second phase of construction at Huggate Dykes (Varley, cited in Dent, 1984c; Challis and Harding, 1975: 161; Halkon, 1993). However, Cardwell (1989) has argued that the pit alignment at Cat Babbleton was probably dug in the later Iron Age, and remodified as a single ditch in the early Roman period.

4.3.2 The character of construction.

The broad range of dates for these features, spanning a millennium, is complemented by the character of their construction. In many cases, short pit alignments precede the building of more continuous lengths of linear earthwork (Powlesland, 1988: 103), as at Caythorpe, Site 8 and Site 10 (Abramson, 1996). At Lady Graves, Fimber (excavated by Mortimer, 1905 and Ehrenberg and Caple, 1982; 1983), a pit alignment separated by small causeways was flanked on both sides by parallel banks. In some cases, the pits survive as permeable lengths in the run of the earthworks, occasionally flanked on one side by a parallel ditch (as at Thwing, see Fig. 4.6). In other cases, that have been 'dug through' to make a single continuous ditch, as at Cat Babbleton (Cardwell, 1989) and again at Caythorpe (Context 1800, Abramson, 1996).

The linear earthworks themselves commonly take the form of single ditches and upcast banks, which can be up dug 1.5 - 2 metres deep, into the chalk bedrock. However, many consist of double or triple-ditched earthworks, as in the dyke preserved in Swinham Wood near Aldro. They sometimes achieve monumental form at key junctures in the landscape, as at Huggate Dykes, where between five and six ditches form a serried range of banks, running along the ridge between two dale heads (Fig. 4.8).

The architectural coherence of these multiple earthworks, or the long-distance systems such as the Great Wolds Dyke, suggests large-scale planning and the organisation of inter-communal labour. However, this is a product of the aerial and plan view; these are not synchronic entities, and like the enclosures, were developed and embellished over time (Ingold, 1997). It has been

common for archaeologists to section these earthworks *across* their width, to sample ditch deposits. However, excavations *along* their length are more helpful, as they reveal the scale and organisation of labour involved. The stakeholes or posts found under the western and eastern banks of the earthworks at Fimber (Ehrenberg and Caple, 1982; 1983), suggest that they may have been marked out before digging began. Most appear to have been gang-dug, in sections or pits (e.g. Caythorpe, Abramson, 1996; West Heslerton, Powesland *et al.*, 1986; Cat Babbleton, Cardwell, 1989). At Wharram Grange Crossroads, a segmented ditch with abutting terminals also suggests this character of piecemeal construction (see Fig. 4. 9). Mortimer's careful recording of the banks and ditches adjacent to the Sykes Memorial likewise led him to believe that;

> "in some places first one side of the rampart and then the other had been cast up. This proves clearly that different lengths of ditches were excavated by separate gangs of workmen, in advance of each other" (1905: 377).

In this case, the junctures in the ditch and banks would have been 'readable' as the segmented contribution of each group to the overall project, creating an architectural expression of co-operative labour, whilst keeping a discrete and individual record of the work of each gang. The alternative explanation is that these represent season-works; projects of labour which were undertaken only at particular times of the year. If this was the case, the 'building line' breaks in the earthwork ditches or changes in bank height and weathered colour would have spoken of the temporality of these projects, gradually gathering shape over time. Where they have been excavated, they appear to have been regularly maintained, with repeated episodes of recutting to remove lenses and washes of silt.

Both interpretations reveal that these linear systems took years to accomplish and were the result of repeated commitments of hours of labour. Also, the long-distance runs of these primary earthworks suggest that they were a matter of inter-communal decision, even though their actual execution could have been organised locally.

4.3.3 Landscape character.

What did these linear earthworks *do?* At first glance, there are two basic patterns in the early earthworks which probably date to this later Bronze Age/early Iron Age period (Fig. 4.10). (For a fuller discussion of the developed, later Iron Age form of these systems, see Chapter 5.1). First, long-range earthworks, such as the Great Wolds Dyke, run along the topography, usually just at the shoulder or break of slope, dividing valleys from the high spines of chalk. Another

earthwork on the other side of the Great Wolds Valley parallels this position. Around the High Wolds, the area of Aldro is similarly 'cut off' from the surrounding lowlands by a series of earthworks. This landscape position is also emulated by earthworks running along the southern spine of the Wolds. Most of these dykes contain small breaks in their length as if to allow passage through them, up into the broader plateaus of the high chalk, from lower lying valleys or slacks.

Second, these long-distance systems are embellished with a series of small works, which run at right angles, as if prescribing the rhythmic movement of people and stock. For example, earthworks converge from Tun Dale in the north and Frendale to the south, to meet and climb the steep ascent to the saddle or plateau of chalk at Huggate - the narrrowest crossing point of the Wolds (see Fig. 4.8). At the head of this multiplication of banks, a major linear earthwork runs north-south, dividing the high spine into a west and east side. Meanwhile, people moving up into the same land from the east were directed up the head of Horse Dale by another linear earthwork. Mortimer describes the nature of these subsidiary systems, connecting:

> "hill to hill and valley to valley... [often crossing] a neck of high ground from the narrow end of one valley to that of the adjoining one" (1905: 369-70).

The monumentality of the banks at these crossing points between dale heads highlights this as an entry point onto the High Wold plateau. It marks points of access and meetings of people. In some cases, as John Phillips noted at Fimber, they also appear to "embrace and enclose" sources of water (in Mortimer, 1905: 366), where such aggregations would have been common.

However, in other locales where access is gained subsequently into vast peneplains of high chalk, these regions are further subdivided by a series of earthworks, running out radially from dale heads, to take in swathes of land. These can be seen clearly in the area around Kilham, where the highest ridge of chalk is again split into two halves from which earthworks run out in parallel, across the Wolds, to individual dale heads (Fig. 4.11).

The scale of these works, and their appearance when freshly dug, must have been awe-inspiring, creating huge white scars that snaked along the shoulders of dales, or cut suddenly across high ridges, dominating the field of view. In the summer, the sea fret comes in from the coast and swathes the High Wolds in a thick fog. Visibility narrows, herds become shapeless masses, and all sense of orientation is lost. At this time of the year then, the earthworks would also have acted as guides for people and stock in the hours of drifting blindness, until mid morning when the fret was burned off by the sun.

These linear systems have traditionally been seen as defensive (see Pitt Rivers, paraphrased in Greenwell, 1877: 124, cited in Chapter 1), but Mortimer rather argued that such works guarded against "the sudden incursions of freebooters [rather] than a conquering foe" (1905: 377). He speculated that they may have been constructed to protect cattle, and provide sheltered tracks which connected sources of water and places of residence.

Chris Fenton Thomas has also described these subdivisions as pasturing 'estates' which helped define adjacent use of prime summer grazing (1999). From the landscape character sketched in Chapter 3, it is likely that these thin soils were primarily used for pasture. (Although small-scale cultivation was certainly occurring, early-middle Iron Age field systems have not survived ploughing on the High Wolds. However, when they do emerge, in the latest Iron Age rectilinear systems, they *are* archaeologically visible (Chapter 6), and it is therefore likely that early fields were concentrated in lower lying areas of the valleys, Stoertz, 1997: 55). Importantly, they marked out:

> "strategic places in a fluid, open landscape whose meaningful places were understood by people on the move, rather than static settlement and landownership." (Fenton Thomas, 1999: 97).

He argues that these communities may have been transhumant, making long-distance seasonal movements between different regions of the landscape (1999). Fenton Thomas contrasts this system with Barrett's (1994) middle-later Bronze Age model of small-scale, enclosed settlement, characterised by short-fallow agricultural systems and large-scale land divisions in Wessex. However, there is such a poor grasp on the character of settlement in East Yorkshire during this period, it is probably more reasonable to conclude that some sections of the population at least were journeying with stock on a day-to-day and/or seasonal basis between lowland and upland areas.

Evidence for wear along these earthworks (at Walkington Wold, Bartlett and Varley, 1972 and Riplingham, Wacher, 1965), suggests that they functioned as hollow-ways or drove-routes, along which sheep and cattle were driven. Others appear to have acted as gateways through which people and animals were forced to pass. This resulted in the creation of worn pathways through entrance-ways in banks (e.g. Duggleby Lodge, Lawton, 1992; at Fimber, Buckland and Henderson, pers.comm., and the trampled wear over the causeway separating pits in Area E, also at Fimber, Caple and Ehrenberg, 1982 and 1983).

Although Piggot's model of 'ranching' boundaries has been criticised by archaeologists working on other linear earthwork systems (1942, cited in Bradley, Entwhistle and Raymond, 1994), the Salisbury Plain land divisions appear to separate and enclose communities. The character of domestic settlement and variation in ceramic fabrics on Salisbury plain has been interpreted as evidence that adjacent communities sought to distinguish themselves from each other. Landscape 'corridors' containing a range of ecotones were enclosed by earthworks which have therefore been read primarily as a form of discourse of the Plain's inhabitants about themselves. However, the Wolds systems do not operate in this way. Although the subdivisions of high pasture suggest that groups were defining their rites of place and points of access, it also suggests that there was axial movement up into elevated areas of high grazing from the surrounding valleys and dales. The earthworks were therefore also concerned with places and times of aggregation, directing groups as they gathered, dispersing them into adjacent, demarcated areas of high pasture, and controlling their subsequent exit.

4.3.4 Rites of place.

I have outlined three aspects of the linear earthwork systems: the long period of time over which they were built and their continued maintenance and embellishment; the scale of decision making and labour involved; and finally, the way in which they conditioned certain routes of movement and means of access, between different landscape zones.

How might we interpret these long-term transformations? They might be seen as the sedimentation of long-held rites of place, as Fenton Thomas has argued (1999). Francis Pryor, too, has argued that in the later prehistoric field systems of the Fens:

> "the rapid dividing-up of entire landscapes would indicate that pre-existing tenurial relationships were well understood and formalised." (1998: 150).

Fleming has also suggested that the co-axial fieldsystems of the Dartmoor Reaves represent a *collective* land-holding system rather than an imposed system of communal land management (1988: 70). The coherence of adjacent land divisions can be interpreted in this light as arising from "agreements between neighbouring communities" (1988: 108). However, the common axis and longer-ranging reaves are interpreted as evidence of affiliation to some broader sense of community.

The analysis presented above has sought to characterise the piecemeal and fragmentary quality of the linear earthwork systems of the Wolds. These indicate long-term projects that gradually

monumentalised particular rite of use of place. However, they also transformed the conditions through which these rites were negotiated, witnessed and attested. They altered dramatically the experience of moving through this landscape; directing people and stock to enter and exit regions at particular points and moments in time. This was bodily control, framing orientation, movement and hexis. The architecture of the earthworks was one of surveillance through which social gatherings could be monitored.

The earthworks also channelled people and stock together into particular landscape zones. These may have been traditional, even ancestral, pasturing grounds. However, they may equally have made new, radical divisions of such lands, in favour of some groups and at the expense of others. What may have been a matter of verbal negotiation (prompted perhaps by landscape features such as old monuments, trees, patches of woodland or springs) was being given permanent, architectural expression. Once erected, these monumental works could be modified but not easily erased (or at least, not without a great deal of effort). Such effects suggests that rites were contentious, and that conflicts over access to grazing land were common. The monumentality of these earthworks therefore *projected* rites forward into the future; they created the conditions through which inheritance became possible. They therefore suggest that genealogy itself was becoming increasingly important.

4.4 Remembering the dead: concepts of ancestry.

In the following section, I intend to explore this discourse of inheritance through concepts of ancestry and genealogy. As Chapter 2 has suggested, the nature of such discourse can be apprehended through the analysis of the character, frequency and intensity of those practices which brought people into contact with their past.

It is evident that the linear earthworks referred to, and incorporated, features that were of long-standing importance to these communities. Above Burdale, a linear earthwork terminates at the flat-topped calcite pillar of the Fairystones, and coalesces at springs such as Tancred Pit Hole (Fig. 4.12). The linear earthworks 'swerve' at times, around absent features, such as a 'kink' in the double-ditched linear earthwork between Glebe Cottage and Paddock Hill, Thwing. Not all of the 'gaps' in these circuits need be entrances; both of these may rather indicate the presence of ancient trees. The excavation of a linear earthwork ditch at the head of Birdsall Dale just below Aldro Farm, revealed that it had been cut into a well-established fault-line in the chalk (Fenton Thomas and Wagner, pers.comm.). Vegetation may have grown differently over the top of the fault, marking out a line that may have been believed to have ancestral authority and origin. Earlier prehistoric features such as the cursus monuments of the Great Wolds Valley

(between Burton Fleming and Rudston), appear to influence the axial course of alignments which either run parallel with or cut across the valley, to intersect them at right angles.

However, the clearest relationship with past features appears to be between round barrows and linear earthworks (Table 4.1 summarises the incidences where there a relationship is indicated through spatial proximity or physical association/intervention, see Fig. 4.7). At Barrow 88 (Aldro Group, Mortimer, 1905: 60), a triple earthwork encircles the mound of the barrow, and Barrow 104 (Garrowby Wolds Group, Mortimer, 1905: 136) is enclosed completely by a diverging earthwork bank. Barrow 38 of the Calais Wold Group was heightened deliberately with upcast material from the linear ditch, enhancing its appearance within the course of the earthwork. A small causeway is left to the side of this monument, suggesting the preservation of a rite of way which had been routinely orientated on the barrow.

Other earthworks swerve to enclose barrows (e.g. Barrow 113 in the Aldro Group, also Syndale Bottom and Fair Field), as if emphasising their appropriation of the feature. In other cases, where the linear feature begins/terminates at a round barrow, it is possible that a communal claim to the monument or shared sense of history was being acknowledged (e.g. Crowsdale, Woldgate, Huggate Pasture, Craike Hill).

Occasionally, this relationship took a more active interventionary form. The scattered remains of a Food Vessel, Collared Urn, cremated bone, flint and a piece of bronze wire, were found in the bank make-up of a linear earthwork near the Tatton Sykes' Memorial. In this case, a round barrow had been completely obliterated by a linear dyke (Grantham, 1965: 356). The earthwork that had cut through the centre of Barrow 256 of the Aldro Group used its soil to enhance the banks profile, spreading fragmentary remains of cinerary urn, cremated bone, flint and sheep/goat bone, across the face of this new work (Mortimer, 1905: 61). Another earthwork similarly bisected Barrow 127 (in the Wharram Percy Group, Mortimer, 1905: 51-52), leaving the remains of the mound to resemble upcast banks, but leaving a cremation intact in the eastern core of the barrow. Mortimer saw such practices as acts of desecration, in which round barrows were:

> "destroyed in a ruthless manner, probably by a people having no regard for the monuments so carefully and so laboriously raised, by cutting a trench right through it and squandering the once treasured contents" (1905: 52).

In all of these cases, it is clear that these monuments were being made into 'features' of the linear systems. They can be seen as part of a programme of legitimacy, by which long-held rites were nominally respected. However, although these acts made use of their existing meanings and references, they co-opted them into a newly politicised discourse on belonging. The linear earthwork systems sequestered them into *particular* claims of place. I would argue that before these transformations, later prehistoric communities had a generalised sense of ancestry, as an immanent presence that resided in these ancient monuments and other places of ancestral meaning in the landscape. The practices discussed above re-activated the dead as a strategic resource for the living, making them an active communal presence within current political projects.

4.5 Sorting practices.

Latour argues that people always sift or sort through the resources and concepts they have 'to hand', making a new amalgam of technologies and practices through which they reproduce their understanding of the world. There is no simple linear history; people constantly weave back-and-forth between past and present, in acts of 'promiscuous borrowing' (1993: 75). Traditions are always the *provisional* result of connection amongst such entities. We have always sorted through practices in this manner, Latour argues, so that it is *"the sorting that makes the time, not the times that make the sorting"* (1993: 76, *his emphasis*).

In the early Iron Age, the ancestral dead were being sifted and sorted into a direct relationship with particular claims on place (Barrett, 1999c). This encounter with their remains (quite literally, in the cases discussed above) may help us to understand the appearance of small offerings and depositions at the edge of these mounds. A lugged vessel and finger-tipped jar were dug into the edge of Greenwell's barrow XVVII, containing red deer antler, cattle bone and flint (Challis and Harding, 1975: Fig, 21, no. 4 and 5). In recent excavations at Cowlam, an early Iron Age jar containing charcoal, animal bone and chalk debris, was set within a scoop in the infilled outer ditch of the early Bronze Age barrow (Watts and Rahtz, 1984). Fragmentary sherds, perhaps representing small, non-funerary offerings, have also been found at Walkington (Bartlett and Varley, 1972) and Three Dikes (Greenwell, 1877: 136).

Depositional acts were reiterating the architectural relationship expressed with these ancestral features, making direct, intercessory gestures. However, in a number of cases these offerings took the form of human remains (see Table 4.2, Fig. 4.13). At Garton Slack, a cremation was inserted into the edge of round Mortimer's Barrow 82 (Brewster, 1980), in a plain biconical jar.

At Towthorpe a contracted inhumation was also cut into a round barrow, again with a plain, round shouldered jar typical of later Bronze Age/early Iron Age assemblages (Mortimer, 1905: Fig. 29). Another inhumation, with a bronze knife, was inserted into the barrow at Kity Hill (Mortimer's C99, 1905: 149). At Riggs Farm, two shallow scoops containing cremated bones in a round shouldered jar and biconical bowl were cut into a round barrow on separate occasions (Mortimer, 1905: 147). Similar burials occur at Ganton Wold (Greenwell, 1877: 174, Fig. 92) and Painesthorpe Barrow 111 (Mortimer, 1905: 128, Fig. 328). Five undated crouched inhumations were found by Bartlett in round barrows at Rudston and Burton Fleming (discussed in Stead, 1991). An urned cremation was also inserted into the epicentre of the enclosure at Paddock Hill, Thwing. This was a subtly different gesture of ancestral association made within this modified henge monument (Manby, 1980: 355).

Other burials of this period are not interred in round barrows, but rather occur in close proximity to them, such as the small cremation cemetery at Garton Slack, excavated by the Granthams, (Brewster, 1980). At Aldro 108, a cremation was interred with a burnt and fused Ha C/early la Tène iron implement, bronze blade and ferrule (possibly from a wagon pole shaft), and two glass discs mounted in bronze sheets, with fingertip-decorated sherds, close to large numbers of earlier prehistoric barrows (Mortimer, 1905: Challis and Harding, 1975).

These examples suggest the existence of an early Iron Ag tradition of rare cremation *and* inhumation, associated with late Neolithic and early Bronze Age monuments (Manby, 1980; Wainwright and Longworth, 1969). The work involved in the creation of these linear systems allowed particular groups to handle ancient cremated and inhumated bone. This new burial rite may well have emulated an earlier burial tradition. What is significant is that it was the recent dead who were conjoined with the living in this project. These were not ancestors, but rather named and known *forebears*. The shift in discourse, from a broad ancestral relationship to a much tighter one of genealogy, parallels the change in landscape discourse from a communal sense of tenure, to a more closely defined proprietorial and inheritable claim upon land (Barrett, 1994: 145).

4.6 Squaring the circle.

It is within this discourse that we should understand the beginning of the square barrow burial rite. The earliest burials probably date to the late 5th - early 4th century B.C., although the rite becomes common from the 3rd - 1st century B.C. (Stead, 1979 and 1991). Appendix II presents a landscape analysis of their location and form within the study area outlined in Chapter 3,

including both developed cemeteries and groups of less than ten barrows, which were excluded by Bevan from his analysis in 1994. Bevan justified this exclusion by arguing that small numbers of monuments represented whereas the patterns identifiable in square barrow cemeteries could be more rigorously tested (1994: 6). However, as he noted, this automatically excluded over half of the La Tène burials, which tend to occur in such small clusters. Only one of these cemeteries has been excavated, but this has proved to be the earliest known example. Clearly, if we are to understand the nature of the early stages of this rite, these barrow smaller clusters must be considered.

Many of the small square barrow groups or isolated barrows favour elevated positions on the shoulders or tops of the Wolds, in close proximity to linear earthworks, such as Raisthorpe Wold (Fig. 4.14). In this respect, they mimic the position of round barrow cemeteries. Cowlam occupies a similar position (Fig. 4.15) and is the earliest dated cemetery, consisting in total of seven barrow burials laid on the surface of the chalk, surrounded by square enclosure ditches and covered by low mounds (Greenwell, 1877: 208-133 and Stead, 1986). The burials were accompanied by a variety La Tène I influenced bracelets, a brooch and glass bead necklace. Importantly, two flat inhumations were also part of the cemetery, and this may indicate a rare incidence where we can see a local burial rite in transition.

Other square barrows are found adjacent, or in close proximity, to round barrows, as at Hanging Grimston (Mortimer's barrow 59, 1905: 102), and (from aerial photographs) Willy Howe North, Rillington, Washdike Spring, Buckton Holms and Dogstroop Plantation (Fig. 4.16). In other cases, the architecture of these barrows appear to deliberately 'play' with tradition. At Kity Hill, a square barrow may have been built over a round barrow in the middle Iron Age (Mortimer, 1905: 136), and there are a number of 'round' barrows of middle-late Iron Age date within square barrow cemeteries, which will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

By the time the square barrow burial rite was introduced in the middle Iron Age, there was an existing burial rite which had formed a close relationship with earlier prehistoric monuments. This was part of an ongoing transformation of relations between people and place. The landscape analysis presented here has suggested that small barrow groups emulated the character, location and relationships of this early Iron Age rite. Even if square barrows were influenced by the Continent, they were refigured within an existing discourse concerning the dead. They became part of the political resources through which people established more permanent tenurial and genealogical claims to place. Rather than the product of a foreign

element, they can therefore be seen as part of a continuous long-term strategy of landscape development.

4.7 Something old, something new; something borrowed, something blue.

We can now return to Greenwell's understandable confusion over the pendant from W57 at Arras. In the accepted model of his day, he found it hard to understand why Continental invaders should be interested in the material fragments of earlier prehistoric pasts in the region. After all, in the square barrow burial rite, these migrated communities were creating their own genealogy.

But in light of the practices described above, we can see how the pendant embodies a dialectic between retrospective relations with an ancestral past, and projective relations with the future. The miniature bronze axe cast this woman as someone with a powerful ancestral presence in the landscape; an authoritarian and legitimate presence in times of change. It was a token of respect, a charm, and of remembrance. Moreover, her blue bead bound her into contemporary relations of no less significance or power; relations that involved the exchange ideas and practices, as well as material things.

4.8 Conclusion.

In the following chapter, I will develop these themes, exploring the nature of these changes in social relations and ideological practices. This chapter has sought to characterise the historical context from which the square barrow burial rite emerged. In so doing it has challenged the large-scale invasion models of the 19th and early 20th century. It has demonstrated that such rites were taken up by a community with an established burial practice, in which the dead were 'tacked' onto ancestral monuments. This practice has been explained as a strategy through which the long-term division of the landscape was being structured.

The analysis has explored the role of linear earthworks as means of controlling access and movement (especially grazing activities) within the day-to-day and seasonal routines of local communities. Whilst particular sections of the community may have been seasonally mobile, for the most part people appear to have resided in small-scale, extended families. They may have been bound into a sense of broader communal identity during periodic aggregations at enclosed sites. I have suggested that rather than representing the domestic residences of an elite, these locales acted as mechanisms through which an increasingly fragmented community could be physically and socially 'assembled'; providing a place for practices and performances

through which the 'close-knit' of social relations could, at least, be rewoven symbolically. In this sense, they may disguise the very period in which this sense of identity was actually unravelling, hence their abandonment in the middle Iron Age.

As Barrett agues, transformations in structural conditions *only* come to have effect through "the subjectivities of those who inhabited them" (1994: 6). Long-term changes in the division of the landscape, and architectural practices concerning the living and the dead, can be seen as the outcome of a fragmentation of inter-communal relations, which cannot be disentangled from more permanent tenurial claims upon land. However, these changes also represent the conditions through which those perceptions of identity and senses of belonging were reproduced. They therefore sponsored new relations and conditions of authority, rather than merely being the sedimentation of long-held rites. The next chapter will address the historical consequences of this transformation in relations and identity practice.

Who takes hands?

Who takes hands
to this work? Who
hacks the pastures,
shoulder from hock?
Splayed like a fleece,
nicked and cut. Who
takes it for their own?

Whose words carve
its flesh? White bone
riven red. Blows
that bloody
smashed brows.

Who buries the trace
of heel and hoof,
that heeafes the flock
to its grazing? Who
nibbles and snips
what was close-knit?

The furrows are too deep
for a sowing. What crop
can we reap? Who
is ground under foot?

Who chews at its corpse?
Makes the land weep
clay and ash: snags the dead,
like wool on the thorn.
Who asks where
we belong?

Mothers, our distaff line
has spun us an open-weave:
our threads are seen. Our yarn
unravels...

Chapter 5.

'A forged glamour': identity and transformation in the middle-late Iron Age landscape of East Yorkshire.

5.1 Introduction.

This chapter will explore the development of the square barrow burial rite as one of a series of practices through which identity was reproduced in the middle - later Iron Age of East Yorkshire (defined as 4th-1st century B.C.). Developing the argument made in the last chapter, it will explore the ways in which community relations were further fragmented by discourses of identity and place.

Continued modifications of the linear earthwork systems were used to frame particular locales for inhabitation. Strong genealogical relations with these places were reproduced by their repeated domestic occupation and by the burial of generations of dead. This discourse will be set within the context of other practices which routinely dispersed these social groups, threatening their cohesion. In a period characterised by inter-group tension and rivalry, I will argue that the burial rite was a key practice through which both local and long distance relations were reproduced. Within this climate, the latter skein of relations became an axis of not only political, but also ideological authority. The cemeteries became performative arenas in which particular categories of identity were authorised, and the analysis will suggest that these became increasingly prescribed during the history of the rite. I will explore the consequences of this control over the identity of others for the structuring of relations between people and place.

The following sections will draw upon two pieces of analysis. First, a landscape analysis of the position of square barrow groups and cemeteries, in relation to topography, water, settlement features, linear earthworks and earlier prehistoric monuments (Appendix II). Second, a detailed analysis of the square barrow burial rite itself (Appendix III).

5.2 Framing place, framing practice.

5.2.1 Droveways, dales and architectural devices.

In the middle-late Iron Age, linear earthworks continued to be erected, modified and embellished in East Yorkshire. The primary axes of these systems (such as the Great Wolds Dyke) were enlarged by a series of subsidiary banks and ditches, further subdividing and defining elevated areas of the high chalk. However, increased attention was also given to routes of access between these areas and the valleys and slacks below. Using three contrasting case studies, I will suggest that this monumental architecture was being used to frame the convergence of people and animals, in their routine rhythms of inhabitation. The analysis will suggest that particular locales were being defined as appropriate places of long-term residence for the living *and* the dead. It will seek to understand this practice in terms of the associations of these places in day-to-day life.

5.2.1.1 Wetwang - Garton Slack.

Wetwang and Garton form a continuous slack, located on the dipslope of the Wolds (centre SE 090 651). They open out from the meeting point of a series of dales to the north-west (Fimber, Broad Dale and Bessingdale; Bray 1981; Ehrenberg and Caple, 1983, 1985), to form a shallow, dry valley, curving gently to the south-east. Flanked on either side by the open rise of the valley sides, the skies have a narrower arc than on the tops of the High Wolds (see Fig. 3.8). The north side of the slack is dissected by small, south-flowing gullies, rising towards the chalk ridge and plateau of Life Hill. The south side is less steep, and the chalk slackens in relief along the course of the valley, as it opens out into the spring and stream-rich environment around Elmswell and Eastburn, on the edge of Driffield.

The slack is defined by two major linear earthwork elements, which appear to pre-date the construction of a major square barrow cemetery in the late 4th-3rd century B.C. (Fig. 5.1). One runs across the head of the slack, cutting across to its northern side to run along the midslope of the valley, before rising with the topography to run along the chalk ridge. On the tops, it intersects with another linear system to form a 'v' shape entrance at the head of Warren Dale.

The second earthwork runs parallel to the first, but is displaced to the south, so that it runs just above the base of slack. Together, the two earthworks frame the northern side of the valley as a 'corridor'. Beginning together at Blealands Nook, they form an entranceway into the slack, channelling movement along its course. The slack provides a natural routeway between enclosed areas of elevated ground to the north, and the permanent water sources around Elmswell to the east. It would have therefore been a place in which groups routinely aggregated and moved together down into the shelter of the valley, as well as the point at which they

dispersed into separate areas of grazing. The earthworks framed these points of access and egress and these rhythms of movement within the wider landscape.

The conditioning factor in these movements may well have been cattle; they require at least 10-12 gallons of water per day (especially during lactation), compared with sheep who gain most of their moisture requirements from grazing (unless on a winter diet of dry fodder, Fraser, 1945; Hunt, 1997). Also, whereas sheep feed by nibbling on the lush tips of downland grass, the bulk grazing required for cattle is more easily provided by longer-stemmed, lusher valley pasture (Bell, 1971).

Despite its etymology, Wetwang is famed locally for its dryness (Smith, 1937). In the late 18th century, Lord Bathurst's agent noted that "water is much here wanted", and its inhabitants were obliged to "drive their Cattle 3 miles for water", to the Elmswell springs and brooks (Sykes' Papers and Letters 1770-1782: 38, cited in Harris, 1961: 35). There would have been times when water was more locally available; Brewster records one winter when the valley floor was filled "from edge to edge" by the melting of snow sheets, cascading off frozen soils, (1980: 5). However, this was not a permanent nor reliable source. Also, although well-drained colluvium covered the chalk gravels, this was not deep, giving rise to a "sweet lush herbage of dwarfish growth, thickly intermingled with furze and stunted thorns" (Howard, 1835: 112), rather than lush water meadow. A "great deal of the Land [was] very Bad": unable to sustain wheat (Strickland, 1812: 145); it was only used for pasture, barley, oats and peas, and even then, had to be allowed to lie fallow for "several years" ('Old Acct' cited in Harris, 1961: 24).

Although there is evidence of Neolithic-Bronze Age funerary and domestic activity in the slack, it was only in the middle Iron Age that it assumed a permanent residential character (see Section 5.3). Yet the environmental sketch suggests that in later prehistory people would still have had to make daily journeys for watering and grazing out of these valleys. What was being framed by these earthworks was not a locale in which all of these resources were immediately 'to hand', but rather regions associated with the day-to-day traffic and aggregation of social groups and their stock.

5.2.1.2 Burton Fleming.

This landscape character is repeated at Vicarage Closes, Burton Fleming (centre TA 073 724). This is the point at which the Great Wolds Valley is faulted at right angles to its west-east axis, turning south to Rudston, before resuming its original course. Here, a series of multiple-ditched

linear earthworks dissect the elevated ground to the north-west, into a series of broad swathes (Fig. 5.2). They run down from these heights, towards the valley base, so that their architecture converges to form a series of funnels. They terminate abruptly at a series of banks, ditches and pit alignments, which cut transversely across the head of the dale. Gateways in these features directed the bodily movement and reaggregation of people and herds into a long tunnel-like droveway.

A scatter of pits in the vicinity of these earthworks suggests that this may also be an area of open settlement, like Wetwang - Garton Slack. This residential locale is framed by linear earthworks directing people, animals and practices into place. What makes the Great Wolds Valley distinctive is the presence of the Gypsey Race; a stream which may well have been permanent in prehistory, with a strong seasonal quality to its flow (see further discussion in section 5.2). Environmental analysis from the valley suggests that it was characterised by dry, grazed, short-turf grassland (indicated by *Pupilla muscorum, Vallonia excentrica* and *Helicella itala*), with no evidence of shade-loving species (Thew and Wagner, in Stead, 1991: 150).

5.2.1.3 Summary.

These two case studies suggest that in the middle Iron Age period the linear earthworks in the Wolds were being used to frame the aggregation of people and stock as they moved between grazing lands and water sources. They would also have framed other routine movements in and out of the valleys. As with the major systems discussed in Chapter 4, these architectural devices changed and directed the scale and location of encounters between people. It is likely that the inter-communal nature of droves and tracks also led to tensions and rivalries. This convergence of people, practice and place highlights the significance of these locales for the middle Iron Age communities of East Yorkshire.

5.2.2 Ancient works.

In Chapter 4, it was suggested that the early phases of the square barrow rite were structured through a relationship with the ancient dead. The practice of framing place also drew on this relationship. Although Bevan dismisses the relationship between square barrow cemeteries and ancient monuments as statistically insignificant (1994: 53, 1998), the presence of ancient monuments within these cemeteries were clearly respected, most notably at Wetwang Slack, where a cluster of late Neolithic/early Bronze Age barrows was used to demarcate the eastern edge of the cemetery. The largest barrow (Barrow D, Dent, 1979: 27) was encircled by a middle Iron Age linear earthwork, which formed a discontinuous ditch running along the base

of slack, delineating the southern margin of the cemetery (Fig. 5.3). The axial alignment of the Burton Fleming - Rudston cemeteries follows that of the cursus monuments running along the valley base and sides. (Dent, 1995). Indeed the dense accumulation of cemeteries in this fault-twisted stretch of the valley may well relate to the presence of particularly impressive ancestral features, such as the cursus themselves, Maiden's Grave Henge Monument and the Rudston monolith.

Other medium-large cemeteries such as Kilham, Whitedyke Holes Plantation and Garton Slack show similar principles of architectural reference (Appendix II and Table 1). In all of these, square barrows were raised in close proximity to extant mounds of earlier monuments. As Chapter 4 has argued, this relationship is even stronger for the small groups of barrows found in elevated topographic positions (Fig. 5.4), which associate with and emulate earlier cemeteries in their skylined position, as well as in as physical association (e.g. Cowlam, Stonepit Hill and Pasture Cottages).

The linear earthworks framed these ancient monuments as features and in so doing charged them with contemporary political power. At Buckton Holms, Raisthorpe Wold, Vicarage Closes and Danes Graves (Dent, 1984), the funnel-necked convergence of earthworks were erected around a series of earlier prehistoric monuments. They therefore directed people into association with them during their day-to-day routines. The discourse being structured here therefore appears to be exploiting the mythical or ancestral status of these monuments to legitimise contemporary claims upon the landscape (Bradley 1998a).

The deliberate architectural emulation of earlier prehistoric barrows by middle Iron Age funerary monuments may also have been designed to blur the boundaries between past and present communities. Many Iron Age barrows are in fact less than perfect squares or subrectangles (especially a late series of burials at Wetwang Slack, including WS180, WS145, WS270 and WS309), making the distinction between round and square, Bronze Age or Iron Age, difficult to uphold. There are also distinctively round barrows of Iron Age date, within the Rudston cemeteries (e.g. R51, R101, R95) and Garton Station (GS4, GS5, GS7 and GS10). Sheppard argued that many of the burials at Eastburn were in fact circular rather than square, although no detailed plans were made in this airfield salvage excavation (1939). Excavating Skipwith Common in 1855, William Proctor also described the look of mounds which although "they are circular... [were each] surrounded by a square fossa" (1855: 187). Importantly, Stead has been able to prove that the upcast mound material often slumped and eroded to form a

central round mound. At ground, or eye-level, this would remove the clear distinction between round and square mounds (1991: 7). This blurring of architectural form may reflect the (re)creation of particular kinds of histories - narratives of inhabitation which stretched back and appropriated those of prehistory.

5.2.3 Places for the living as places for the dead.

The linear earthworks not only framed movement within the landscape but also particular places of residence for both the living and the dead. Although there are very few excavated settlement sites of the period, their relationship with the linear earthworks indicates a change in the character, scale and location of domestic residence during this period. At Wetwang Slack, open settlement was located on the midslope of the valley, comprising round houses, pits and four-post structures (Dent, 1984a). The pit clusters at Vicarage Closes, Burton Fleming, as discussed above, were also enclosed within a converging series of linear earthworks, and at Burton Agnes East and West Field, dense settlement features were enfolded by two enclosures which flank either side of a natural routeway from the Plain, up onto the Woldgate (see Fig. 4.1, Rigby and Stead, forthcoming). At least some of the features at the latter site are middle-late Iron Age in date (Rigby and Stead, pers.comm.) as are pits at Nafferton, clustered within the right angle of two linear systems where they cut down from higher ground towards the head of Kendale. At Hanging Cliff, Kilham, another scatter of pits sit on the side of the dale where two linear earthworks converge to form a 'crossroads' (Fig. 5.5). The earthworks often framed places that already had associations with domestic or residential activity (see Chapter 4). However, by marking out nominal boundaries to these zones they also structured continuity in the nature of its inhabitation.

This framing of residence was not, however, solely concerned with the living. Square barrows often have a direct physical relationship with linear earthworks (Table 2), such as Wetwang Slack, Flotmanby Wold and Foxholes, or enjoy a relationship of respect, such as Ling Hill, where a ditch detours around an isolated barrow (Appendix II, Fig. 5.6). The barrow cemetery at Rudston North clusters up against a double-ditched linear earthwork, but others sit within right angled linear systems as at East Gate Bridge. Without excavation, it is difficult to disentangle the relationship. However, at Kirkburn, square barrows overlie a linear ditch (Stead, 1991: 25), and at Wetwang and Garton Slack, the square barrow cemetery is laid out along a primary 'frame' of earthworks (Ditch C, D, E and F, running west-east and probably met by a subsidiary north-south earthwork), which are subsequently remodelled and subdivided (Brewster, 1975, 1980, 1981a, 1982; Dent, forthcoming). A different kind of relationship again

is found at Cowlam, where Barrow D is bisected by two parallel earthworks (Stead, 1986: Fig. 4.15).

In contrast to the examples discussed in Chapter 4, medium-very large cemeteries are seldom found in elevated topographic positions (Appendix II). The dead appear to be associated increasingly and repeatedly with places such as dale heads and bases, in which groups converged. This is where people were *reiteratively* interred. These cemeteries sometimes sit at the head of valleys or slacks (as at Vicarage Closes, Burton Fleming and Foxholes within the Great Wolds Valley), along their midslopes (as at Wetwang - Garton Slack, but also within between Burton Fleming and Rudston), or the point at which they opened out into the Plain (as at Eastburn). They can occupy the centre of a convergent series of earthworks (as at Vicarage Closes and also Danes Graves, Fig. 5.7), or be contained within a region or block of land which was broadly delineated by earthworks (as at Wetwang Slack, Fig. 5.8).

It is important to stress that there is no simple chronological relationship between the earthworks and square barrow cemeteries of middle Iron Age East Yorkshire. The archaeology rather suggests a long-term dialectic between these two forms of monumental architecture.

5.3 Waters of chaos.

5.3.1 Introduction.

The analysis presented above indicates that linear earthworks ordered a particular rhythm of grazing and herding regimes. Moreover their funnel-shaped mouths, double-ditched corridors and converging banks suggest that stock were being handled in significant numbers, possibly consisting of conjoined herds or flocks from a number of households (by analogy with Pryor, 1998; see also Stoertz, 1997: 82). I have already suggested that access to water resources was of considerable importance in later prehistory. Through the analysis of the close association of linear earthworks and square barrow cemeteries I want to extend this argument further to suggest that water was central to middle Iron Age discourses of fertility and inhabitation through which relations between people, animals and substances were structured and reproduced.

5.3.2 Water on the Wolds.

In 1855, authors were still attributing the sparse population of the High Wolds to a "want of water" (Knox, 1855: 56). As Chapter 3 has noted, this absence contrasts with the abundance of streams, rivers, meres and marshes in the Vales of Pickering and York and in Holderness

(Sheppard, 1957, 1958; Flenley, 1990). Permanent water sources also existed around Elmswell, Kirkburn and Eastburn in the form of springs which emerged from the dipslope at the edge of the chalk. However, on the Wolds, water was a problem.

Rainwater drains quickly through the permeable chalk bedrock on the Wolds into an underlying aquifer (Versey, 1949; Foster, Parry and Chiltern 1976; Foster 1985; 1987; Fox-Strangeways 1906). It is only retained over rare pockets of clay, such as the dolines, although these appear to have been silting up in later prehistory (Hayfield, Pouncett and Wagner, 1995). Surface water would only have been present in the deepest of dales on the High Wolds, such as Waterdale and Burdale, where it was able to penetrate the ground surface to form small swampy areas or springs (Hayfield, Pouncett and Wagner, 1995: 393), or where it emerged perched over marl beds (Aylwin and Ward, 1969). Proper streams flow:

> "only where they have been excavated through the Chalk to the rocks below; valleys within the Chalk itself are dry" (Lewin, 1969: 15).

The springline emerging from the scarp edge of the Wolds was therefore of great importance to local inhabitants. Even in 1969, its provision was considerable (Aylwin and Ward, 1969: table 9). Mortimer describes how the Leavening Wold spring:

> "was never known to fail, and in times of drought it was the nearest source from which good water could be obtained" (in Hicks, 1978: 21).

The other main source of water came from natural meres or ponds, such as Fimber, Sledmere and Burdale. They were the only source of water for the inhabitants of the area until draw-wells were sunk in the later 19th century, and were supplemented by rain-water cisterns and tubs, positioned under the edges of thatched roofs.

Finally, there are the seasonal streams called gypsies, such as the Gypsey Races of the Great Wolds Valley and Kilham, which are noted as a regional phenomenon in the 12th century (in the Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen, Rolls, i:85, cited in Smith, 1937: 5, see translation Appendix V) and by Camden in 1607. As Chapter 3 has emphasised, they are at their height in late winter and early spring and at their lowest in late summer. Some, such as those cited above, may have well-established runs or 'races', but others emerge through springs or 'spelt' holes. Seasonally then, the amount of water on the Wolds varied greatly, and in addition to the gypseys, late winter snow melt and heavy rainfall often led to surface water run-off in many of the dales.

5.3.3 Water in prehistory.

The water table on the Wolds has been drastically lowered since prehistory by the draining of the chalk aquifers to feed major urban centres such the market town of Driffield and city of Hull, as well as increased demand in the historic period from the villages and High Wolds Farms (Aylwin and Ward, 1969; Foster, Parry and Chiltern, 1976; Gatenby, 1948). Lewin's study of geomorphologic form suggests the basal meanders of the Great Wolds Valley may have developed in relation to a discharge up to twenty five times that recorded between 1953-1962 (1969: 51), and Bevan's comparison of eighteenth century maps also shows a 'shortening' of watercourses in general (1994: 38).

The number of water-mills recorded on the steeper slopes along and below the northern and western chalk escarpments indicates the once-reliable nature of this flow. Medieval - pre-sixteenth century watermills are recorded at Burton Agnes, Bessingby, Flamborough, Bridlington, Thornholme, Carnaby, Ruston Parva, Wold Newton, Caythorpe, Rudston and Kilham (VCH II) and pre-nineteenth century mills are recorded at Wharram Percy, Wharram le Street, Boynton, Kirkburn and Nafferton (Allison, 1970). Mortimer also recorded peat deposits 5-6 ft deep under Barrow 284 at Wold Newton (1899), suggesting that very different hydrological regimes and environmental conditions had existed in the prehistoric landscape.

These factors profoundly affected the seasonal impact of the gypsies , as early Antiquarians and Agricultural commentators noted. In Edmund Gibson's 1695 additions to Camden's *Britannia*, he refers to Ray's account of the 'Vipseys' as:

> "sudden eruptions of water... at this day call'd Gipseys... they break out in the wolds or downs of this Country, after great rains, and jet and spout up water to a great height." (cited in Woodward, 1985: 46).

Defoe, writing between 1724-6, also mentions the gypsies:

> "at some certain seasons, for none knows when it will happen, several streams of water gush out of the earth with great violence, spouting up a huge height, being really natural *jets d'eau* or fountains: that they make a great noise, and joining together, form little rivers and hasten to the sea." (cited in Woodward, 1985: 58).

In 1794, the Quaker land surveyor and enclosure commissioner Issac Leatham, also noted that:

> "upon the skirts of the hills many springs break out, and form very fine rills or streams; there are also instances of this in the higher parts; particularly Wold Newton, where we find one very curious. We perceive it generally towards the spring of the year, trickling through the grass where the ground is not broke, to such a degree as to constitute a stream so considerable [as to run] for two or three months, then totally ceases, and scarcely leaves a mark of the place from whence it issued." (cited in Crowther, 1992: 34).

Both Nicholson (1890) and Mortimer (published by Hicks, 1978) mention the energy of these streams and springs which had disappeared in places, or dried up completely by the mid-20th century (as Smith's 1937 description of the course of the Gypsey Race makes clear). By 1923, Kilham residents had noticed a dramatic decrease in the flow of the spring feeding the Old Gypsey, and by 1971, it was dry (VCH II: 250).

From evidence at Kilk Beck, Sheppard argues that the diversion and canalisation of these streams may have begun in the early-middle Medieval period (1956). This may have been an attempt to control the stream in the wake of flooding. However, major episodes of ditch cutting and drainage also went hand-in-hand with the 'improvement' of the land in the 17th - 19th centuries (Sheppard, 1958, 1966; Harris, 1961). Lewin (1969) and Foster and Milton (1976) therefore conclude that the Wolds have been severely denatured, especially in the last century, and the Hull Valley and Holderness Plain so extensively drained that they bear little relation to their prehistoric character (Didsbury, 1990; Van der Noort and Ellis, 2000; Ellis and Crowther 1990).

5.3.4 Water rites.

The scarcity of water in the High Wolds meant that access to water resources was carefully controlled and had to be negotiated (Marshall, 1788). It often became a source of contention. The carefully recorded seventeenth century 'rake rights' giving stock access to ponds, record the long-established way in which these rites were measured and arranged. On taking occupancy of Vessey Pastures, a High Wold Farm, the Greames were required to acknowledge the 'ancient privilege' enjoyed by the Birdsall estate to drove sheep into the pasture grounds, entering:

> "each morning from 10am from Lady Day to Michaelmass and [to] proceed slowly to a spring near Raisthorpe Grounds where they remain with liberty to graze to Raisthorpe fence till a man can sole a pair of shoes and then [to be] driven slowly away and right off Mr. Greame's estate." (Hull Uni. Libr. DDLG 46/6, cited in Hayfield and Wagner, 1996: 58).

Such arrangements came under pressure in times of drought. In his recollections of *A Victorian Boyhood on the Wolds*, Mortimer (1888) recalls the 'Battle of Fimber' in the dry summer of 1826, in which the inhabitants of Fridaythorpe who had been allowed to water "themselves and their cattle from the two large meres in the centre of the village" of Fimber, (Mortimer, in Hicks 1978: 3) were finally turned away. The upper mere (reserved for human use) had dried up, forcing the residents of Fridaythorpe to use the lower mere which was usually set aside for cattle. However they had come to see this kind of privilege "as a right" which they were determined to enforce (1978: 3). Men, water carts and cattle visited Fimber on a Sunday morning:

> "with the intention of taking by force what had previously been granted them as a favour. This determination resulted in a desperate fight, with sticks and stones... resulting in several broken heads, duckings in the mere and the final expulsion of the invaders. This scrimmage, in which many of the wives of the cottagers also took part, armed with any weapon they could find...was long afterwards looked upon... with much satisfaction, and a considerable amount of pride" (Mortimer, cited in Hicks, 1978: 3-4).

The friction caused by the claiming of a privilege or favour as a 'right'; the clamorous convergence of men, animals and carts upon the village; and the 'face-to-face' brawling and shaming in the Battle of Fimber, give us a sense of how 'Club Law' looks in practice. Mortimer stressed the importance of the 'victory' for the identity of Fimber which featured repeatedly in the narrative history the villagers told about themselves. Even in the Great Wolds Valley, access to the Gypsey Race was extremely precious: at Foxholes in the sixteenth century, 2*s* were paid for the 'privilege of the water' (Castle Howard, MSS Box 24, Surveys of Estates 1537-1563, cited in V.C.H. II: 190).

These historically-attested small-scale communal disputes remind us that frictions which arose from a struggle over resources also almost always involved issues of communal identity, privilege and pride. I want to use these historical analogies therefore to understand the negotiations and disagreements may have arisen over similar resources in prehistory.

5.3.5 Hydrological practices: condensed meanings.

Bill Bevan has analysed statistically the relationship between square barrow cemeteries and water (1994, 1997 and 1999). Encompassing a larger study area than this thesis, 41.3% of his examples of cemeteries (defined as more than 10 barrows in proximity) were located within 50m of "an actual *or potential* watercourse" (1994: 39 - *my emphasis*), and 57.1% were within 150m. An even stronger relationship was noted between square barrows and linear earthworks

or trackways. Bevan makes a series of observations concerning the character of water in this landscape, which:

> "does not hold a permanent place in the world... [and] may be conceived as being between two worlds, appearing in the above ground world of the living for part of the year and disappearing into an underground world for the other part." (1999: 141).

He argues that the liminal and intermittent nature of water in the Wolds lent it a symbolic property, through which it was understood as intermediary force connecting the world of the living to the realm of the spiritual. Streams and springs therefore represented appropriate 'liminal' locales within which the transition of the living into the dead could be negotiated. By placing the dead close to water they were bound into its seasonal cycle. Indeed, Bevan suggests that the "strikingly cyclical nature of the appearance and disappearance of gypseys" was a way in which the dead were seasonally "renewed", reproducing the community of the ancestors (1999: 142). He concludes that he has therefore identified one of the temporal structures though which people in East Yorkshire may have framed their world (1999: 142).

I do not want to reject the substance of Bevan's analysis; the conjuncture of linear earthworks around spring sites such as Tancred Pit Hole (Fig. 4.12), or Eastburn, near Driffield (Sheppard, 1939), is extremely convincing. In the Great Wolds Valley most of the square barrow cemeteries are aligned on course of the Gypsey Race, and at Garton Station the Race flows directly over the top of several barrows which are cut into its course (Stead, 1991; Fig. 5.9). However, I want to try and layer this symbolic or ideological relationship with a series of other concerns. As Chapter 2 has argued, fields of discourse are connected through practices of inhabitation within which metaphorical associations orientate human agents, and enable them to make particular kinds of connection and meaning. Through these frames of reference people are able to sustain coherent series of actions which reproduce broader understandings of the world, the way in which it works, and one's place within it (Barrett, 1999c: 259). I want to suggest that water had a series of metaphorical associations through which the living could have been bound to the dead.

The seasonal flow of the Gypsies regenerated a landscape that had lain barren after harvest and heavy summer grazing. The dormancy of the land mirrored the over-wintering and gestation of animals and seed grain, and its sudden breaking into life - flowing and flooding - may have been seen metaphorically as a rebirth. Holes, pits, stones and caverns might not only have been seen as portals to an underworld, as local folklore records (Nicholson, 1890: 53), but also

bodily orifices of the landscape, into which the dead were swallowed, and out of which they burst, rejuvenated and re-born with the flood-waters. Also, the reappearance of water which carried with it the now-transformed dead may have paralleled - or indeed signalled the re-emergence of mourners from their period of grief.

Flowing between these domains, water was not only an essential fluid of life, but may also have been seen as the substance binding the living to the dead; a conduit or channel through which the two worlds were seasonally conjoined. This temporality may have structured another association; like herds and flocks, water moved, and lived in its flow, becoming stagnant and fetid when stationary. Emerging from springs at the heads of valleys, it also reflected the movement of people and animals down the course of the slacks. Furthermore, its appearance also coincided with the time of the year during which stock may have been over-wintered in the shelter of these valleys. Water therefore 'gathered' with them at these times, in these places.

I have suggested that water may have bound the living to the dead through three metaphorical associations: being reborn into the landscape like a living creature; passing between worlds like an ancestor; and flowing across the land like people and stock. These metaphors were brought together by rituals which condensed in these places: the intersection of burial and birth rites and the shelter, feeding and watering of people and animals.

5.3.6 Critique.

However, there are problems with the assumptions which lie behind Bevan's analysis, as well as the themes he chooses to emphasise in his interpretation which require further consideration. First, Bevan assumes that all Wolds dales and slacks would have had seasonal streams running in their bases at some point in the year. His calculations are thus taken from the edges of cemeteries to the centre point of the dale bed. There is a geological flaw in this assumption; whilst sub-surface fissures which run along dry valleys tend to create streams coinciding with the dale bed, these do not neatly coincide with the flow of underground streams (Lewin, 1969: 3, 61). Many of the valleys are filled with free-draining chalk gravels which will not support a seasonal watercourse, such as Wetwang Slack. Here only frozen ground conditions will allow the flow of surface water (Brewster, 1980: 5). If a perched water table is to be supported, the dale must be incised at a point in the strata where the juncture between the Cretaceous chalk and Jurassic clays and marls is close to the surface. Wagner therefore believes that up to 35-40% of valleys were 'true' dry dales, and never possessed the geological conditions to support a 'race' even in wet winters (pers.comm.). Whilst Bevan's statistical relationship between

cemeteries and the bases of dales holds, we cannot therefore assume that this coincided with a seasonally intermittent watercourse.

Second, from descriptions in the Victoria County Histories, some of the 'seasonal' streams such as the Gypsey in the Great Wolds Valley, appear to have been more-or-less continuously running, even if they had a seasonal quality to their flow. This observation is corroborated by Dakyns and Fox-Strangeways (1885) who noted that the "Gipsey Race, though as its name implies liable to such outbursts, yet always has some water flowing in this part of its course" (1885: 2). At Spittle Garth, environmental samples suggested that what had been a flowing stream (probably the gypsey recorded by Dakyns in 1896) had only recently become a stagnant, enclosed ditch (Wagner, 1992).

My argument is that not all square barrow cemeteries enjoy this relationship with an intermittent water course, and even where this seems convincing, the stream may well have been more permanent than Bevan envisages, with a seasonally *exaggerated* quality to its flow. This does not detract from the discourse of fertility and reproduction of communal identity, that Bevan has apprehended. However it does demand that these symbolic and ideological concerns are set against the wider political and social context. The landscape context of the square barrow cemeteries suggests a complex inter-relationship between the cemeteries and rites of movement, residence and shelter, access to permanent sources of water, as well as issues of reproduction and fertility and it is to these issues that the following section will turn.

5.3.7 Meeting the race.

I want to criticise Bevan's emphasis on fertility, and water as a reproductive force, within the context of historical descriptions of water in the Wolds and local folklore, which suggest a conflicting series of associations and metaphors.

Water was not only more prevalent in the Wolds in prehistory, it was also more violent. The sheer force involved here is difficult to imagine given the clear, slight trickle of the heavily canalised modern Gypsey Race. But in 1327, nine tofts in Boynton were flooded by the Gypsey Race, and a further flood in 1352 eventually forced the re-orientation of the village at right angles to the race (Cal. Inq. p.m. vii: 14, cited in V.C.H. II: 22, Allison, 1974). Settlements built across the end of dry valleys were especially vulnerable (Royston, 1872), and Rudston suffered similar flooding in the eighteenth century, periodically forcing the evacuation of many

cottages, as in 1809 (VCH II: 316, Royston, 1872). Fig. 5.10 illustrates the 'tide-mark' of flood water along cottage walls at Weaverthorpe at the turn of the century.

Smith describes the effect of the same year at Kilham, in which the springs ran for 20 days, flooding the village street (ERRO, PR.2017, cited in VCH II: 250 and Smith, 1923: 25-26). At Langtoft, 'great floods' are recorded in 1657, 1888 and 1892, the latter culminating in 7ft of water in the village centre, destroying and damaging up to 60 properties and removing large amounts of soil and chalk, depositing them in 'heaps' downslope (Hood, 1892). Kendall also describes the damage wrought by such spring floods which "may descend the frozen floor of a chalk valley and do some tearing up of the turf." (in Page, 1907: 83). The energy of these true seasonal springs assumes spectacular proportions, 'bursting forth' at Kilham (R.A. Smith, 1937: 97, note 1), which was otherwise "dryly seated on the Woulds" (Richard Blome, 1673: cited in Woodward, 1985: 29). At Henpit Hole it spouted "with such force that a man on horseback can ride under the arch formed without getting wet" (Nicholson, 1870: 53). Water in these cases is a destructive force, damaging the land and threatening property, livestock and livelihood.

It is not surprising then, that the gypsies were viewed with a great deal of trepidation if not fear, by local inhabitants. Cooper describes the intermittent gypsy as a 'prophet of woe', on the basis of William of Newburgh's chronicle (c. 1198) from the reigns of Stephen and Henry II. When the springs are dry, the chronicle states "it is a good sign, for when they flow it is undoubtedly a sign of coming famine" (Chronicles of the Reign of King Stephen, Rolls, I:85, cited in Smith, 1937: 79, see Appendix V) and another document describes it as the herald of disasters such as battle and plague. Defoe corroborates this, stating "that the country people have a notion that whenever these gipsies, or, as come call 'em, vipseys, break out, there will certainly ensue either famine or plague." (cited in Woodward, 1985: 58).

Three points can be made from this historical analysis. First, from the twelfth - late nineteenth century, truly intermittent springs and streams often emerged as a force of violence in the landscape, raging seasonally out of control. Second, the local folklore suggests that such a force was associated with inauspicious events, as well as bringing physical damage to people and the land. Third, such springs did *not* emerge predictably and perennially as part of the 'natural' cycle of the landscape, nor could they be augured from local rainfall. This phenomena can be easily explained by the delayed response of the chalk aquifer to heavy rains. Knapp argues that it is unlikely that flooding will directly follow storms, because of the slow rate of transmission

from surface to aquifer and its subsequent emission (1979: 22). Whilst the season of their appearance (late winter/early spring, Nicholson, 1890: 53) was fixed, they could not be predicted more accurately and only certain years would produce the level of sustained rainfall which caused the races to rise. William of Newburgh's chronicle states that these flows only happened in 'intervening' years (cited in Smith, 1937: 5). Their 'portentous' quality stresses this apparent randomness of flow: as Defoe stated "none knows when it will happen" (cited in Woodward, 1985: 58).

Small-scale communities in both the recent and prehistoric past, had to live with this violent and unpredictable phenomena, which could transform their landscape. Such forces brought the landscape into life: the 'great noise' of such water bursting and flowing in spate, churning up gravel, rotting winter vegetation and scrub, is mentioned by Defoe (in Woodhead, 1985) and is captured in local names such as Warterdale's 'Ludhill Spring' (literally 'loud, or noisy', first mentioned in the 13th century, Smith, 1937: 172). The very word 'gypsey' probably refers not to the intermittent nature of the stream, but from the Old English word *gips*, related to *gipian* - to yawn, gasp or gape (Smith, 1937: 5). The landscape takes on an embodied form in these descriptions. If it was understood as something animate, then perhaps these intermittent periods of flood and fierce flow were seen as times when the forces or substances of the world were 'out of control'.

Human communities had to find ways of dealing with this phenomena, to ward off inauspicious events, appealing to or appeasing the forces at hand. In Hone's book of 'Table Talk', Cooper describes a local custom at Burton Fleming, in which young people "went out to meet" the race in spate, surmising that it not only gave the young people of the village occasion to meet, but also to make appropriate propitiatory gestures to avoid ill-fortune (1920: 80). Hood describes the tying of 'rags' to trees that grew close to these streams and springs, again as charms or offerings (1892). This sense of 'tending' to the land is also captured in the scouring of the race, a tradition mentioned in many of the Great Wolds Valley villages, to remove vegetation and colluvium from the stream. At Rudston, the inhabitants are reminded of their responsibility to keep the race 'cleansed' in the early eighteenth century, and despite a 1740 letter from Hudson claiming that this should cease because "scouring it only makes the water sink into the ground" the villagers respond that the rite must continue "otherwise Rudston will suffer damage from flooding" (cited VCH II: 316). Boythorpe residents also complain in 1669 that the race was "all grown up and the current stopped", requiring it to be scoured (ERRO, CSR/4/37, cited in VCH

II: 190). Over time, responsibility for cleaning the race became increasingly formalised, partly through the enclosure awards.

I would argue that prehistoric communities also developed strategies in response to this phenomena. The close positioning of some square barrow cemeteries near to the Gypsey Race in the Great Wolds Valley and on the edges of the dipslope, may have deliberately located the dead as some form of intercessory community, to stand for and appeal on behalf of the living. Situated on the lower slopes of the dales, the graves would have been out of the reach of the water for the most part of the year, but after heavy rain, the valleys are filled with sheet water as the race breaks its banks. The meeting of this force of water by the resistant presence of the dead, must have been deliberate, and the spearing of corpses into the stream bed at Garton Station suggests a desire to anchor them directly in its flow (Stead, 1991 - see Section 5.5).

5.3.8 Water of chaos, springs of life.

In this section, I have examined the relationship between water and the square barrow cemeteries, in light of Bevan's research. I have suggested that this apparent spatial correlation must be approached with caution, and a more thorough understanding of the character of water in prehistory. In any case, this should be understood as the product of a series of intersecting discourses, not only about fertility and the regeneration of the dead but also about relations between people, land and animals. I have argued that water was one of the generative resources around which a series of tensions might have arisen and over which particular forms of authority sought control.

I have drawn on local historical accounts and folklore to conjure the character of this phenomena, and the relationship of people with it. Water takes on a different series of associations here: disease, death and even famine, that pull against its other qualities as a life-giving source of fertility. Perhaps it is this very ambiguity - its oppositional character - which is important. The races were forces both generative and destructive of life reminding communities that fecundity and fertility could be dangerous when out of control. The association of water and the dead suggests that they were perceived to be a strategic resource, charged with restraining or channelling its appropriate flow.

5.4 Landscapes of the living.

5.4.1 Introduction.

Despite the apparent regionalisation of particular practices in specific spaces, I will suggest that many of these tasks actually involved spatial dispersion, and daily or seasonal absence of large sections of the social group. In the following section I will develop the idea that the dead might therefore constitute permanent residents of these locales, mitigating against the 'absent presence' of the living. This argument will be made through a characterisation of the scale, spatial and temporal organisation of agricultural, domestic and craft practices - the 'taskscape' of the middle-late Iron Age in East Yorkshire (Ingold, 1993).

As Chapter 3 has noted, there are problems with the investigation of settlement which is contemporary with the square barrow cemeteries, because the stake-built roundhouses and four-post structures by which it is characterised are relatively 'invisible' on aerial photographs and geophysical surveys, compared with funerary monuments. Pits scatters represent the best indication of 'open' settlements. Open area excavation is the only means of characterising this domestic occupation, but this has been rare. The case studies are therefore limited to Wetwang Slack (Dent, 1984a; forthcoming) and Garton Slack (Challis and Harding, 1975; Brewster, 1980), the British Museum's programme of settlement excavations (Rigby and Stead, forthcoming) and small amounts of contract work in the region (e.g. Abramson, 1996). Even in these examples, low depositional activity and the erosion of floor surfaces or working spreads, make it difficult to date or sequence structures accurately. As Appendix IV reveals, radiocarbon dates from this period are notoriously broad, falling into the calibration plateau.

Given these constraints and the scope of the thesis, analysis will focus on the rhythm and spatial organisation of agricultural practices, domestic occupation and craftwork, rather than attempting a complete contextual re-analysis of artefacts and depositional behaviour. This will enable me to explore the frames of reference through which people were able to move between different tasks, and the kinds of social relations that these reproduced.

5.4.2 Stock routines.

I have already discussed the scale and character of grazing routines in the context of the linear earthwork systems (Section 5.1) and the constraints imposed upon these by water requirements (Section 5.2). To reiterate, they suggest the handling and pasturing of stock at an extended household level; the linear systems do not completely enclose high tracts of pasture, suggesting that they were of a size that could be controlled by herders, probably aided by dogs. However, the funnelling effect of the earthworks suggests that these aggregated into larger groups as they moved into the valleys. (The scale of the curvilinear enclosures above Weaverthorpe indicates

a much larger facility for stock control, but this appears to overlie a square barrow cemetery at High Barn, Croom Dale above Weaverthorpe, and may be later Iron Age/Romano-British or later, in date).

Whilst flocks may have regularly occupied these higher areas of pasture on a seasonal basis (particularly during the late spring-autumn months), cattle would have had a narrower grazing range, moving up onto pasture and down again into the dales for watering on a daily basis. This would have established a close relationship between cattle and the open settlements. Herds may well have been seen as symbols of household wealth (Evans Pritchard, 1940; Reid, 1996; Bradley 1997b). If so, their movement through the landscape must have been both a source of pride and of friction and rivalry.

The use of animals as referents for the identity of the social group must have been strengthened by the routine association of flocks, herds and their tenders (Ingold, 1980). The social identity of the latter was marked out by this work and may have been further defined through categories of age or gender, as well as aptitude. Edmonds (1999) has described the way in which cattle form a close analogy for humans, sharing aspects of physiology (a nine month gestation period) and small-herd group dynamics (such as a strong matriarchal 'head' and dominant bull) and internal hierarchies structured by age and character (see Porter, 1991). In pastoral communities, breeding lines often serve as analogies for kin relations; breeding arrangements accompany marriage settlements, gifts of stock may be used to cement new relations or renew acquaintances, and sacrifices may accompany deaths in the community (Evans Pritchard, 1940; Parker Pearson, 1999a/b). Cattle may be named so that the herd preserves a genealogical record of these social relations (Ryan, Karega-Munen, Munyiri and Kunoni, 1991). The distinctive colour and condition of their hide, and the shape and size of their horns and hooves, reinforces these genealogical associations through an 'aesthetics' of memory (Coote, 1992).

Herding practices also structured an important relationship between animals and the landscape. Primitive breeds of sheep develop strong relations with place, returning repeatedly to the same patches of grazing and shelter, especially when lambing (Hart and Ingilby, 1990: 25). Cattle will also establish their own schedule of grazing, watering and rest, moving with assurance between known sources of water, food and shade, at set times of the day (Porter, 1991: Ingold, 1995). Such 'hefting' was also analogous of the relationships between people and place.

Stock routines would have dispersed the community into seasonal task groups, spread across the landscape. However, in winter the harsh and severe conditions on the exposed heights of the Wolds may have encouraged a reaggregation of people and animals into the slacks and dales. Ovate or irregular shaped enclosures usually positioned on the midslope of the dales, may indicate this 'folding in' of stock, such as the Nafferton enclosure on Driffield Wold, close to the square barrow cemeteries of Maiden's Grave and Danes Graves (Fig. 5.7) or Greenlands, to the west of the cemeteries in the Great Wolds Valley. Lambing and calving may have occurred on the edge of settlements, accounting for some of the amorphous stock 'shelters' or scrapes, found in Areas 6, 7, 9 and 10, Wetwang Slack, and Area 7, Garton Slack. There is little trace of this in the faunal analysis, due to a general lack of deposition. However, Noddle notes high numbers of neonatal cattle in the middle-later Iron Age period, especially from the enclosure ditch of Garton Slack Area 14, and the adjacent linear earthwork (in Brewster, 1980: 788, Table 3). Importantly, the flooding of streams during this time would have stimulated growth in adjacent pastures. These could have been grazed as a first 'flush' after the waters receded and the ground dried in the difficult 'hunger months' of mid-spring, when fodder was scarce. These may have been times when the living lived closer to the dead, as households and animals gathered together in these dales.

5.4.3 Fieldscapes.

There is very little archaeological evidence of crop cultivation on the Wolds. Later prehistoric field systems have been erased by both medieval open fields and the 'rage of ploughing' in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries (Harris, 1996). Only the deeper ditched enclosures and paddocks of the latest Iron Age - Roman period field systems survive as cropmarks (Stoertz, 1997, see Chapter 6). Dent argues that small paddocks or yards could have existed in between the rows of houses in Wetwang Slack's open settlement (1984a) although there are no indications of fences or gullies to keep stock out of such garden plots or paddocks.

However, as Van der Veen's archaeobotanical analysis demonstrated (1992), mixed agriculture *was* being practised in the region, in contrast to Piggott's model of a pastoral-dominated upland ranching economy (1958). The lack of deep negative lynchets indicates that cultivation may have been shifting (year-to-year or generation-to-generation), rather than being repeatedly turned over and cleared as in the developed field systems of Wessex (Barrett, Bradley and Green, 1991; Barrett, 1994). The thin Wolds soils require frequent manuring and liming to maintain their fertility and alkaline balance (Matthew, 1993), and fields may therefore have been in use for short periods of time before being left fallow in order to regenerate.

If this was the case, a generational history might have been 'readable' in these fieldscapes, as plots fell in and out of use. For small-scale agricultural communities the cultivation of the land is *also* the cultivation of kinship relations; land is not property or wealth, in that resources have no value unless they enter productive relations (Godelier, 1975a, 1975b, 1978). Repeated tending to the soil reproduces affiliations and debts with co-labourers in the field, who tend to be drawn from one's own extended family (Barrett, 1989). Land therefore *is* kin, and agricultural reproduction is the means by which the identity, social position and wealth of the family is reproduced (Goody, 1976).

Plough agriculture can be a strongly gendered and age-structured practice, with men often associated with intense periods of ploughing and sowing, and the care of large draught animals, whilst women and children engage in the more frequent weeding, stone-picking and bird-scaring activities which are necessary to see a crop through to harvest (Goody, 1976; Blackwood 1997). The archaeological evidence of East Yorkshire therefore appears to support the idea that agricultural cultivation in later prehistory was structured according to categories of kinship, age and gender.

5.4.3 Processing and storage.

5.4.3.1 Harvest.

Our understanding of the spatial organisation of crop processing and storage is hampered by the poor preservation of environmental remains and a lack of systematic sampling policies at most sites in East Yorkshire (Sigaut, 1988; Thorley, 1981). However, a deposit of grain was found in Grain Pit 1 at Garton Slack Area 9, comprising 630g of carbonised seed, consisting mainly of six-row hulled barley *(Hordeum vulgare)* with a few wheat contaminants and wild oat grains (Keepax, in Brewster, 1980: 682). Over 97% of the rachis internodes, as well as weed seeds and small grains had been removed by winnowing and sieving before this cache was deposited. Two samples from Garton Station 6, pit 12 (layers 2 and 10) also contained a few poorly preserved grains of six-row barley, again processed and cleaned. At Wetwang Slack, saddle querns offer the only indication of the location of processing activities, and these have a strong association with roundhouses, deposited in pits or re-used as packing in postholes (e.g. pit 9:18, roundhouse B9:5, Wetwang Slack and also pit 14 (Area 5), House 1 (Area 14) and House 3 (Area 18), Garton Slack). Although the harvesting of crops appears to have been carried out in the broader landscape, processed and cleaned grain was therefore being brought back to the locales in which domestic residential activities were focused.

However, in a contrasting landscape location and amongst the dense cluster of features enclosed in the earthworks at Burton Agnes, just below Woldgate (see Fig. 4.1), a cleaned grain and weed assemblage was also found in a pit (F4, Wagner, 1992; Rigby and Stead, forthcoming). Until this site is fully published, it is difficult to interpret its use. As Chapter 4 noted, this feature frames a natural routeway from the lower dipslope to the chalk ridge. However, its exposed location suggests that it was not occupied all year round, despite the magnificent views it affords of Holderness and the coast. Just below this ridge is an east-west band of deep, clay-rich soils, raised above what would have been a landscape of mere and springs. These soils would have been cultivable by the Iron Age (using iron-tipped ploughshares), and as early as Chaucer, were renowned for the barley grown upon them. It is possible that Burton Agnes East and West Field therefore represent an area of seasonal settlement, in which households aggregated to work on their fields and harvest crops.

These pits may have been used to store over-wintering seed-grain, although they are shallow and few have traces of clay lining. A variety of domestic items are found in their backfill, such as swan's neck ring pins were found in Pit EE.4 (Burton Agnes, East Field) and EX.14 (Burton Agnes, West Field, also associated with a penannular brooch pin), and 'Arras' style ceramics were also found in EZ.6 (Burton Agnes, West Field) and EX.11 (Burton Agnes, West Field, found in this pit with a saddle quern). Fragmentary stone (including querns), ceramic (sometimes heavily burnt), worked bone (needles, awls and spatulas), as well as faunal remains and a few instances of carbonised grain were also found in these pits. This domestic debris (which indicates food processing and craftwork being carried out in the vicinity), may have a strong seasonal component, but must also await analysis. The excavators considered that refuse had been gathered together surface middens and tipped into these pits (Rigby and Stead, forthcoming). It is therefore possible that these were receptacles for rotting midden, to be spread on the fields at a later date.

More commonly, storage facilities are found within the areas framed by longer term domestic residence (Fig. 5.11), and in close association with roundhouses, close to the walls, and often opposite the door in the west (B9:5 and B9:6, Dent, forthcoming), or on the south side of the building (B6:6 and B7.12, Dent, forthcoming). Eleven such examples were found at Garton Slack (e.g. House 1, GS29; House 2, GS19; House 1 and 2, GS14). They are commonly backfilled with chalk gravel, showing little sign of being left open, and less than 35% of the pits at Wetwang Slack contained any domestic material (cf the Wessex pits discussed by Hill,

1995). Rectangular pits may represent subterranean stores or cellars for possessions as much as food, possibly lined by wooden boxes, coffers or chests. Ten examples of this kind of pit were found at Wetwang Slack Phase 1-2 in roundhouses (middle-late Iron Age), two of which were placed symmetrically opposite each other in B7:3.

Four or six-post structures, commonly interpreted as raised granaries but also perhaps tool-sheds, stores and craft workshops, also demonstrate a close relationship with roundhouses (Fig. 5.11). At Wetwang Slack, they were mainly erected in the west of the settlement (e.g. B9:1, B9:7, B9:8, B11:2), and several appear to have been rebuilt (B7:14, B7:15, B8:3, B12:5). Two four-post structures occur at Garton Station in GS26, another two in GS30, and six-post structures were found in GS14 and GS30. B8:5 could be a unique middle-late Iron Age rectangular building but it is more likely to represent a series of adjacent timber-post structures. There are two examples with external fifth posts, which could indicate a support rail for entering the building (B7:14, B7:15).

This analysis suggests that the storage of cereals for consumption may have been closely associated with domestic residence, whereas seed grain may have been over-wintered in more communal areas. Whilst the products of this labour were removed to individual locales, the cultivation and harvesting of crops suggest a more communal scale of labour and periodic co-residence.

5.4.3.2 Butchery.

Evidence for butchery practices is limited by low amounts of deposition, and scarce cut-marks on faunal remains in general. However, where it has been identified, sheep and cattle bones are found with lateral surface cuts or glancing slices, as if from defleshing (e.g. Area 6, pit 247, Wetwang Slack), and long bones from both of these species were split, suggesting the extraction of marrow (Scott, in Dent, forthcoming, and Noddle, in Brewster, 1980). Occasionally, carcass waste - heads and hooves - were recovered (Noddle, in Brewster, 1980: 773), and one cow humerus and foot were found cut into smaller joints at Wetwang Slack (Scott, in Dent, forthcoming). Butchery marks above the distal radius were also found in four examples in the Great Wolds Valley cemeteries (Legge, in Stead, 1991: 143).

Pig bones from the graves show heavy marks of butchery, usually sliced down the sutures of the skull's sagittal plane (e.g. burials WS342 and WS164, Wetwang Slack, Scott in Dent, forthcoming; K5, Kirkburn and GS6, Garton Station, Legge, in Stead, 1991: 143). Dogs are

usually represented by single, disarticulated bones, as are horses. A lack of sieving means that the recovery of fish, fowl and rodent bones was low, apart from a goose bone at Garton Slack and a high number of water voles in pits at Wetwang Slack. Wild animals are scarce; a few examples of deer were recovered from contexts at Garton Slack, and antler was obviously being kept and used for craftwork. Apart from a few contexts, there is little evidence of sorted butchery waste.

The context of the faunal material suggests that butchery also had a strong relationship with the immediate locale of the household, and appears to have been organised at a small-scale. No organised culling pattern is obvious either from the domestic or funerary assemblages; sheep were usually mature, when sacrificed as food for either the living or the dead. Older examples of cattle might indicate their value as both breeding stock and as forms of traction (Scott, in Dent, forthcoming and Noddle, in Brewster, 1980). However, pigs tended to be slightly younger (around six months - a year old), and may have been eaten only on rare occasions.

5.4.5 Consumption.

The evidence for cooking and eating food is slight, but some culinary practices and traditions are observable. Mutton appears to be the staple meat, with occasional joints of beef. Sheep appear to have been sacrificed and butchered routinely for funeral ceremonies (although possibly not cooked), but pork is restricted to certain categories of burial, and beef is *never* provided as food for the dead (see Section 5.6). Bone fragmentation is generally high, and suggests that some food debris was being allowed to accumulate in surface middens. Larger bones of cattle and horse tended to be deposited in ditches, and are more weathered and gnawed than sheep and pig remains, which are more commonly deposited in pits. However, in general, deposition is low (especially when compared with the latest Iron Age period, see Chapter 6).

The scale of these practices does not suggest mass events of feasting but rather household level consumption. There is no indication of open-air or communal preparation and eating and cooking appears to have been mainly carried out within the roundhouse. Central hearths are indicated by patches of burnt chalk (e.g. B6:6, B9:4, Wetwang Slack, and House 1, GS10, Garton Slack). If Poole's reinterpretation of triangular loomweights as pierced oven bricks at Danebury is correct (in Cunliffe, 1995: 285), then the example from Area 6:178, associated with roundhouse B6:2 and one from roundhouse B7:4, may further support the idea that cooking and eating were closely associated with these dwellings.

This level of organisation and the character of consumption practice is supported by the evidence of middle Iron Age ceramic assemblages. These were not designed as feasting repertoires; there are no bowls, and the jars are usually plain, shapeless vessels in two fabrics (calcite and erratic tempered). They are often poorly finished and fired, showing less distinction, variety and attention than the angular forms and finger-tip decoration characteristic of the early Iron Age (Rigby, in Stead, 1991; and Dent, forthcoming). This suggests that they were not being used to mark distinctions between different groups in public events, nor is there a distinction between those used for funerary rather than domestic use, apart from poor firing and finishing in examples of the former (Rigby, in Stead, 1991).

5.4.6 Craftwork.

No detailed analysis of the organisation of craftwork is possible, as floor surfaces are seldom preserved. However the secondary deposition of craftworking debris and tools indicates a strong association with those areas in which other domestic practices were being carried out. Textiles (such as the tabby and four-shed twills found in the great Wolds Valley cemeteries, Fig. 5.12) range from the herringbone-pattern cloth of garments or shrouds, to the finer textiles found in cart burials such as Kirkburn K5, worn over a coarse woollen undergarment (Crowfoot, in Stead, 1991: 120). Patches of textile were also used as padding on the shoulder straps of this garment, and it is clear from sword scabbards that many of these wooden frames were finished with leather and fleece (in Stead, 1991: 73).

The looms on which these fabrics were made were probably positioned within the roundhouse. External features are few compared with the floors of these structures which are cut with post and stake holes that do not appear to be load-bearing, structural timbers (Dent, 1984a). Weaving equipment is also deposited commonly in such features, supporting this interpretation. Loomweights were recovered from house pits at Garton Slack (Area 9) and Wetwang Slack (Area 1, Houses 1 and 2), and eight loomweights were found 'nested together' in a scrape in the northern side of Garton Station Area 5. Six examples were found in middle-late Iron Age contexts at other sites in Wetwang Slack, mainly in Areas 6-10 and 12, again associated with roundhouses (WS12, B12:4 and WS11, B11:1). Bone needles and awls, suggesting the working of fabrics, leather and possibly basketry, were found associated with roundhouse B7:3, B9:6 and B7:4, and a comb and shuttle were found within a pit in B9:5. Spindle whorls were rare; only three were found at Wetwang and five at Garton, and these again tended to be found in features within roundhouses.

Bone, antler and worked stone also have a strong association with domestic structures. A piece of sawn but unfinished antler was found in B7:4 at Wetwang Slack, and another in Area 11: 41. Other artefacts include an antler lynch pin, a bone spatula (possibly for modelling clay for mould making) and handle, all from roundhouse B7:4, Wetwang Slack, and a bone toggle from B7:7. Jet and shale were also being worked on this site; fragments were found in pit 9:155 and ditch 9:148 which was part of the enclosure surrounding the roundhouse B9:6.

There is no known evidence of ceramic production from the region during this period, as bonfire clamp kilns seldom survive. Whilst the calcite associated with the early-middle Iron Age vessels had to be mined from rare veins within the chalk, the bedrock itself could also be used as temper. Glacial erratic inclusions were in plentiful supply, as was clay, located at the edge of the Wolds. Work on the sourcing of ceramic vessels is ongoing, and this may provide a finer grasp on the nature and location of production, than is evident from their macroscopic visual similarity (Rigby, pers.comm.).

The analysis presented here suggests that a suite of craft practices was closely associated with areas of domestic residence. It indicates that craft activities were being carried out at a small-scale level, for household use. Weaving has a particularly strong association with the roundhouse, and may have been an engendered and age-related task, perhaps carried out in the winter months as part of a seasonal schedule of other tasks (Giles and Parker Pearson, 1999; Campbell and Hamilton, in Cunliffe, 2000).

Metalworking contrasts with these practices, in being located outside residential dwellings, at a distance from other practices. At Wetwang Slack, for example, crucible and mould fragments for working copper alloy were found in association with ash and broken ceramics in Area 6, in pits 6:530 and 6:534, as well as from a ditch in Area 11. Bronzeworking debris has been found in pits at Nafferton (including a Stanwick suite C type harness mount was found in pit NA2), and at Burton Agnes (East and West Field) which also contained bone tools and spatulas that may have been used for mould-making (Rigby and Stead, forthcoming). Copper alloy working has also been found in a middle-late Iron Age enclosure at Kelk-6, located on a bend in the Gransmoor drain, by the Humber Wetlands Project (van der Noort and Ellis, 2000). Sprue cups and moulds were found in association with later-latest Iron Age pottery (c.2nd-1st century B.C.) and fuel-ash slag in charcoal-flecked fills, in ditch 016 and pit 339.

Iron working was also carried out in Area 11 at Wetwang Slack. This was the only enclosure in this otherwise open settlement, located on the side of the slack, north of residences and storage structures. Smithing slag was found in middle-late Iron Age features 11:50 and 11:506, and a large amount of smithing debris (4.28kg) and a single iron bloom (0.25kg) were deposited in the outer ditch of this enclosure. An iron file, punch and graver were also found in this enclosure. The other area of metalworking is concentrated in Area 9 (pit 9:18), adjacent to the cemetery but again distanced from domestic practices. At all these sites, smithing and casting but not smelting, are represented. Blooms may have been brought into the region from sites such as Welham Bridge, just off the Wolds, near Hasholme (Halkon and Miller, 1999),

In all these examples, metalworking was distanced spatially from domestic practices and other craftwork. In two examples, it was also physically enclosed. How might we understand this relationship. Clearly, metalworking was a dangerous task which may have been set apart in order to remove the smoke, smell and risk of fire associated with it. However it was also a craft charged with powerful meanings (Hingley, 1990, 1997). Barrett has suggested that political authority in the Iron Age may have drawn on the metaphor of the agricultural cycle - a cycle of life and death - in which power was reproduced as the ability to both kill and bestow fertility (1989b). The transformative nature of ironworking may therefore have provided an important analogy for authority, in which the fashioning of raw matter into finished tools *or* weapons captured the dual capacity of social authority to craft or wound people; to make and unmake the social world (Scarry, 1985; Dent, 1983c). Hingley suggests that it was the symbolic connotations of this work which informed its spatial isolation from other fields of social practice, and encouraged the deposition of residues and implements in enclosure boundaries (1990).

The deposition of a set of blacksmith's tools with burned grain at Garton Slack may be interpreted in light of these metaphorical associations. A pair of tongs and two iron pokers were interred with craft debris and processed grain in a pit outside a roundhouse in Area 9 (Fig. 5.13; Brewster, 1980: 363). This gesture stands out against the general character of depositional practice in this period. It makes a deliberate association between the products of agricultural work and craft labour, and the implements by which it was practised. This was an extravagant, performative gesture - the giving up of tools which were of clear value and history. It was a moment when particular fields of practice were revealed as those within which certain forms of authority might be structured and reproduced.

5.4.7 Domestic residence.

Wetwang and Garton Slack have yielded the only middle-late Iron Age domestic dwellings in East Yorkshire which are contemporary with the square barrow cemeteries (Fig. 5.14). These consist of penannular wall trenches for a single or double-ring, timber frame, varying between 7.5 - 10 metres in diameter. They are usually faced with a substantial doorframe or porch (e.g. B7:11, B9:6 and B12:3, Dent, 1984a: 103), although House 2 in Garton Slack Area 30 has a long-necked passage-way fronted by a porch structure. These entrances generally face east - south-east (Dent, 1984a). The walls consisted of wattle-work, daub or cob, although Brewster considered that some of those at Garton Slack may have been turf-built (1980). Their conical roofs were probably thatched with straw or reed, and an eaves-drip gully was preserved in B.12:1. No floors survive intact, but where they have sunk into internal features, they indicate a surface of crushed chalk, small stone and gravel or occasionally larger blocks or slabs of chalk (GS10 and WS1, House 2, Brewster, 1980). Most of them contain round or subrectangular pits, which could have been used for internal storage, lined as coffers or cold stores.

Two points can be made from an analysis of their construction and inhabitation:

- Roundhouses tend to cluster in discrete groups on the middle-upper reaches of the slack side, respecting the north-south alignment of the linear boundaries (Fig. 5.14). They form equidistant 'rows' of adjacent buildings (e.g. in Areas 12a-12b; 9c; 8c; 7b/c-6f in Wetwang Slack, Dent, 1984a; and Areas 30; 29; 18 in Garton Slack, Brewster, 1980).
- They are occupied over long periods of time, with successive phases of repair (especially in the porch structures (e.g. B6:3, B12:4, B12:6, Wetwang Slack), enlargement (B6:2, B6:3/B6:4, Wetwang Slack) or complete rebuilding, on the same site (B8:4, B9:5, B12:1, Wetwang Slack and Semi-Circular Slots 1-3 and Houses 1 and 2, Garton Slack Area 19).

In later prehistory, the domestic residence was a fundamental frame of social encounters and labours, as the above analysis of different practices has demonstrated. Domestic architecture would therefore have been a locale in which relations were powerfully inculcated and reproduced, structuring an understanding of social principles and correct forms of behaviour and practice with others (Bourdieu, 1973; Parker Pearson and Richards, 1994; Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995). As Bachelard says, images of the house move in two directions, "they are in us as much as we are in them" (1964: xxxiii).

The architectural principle seen in the building of rows and clusters of adjacent houses may have reproduced close social relations between these households. In carrying out activities in

close proximity to each other, routine associations were made between some families, and not others. Connections between particular households were being defined and structured within the broader community of the slack.

As Moore (1986) indicates in her study of the Endo, households can be 'read' as family histories, in that the different needs of each stage of the life of the family are expressed architecturally in the form and use of the compound. Drawing on this analogy, Brück (1999) has suggested that the lifecycles of middle Bronze Age domestic settlements may relate both practically and metaphorically to the lives of its occupants, and that the single-phase, short-lived inhabitation seen in many sites might be connected symbolically to the generational life-span of a family (Barrett, 1998). However, Wetwang and Garton Slack do not follow this pattern. The overlaps and slight displacements seen in re-dug footings suggest that a long-term relationship between the identity of the household and a *particular* point in space - or place - was being constructed. Given that a substantial roundhouse may survive for up to 100 years (Reynolds, cited in Brück, 1999), this care, repair and replacement of buildings might represent more than five or six generations of occupation (spanning the period of use of the cemetery itself).

In replacing these footings, re-encountering the traces and marks of other builders, people worked through a history of descent. They were grounded genealogically in place; literally and metaphorically raising foundations for a long-lived line.

5.4.8 Summary.

This section has investigated the character of inhabitation in the middle-late Iron Age of East Yorkshire, by exploring the spatial, temporal and social organisation of intersecting practices - the rhythm, roll-call and routine of day-to-day life (Edmonds, 1999). One basic point emerges from this analysis. There is a contrast between practices which were being regionalised in these 'open settlements' (such as domestic residence, storage and consumption of foodstuffs and craftwork), and those which routinely dispersed members of the social group into the broader landscape (to engage in agricultural work, or with stock; Fig. 5.15). Particular members of each household would have been absent from these framed locales on a daily - and sometimes seasonal - basis. Whilst this may have been a way in which important social distinctions were maintained (marking age-grades, gender and social authority), group identity was threatened by the open-weave of such movements, encounters and meetings. The analysis has suggested a closer knit of co-dependent household relations were marked and reproduced in the architecture

of house groups, and the practices which were focused within and close to these dwellings. It has remarked on the lack of large events of communal feasting, and lack of public performance and ritual within the settlement itself. This was a discourse *about* the household *to* the household. It concerned genealogy and their claim to land; providing a history of inhabitation which reminded them literally and ontologically of their *place* in the world. Taking these three themes of genealogy, place and identity, the next section will consider the field of practice in which this discourse was made public: the burial of the dead.

5.5 Landscapes of the dead.

5.5.1 Introduction.

The earlier sections of this chapter have analysed the ways in which the locations of cemeteries were framed through a series of practices, in reference to the historical landscape (of ancient monuments), generative resources which were also animate presences (such as the ancestral dead, and water), and social relations amongst the living (community and kin identity). In this section I will focus on the ways in which funeral rites reproduced identity across different fields of discourse.

5.5.2 Identity and death.

Death is a disruptive and disturbing experience: physically, as the body rots and corrupts, socially, as the fabric of the community is torn by the loss of its member, and ontologically, as people face their own mortality through the death of others. The period of mourning is thus one of emotional confusion, uncertainty and danger, as people try to make sense of the events surrounding death. Through memory and reflection, the deceased is transformed into a member of the dead. Death is therefore an occasion in which particular facets of an individual's identity are held up for public (and probably divine) scrutiny. Although there are aspects of this experience which are non-negotiable, it is the living who decide which parts of a life to condone or condemn, and who to celebrate or make an example of. Identity cannot therefore simply be 'read' from the bodies of the dead because it is not the dead who bury themselves, but rather the living (Parker Pearson, 1993). The representation that the living make speaks of their continued concerns, fears, grief or desires. What is marked, and how it is marked, is part of their memory-work, moving between the established conventions of mortuary tradition and the circumstances of each life *and* death. Some identities are therefore *only* achievable in death, and not even this event "can freeze the picture: there is always the possibility of a post-mortem revision of identity" (Jenkins, 1996: 4). Identity in death is therefore never fully real nor completely idealised (Tarlow, 1999). Moreover, in death the body remains a resource to be

inscribed. Certain bodies can be held up as paragons whilst others can be punished. Funeral rituals, like other rites of passage, were thus used for didactic purposes to speak to the community about its deeply-held principles and beliefs.

The analysis of the square barrow burial rite in East Yorkshire suggests that the death was not the end of social life in these late prehistoric communities. Rather, the dead continued to be an important presence in the community and in the affairs of the living. It was therefore important that the dead entered the collective of the deceased appropriately. It is the practices through which this was structured which this section seeks to unravel.

5.5.3 Narratives of belonging.

I will analyse the character of the square barrow cemeteries in terms of their architectural principles, from the scale of the individual grave, to patterns of association within the cemeteries. The analysis will suggest that the principles of repeated association with place seen in the domestic sphere, were also expressed in funeral practices. The character of these repeated associations will be interpreted as a discourse of group identity, which was further marked by lines of genealogical affiliation.

5.5.3.1 A place for the dead.

From the 3rd-1st century B.C., places for the dead were prepared in four ways (Fig. 5.16-5.18). In the early burials of the period (as at Cowlam, Stead, 1986), the corpse was placed on the surface of the ground, surrounded by a large enclosure ditch and covered by a raised, square mound. In the second tradition, the body was inserted into a central grave pit (varying between 0.45 - 1 metre deep); whilst the pit tends to become deeper towards the end of the period, the size of the actual barrow decreases (Stead, 1991). In both rites, excavation has suggested that the ground was not completely de-turfed prior to burial, and turves or other organic matter were sometimes used to lines the base of grave pits (as at Garton Slack 11, Barrow 2, Brewster, 1980), or reincorporated into the make-up of the mound (as at Garton Station 6, Thew and Wagner, in Stead 1991: 150-151). These two traditions are classified as rite 'A' by Stead (1991). They usually consist of a crouched or contracted inhumation, in which the long axis of the body is lain north-south, so that the corpse faces east or west in death. Burial goods usually consist of a simple jar with a joint of mutton, and more rarely, items of jewellery such as brooches and bracelets (Stead, 1991).

Cart burials (Stead's rite 'C'; Stead, 1989) follow the same principle of burial, with a grave pit covered by an upcast mound. However, they tend to be larger than normal burials, due to the incorporation of a vehicle, and are marked by their elaborate grave goods, including horse-gear. Stead suggests that many of these rare burials are early in the burial rite (1991). As a joint group, rite A and C barrows vary greatly in size, from 3.5 - 15 metres diameter (Whimster, 1981; Stead, 1991). Antiquarian descriptions of Arras and Cowlam describe their height as between 0.6 - 1.5 metres (Whimster, 1988: 88).

In the third rite, 'B', the corpse was interred in a grave pit, without a surrounding enclosure, and therefore probably without a covering mound (e.g. Rudston burials R199, R200 and R201). These rite 'B' burials tend to infill gaps between existing mounds, and are late in the period (usually 1st century B.C., Stead, 1991); the corpse is usually orientated east-west, and tends to be flexed or extended, accompanied by tools and weapons rather than jewellery, and pork rather than mutton.

Finally the fourth rite of burial, 'D', consists of secondary insertions made in existing mounds, either into the central grave or, more commonly, into the surrounding ditch. This rite 'D' (Dent, 1984a) is also characteristic of the later stages of the burial rite. Corpses are rarely provided with any grave goods, and this rite is particularly common for infants and children, although there are relatively few burials of social minors.

From this analysis we can catch something of the architectural preparations involved in each form of burial, and the stages through which individual graves were prepared, filled and sealed. We can also make two points about the architectural effect of these monuments. The analysis undertaken in Appendix II has revealed that very few cemeteries are skylined on the tops of hills, or on shoulders which may have acted as false crests. Topography is not being used to maximise their visual impact, nor is their height or size. Their architecture is subtle, and they would have gradually re-turfed to form a dimpled scar in the landscape. Walking amongst the only standing barrow cemeteries at Danes Graves (Mortimer, 1897, 1898, 1911) or Scorborough, the impressiveness of these monuments arises instead from their aggregated mass; the sheer number of burials gathered together, in one place. This architecture was meant to work collectively and on an intimate scale, as people walked alongside the cemetery.

5.5.3.2 Going with the flow.

This impression was heightened by the linear arrangements of barrows within the cemeteries; most of the larger examples tend to be strung out along the course of the dale, instead of aggregating in a solid mass, or being loosely clustered. At Makeshift, the 'L' shaped cemetery follows the alignment of both the valley running north-south, and a liner earthwork which cuts transversely into the valley from the west (Fig. 5.19). Wetwang and Garton Slack, Whitedyke Hole Plantation and Haisthorpe, Carnaby, also mimic the run of their shallow, open dales.

This respect for topography has been interpreted by Whimster as a product of geology, as the valley base chalk gravels "encouraged the extension of the growing cemeteries along the line of the less resistant subsoils" (1981: 114). It has also been suggested that they are located on areas of poor soil, but colluvial processes and the presence of water in some valleys in fact make these some of the most fertile soils (Paul Buckland, pers.comm.). Rather, this architectural principle can be seen as a way in which the effect of the cemetery on people moving along these valleys was maximised, so that the dead accompanied the living in their journey for as long as possible. In those valleys with permanent watercourses, this sense of movement was further enhanced by the flow of streams.

Death is often seen metaphorically as a 'journey' - a passage from one state or place to another - a temporal shift that itself takes time to accomplish. Flows of people, animals and water past these cemeteries may have structured a relationship between these day-to-day travels, and the journey that had to be undertaken by the deceased before they could return as a member of the dead. The axial alignment of the cemetery - in line with the geological grain, the run of the stream, and the repeated step of feet and hooves - may therefore have been seen as a way of aiding the passage of the dead by encouraging them to go with the flow of the land.

5.5.3.3 The making of a cemetery.

'Cemeteries' only come into being through the repeated burial of many individuals in the same place. They are the product of a powerful ideology, worked through many generations, to sustain the belief that *this* particular locale in the landscape was the right and proper place in which to be buried. In this section, I want to unpick the palimpsest of patterns within cemeteries, to explore the history, scale and character of relations reproduced in this practice.

Most of the cemeteries show some form of spatial clustering or packing, in plan. Parallel rows of burials can be seen at Makeshift, and other barrows abut each other or share enclosure ditches to form conjoined banks of barrow which resemble the glutinous cluster of frogspawn,

as at Rudston and Wetwang Slack. This latter effect is particularly characteristic of the larger cemeteries, resulting in spatially distinct groupings within, as well as between, neighbouring cemeteries.

At Wetwang Slack, over twelve generations of people were buried in the same place. Dent's stratigraphic analysis of its development (using stratigraphic relations, and a relative chronology derived from grave goods, 1984a) reveals that this overall pattern is the result of a set of general trends (Fig. 5.19). The initial burials were laid out along an existing trackway (represented by the fragmentary ditches D, E and F), running west-east just above the base of the slack (Fig. 5.21). On the west side the cemetery was delineated by some form of boundary, which has been completely erased by recuts, and on the west, by the early Bronze Age barrow encircled by a linear earthwork. However, a small group of cart burials which are probably contemporary with this early phase of the cemetery (c. mid 3rd century B.C), are located to the west of the main cemetery (Fig. 5.22). The scale and architectural clustering within the cemetery suggests that it served a small community, comprised of a number of different kin groups (Dent, 1984a).

Three main trends are visible in the cemetery. First, burials develop along the linear axis of the early earthwork (Ditches 8:225, 8:32, 8:33, 6:21, Dent forthcoming), generally from west to east, but forming three equidistant clusters. Second, there is a development of burials northwards of the linear earthwork, leaving a ragged edge to the northern margin of the cemetery, where burials were still being added when the rite finally ceased. Third, at some point in the late 2nd - 1st century B.C., a new linear ditch was cut parallel to the older trackway, but further north, effectively bisecting the cemetery (linear feature group 1.1, Dent forthcoming). It cut across the ditches of monuments, but apparently avoided their central inhumations. A second ditch was dug parallel to this, forming what later became a trackway (linear feature group 1.2, Dent, forthcoming). All subsequent burials were made to the north of these earthworks, and a row of burials in series suggests that a bank may have been thrown up on its northern side (e.g. WS286 - WS263). The elliptical ditch encircling the ancient round barrow was also recut as part of this project. This creation of a 'new' and 'old' section of the cemetery would have been readable as a 'history' of burial.

In terms of burial practice, early surface burials, which tend to be spaced equidistantly, are succeeded by burials in smaller barrows with deep grave pits. These burials are placed close to each other, sometimes directly abutting or sharing enclosure ditches. As the sequence develops,

they gather the appearance of a series of patches tacked onto the fringe of an earlier burial. Secondary (rite D) insertions also become common as this point in the history of the cemetery history, and may be another way in which people made a deliberate association with a particular burial mound. Late burials are squeezed into the gaps between older monuments, tightening the geometric effect of the cemetery.

This general pattern is repeated at Makeshift (R1-R189, Stead, 1991, Fig. 5.23). As noted, early barrows are aligned with the course of the Gypsey Race and the base of the valley, as well as a subsidiary earthwork running in from the west. Rows of barrows form parallel to each other over time, and although it never achieves the densely clustered effect of Wetwang Slack, there are pockets of conjoined barrows which are set themselves apart from the other burials. In the later period of the use of the cemetery's, rite B burials are places within the interstices of earlier burials. There are some east-west aligned burials with barrows, as well as some north-south burials with no covering mound, suggesting an overlap between rite A-B, which Stead argues could have conceivably occurred within the space of a single generation (1991: 181).

Dent has interpreted this general trend as reflecting a growing 'economy' of space, in which the community developed:

> "more economical forms of funeral monument. The later barrows with deep graves and small platforms could be crowded into a much smaller space than the earlier large barrows" (Dent, 1982: 453).

Whimster also argues that:

> "the growth of at least the larger burial grounds would have been delimited by a pre-existing scheme of land-allocation" (1981: 116).

In this model, close to that outlined by Cunliffe (Fig. 1.3), growing population, deterioration in climate and pressure upon cultivable land, led the community to adopt architectural strategies which delimited the area of space occupied by the dead. I want to suggest that a different spatial logic was at work.

5.5.3.4 Making relations.

The analysis presented above has sought to characterise the funeral practices of the middle-later Iron Age of East Yorkshire, and to explore how they changed over time. It has done so

through the 'stratigraphy' of cemeteries, to foreground the architectural effect of these practices, and the spatial relations that are thus being made over time.

In summary, founder burials within the cemeteries inform an equidistant spacing of monuments, along general axes. Later burials associate themselves with these early barrows, and over time, this spatial proximity becomes more obsessive, with burials situated not only adjacent to earlier monuments, but also sometimes within their ditches or primary graves, or in the gaps between neighbouring barrows.

I want to approach this funeral practice in terms of the social relations which were produced through its ritual performance and the way in which it affected memory and identity in these communities. I have argued that the reiterative location of the dead of a community in a particular space actively produces an intense sense of belonging *in* that place. The construction of rows of barrows and repeated rebuilding in the same area, is a principle that would have been recognised from domestic structures such as roundhouses and four-post structures. However, the graves make this an association between the individual and particular others. This is not a simple dichotomy of individual versus communal identity (cf Bevan, 1997, 1999). The graves make it clear that the identity of each person could *not* be divorced from the web of their social relations with others.

As each barrow was tacked onto a sequence of monuments, it created a genealogical narrative; a dynasty that was readable through the rows and alignments of the cemetery architecture (Mizoguchi, 1992; Last, 1995). The cemeteries provided a material mnemonic by which such genealogies could be remembered, asserted, repeated, retold. Recalling Whitehouse's analytical distinction between different forms of memory (1992), this is an *inscribing* practice, dependent on frequent verbal repetition, the common witnessing and attesting of ideological principles, involving the *aides-memoire* of the cemetery. What is striking about monuments is their invisibility to those who are most familiar with them (Taussig, 1999). As Musil argues, "like a drop of water on an oilskin, attention runs down them without stopping for a moment" (cited in Taussig, 1995: 91). They are only brought forward *into* view, at particular times, through moments of explicit attention (Barrett, 1999c). This is particularly the case of the burial of new members of this collective.

To strangers, these cemeteries would have presented a confusing patchwork, a disorientating and awe-inspiring mass of ancestors which spoke of long histories of inhabitation of these

places. Yet the burials were not only a discourse addressed to the living. Berger has suggested that a community's views of time are relentlessly cross-examined by death (1984: 44), and that graves act as 'letters of recommendation' to the dead, concerning the deceased, making the appropriate gestures and appeals by which they may become transformed into ancestors.

5.5.3.5 Affiliative architecture.

I have suggested that these webs of relations are being cited and reproduced through funeral practice. In such small-scale communities, kinship is one of the dominant axes through which such relations were forged, and osteological analysis has been used in the analysis of the East Yorkshire cemeteries, to confirm that it is genealogical relations which are being expressed in the spatial relations between square barrows.

Non-metric traits analysis holds out the promise of being able to identify family groupings in osteological material: Dawes uses Brothwell's criteria (1972) to explore this in the cemetery at Wetwang (in Dent, 1984a: Appendix III). Dent interprets the resulting patterns as possible evidence of family groupings within the cemetery. For example, burials 22 and 95 both indicate metopism, similarities in sutural bones and absent 3rd molars, and are both located in the eastern part of the cemetery. Metopism is also shared by burials 120 and 134 which are adjacent to each other in the north-western area of the cemetery, which (from the stratigraphic analysis) were evidently both dug after the erection of barrow 121. Dent identifies another group of burials, three of which share lumber abnormalities, which appear to be part of an architecturally tight cluster (215, 217, 220, part of group 216, 218, 219). He suggests that some kin-related groups may thus be buried in 'family vaults', involving a primary burial and secondary insertions, by the mid-La Tène period.

Sheila Stead uses similar traits to investigate groupings within the Great Wolds Valley cemeteries (in Stead, 1991, Fig, 5.24). Although she argues that approximate family groupings may be represented in proximate burials at both Rudston and Burton Fleming, again this was often determined on the basis of one or two shared traits. Thus BF 24, 25 and 27 all demonstrate metopism, and the latter two also indicate parietal notch bones. Although another cluster to the south (BF 36, 37 and 40) again indicate metopism, there are many surrounding burials (male and female) which do not share these traits. Two adjacent burials R174 and R175 share both dental overcrowding and parietal foramen, and the latter trait is also shared by R173 and R181, which are the next closest burials. Also at Rudston, R97, R104, R107 and R112 share parietal notch bones.

However, there are problems with this analysis. As Tyrell points out, non-metric traits are normal anatomical variants which have a probable basis in genetic polymorphisms (2000 and in press) but they can also be the result of environmental and disease related traumas, affecting development processes (Mays, 1998). Some traits are also likely to be indicators of occupational stress. Whilst a combination of traits might indicate genetic groupings, it is almost impossible to separate these from other causes of skeletal abnormalities. Tyrell suggests that they should rather be seen as a measure of total similarity of interaction between the genome and the environment within which the genetic material was expressed (in press). Clearly, in a small-scale community where there is little indication of a large influx of people, environmental factors and genetic characteristics may remain fairly constant. At present, these indicators are the work of further study, to determine which may be more reliable genetic markers (Hammond, pers.comm.).

Although caution must therefore be used when using these methodology, we can raise the possibility that the spatial relations created between burial monuments were both an expression of genealogical affiliation *and* part of the mnemonics by which they were recalled. This need not have been a faithful rendition of descendency. Many of these spatial gestures could have been politically astute locations of individuals, to forge a relation with key figures in the community's history. Also, 'kinship' need not have a foundation in biological process (Holy, 1996); as a relation that is always socially constituted, it can have many nuanced definitions which do not fit a genetic conception of inheritance and descendency.

I am thus arguing that the funeral practice itself was one of the crucial discourses through which kinship may have been defined and understood. As part of the material conditions through which relations were rehearsed, 'fictional' dynasties as well as relations of blood were made material through the cemeteries. Once embedded in the architecture of the cemetery, such claims would be difficult to refute, coming to have their own truth *through* this 'citational' practice. In this discourse, social power was reproduced in an ability to 'place' one's dead in relation to particular others, and separate others from such relations, denying them both place and history. Such acts of marginalisation may be seen in a number of smaller groups or isolated barrows, which demonstrate no sustained relation with a larger community, and appear short-lived. Effectively divorced or outcast, their separation may have been the result of social or political transgressions or 'bad deaths' - violent or unfortunate incidents which demanded special ritual proscriptions.

These familial distinctions, reproduced in the cemetery, were becoming increasingly important at the expense of the broader social group. These spatial clusters pulled against the symbolism of the cemetery itself.

5.5.4 Summary.

This section has explored the practices by which the dead were located in the landscape, and in their social relations with others. It has moved between the architecture of the grave itself to spatial patterning within and between cemeteries, and has shown how funeral practice was made meaningful through its references to principles in other fields of practice.

The identity that was being reproduced in this discourse made statements about belonging in place, an identity rooted in 'blood and soil', as in Barrès' notion of *la patrie* - which is not a matter of choice, but of the earth that one has been born in, inheriting:

> "this succession of ancestors and their posterity... [so that] One can move places, but one cannot take one's soils with one, and one cannot make another's soil one's own. One may change company, but not one's dead, the dead ancestors who are his and not of the others; nor may one transform other people's dead onto one's own ancestors." (ibid, 1992: 684).

But as Bauman makes clear, and I have demonstrated, this identity of blood and soil is a fiction; a fiction created through the active practice of funeral ritual itself, through which particular scales of identity were *made* material, bringing into being the very relations they purported to cite. A form of 'anamnesis' was at work here, in which identity was predicated upon a refusal to forget where and with whom one belonged. This was possible because of their landscape position, which made memory-work a matter of day-to-day praxis, alongside these 'moments' of ritual performance. It is to these the explicitly performative character of the burial rite that I now want to turn.

5.6 Identity and authority: the transformation of substance.

5.6.1 Introduction.

Funerary rituals enabled the later prehistoric communities of East Yorkshire to make formal, reiterative statements about their sense of identity, and the principles by which they lived. The point is that ritual confers *moral* and *sacred* authority on these practices; sanctioning certain kinds of relation and making others 'unthinkable' (Butler, 1999). In this final section I intend to explore the ways in which both secular and ritual practices were used by particular individuals

to impose particular forms of authority and identity on the wider community through the funerary discourse. This project will be realised through an analysis of the micro-traditions of burial existing within and between middle-later Iron Age cemeteries in East Yorkshire.

5.6.2 The body politic.

My analysis will make use of Mary Douglas' theory of embodied classification (1996 [1970]). Humans seek to make sense of the world by imposing classificatory systems upon it. Because it is the source of phenomenological experience, the body is often used as a metaphor for society. Society 'naturalises' a particular view of the body in order to enable it to carry certain kinds of social meaning (Douglas, 1996). These meanings are historically and politically contingent (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) and the individual must therefore orientate him/herself within the 'grid' of the system. Douglas offers a means of distinguishing analytically between a range and impact of classifications of the body within the grid by the 'group' - a second axis of power measured in terms of its control of individuality and the pressure it exerts on others to conform.

5.6.3 Analysis and Interpretation.

The analysis of burial rites is limited to those cemeteries which have been systematically excavated, well recorded and published (or which exist in the form of an accessible archive):

- the Great Wolds Valley cemeteries excavated by Stead (1991), comprising Rudston (Makeshift), Rudston (Argam Lane), Burton Fleming (Argam Lane) and Burton Fleming (Bell Slack), Fig 5.25.
- the cemeteries and outlying barrows at Wetwang and Garton Slack excavated by Dent (1984a; 1985) and Brewster (1980), Fig. 5.26.
- the cemeteries and barrow clusters at Garton Station and Kirkburn, excavated by Stead (1991), Fig. 5.27.
- Cowlam, the only small barrow group cemetery to have been re-excavated and recorded under modern conditions (Greenwell, 1877; Stead, 1986), Fig. 5.28.

In order to facilitate the quantitative comparison between cemeteries and the visual analysis of spatial patterns within them, the investigation of funeral rites has been carried out at three levels: (Appendix III, Figs. 5.30 - 5.50):

1. an analysis of all burials, listed by site and context/burial number and recording ten variables: the presence/absence of skeletal remains, rite type (as summarised by Stead, 1991: 79, and Dent, 1984a), orientation and posture of the body in the grave, sex, age, architecture of the grave, the presence and position of grave goods (divided by material;

wood, copper alloy, iron, stone, amber, ceramic, glass, animal bone and flint), approximate date and biographical details of the artefacts contained in the grave (see Key, Appendix III, Fig. 5.32 - Fig. 5.50).

2. composite summaries of grave goods in relation to the body (distinguishing between male and female burials, different types of posture, and rite C compared with other rite types, Fig. 5.30).
3. the mapping of key characteristics onto individual cemetery plans (selected extracts of which are presented here, Fig. 5.31).

The analysis has therefore examined variations within and between cemeteries, focusing on how the body was treated. It has identified three principles of common mortuary practice in this period: the closure of the body, the orientation of the body, and the materialisation of particular aspects of identity through human - non-human relations.

5.6.4 A closed view.

5.6.4.1 Viewing the body.

First, I would argue that there is a principle of closure by which the body was successively removed from view during the course of the funeral. This was achieved in a number of ways: by brooches and pins, coffins, carts and shields (Fig. 5.37).

Upon death, the body was wrapped in textiles. Although Jundi (1998) interprets these as funeral garments, many of the brooches are found directly in front of the face or behind the skull. Whilst clothing may have become tangled or hitched around the head, it seems more likely that these textiles have been deliberately pulled around the face and pinned at the front or back of the head, and are shrouds or winding sheets (Dent, 1984a: 28). Iron pins, staples, studs and multiple bone pins found in the area of the face probably served a similar function. Further support for this interpretation comes from Garton Slack, where Brewster noted three cases of black staining which he interpreted as rotted cloths or sheets completely covering the length of the body (1980: see Appendix III).

The second manner in which the body was closed from view was by a wooden cist or coffin, which survive as stains in the chalk gravel, or are mineralised where they have been in contact with grave contents. Some appear portable and sealed (as in the cases where iron clamps or dogs indicate jointed frames) or else consist of planking laid around and over the body. In some cases, these coffins were lined with fibres of rush or sedge (Dent, 1984a: 26), or matted grass

and straw (as found in a burial at Garton Slack, excavated by the Granthams, referenced by Dent, 1984a: 26). In other cases, turves appear to have been laid in the base of the grave (Brewster, 1980: 672). Coffins are particularly common at Wetwang Slack compared with the other cemeteries, and whilst this may be a product of preservation conditions and careful excavation, there is a concomitantly lower proportion of brooches than at Rudston, suggesting that the same principle was achieved in complementary ways at the different cemeteries.

In all of the rite C burials studied in Appendix III, the cart was dissembled into its component elements, and the upturned box laid over the body. The box mimicked the effect of a coffin, and the cart burials can therefore be seen as the high end of a range of options through which visual access to the body was withdrawn. A similar effect could be obtained with shields, which are common in rite C male burials, as well as later rite B flexed or extended burials at Rudston and type A burials at Garton Station. These mimic aspects of rite B but lack their distinctive east-west orientation. This may reflect the preservation of one particular element of the burial tradition in the context of wider dramatic changes taking place. It is therefore possible to think of these different rites as a 'hierarchy' of choices, by which the same effect was achieved: shrouds and shields, coffins and carts.

5.6.4.2 Concealment: the art of knowing what not to see.

In a sequence which may have paralleled rites of initiation and marriage, the dead were gradually removed from the company and sight of one community, in order to enter another. Each stage of the funeral ritual successively erased part of the distinctive identity of the deceased - their face, the intimate personal items in which they had been dressed, the marks of wounds or diseases - and created an archetypal body out of the wrapped or coffined corpse. The tightly crouched or contracted form of many skeletons (especially at Rudston, Fig. 5.40, Appendix III) suggests that the corpse was dressed and then bound, using brooches and pins being to keep clothing or shrouds in place. The body was then conveyed to the grave side, perhaps on some form of stretcher or board, or within a coffin or cart. Within the densely packed architecture of the cemetery, only a select few would have been able to crowd around the grave, again restricting visual access to particular individuals (although possibly not the male-dominated group depicted in Fig. 1.4, in which grieving women and children barely participate in the ceremony!). Shovelfuls of soil and chalk gravel would then been thrown into the grave in a final covering of the body, culminating in the creation of a slightly raised mound.

Wrapping, as Thomas notes, draws attention to the material boundaries of the thing that is being hidden (1999). Concealment is therefore a deliberately heterotropic gesture: that is to say, it achieves one thing by claiming to do another. The covering or concealing of the body resonates with what Taussig has called "the pulsating magical power of the play of presence and absence" (1999: 175). In its concealment, it *reveals* all the more intensely, the thing which it seeks to hide. Taussig describes this paradox as 'the skill of knowing what not to know'. The living must unlearn their former relationships with the dead and negotiate new ones.

'Forgetting' involves the active erasure and removal of memories; it is a political strategy by which a particular relationship with the past is structured (Mines and Weiss, 1997). For the Susurunga of New Ireland, the forgetting of the dead takes the form of elaborate mortuary feasts, whose purpose is to "bury and finish all thought of the man" (Jackson, 1996: 161). The protracted time of mortuary rituals enable people to *remember they are forgetting*, but as they testify, the "we are properly forgetting him, but we always know him and his work." (Jackson, 1996: 161). There is a deliberate paradox here: "to forget something, but know where it is" (1996: 161). Rather than excising the person from the chain of their relations, the repeated act of forgetting (the "labour of the negative" Taussig, 1999: 169) reproduces the generative schema within which all members of society were ordered. The members of these middle-later Iron Age communities knew only too well who was buried where. The architecture of the cemetery could be read as a lineage, or genealogy within which the dead were transformed and rehabilitated.

5.6.4.3 Sight as knowledge: a privileged view.

Whilst the body's sensorial capacities are often the root of metaphorical relations, there is no innate hierarchy of the senses (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Rather they arise through inhabitation, and the body's experience of place. Gell describes the dominance of auditory metaphors or iconisms used by the New Guinean Umeda, in terms of their day-to-day dwelling in densely forested 'phonoscapes', where sound is privileged over sight as an instrument of knowledge (1995). The emphasis on visual concealment outlined above suggests that it was rather the metaphor of 'sight as knowledge' which was of significance in later prehistoric East Yorkshire.

The cart buried in rite C represent the ultimate 'vehicle' for this discourse. The cart raises its occupants above the level of others: it changes the spatial and social relationship between bodies, removing intimacy and according particular individuals a 'privileged view'. They are also removed from the sight-line of others, who must straighten their back and look up to see

them pass (Kerr, 1968:11). In gatherings or performances these qualities may have been exploited to facilitate visual access to an individual perched above the crowd. The cart could also therefore provide a stage or setting for oration and public announcement.

Pare discusses the uses of such vehicles (1989), arguing like Stead (1979) and Piggott (1992) that these light carts pulled by a two-horse team, were neither war chariots nor carriages for the mass haulage of people or goods. Instead, they may well have fulfilled a range of uses, in ritual processions (associated with cult figures, deities or funeral rites), as props in festivals or performances, or as conveyances for a particular social group (1989: 81).

The effect of the vehicle in such events was enhanced by the horse-gear of the ponies, ornaments such as the discs and roundels found in cart graves (Arras A2 and A4). Great care was taken in the crafting and maintenance of these artefacts, such as the worn tyre and re-used nave-hoop in K5, the repaired yoke in WS455, and worn terret rings in GS11, Barrow 2. Personal items such as the whip found in GS11, Barrow 2 (Fig. 5.57), would have drawn attention to the driver of the cart, emphasising their skilled control of the horse-team. Two more examples of whips may be represented in the bronze ferrules found in the 'Charioteer's barrow' (Arras burial 2, item f) in Stead, 1965: 90) and the 'Lady's barrow' (Arras burial 28, also item f), Stead 1965: 91). Whips were therefore likely to have been considered both implements and symbols of control. Carts made their occupants visual spectacles - in life and in death. Moreover, the sound of the cart and horse coming down the high-sided dry valleys of the Wolds must also have made this an auditory experience. I want to suggest that the magnified echo of the horse-team, the jangle of horse-gear and the creak of the iron-shod tyres would have evoked an association with travel and distance in the ears of its hearers. I have already suggested that the landscape of later prehistoric East Yorkshire was characterised by an increasing scrutiny of the movement of people and an increasing obsession with rites of access. In a world closed in upon particular centres, spatial distance (and the ability to traverse it) is often seen as an axis of power (Helm, 1988). I would argue it is this very ambiguous relationship between the local and the distant, which made the cart the vehicle *par excellence* for the funeral ritual, drawing all of these living associations into mortuary discourse. It was the ultimate stage for framing and drawing attention to a body, before dramatically concealing it from view. It was also a tool of authority, imbued with the capacity, quite literally to *see* beyond the local. Indeed, if the deceased were perceived to face a difficult and dangerous journey, the cart may well have been designed symbolically to speed their departure and ultimately, their return.

5.6.5 Orientating the body.

A series of structuring principles in the orientation and placement of the body after death can be linked to a concern with the visual appearance of the body which further reproduced the relationship between sight and knowledge outlined above. (Appendix III, Fig. 5.40 - 5.46). Rite A strongly favours a contracted or tightly crouched position, in which the body is lain on its left-hand side and orientated axially north-south, usually facing east. Rite C follows these principles, but here the body tends to be more relaxed (probably because it was not bound or wrapped before being interred). Rite B burials are flexed or extended, and although the changeover to a west-east axial orientation may appear sudden, both Dent (forthcoming) and Stead (1991) trace examples where elements of rite A and B occur together, suggesting a period of a generation or more, in which the rite was transformed.

Particular preferences within these broad principles can be identified in the cemeteries. Rudston (Makeshift) is marked by its left-hand side, crouched rite A burials, and flexed or extended, east-west rite B burials. There are no rite C, D or B burials at Rudston (Argam Lane) and Burton Fleming, and rite A again shows a strong, left-handed preference, with small groups of west-facing rite A burials amongst mainly east-facing inhumations. The rite A burials at Garton Station share commonalities in traditions with rite B burials elsewhere, but adhere to the north-south axis, and face east. At Wetwang Slack, this prescription is incredibly strong, dominated by east-facing, rite A burials lain on their left-hand side. Most burials were crouched, with only a few more flexed examples. This pattern is echoed in the secondary insertions (rite D), although a few of these must also be recognised as rite B cross-overs, consisting of east-west orientated corpses inserted into earlier mounds.

In multiple burials, posture and orientation responds more subtly to the presence of more than one body in the grave. Out of the rite A double burials at Rudston (R118a/b, R51a/b), two were arranged 'top to toe' (one N-S, facing east, the other S-N, facing west), as if a principle of bodily symmetry was being created, and this pattern was also repeated in WS447/WS448 and WS37/WS38 (both rite A). However, other rite A burials maintain the common orientation for both corpses (BF61a/b, WS54/WS55, WS228/WS229 and GS8/10 burials 3 and 4), or position them so that they face each other (WS368/WS369 and rite C WS5 burial 1). In rite B double burials, the dead are arranged in a common orientation but are also turned inwards, to face each other (R73a/b and R152a/b). In the one example of a triple burial (rite A, R185a/b/c) consisting of an adolescent and two juveniles, the bodies were commonly orientated with their heads to

the south, facing inwards towards each other. These burials were superimposed, suggesting the children had probably died within a short space of time, and been buried together in a series of stages.

Women were only buried with foetus' at Kirkburn, Wetwang and Garton Slack, even though death in the latter stages of pregnancy must have been common. The unborn foetus appeared to be *in situ* in most cases (K3, WS156 , WS309), but where a miscarriage or stillbirth appears to have occurred, the foetus or infant was placed between the pelvis and the tucked-up heels of its mother (e.g. K6, WS5 Barrow 1, GS7 Barrow 4, Burial 1).

Funerary practice originated in the world and can be conceived as a form of figural aesthetics which fashioned people's understanding of their own bodies and those of others (McNay, 1999: 109). However the placement of bodies in the cemeteries of East Yorkshire had other associations rooted in daily practice, such as the eastern orientation of the entrances of roundhouses. Whilst we may not be able to access fully the meanings of such principles, the body is revealed in as being both generative of, and generated by, these dispositions.

5.6.6 The biography of bodies.

5.6.6.1 Relational identities: humans and non-humans.

Identity materialises in practice, through the network of relations between human and non-humans (Latour, 1993). As a relational approach to identity has argued, instruments are so intimately involved in labour that they cannot be readily separated from the worker themselves, giving rise to metaphorical relations between people and things. Sliding in-and-out of mundane and ritual practice, objects are not merely symbols but rather constitutive of identity. Moreover, their own history comes to the moment of a particular event, suffusing this new context with other associations, relations and memories (Hoskins, 1998). I intend to explore patterns in the alliances forged between people and things in the funerary practices of later prehistoric East Yorkshire. In particular I will seek to explore the ways in which categories of age and gender were structured through these 'messy material alliances'.

5.6.6.2 Gender and age as practice.

Archaeology faces a difficult task. Demographic analysis relies on the osteological sexing and ageing of skeletons, and thus often reproduces a biologically determinist image of the body. Gender is not simply a social category mapped onto the physical sex of the body. As Butler has argued, the very conception and definition of what it is to be male or female arises through the

fleshy experience of social performance, in which the body is constituted *as* a certain category of identity (1993; 1999). This is not a matter of *constructing* an identity from a set of raw materials or attributes. For the social actor this is experienced more as the revelation of certain capacities in a given situation, by which they and others publicly recognise their gender (Strathern, 1988).

If both age and gender are reproduced through social practice, then we can explore the material conditions of its constitution in fields of discourse such as burial. Anomalies between osteological identification and material practice can help cast doubt on the distinction between (biological) sex and (social) gender. This will reveal the way in which identity *continually* came into being for people, through their embodied and material inhabitation of the world.

5.6.7.3 Bringing people into being: age.

Some basic points can be made from the demographic analysis (Appendix III, Fig. 5.32 - 5.36). Firstly, 78% of burials consist of adults (over the age of 16). This probably fails to reflect the actual proportion of pre-adult deaths within the community, although juveniles and infants are more common than adolescents, which may represent their greater susceptibility to accident and disease. Importantly, it is rare for non-adults to be buried in a grave of their own, especially infants of less than 1 year old, and they usually occur as rite D insertions into other graves. It is possible that if they died before puberty, their identity was subsumed within that of an adult relative, with whom they were associated. This distinction in identity is also marked by a lack of grave goods. This suggests that in burial, artefacts were perceived to have biographical associations, or to be generative of age and gender identity.

5.6.6.4 Bringing people into being: gender.

Within the adult burials, the higher proportion of female sexed skeletons (especially in the 16-35 year age range), probably reflects incidences of death in pregnancy or childbirth. In general, women over 25 years of age were twice as likely to be buried with artefacts than their male counterparts. However, there are clear differences between the kind of artefacts associated with each gender.

To investigate these themes, I have made an analytical distinction between items which can be seen as bodily adornments (brooches, pins, rings, necklaces and bracelets), portable artefacts such as weapons, tools and containers, and finally animal species, which represent selected joints of meat, placed in the grave (see Appendix III, Figs. 5.47 - 5.50).

Bodily adornment.

Brooches occur in a range of forms, from early La Tène I arched and flat bow types to penannular forms, and short involuted brooches which become progressively elongated over time (La Tène II-III, fig. 5.51). Occasionally, these latter brooches are made with hinged rather than sprung pins, and solid catch-foot plates, and some are decorated with applied or inlaid enamel and studs. Whilst the body of the brooch is usually made of iron, many have copper alloy fittings. These are found in both male and female graves, in equal proportions, although ring-headed pins and staples are more commonly found with men. All of these objects aided the fastening or binding of the body and do not appear to reproduce gender distinctions.

Toe rings made of copper alloy are found with both sexes, usually as pairs (one on the second toe of each foot). Jet and worked bone rings are found on the fingers of men, compared with worked bone and iron finger rings with women. Rings and beads of copper alloy, jet, glass, iron and amber are also found in the neck region, which could represent earrings, pendants or beaded hair. For example, the small glass bead found on the probable female in R16 was located just beneath her left ear, but the two shale beads in BF47 were found side-by-side close to the face, and might have been attached to a length of leather as a necklace, or a braid of long hair. The young woman buried in K6 wore a double copper alloy stud decorated with berried rosette terminals, possibly as a garment or cap fastener, but also appears to have worn a small, yellow amber bead in her right ear, and a shale ring, accompanied by a riveted, hollow copper alloy ring, in her right (fig.5.68). Possible earrings or hair beads were only found twice, and only on men from Wetwang Slack. A jet ring, paste bead and copper alloy ring were found in the neck region of the man buried as part of the 'sinful couple' cart-style burial in WS5 Barrow 1 (see below), and a simple copper alloy ring on WS312.

Glass bead earrings, pendants or hair beads were found singly or in pairs on women, but never on men, and glass bead necklaces were found exclusively on women, usually in the older age category (and one pre-adult) at Cowlam and Wetwang-Garton Slack (although they are also known from Arras, Stead, 1979). Whilst most of these appeared *in situ* around the neck, one was scattered across the body, as if broken (WS209). This may have been a significant difference in dress between neighbouring communities, or point to differences in the acquisitive ability of each group: one necklace from Wetwang Slack would have provided more than enough beads for the earrings or hair ornaments found in the burials in the Great Wolds Valley.

Apart from the above rings, other pendants are indicated in the iron tweezers from WS64, strung together with a bronze ring, an amber and two glass beads (fig. 5.53). The copper alloy tweezers with pinched slider from WS210 were also associated with a copper alloy ring pendant, as well as a necklace of seventy beads. Iron tweezers were also found associated with an iron bracelet in WS57, again indicating this was an exclusively female category of artefact. Tweezers have only been found at Wetwang Slack and Arras, in the 'Queen's barrow', (where they were accompanied by a nail cleaner, glass necklace and two bracelets, Stead, 1979).

Only one male was buried with a bracelet made of copper alloy (WS160). Again these were far more numerous on women, occurring in a variety of materials from jet armlets to copper alloy or iron bracelets. From the knobbed or beaded forms to plain bands or twisted strips (fig. 5.5.x) they were usually positioned on the upper arm or slipped around the wrist. Some were closed pieces, whilst others had overlapping or mortise and tenon terminals. Although out of the study area, a unique form of iron bracelet was found on a contracted burial at Middleton-on-the-Wolds, onto which were threaded two bone beads (Sheppard, 1923).

Women were thus associated strongly with artefacts that altered the appearance of the body through ornamentation (with jewellery), or body-work (such as the tweezers and nail cleaner). The relationship noted below between women and mirrors or spindle whorls, should also be seen in light of this theme. These objects were not mere decoration: they embodied powerful metaphors regarding the power to transform, fashion or reveal the matter of the body. Perhaps this skill of fashioning identity drew metaphorical parallels with the ultimate act of 'making bodies', that is pregnancy and childbirth. The reiterative association of necklaces, ear-rings and tweezers with women, may well have imbued them with this female capacity, so that they came to embody the power of conception and transformation.

Portable artefacts: weaponry.

In contrast, weapons show a heavy bias towards males. There is only one (possible) female burial with a sword (R163), ten swords with men and four with skeletons which could not be sexed or showed contra-indications. Belt discs, aiding the suspension of the sword, were only found in two cases, both amongst the Wetwang Slack cart burial group (WS453/CB1 and WS455/CB3). Spearheads were found exclusively with men, as well as shields. The latter were most common within the Great Wolds Valley cemeteries, in rite B burials. They are usually positioned over the lower torso of the body. Interestingly, the shield buried in WS455 (Cart

burial 2) appears to have been laid boss-downwards in the grave. One shield was found in a female grave (R163), but knives and daggers were only placed in male graves, usually close to the hands or the lower torso. As a joint category, weapons and shields were most commonly associated with younger men (16-25 years old). It is possible that this aspect of the burial rite helped reproduce the identity of men in early adulthood, as a category most commonly associated with violent tendencies, aggression and/or defence within the community.

In many cases, swords and other weapons such as daggers, bear textile impressions which suggest that they were wrapped separately (e.g. R24, R153, WS543, WS545), before being interred. Their 'bodies' were being treated as analogous to the human corpse, carefully clothed to conceal them from view. Given the small number of swords involved, such long-cherished and curated weapons may themselves have borne individual identities, even names, which became synonymous with their biography of violence. This latent power may have been thought to reside in the artefact itself, but its activation by skilful individuals conferred the prestige and capacity of this implement upon its user. The final deposition or sacrifice of such items points to their inalienability from the identity of the deceased, either through their actual wielding of such a weapon, or their associations with powerful kin. Swords were frequently buried in the position in which they appear to have been worn: across the back, ready to be drawn over the shoulder (Stead, 1991: fig. 5.54). This enhanced people's view of these rare and terrifyingly beautiful weapons in life, but further concealed it in the grave. I would suggest that a metaphorical relation was also being reproduced here: the sword as 'backbone' of the community.

This analogy between people and weapons was reproduced through the long biographies of their use or 'life', such as the broken tang of R57 and R146, the broken tip and flaked tang of R107, or the chipped washer of R182. Many had been worn through handling, such as the decorated scabbards of swords such as WS455 and Bugthorpe, and had been cared for and repaired, such as the plate of K3, and the iron strips applied to R193. Other weapons show damaged tips, such as the knife blade in R45 and dagger in R87 and R153, worn blades (also R153) or broken tangs (BF63). These biographies were sometimes abruptly terminated: two spearheads ended their lives in the killing of human individuals (R94, R152a). In other cases, spearheads bear severe damage from where they were aggressively thrust into the already-dead bodies of young men, in a secondary, ritual 'killing' (e.g. R24, R140, R140, R154, R174, GS4, GS5, GS7, GS10 WS211, WS453). In R148, a shield boss appears to have been smashed into pieces, scattering into fragments across the grave and within the fill. The frequent presence of

mineralised wood on the tips of spearheads indicates that spears had often been thrust into wooden shields covering the body (e.g. R154, R174, GS5 and GS10). In these cases, both body and weapon were being ritually 'wounded' in such events, separating them both from the world in which they had moved.

Portable artefacts: tools.

In contrast to weapons, tools such as bone awls/points were found with both sexes, although spindle whorls were only placed in female graves (usually in the neck-lower torso region, as if suspended as a pendant). One hammer was associated with a male grave (R87), and like the damaged weapons, its tip was again absent. Another was deposited as part of a craft-working set consisting of iron awl, file, hook knife and antler tine, buried in a small cluster, an unsexed grave (R141). A metalworking toolkit of tongs, coupler and hammerhead, was also included in a male grave (R154), alongside a sword and shield. The textile and leather impressions on the latter group of tools may again indicate that they were wrapped in some covering, before their deposition (in Stead, 1991: 79).

The relationship noted between men, weaponry and metalworking tools, suggests that maleness may have been closely associated with qualities such as strength and aggression, and the ability to effect violent change upon other bodies or non-human substances. As this association is weaker with older men, it is possible that such capacities or skills were believed to emerge in, and mark, the strongest and most virile period of men's' lives, waning with older age. Death during this zenith period may have been particularly inauspicious, prompting their burial with objects which embodied these powers.

Other portable artefacts.

Other rare items include a whip (found placed against the back of the flexed, male Garton Slack cart burial, GS11, Barrow 2), the spectacular chainmail coat placed over the body of a man at Kirkburn (K5), and two mirrors (Fig. 5.57). Both mirrors were associated with women, one from Garton Slack, GS7, Barrow 2, Burial 1 found close to the hands, and Wetwang Slack, WS454/CB2, placed behind the head. Like the carts included in all of these burials, and the shield in WS455, these items were often figuratively 'unmade' in deposition: the chainmail coat was placed inverted over the lower torso, and face-down, so that its shoulders lay on the deceased's knees (Fig. 5.58). The former mirror was placed with its polished surface face-down in the grave, and at WS454 it was found (with the cylindrical container, see below) behind the head, handle upwards, mimicking the position of swords in male burials.

The greater number of male cart burials distorts the fact that cart fittings were equally lavish in male and female graves, and should be considered as part of a repertoire consisting of dismantled box, wheels, axle and pole shaft, yoke and terret rings, lynch pins, horse bits and strap fittings or toggles. This 'litany' of fittings, which were often worn and well-cherished, have already been discussed as a means by which the cart was able to create the most dramatic setting for the performance of the square barrow ritual.

Containers.

The penultimate category of grave goods consists of containers (Fig. 5.59). Two boxes were found in cart burials: one is a solid copper alloy, engraved cylindrical container (from the female cart burial, WS454/CB2). The other consists of copper alloy fittings from what appears to be a D-shape organic lid (probably made of wood or cured leather), with three eyelets functioning as hinges and a fastener for this pouch or basket. Both were placed in the grave above the head of the corpse.

Of a more mundane nature, ceramic vessels, consisting of plain coarseware jars, are more commonly found with women and older men, in a range of positions: behind the head or in front of the face, along the axis of the torso (in the region of the chest, hands and pelvis), and at the feet. There seems to be no gender distinction in these positions, although the vessels are usually found 'before' the body, as if ready to be picked up, if they are not nestled at the back of the head or neck. Another group of jars occurs in the enclosure ditches of the barrows, and individual sherds are also found in the backfill of the grave mound itself.

Ceramic vessels are much more common in the Great Wolds Valley cemeteries than at Wetwang or Garton Slack, occurring in two main tempers (ETW - erratic tempered ware, and CTW - calcite tempered ware). Rigby has suggested that a rare glauconitic vessel, associated with an arched bow, La Tène I brooch in R84, may represent the last vestiges of a previous ceramic tradition. She has also argued that ETW becomes increasingly common and more diverse in form, in the Great Wolds Valley cemeteries, during the later Iron Age (from La Tène II onwards, mid-3rd century BC). However, it is much rarer as a fabric at Eastburn, Kirkburn and Danes Graves, and no ETW vessels were found at Wetwang or Garton Slack, suggesting differences in locally available rock sources. It is possible that the temper of vessels would have been 'readable' as a local product of a particular landscape, and may have been part of the way in which people remembered and acknowledged places to which they had belonged.

Within this pattern, there is little distinction in vessel fabrics or forms between genders, although they never occur with sub-adults. Jars are rarer in rite D than rite A, and are never found in the cart burials, rite C, nor the late extended inhumations of rite B. Most of them are "shapeless and ineptly made", perhaps for the funeral ceremony itself (Rigby, in Stead, 1991: 100). The uneven colour range between core and surfaces suggest that firing was short and sometimes so poor that complete vessels had become distorted from soil compaction once in the grave. However, there is a great consistency in size and therefore capacity, despite this haphazard finishing of the vessel. Only one vessel was ever included in the grave itself, although fragmentary sherds (and in one case another jar, R91), were sometimes deposited in the surrounding enclosure ditch.

Many of the vessels sustained traces of sooting which might indicate they were used in short-lived events of cooking, although they would not have survived sustained use. Importantly, 11 out of the 35 vessels were completely lacking upper body and rim sherds, and no vessel was recovered with a complete rim: at least one or two major sherds were missing, and in most cases, it was possible for the excavators to argue that the pot entered the grave in this condition (see Appendix III). Rigby therefore considers that over two-thirds of the vessels were deliberately broken or mutilated, rendering them unusable, before their deposition (in Stead, 1991: 108). As with weapons, there may have been a metonymic relationship here, in which the body of the pot stood for the vessel of the corpse, receiving its own ritual death before interment.

Animals.

These crudely made jars should be seen as part of the way in which food was provided for the deceased by their mourners, in the form of a joint of meat and possibly other organic substances such as drink. Normally, this consisted of a single joint of sheep (almost always the left humerus), found in the jar itself or just above/underneath it, as if spilled across the floor of the grave. (This preference for the left-hand portion of meat, as the appropriate offering to the dead, recalls the preferred orientation of the body itself, lain on its left-hand side (see above). Both practices may reflect, and help reproduce, an association between death and the left-hand, further refining an ideological orientation of the body. However, as the above analysis has shown, this was not strictly adhered to, and may have been inverted or ignored for many different reasons).

These cuts of meat may indicate that a funeral feast often accompanied the burial, from which an offering was selected as food for the dead. In four cases in the Great Wolds Valley cemeteries, these joints bore direct cut-marks (Legge, in Stead, 1991: 143). However, these offerings were not restricted to mutton, even though it was always the butchered fore-quarters or halves of skull which were selected. A joint of pork occurs in one jar (R178), and individual pig humeri are found without containers in rite A graves, as if foreshadowing a general preference emerging in the later rite B burials, towards pig. Interestingly, this trend mimics rite C's exclusive association with pork. This food was commonly placed in front of the body, within reach of the deceased. However, in the extended burials of rite C, and at Kirkburn in rite A, joints of pork were sometimes placed over the torso or even the face itself.

Complete animals are rarely found in the graves: only in rite A graves at BF50 and Danes Graves 19 were whole sheep/goats interred with the deceased, occasionally in conjunction with whole pigs (Calais Wold, Mortimer's barrow C72, 1905 and Danes Graves 73, Mortimer, 1911: 35). At Grindale, a probable rite B, E-W burial contained a whole pig (Manby, 1980), as did another rite B burial, WS186. Uniquely, the King's barrow at Arras (A1) contained two whole horses, upon which were lain the disassembled wheels of the cart (Stead, 1979): one was old, symbolically matching the worn bit with which it was buried. Another reported square barrow cart burial at Seamer also contained a horse (Mortimer, 1905: 358). Importantly, cattle are *never* found in a funerary context, although their remains in other depositional contexts indicate they were being raised and consumed, for beef, as well as secondary products (Noddle, in Brewster, 1980).

A strong classificatory system appears to be reproduced through ritual practice, which separated cows from sheep and pigs. These latter categories were the appropriate species to be sacrificed and consumed as part of a mortuary feast, although the trend towards pig increased in the later Iron Age, rite B period. I have argued that strong analogies may have existed between these communities and their herds or flocks, and that cattle may have been a dominant factor in people's increasing obsession with permanent sources of water or water-courses. The strict exclusion of cattle from these burials may strengthen the idea that they embodied the closest metaphorical relation with humans, and could not be used to celebrate the end of the life of a human.

The more numerous and less water-dependent flocks were thus the main source of meat, and like the everyday vessel in which food was provided, an appropriate animal to sacrifice,

butcher and consume, in memory of the dead. Pigs however, suggest a very different series of associations, being exclusively associated with cart burials, speared burials (see below) and rite B burials. Pigs were not kept in great numbers: they represent a fraction of the faunal assemblage, and are more usually kept as 'household' creatures who could be fattened up for slaughter before the onset of winter (Hamilton, in Cunliffe, 2000). It is possible that they were used to distinguish burials of individuals who were 'set apart' from the flock of the community, in some way: either through their position of authority, skill or manner of death.

Horses were only rarely interred, and in both examples were left whole and unbutchered. They were the only species to accompany humans in death, and may thus have been seen as inseparable from the identity of some individuals. In both cases, these were cart burials, reproducing an ideal unity of driver, vehicle and ponies in death, that mimicked the harmony of this spectacle in life. The lavish attention to horse gear and cart fittings illustrates that these animals were adorned and ornamented in life, as were humans. Wild species were excluded from burial, even though hunting must have been common, as deer antler tines occur both as tools and lynch pins.

In summary, there appears no distinction between men and women in terms of animal species found in the graves, although meat is more likely to be provided (like its containers) with older individuals (Appendix III, Fig. 5.50), and never with pre-adults. Although children and adolescents must have been involved in the general tending of animals and their day-to-day consumption, perhaps the ownership and rite to sacrifice stock was only acquired as an adult. Certainly this age-distinction was being reproduced during the funeral rites both through the absence of a mortuary feast, and the proscription upon gifting food to children, in death.

Summary.

I have been concerned to understand which aspects of identity were foregrounded in the event of death, and how they may have been materialised. Respecting Butler's argument concerning identity and agency, I have thus been concerned to;

> "uncover the ways in which the very thinking of what is possible... is foreclosed by certain habitual and violent presumptions" (1999: viii).

I have suggested that these horizontal categories of age and gender were primary axes which the community chose to mark in death. These must be understood as being embedded in kinship - the other axis of relations which I have emphasised consistently in this thesis. The

analysis suggests they are indissolubly related, in that distinctions between genders, for example, appear to be marked from late adolescence onwards, but not before. I have touched on the way in which pre-adults were distinguished from full members of the community. I have also argued that the contrast between genders may have been perceived as the possession of different capacities for transformational practice, which were revealed in particular events or encounters with others. However, the small number of burials in which this 'capacity' was being marked, suggests a different axis of identity was being constituted through the bodies of particular individuals. In some cases, this appears to have related to the manner of death, but in others, it may well have related to a real or idealised embodiment of authority.

My concern in this section was to avoid a reliance on the osteological sexing of the skeletons would tend to reproduce gender as prior to social action, by analysing the ways in which bodies were engendered through material relations. There is thus no prior 'biology' upon which a social categorisation is inscribed: the very materiality of the body emerges *in* its social career. As Butler argues, bodies are made material - literally *made to matter* - through their performative relations (1993).

I have argued that ritual has an revelatory function and an illocutionary quality, bringing into being the truths that it names. But this 'ritual work' reminds us that identity and relations of power had to be negotiated and reproduced continuously. I would argue that the need for this rite points to a community in which the identity of the body was *always* in question, and constantly under scrutiny. It was a powerful means of authorising particular kinds of relations, whilst making others unthinkable.

5.6.7 Principles in practice: cosmologies in the making.

However, this illusion of continuity in tradition over three hundred years, disguises many differences in the way in which these principles were actually carried out in practice. This final section of analysis explores the local deployment and micro-variations within each cemetery. I will argue that the character of these local traditions tells us of the scale and nature of ritual practice, which might be more helpfully regarded in Barth's terms, as 'cosmologies in the making' (Fig. 5.61-5.63).

5.6.7.1 Examples.

i) R1-R125.

Two N-S burials with CTW vessels and left sheep humeri were initially erected parallel to a linear earthwork (R18, R20). They are flanked by a row of three S-N, west-facing square barrows, one of whom is buried with an early, La Tène I, long flat bow brooch (R11, R17, R19). To the west, two N-S, east-facing burials, are also buried with identical brooches (R2, R4). To the east, two north-south burials are buried with involuted brooches, which may represent a slightly later use of the cemetery (R22, R25), and to the north (parallel with the initial row of barrows), are a line of N-S orientated burials with ETW jars, in which are carefully placed the left humerus of a sheep (R7, R12, R14). In between these lines of monuments, and the north, are a couple of W-E orientated, rite B burials without enclosures (R8, R15 and R23, R24, respectively).

ii) R26-R44.

Two burials with simple iron pins (R38 and R39) are raised next to each other, contrasting with a cluster of involute brooch burials to the south (R27, R35, R36, R37, R40). Two large, coffined, S-N/N-S orientated and west-facing burials are also buried adjacent to each other (R32, R34).

iii) R45-R114.

A cluster of S-N orientated, west-facing burials occur together in the south and centre of this group (e.g. R61-R64), complemented by N-S orientated, east-facing burials in the north. Three similar burials occur in R69, R71 and R106, all N-S, east-facers with involuted brooches and left sheep humeri (two with ETW jars). R76 and R77 are also identical coffin burials with involute brooches, differing only in the ceramic temper of their jars. The rite B burials infill around earlier barrows, many of which are buried with weapons (a sword in R57, knives in R45 and R50) and tools (a dagger and hammerhead in R87, and spindle whorl in R92).

iv) R115-R189.

R186 and R187 are two identical burials, adjacent to each other, containing S-N orientated, west-facing burials with CTW jars and left sheep humeri. Two other S-N, west-facers become a focus for a dense series of intercutting N-S orientated, east-facing burials, with few grave goods. A rash of W-E rite B burials infills the earlier architecture of the cemetery, again showing a preference for weapons: daggers (R135), spearheads (R174, R154, R152, R144 and R146), swords (R174, R139, R144, R146, R182, and R154), tools (R141) and one example of both sword and tool-set (R154).

v) BF1-22 and R190-208.

These two cemeteries occur opposite one another, either side of the Gypsey Race. Burials in the BF1-22 cluster were associated *only* with long flat-bow brooches, contrasting with the cemeteries just to the south, and with R190-208, where there were only involuted forms. In both cemeteries, small sub-groups of S-N, west-facing burials occur within the more common N-S, east-facing barrows (e.g. BF19-21, BF1-2 and R199-200). Three neighbouring barrows in the former cemetery contained women buried with bracelets (one shale, BF9, and two copper alloy, BF10 and 11), but other grave goods are rare.

vi) BF23-64.

A dispersed group of S-N, west-facing barrows is complemented to the north by a dense agglomeration of N-S, east-facers. The latter group are exclusively associated with involuted brooches, and the former with arched bow brooches (BF56 and 61).

vii) Wetwang Slack.

This cemetery also contains clusters of S-N, west-facing burials, complemented by N-S, east-facing burials. However, from the interconnecting stratigraphy it is possible to demonstrate that these are not the product of changing styles over time: two examples of the former orientation may be followed by the latter, before changing over to the former again. Groups of individuals with involute brooches are buried close together (e.g. WS54, WS55, WS58, WS59, WS69, WS74, also WS115, WS101 and WS92, in the eastern part of the cemetery; WS138, WS146 and WS149, in the centre, and WS273 and WS270, towards the west). Other brooch types are rare.

However, glass bead necklaces are common, and occur in female burials which are all located towards the base of the slack, at approximately equidistant positions (WS376, WS284, WS274, WS257, WS249, WS236, WS209, WS210, WS155 and WS139). This position is also common to the woman buried with a jet bead necklace (WS336), and the only glass bead necklace in the adjacent cemetery of Garton Slack (GS8/10, Gr.2, Burial 1). Each appears to have become an architectural feature attracting later clusters of monuments, akin to 'founder' burials. Although ceramic vessels are extremely rare, these is a discrete cluster of these in the eastern third of the cemetery (WS136, WS137 and WS139). Two burials within iron bracelets, made at different times, are located within the same square barrow enclosure, and this cannot be coincidence (WS132, WS133).

5.6.7.2 Discussion.

Within the analysis presented above it is possible to identify 'micro-histories' of funerary practice within the cemetery, in which two or three adjacent burials employ very similar rites. This suggests that within the general historical development of the cemetery the architecture of individual barrows was being used to structure particular narratives of kinship. Kin groups may therefore have marked their differences through particular variations on the burial rite. However, these lasted no more than two or three generations, and were framed within broader changes in style and practice, over the course of the later Iron Age. To use the analogy of a village graveyard, neighbouring barrows may well have formed recognisable 'family vaults', but the cemetery should also be seen as a series of plots expanding in time and accompanied by different traditions in burial.

What we are seeing in the execution of basic ritual principles is the unfolding of memory: people recalling and retelling the places and the manner in which particular individuals were buried. People were improvising strategically within a general set of prescriptions concerning the orientation, posture and closure of the body and its associated repertoire of artefacts. The square barrow burial rite of later Iron Age East Yorkshire thus presents us with 'cosmologies in the making' (Barth, 1987): a shared lexicon or series of cosmological principles which were reproduced but also transformed by the experience of each social group. No burial was an exact repetition of the rite, but rather an interpretative performance which might be direct and personal, or narrative and ancestral. Diseases, accidents and violence forced people to deviate from the script; to seek ritual alternatives through which they could deal with the unexpected nature of some deaths.

5.6.7.3 Held at a distance.

One tradition was held in common across this local cosmological praxis. All rite C burials were located at a spatial distance from the main barrow groups, occurring as discrete clusters: excised from the relations and histories expressed in the architecture of the cemetery. Where other barrows are located close by, these tend to be marked by their 'oddity' (e.g. the 'speared' burials at Garton Station, or the miscarriages at Kirkburn). Given the discourse outlined above, it is likely that these individuals were being deliberately distanced from the identity of the main community. These barrows may have been a way of handling dangerous events or bad deaths, which were believed to threaten or pollute the community. However, this may also have been a way of reproducing a form of authority which operated at a supra-kin, and even inter-community level (Dent's 'dynastic' line, 1984a). The barrows sat between cemeteries as both

intermediaries or intercessors. The death of a person who embodied this type of local authority may well fit both criteria, as a potentially disastrous loss to the community.

5.7 A forged glamour: the ancestral and the exotic.

Thus far, I have outlined different horizontal social axes by which identity appear to have been constituted in middle-late Iron Age East Yorkshire: age, gender and kinship. However, the analysis has hinted that other lines of skill and knowledge marked important differences between people, and were a means of reproducing more vertical relations of authority. The following section will discuss three other axes: distant relations of exchange, craft skill and ritual knowledge, and I will argue that it was the intersection between all three which provided the material and social conditions through which authority was constituted in later prehistoric East Yorkshire.

5.7.1 Introduction.

> 'a way to say, *Look this I make.*
> What identity but a forged glamour?
> Isn't it style that mocks death?'
>
> Mark Doty. 'Emerald'.

The poet Mark Doty deals routinely with themes of death, and the fragility and beauty of made things which reassert a trace of these 'lost hands' to the world around us: a theme I want to weld into the following discussion.

Despite the unique character of its burial practice, East Yorkshire was not an isolated region in the middle-later Iron Age. Just as a dense network of kinship affiliations criss-crossed the local landscape, long distance relations with other communities would have also been sustained by particular groups. As Rowlands suggests, this maintenance of distant alliances indicates an axis through which political authority was sustained (1980), because they stretch the spatial configuration of relations *beyond* the local. The artefacts exchanged in such cycles are thus more than mere symbols; they are the material means through which power is constituted within the local community. We can approach these relations through the substances, artefacts and designs by which they were materialised, and the character of how they were deployed.

5.7.2 A hierarchy of substances.

Materials can arguably be thought of as forming a classificatory system of substances, in which some materials embodied powerful associations arising through their 'exotic' origin. Those which had to be imported into the region include copper alloys (copper and tin from the south-

west of England, or possibly Wales), iron (probably from quite local bog sources around Hasholme, Halkon and Miller, 1999), shale or jet (from the north coast around Whitby), erratic stone (from the glacial deposits in Holderness) or other exotic stones from North Yorkshire, glass (including 'red enamel'), amber, shell, gold and coral. The latter must have been imported from the Mediterranean, and other substances may well have been imported from the Continent.

These substances are used in combination to make or decorate a range of artefacts. Iron brooches often have copper alloy fittings, and many are finished with beads or strips of coral and 'red enamel' (actually a form of red glass), e.g. R22, R201, WS60, WS155 and WS274. The star-shaped foot on the Arras Queen's Barrow brooch was inlaid with small panels of coral fixed by iron rivets, a broad, fat petal of coral across the bow of its back and a bead upon the spring (Fig. 5.64). Bracelets occasionally have terminals inset with circular panels of coral or red enamel inlay, such as the one from Burton Fleming (Stead 1979: fig. 29 no. 2) and Arras (Stead 1979: fig.27, no. 5). The terret rings from WS454 also combined an iron core with moulded and engraved bronze coat, with seven coral beads

Red enamel or glass can be softened and moulded into similar beads, and is again found attached to brooches (such as BF10, R46, R199, R32 and R20, as well as Danes Graves 57), discs (as in the Bugthorpe examples), or pommels, guards and chapes of swords (as in the six beads of inlay applied to the Grimthorpe sword). It can also be applied as a powder before being rapidly heated to form an even glaze: the panels of the Kirkburn K3 sword were chiselled into arcades, crescents and curves, and infilled with red enamel (Fig. 5.65).

Toggles and terrets were also ornamented with beads of either coral or enamel inlay, and other colours of glass (predominantly blue, with some white or yellow inlay) were used for necklaces (Fig. 5.66), pendants, hair beads or earrings (as in the ten glass bead necklaces from Wetwang Slack, and the small earring or pendants discussed above). Analysis has suggested that whilst some of these are compositionally identical and may have been exchanged together from a similar workshop, in other cases it appears that chemically distinct 'batches' of glass may have been arriving into the area, to be worked locally (Henderson, in Stead, 1991 and Dent, forthcoming). Amber was also found, as a ring in the Queen's barrow at Arras, a pendant/earring in Kirkburn K6, as beads/rings in burials at Wetwang Slack (WS64, WS73 and WS245) and in a 3-beaded decoration on a brooch at Danes Graves (burial no. 95).

Iron swords will often have scabbards with bronze/iron front plates and chapes, and iron back-plates. At Rudston, scabbards were more commonly made of a wooden frame covered in leather, which formed a solid cover over the back of the blade but only overlapped to grip the front (Stead, 1991: 73-74). The frame was then covered with a final layer of leather or fleece. Handles occur in plain antler or horn (e.g. R24, R146, R139) or horn capped in iron frame, and then inlaid (as in the K3 sword).

The rare mirrors in the East Yorkshire square barrow burials also combined iron handles and polished round plates with bronze fittings at the junction of the ring and top of the handle, as in the Lady's Barrow at Arras (Stead, 1970) and the mirror from WS454/CB2 (Dent, forthcoming). The sealed bronze box and chain from WS454 was also once decorated with roundels of red enamel on both the upper and lower faces (Dent, 1985).

Only two pieces of gold have been found in the square barrow cemeteries: a complete finger ring from the Queen's Barrow at Arras (now lost), and the broken head of an iron and gold pin from the cart burial WS454, which appears to be further decorated with coral. Also, one example of the use of shell *(Cicadis rufa)* is found on a copper alloy bracelet from WS160.

Finally, imported stone was also used in items of bodily adornment such as the sandstone block used in the disc from the Queen's barrow at Arras, and carved sandstone beads applied to the brooch from Danes Graves 57 (Stead, 1996, Fig. 5.64), both probably derived from the Jurassic deposits in North Yorkshire. Red porphyry, possibly from the Cheviots, was used in a bracelet from Arras. Jet or shale was worked into bracelets, as in the shallow example from R2 or the deeper, cordoned armlets from R59 and BF9. Shale rings were found in BF61 and K6, either wound into the hair, or suspended from a necklace or long earring. Small beads were also found in WS102, WS245 and BF47, and a complete necklace of sixty-four beads was found on a burial from WS336.

In conclusion, in contrast to locally available substances (such as clay, bone and wood), metals, glass and exotic stones such as amber or sandstone, were used in to ornament a specific range of items: bodily ornaments, portable artefacts and weapons. This selective and skilful deployment of different materials associated exotic materials with artefacts capable of the most dramatic bodily transformation. (Although it is important to highlight the distinction between those which achieved it through ornamentation, and those which wrecked it violently upon the flesh.)

5.7.3 Colouring life.

The colour symbolism involved here appears to be of great significance. Amber, pink coral, the sealing-wax red of glass inlay, porphyry and the untarnished appearance of bronze or freshly cast iron, all play upon a tonal range of deep red - rusted brown. Even where local substances were employed these use mineral-rich compounds to conjure a red effect, such as the brooch ornamentation in R39, R102, R178 and BF20 made from ferruginous, dolomitic clay vitrified to look like enamel, or the suspected use of local 'red' chalk in some decayed examples. Also, the two examples of artefacts which incorporate mid-brown blocks or beads of sandstone both bear traces of a red colourant smeared over the carved surface, to enhance this tone (Stead, 1979).

It is impossible to interpret fully the range of meanings which this colour carried, but red is frequently used as a symbol of life-force, due to its obvious association with blood. The freshly-spilled, glossy beads of red enamel on the hilts of swords and scabbard tips, and the rusted crust of iron and pink coral's flushed skin tone on brooches, would have evoked the body's substances, as if they were embedded within these artefacts. The artefacts were, in turn, embedded in the body of their wearer. Both brooches and weapons were capable of pricking or slicing open the skin, and perhaps the use of the colour red hinted at this wounding power. On the Bugthorpe discs, the haws or holly berries so carefully moulded in red enamel with splayed iron pins (Fig. 5.64), would have reminded people of the season of autumn, a season imbued with the twin properties of fertility and decay. Colour created metaphorical relations between substances (human and non-human). The crafting of such artefacts reproduced these alliances, blurring the boundaries of matter, making them transmutable.

5.7.4 'Wrapped in images': the ornamentation of surface.

The final way in which substances were ornamented was through cast or inscribed design. Only copper alloys could be cast into delicate geometric shapes, such as the lozenged or knobbed bracelets from Cowlam (Fig. 5.67), or the raised-lip terrets from Arras and Kirkburn (Stead, 1979). Elements of 'Celtic' design, such as the berried rosette with bird's head triskele motif, were found on the linch pins from Kirkburn K5, and simpler raised dot or pin-head mouldings occur on the K5 strap unions and GS6 terrets. Waisted plastic modelling with raised bands was found on a bracelet from WS210, similar to that in WS236. Cast in the *cire perdue* method, chapes from swords sometimes take the form of 'fish-mouths' (as in the Bugthorpe and Grimthorpe swords, Fig. 5.67), and are typically later 3rd-2nd century B.C. (La Tène II). The

anthropoid hilt of the North Grimston short sword is also cast, this time into a doleful face with slick-backed short hair (Fig.5.67); rather than being a self-depiction, as an import it literally presented the community with the face of the Continental 'other'.

Bronze was also physically manipulated after casting. Copper alloy strands were repeatedly twisted to form the bracelet from Arras A4. Brooches had a projected head which was hammered and then drawn into a long wire to form a spring and pin, turned back on itself into the foot of a catch plate, which was drawn out from the other side of the bow (fig.5.5.x). Bronze could also be hammered into thin sheets, cut and beaten into raised or depressed shapes, to make discs, cases, cart and shield fittings. The latter were often further incised and riveted onto wooden frames.

On certain objects, the surface of the bronze was then chased or engraved with geometric designs. S-motifs, wave tendrils and filler motifs of coiled spirals, hatching and stippling, are found on the scabbards from swords at Wetwang Slack (typical of the 3rd century Style IV/ 'Scabbard Style', Stead, 1996: 31). This style also covers the cylindrical container or box from WS454, over every surface, curling in tendrils, lobes and peaks, across the unopenable lid and base, as well as the curved sides. The slightly later Style V/'Mirror' Style design, comprising tendrils, curvilinear designs ending in trumpet shapes (resembling bird's eyes or beaks), and panels of circular or rectangular frames, were engraved onto the Kirkburn scabbard and the Bugthorpe front-plate. Engraved ornament occurs rarely on brooches (BF61, R32, Danes Graves 48), bracelets (Burton Fleming, in Stead, 1979) and on linch pins (WS454 also contained one with arcading, and another with basket work ornamentation over punched arcading, Dent, forthcoming). More commonly, simple punched and stippled decoration occurs on the bronze fittings of the both mirrors (Arras, A3 and WS454).

Why were these substances further embroidered with imagery? In order to understand their significance we need to move beyond their consideration as examples of 'Celtic' art, and consider them as active implements in relations. As Helms argues:

> "the mode and style of crafting may express political-ideological concepts associated with particular forms of social organisation and government... the display of these crafted products by those holding the appropriate status then becomes a succinct symbolic statement of the proper, 'true', or legitimate form of social and political organisation." (1988: 118).

Their appearance was vital to their social *efficacy*. I want to argue that casting, engraving and incising designs onto their surface activated their properties in some way, enhancing the power of their effect upon the eye. Discussing the 'art of war', Alfred Gell and Nicholas Thomas both describe how ornamentation on Oceanic artefacts creates a display that literally 'dazzles' the spectator, committing a kind of psychological warfare upon the visual senses (Gell, 1992; Thomas, 1995). These designs often refer to secret lexicons used in other contexts (men's houses, canoes, even bodily tattoos), and their repetition on clubs and shields was supposed to create terror in the minds of victims and awe amongst one's associates (Thomas, 1995: 79). Potentially, this could persuade enemies to throw down their weapons in despair, surrendering before a blow had been exchanged.

Gell thus describes art as 'the technology of enchantment': the dexterity of design and its proper execution produces a 'halo-effect' of power, which can be thought of as a social field radiating from the object, to mediate between people (1992: 47). This 'wrapping in images' activates the agency of the object, through physical transformation (Gell, 1993; 1998). This is to conjure a sense of the craftsperson as 'magician' (Budd and Taylor, 1995) or artist as 'occult technician' (Gell, 1992: 49). Craftwork becomes less an act of mundane production and more alchemical: a secret and ritual expertise rightly captured in the idea of 'craft mysteries'.

I want to suggest that the inscribing, raising and chasing of 'Celtic' design onto the surface of bronzework, and the inlaying and riveting of exotic substances especially on weapons, achieved a vibrancy and brilliance that worked as a form of 'aestheticised terrorism' on the mind of the spectator (Thomas, 1995). It conjured the power of the body wrapped within, imbuing it with mythical properties or powers. These were beautiful but also frightening objects, rarely glimpsed and often seen in motion: the spinning flicker of basket-weave decoration on the Wetwang lynch pins, the snaking flourish of a scabbard at someone's back, or the intricate swirl of trumpets and panels on the Wetwang box. Most of these delicate designs could only be seen in detail up-close, face-to-face, reproducing the efficacy of this discrete repertoire as a ritual tongue. As these artefacts moved between different events and occasions, moments of pause, revelation and display, played against motion, secrecy and concealment, within this discourse of sight and knowledge.

5.7.5 Distance, knowledge and power: the constitution of authority.

I have suggested that the skilful crafting of exotic substances and their ornamentation was a means by which powerful effects could be wrought upon others. I will now argue that authority

was constituted through the networks by which these materials, designs and craft knowledge were obtained.

There are very few direct imports in the later prehistoric East Yorkshire material: the opaque yellow bead from BF19, the North Grimston anthropoid sword and the gold finger-ring from Arras (Stead, 1979; 1991; 1996). However, the largely indigenous craft tradition was clearly influenced by - and improvised upon - a Continental repertoire. The actual style or material was not as important as its effect. Both colour and form were used to conjure the impression of the exotic, whilst referencing the local context of its production: tacking back-and-forth between these twin axes of affiliation. Even where imitative substances and indigenous improvisations were used in mimicry, these *recalled* the exotic and foreign, in pointing towards their absence.

What did this mean to people? At a very simple level, someone herding sheep on the Wolds would have known that they would eventually be buried with a brooch of a kind worn by someone from over the sea. Even if they had no personal knowledge of such a place, this supra-local sharing of traditions may well have supported a sense of commonality or relatedness, through the wearing of similar things. Importantly, these artefacts embodied the capacity to maintain distant relations, stretching beyond the confines of kin and the local landscape. The distance between these different networks can be thought of *as* power, in that they not only required great physical effort and social standing to maintain them but also structured the material conditions through which such authority was itself reproduced.

However, this was not only a political and social axis. Distance in space can be constituted as distance in time (Fabian, 1983), such that foreign locales can also be thought of as places of the ancestors or ancestral homelands. In *Ulysses' Sail*, Mary Helms has thus suggested that:

> "geographic distance from a given cultural heartland may correspond with supernatural distance from that centre; ... as one moves away from the *axis mundi* one moves towards places and people that are increasingly 'different', and, therefore, may be regarded as increasingly supernatural, mythical and powerful." (1988: 4).

Horizontal space can become a vertical or cosmological schema, opening radially towards a land of gods or good and evil deities, in which distant places attained the status of celestial locales (1988: 4-5). These exchange networks are therefore capable of transforming configurations of *time* as well as space. In such a scenario, objects, substances and the knowledge with which to work them, are imbued with a sacred, even ancestral, authority.

As I have argued, the indigenous continuity in many fields of practice makes a mass invasion into later prehistoric East Yorkshire unlikely. However, ideological trades could have been made along the same networks of exchange of materials and craft knowledge. The square barrow burial rite may have been continentally influenced (even though it was taken up in local and idiosyncratic ways) adding an ancestral dimension to these networks. Whether this foreign origin was real or mythical suddenly becomes irrelevant: what matters is the existence of material conditions which might have allowed such a claim to be made.

Artefacts which embodied the 'presence of the distant' strengthened this discourse, such as the Danes Graves pin: a La Tène I-II, ring-headed bronze pin with a swan's neck bend in the stem (DG41, Mortimer, 1887: Plate III, fig. 5.5.x). The head is wheel-shaped, its 'tyre' rim chased or engraved to give the impression of movement, and inset with cylindrical strips of coral. The four 'spokes' and hub are also set with a bead probably made of coral, and a further bead is attached to the curved neck (Stead, 1979: 77). It was found behind the head of a woman, pinned into her hair or the folds of a shroud. Not only does it draw on the connotations of the cart as a vehicle which helped maintain these distant relations, but it embodied the fruits of those networks in a funeral context, beautifully reproducing this distant, ancestral claim.

Soaked in the potency of such mystical or ancestrally charged locales, exotic substances would have been extremely valuable (the above strips of coral were pierced, as if re-used from a necklace), powerful and dangerous. They demanded special attention. Helms notes that purification rituals are often required to control and handle such substances, simultaneously impressing upon people their *potential* risk and latent power (1988: 53). This opened a niche in the local community for individuals who could skilfully manipulate both exotic substances and ritual knowledge, in an intersection of craft and religious power. It is here that more vertical relations of authority could be reproduced; informed by, but transcending, gender, age and kinship.

The responsibility of the elite is to interpret, intercede or mediate with forces of the world: it is never a purely political power, but also spiritual, cosmological (Helms, 1988: 132). Power within small-scale communities engaged in such long distance relations "rightfully falls within the domain of political-religious specialists whose job is to deal with 'mysteries' " (1988: 5). In *Craft and the Kingly Ideal*, Helms argues this intersection of powers is most effectively embodied in the persona of 'royal craftspeople' (1993). Metaphors run between the production

of things and the production of identity, such that power over things *is* power over people (1993: 75). In the cart burials, we can see the intertwining of these lines of power: individuals were being set apart from the main community, literally and elevated figuratively. The decoration of the horse-gear and cart-fittings embodied the distant relations that they were capable of maintaining. The dis-assembly or uncrafting of the cart required expertise, in order to separate its elements, again blurring the distinction between craft and ritual knowledge. Finally, the common placement of the yoke along the individual's back may have symbolically marked their role as bearers of the 'weight' of responsibility for the 'burden' of the community.

I am thus suggesting that the skilled crafting of substance (human and non-human) was thus the means by which power was reproduced in middle-late Iron Age East Yorkshire. Authority cannot be divided up into separate discourses of social and political relations, craft knowledge and ritual skill: it was a power sustained by the amalgamation of all three.

5.7.6 Transformational implements.

I want to extend the argument presented above by suggesting that authority was materialised as a capacity to transform other substances: human and non-human. To reiterate the argument outlined in Chapter 2, if work is the means by which people create the world and recreate themselves, then transformation is the necessary capacity or abiding characteristic of the worked world and working humanity: it is proof and product of its 'living' (Scarry, 1985). Whilst things may be done in the same way, it is never the self-same act, and transformation thus reveals this continuous and active nature of practice.

Substances are transformed through the alliance of human intention and implement (Latour's 'unstable alloy' of people and things, 1993) in particular projects. The two cannot be separated in the moment of work, which is not the fashioning of raw matter into a pre-conceived form, but praxis: the unspoken 'way things are done'. Replacing Strathern's metaphor of the Sabarl axe (1988) with the metalworking tongs from R154, implements 'pivot' on the elbow or hinge of the agent, always acting and acted back upon, through tension with the other. Agency always occurs in this taught arc of praxis, such that "any action introduced at one end arcs back upon the very site out of which the action rose" (Scarry, 1985: 310).

The analysis has suggested an association was repeatedly being made between men and weaponry, whips or metalworking tools; all artefacts which had the capacity to violently transform material, either the flesh of the body, or ores and blooms. Women were also

associated with artefacts which transformed the body, through its adornment with jewellery, its care and preparation with implements such as tweezers and nail cleaners, and its dressing or binding in textiles, indicated by their exclusive association with spindle whorls. I want to redefine these artefacts as a joint category or repertoire of 'implements'.

What do implements do? They transform substance. They evoke this capacity, even as they equip an individual to bring it about. Implements embody the dual capacity of tool and weapon (Scarry, 1985): of both fashioning and wounding, making and unmaking. They thus *reveal* identity in terms of its interior properties or capacities, through performance; leaving their imprint in age and wear, wound or scar. The mirror (associated exclusively with women) should be considered the object *par excellence* of this revelatory capacity, as the only tool which allowed people to objectify their own body, to 'see themselves' as others might. There is thus no reason to consider women's capacity to alter or fashion substance as any less powerful than that of men, although the two are of different orders and conjure very different metaphorical relations. One embodies sudden transformation through violent gesture, the tearing asunder of substance; the other weaves people into being, changing them through preparation and ornamentation.

5.8 Substances out of control: bodies in spate.

This idea of power being invested in, and reproduced through, transformational implements, points to a particular obsession within these communities: the control of substances. The analysis has suggested that identity emerged through the proper control of various forces and capacities in alloys of people and things. But this was a landscape where, periodically, substances were out of control.

5.8.1 Sketches.

Sketch 1: Kirkburn 6 and 2 (Fig. 5.69).

The woman buried in grave K6, amongst a small group of isolated barrows at Kirkburn, had been dressed with great care: a rare, yellow amber bead at her right ear, a hollow copper alloy ring and smoothly polished jet pendant, just below her left. Suspended as ear-rings, twisted into long hair, or strung on a necklace, two of the artefacts were rare imports (the amber and copper alloy ring, the latter distinctively early, La Tène I, Stead, 1991: 94). A small double copper alloy stud decorated with a cast berried rosette, may have fastened a cap or garment at the neck. Both local and exotic artefacts were sent with her, into death, as if to inform the ancestors of her importance. She was positioned in an appropriate manner to meet them: loosely flexed, her

arms outstretched as if to rest her hands in her lap, and buried on her left-hand side, her face turned slightly to face east. Flashes of bronze, glossy black jet and rich amber, would have drawn attention to her face as the first shovel-loads or baskets of chalk gravel and soil were thrown in, covering her from view. A square barrow was then raised over the grave pit, its sides parallel to the far larger mound to the east (the cart burial containing a man buried with a shirt of chain-mail). Set apart from other burials, their distance and isolation drew attention to these mounds.

The circumstances of her death may have required her to be kept away from other burials: a new-born infant lies head-down, prostrate across her pelvis and between her upper thighs, as if in the position of birth. The osteologist considered that this might even indicate a stillbirth, in which the umbilical cord had not been cut (in Stead, 1991: 136). This double loss and traumatic manner of death would have been particularly disturbing for the community: it may well have been considered an inauspicious or polluting event, which had to be handled with special rites and particular offerings. The spatial separation of her grave effected this necessary social distance.

Importantly, the only other death associated with pregnancy in the Great Wolds Valley burials excavated by Stead (K2, 1991) is later interred into the same grave. This time, the *in situ* eight-month old foetus indicates that the mother died before giving birth. She had also been placed on left-hand side, but this time in a superficial grave cut, orientated east-west, facing north, with her legs pulled up under her swollen belly. Even though this was a late rite B burial, K2 was surely buried in knowledge of the nature of the death of K6, implying the long-term 'handing on' of memory.

However people conceived of pregnancy and birth, both mothers had undergone bodily disasters. Miscarriages or deaths in the womb would have been seen as the failed mixing or control of substances from which the body was composed: blood, bone, semen, milk, water: the material 'stuff' of relations themselves.

Sketch 2: Wetwang Slack 5, Barrow 1 (Fig. 5.70).

The woman buried in Wetwang Slack Barrow 1 (aged 20-25 years) had also miscarried, at about five or six months. The foetus had again been placed between her thighs, as if in the position of birth. She was buried in a loosely flexed position on her left-hand side, head to the north, facing east, head resting on the shoulder of a second body in the grave. This was of a

slightly younger male (17-19 years old), again placed in a flexed position with the same axial orientation but facing west, slightly inclined to the woman at his right-hand side. A triangular copper alloy pendant, jet bead and (?chalk) paste bead were found under his left ear, as if part of an elaborate earring or pendant. Not only are these extremely unusual artefacts to be found with a man, but they mimic almost exactly the assemblage of beads found with K6. A sheep's tooth was found clamped within the woman's closed jaw (Brewster, 1980: 673).

Three aspects suggest a more disturbing interpretation of events than a double death associated with the same illness. Firstly, the male had his hands placed at his throat, tightly crossed at the wrists, as if bound. Brewster compared his awkward, rigid posture with the more relaxed incline of the woman resting against his shoulder, and suggested that this might be the result of rigor mortis, indicating he died first (1980: 673). Second, a stake (7.5 cm diameter, and over 35cm long) had been driven through her right hand and his left elbow, into the bedrock gravel beneath. Thirdly, the three corpses were placed within a cart-shaped grave, complete with northerly extension to accommodate the disassembled pole shaft. But no cart accompanied the burial, even though the base of the grave appeared to have been lined with turf (Brewster, 1980: 672-673). Again, the grave was spatially isolated from the main cemetery (although flanked to the left by another barrow enclosure and a surface burial), and again, the circumstances of the death appear to have been remembered, as a new-born infant was later inserted into the partially silted enclosure ditch.

In the press releases associated with the grave's excavation, these individuals became the 'sinful couple' (CBA, 1975), assuming that this (older) woman had an unsanctioned affair with a (younger) man, resulting in a pregnancy that could not be hidden. Punishment was therefore meted out. Early interpretations exaggerated the appearance of the corpses, suggesting they had been 'buried alive' and that the pregnant woman miscarried in the grave (CBA, 1975: 115). This interpretation tells us as much about 1975 attitudes to sexual relations within small-scale communities, as Iron Age funeral rituals! Alternatively, the woman may miscarried from grief at the death of her partner, and died soon afterwards. Their burial together made public the indissoluble nature of their bond, and the stake could be a symbol of this "partnership for eternity" as Brewster puts it (1980: 672). However, the violence with which it was driven through their flesh, the probable binding of the man's wrists, and their burial as a 'symbolic' cart burial, are unique. Also, a miscarriage at five months coincides with the approximate time at which pregnancy becomes very difficult to visually conceal.

Favouring the former explanation, I would again argue that life substances had not been successfully fashioned or reproduced. If this couple were involved in an illicit affair, social relations were not in order - there had literally been an 'inappropriate' flow of bodily fluids and forces between them - passions which were out of control. This may have disturbed the cosmological fabric of people's world, as well as the skein of social relationships. The binding, killing and staking of the man would have provided a very public example of punishment, imprinting upon people's memory the consequences of allowing forces to escape control. The extremely unpleasant death of the woman, whose bodily integrity ruptured in the bloody mess of a miscarriage, also embodied this disintegration of the moral fabric of the community in her own corporeal chaos.

Was the sheep's tooth in the mouth the mark of an adulterer? Why was the man buried with pendants almost exclusively found with women: were they charms or amulets to avert the ill-fortune of miscarriage, hence their occurrence in both graves? Or was this a gesture of public shaming, 'unmaking' his identity as a man? This triumvirate of male, female and infant represented the ultimate symbol of fertility and social reproduction, and yet it had somehow gone horribly wrong. Scarry notes that such unmaking or marking of transgression often requires this "return to and mutilation of the domestic, the ground of all making"(1985: 45).

Clearly, the circumstances of these deaths greatly troubled this community. I would suggest their symbolic interment in a cart grave was a means by which potentially polluting bodies or dangerous spirits were encouraged to decay and depart into the afterlife, as well as pinning them very firmly into a particular place, avoiding the restlessness or fury of ghosts which might stalk the community after such 'bad deaths' (cf Parker Pearson, 1999).

Sketch 3: Garton Station 10 (Fig. 5.71).

At Garton Station, a series of at least four round barrows (two with west-facing causeways), were dug into the gravels regularly flooded by the Gypsey Race. Despite appearances, they were Iron Age, each containing a male burial, clearly distinguished by their architecture from the adjacent square barrows, containing unaccompanied female burials and a cart burial. Two of the men were 17-25 years old; two were a little older, 25-35 years old. Each had been ritually speared after they had been placed in the grave, with anything from three to thirteen iron spearheads, and in one case, three sharp bone points.

This second death or ceremonial killing was a violent affair. Some spearheads were thrust into the corpse itself: the ribs and pelvic area of GS5, the lower abdomen and chest of GS7, and the chest, pelvis and thighs of GS10. Others lay scattered in the grave pit, close to the feet of GS4, behind GS7's back, and surrounding the lower torso on both sides of GS10. Most of them retained traces of their coppiced wooden shafts, indicating they were thrown into the grave from all directions in a dramatic and savage rain of spears. In all four cases, remnants of wood of their tips indicate they were thrust through wooden shields lain over the body, splintering and cracking them with great force and noise. The vigour of this gesture has snapped and chipped the tips off some weapons, or damaged the implement's shaft. In two cases, spearheads are perched in the filling of the burial itself, indicating that others were beginning to backfill the grave before the last spears were cast. There is no indication that the poles were removed or burnt: the spear shafts would have stuck dramatically out of this freshly upcast, white chalk mound at all angles, jaggedly breaking the horizon line. Wind and weather would have eventually rotted the poles, but for a long while afterwards, these spined barrows would have drawn the attention of anyone passing by.

The spearing appears post-mortem, committing a second, ceremonial killing of the interred individual. A discourse of militarism appears to be created around their bodies: one is buried with a sword (of La Tène I-II date, GS10), and although none of the individuals are marked by violence they may have died from flesh wounds which have left no trace on the skeleton. Alternatively, they may have been responsible for wrecking violence upon others. Spear-related deaths were found in the Great Wolds Valley cemeteries: R94 was speared from behind in the lower back, so that the tip had been deflected from the spine, towards the front of the body. R152 had also been speared through the back, but slightly higher up, so that the spearhead had probably penetrated the heart (in Stead, 1991: 136). Although possibly not the cause of death, R140 had been speared from in the groin from the front, the tip thrust into the superior ramus of the right pubic bone, with enough force to twist the pelvis. The position of this wound may indicate some form of ritual humiliation or punishment, and could even be a post-mortem but pre-burial desecration of the body.

Even had these individuals died in the prime of their lives from disease, they were being marked and commemorated for their military potential. Shields and spearheads reproduced an ideal identity, equipped with violent or aggressive implements. In all scenarios, relations had been lost, damaged or severed: their death was inauspicious, potentially dangerous and polluting. The way in which these corpses are 'speared' into place suggests people were

concerned these dead would 'wander'. They had to be forced to stay 'in place': to depart properly into the underworld and return as full members of the dead, and the flow of race was being used to encourage them, as if the violent scour of the water would speed their journey.

5.8.2 Violence, transgression and defacement.

5.8.2.1 Endemic violence.

The scale of violence indicated in these communities does not indicate institutionalised warfare, but more endemic violence, mostly taking the form of cuts, blows and broken bones (Table 3). Seldom does this appear to have been murderous in intent - only rarely has the trauma failed to heal (e.g. WS307) or directly resulted in death. In such small-scale communities, violence usually relates to the enhancing of prestige and authority of particular individuals. Tensions tend arise through the precarious balance of kin relations and contrasting lines of seniority or authority, as Thomas notes:

> "Power is almost always ambiguous; where political relationships are created at once through aggression and conquest, and through status and sanctity, there will inevitably be tensions between aspects of power that are uneasily combined in one person and ruling title, or explicitly differentiated between those occupying martial and sacred chieftainships." (Thomas, 1995: 102).

In this form of endemic warfare, inter-necine disputes are likely to be stoked by breakdowns in kin relations, snubs, acts of contempt or failure to respect local customs and rites. Retaliatory gestures are likely to be important means by which prestige is reproduced or regained, and is thus often protracted, brewing into cross-generational feuds that sporadically erupt in moments of actual violence (Thomas, 1995; Maschner and Reedy Maschner, 1998). People spend most of their time in the performance of aggression, and bodily violence may be proscribed or undertaken as a last resort. The *potential* for such violence was however inherent in weaponry, and these 'implements of transformation' would have been vital props in the many stages of posturing and ritual display which preceded actual fights, using their decoration and appearance to enhance the prestige and prowess of those who wielded them.

Rather than representing a warrior 'class' I would thus suggest that this idealisation may speak of a set of engendered characteristics which were thought to be latent in the male body, and brought forth in particular circumstances. They reproduce a series of attributes and capacities which most men may have been thought to contain but seldom exercised. Their appropriate control was thus of great concern. We might thus interpret the spearing or staking of corpses as a form of ritual punishment. As Traherne notes:

> "The corollary to care, mourning and funeral rites, was its disfiguration by the enemy... defilement and pollution of the self through outrages visited upon the body... threaten to deprive the individual of his identity and dispatch him *unremembered* to the underworld" (1995: 123).

Yet these burials suggest that even where transgressions have occurred, rupturing what were not so much social rules as embodied, moral dispositions towards others, it was doubly important that they be remembered, and dealt with through established practices of burial. Those who committed violence, or died violent deaths, would have been most likely to be 'unquiet dead', raging against the manner of their murder or punishment. The proper ritual avenues were thus being used to channel their departure and transformation, using the drama of the ceremony to engrain it upon people's memory. Influenced by Bataille, Taussig thus argues that such events of defacement and transgression, and their reincorporation within established traditions, actually help reproduce the moral universe:

> "the transgressed rule is brought into ever greater relief, its power more fulsome as there is created, by means of its violation, an unresolvable negation of the negation whose sole aim and destiny is not resolution of contradiction but its exacerbation." (Taussig, 1999: 141).

The rule doubles back on itself, through this moral threat, returning righteously to encourage social obedience. Transgression and defacement thus reveal what is most sacred to a community, allowing it to draw attention to its values, and stress the importance of their control.

5.8.2.2 Fluids, forces and passions: substances out of control.

Perhaps there was a larger analogy here. Anger, passions, violence and desire: all of these forces had bodily consequences which let loose fluids: blood, bone, semen, milk. If individuals allowed their tempers to rage out of control, allowing aggressive forces to well up and explode in violent gestures upon the bodies of others, they may well have been seen as embodying forces that were latent in the landscape itself.

Occasionally, unpredictably, the land also erupted with uncontrollable force: water gushing and spurting from the spring holes, wrecking violence on the body of the earth, scouring it to the white bone of the chalk. I have already tried to conjure its animacy: the breathing, bubbling seepage of water through the chalk, transformed into the shocking force of a stream in spate; angry, loud, uncheckable. For the body of the land, such forces or substances were at once a

source of fertility and power, as well as danger and disaster. The streams provided water for stock and people, and their spring emergence, flooding large swathes of the valleys, would have replenished the fertility of the soil and pasture. But they also threatened damage and brought chaos, transforming the landscape into plains of water, and chilling, fast-flowing channels.

Similarly, men and women contained the capacity to reproduce life successfully, through the proper 'coming together' of substance: nurturing the body, feeding relations. But they also possessed the potential for violence, recklessness, despoilation. The miscarriages discussed above may have most strongly embodied this metaphor between people and land: birth fluids as the races, 'waters' which broke and burst before their time, allowing life to spill and seep away, uncontrollably. Bodies in spate.

The analysis has shown that the funeral rite made material a number of metaphorical relations, between people, things and places. I would suggest that these were sustained through this generic set of 'substances' from which the bodies of people and the body of the land they inhabited, were composed, and through which the world was ordered and understood. It was their uncontrolled 'flow' which jeopardised the proper order of things: tearing at the material of the inhabited world which was also the social fabric of relations.

5.8.2.3 Restraining substance.

If the appropriate control or containment of substance was of such concern to these communities, then moments of transformation would have been fraught with the potential for things to go awry, to escape control. Two of the 'transformational implements' discussed above indicate such a concern: the coupler found with the blacksmith's tongs in R154, along with a lump of slag, were designed to clamp and restrain the tongs during smithing. This control of the implement was mimicked in the pinched copper alloy slider around the tweezers buried in WS210, a collar which closed these miniature 'tongs' when not in use (a feature found on the tweezers from Arras burial A4). Both used subsidiary implements to draw attention to the moment of their use, controlling the act of alteration and activation: the former on the body of an iron bloom, the latter on the flesh of the body itself.

5.8.2.4 Containing substance.

Inhumation preserves the bodily integrity of the individual, which must have been important to these communities' understanding of identity. However, the analysis of the rite has also

suggested that this body was composed of substances brought into being through the network of social relations. Death threatened the boundaries of the body with decay: unleashing bodily fluids and substances (breath, blood, excrement, pus, rotting flesh); a stench which risked the very socio-physical integrity of the individual. Decomposition could not be averted, but the body could be allowed to weep and rot in a controlled fashion. The closure of the body in the funeral ceremony not only removed the most visible signs of this process but also contained the body, allowing these fluids to seep into the earth whilst preserving its physical frame.

In this sense, the corpse was a vessel out of which various essences had to drain, before it could be transformed. Given this metaphor of the body as a container, perhaps we can see one aspect of the burial rite in a different light. All of the jars contained in the square barrow burials were incomplete in some way. Although perhaps hastily made and only used for the funeral ceremony, they were deliberately damaged, often missing the upper part of the jar. Even the most complete vessels, such as R6, were missing at least one rim sherd (Rigby, 1991: 111)! I would argue that the deliberate breaking and chipping of these vessels was an established part of the burial rite, a fracturing of the body of the pot which symbolically released its contents (often a joint of meat), so that they might 'spill' into the grave.

In two of the case studies discussed above, the body was treated in a similar manner, pierced by stake or spear. If these individuals had transgressed in some way or were 'bad deaths' as Parker Pearson describes them (1999), then the body may have been reluctant to decay or dissipate in the normal fashion. Special rites may have been necessary to puncture the body and release its bodily substances or spirit.

If the flow of water was a medium through which the dead were thought to depart, as Bevan has suggested (1999), then these fluids may have perceived as some sort of bodily essence which drained away to become purified, distilled, replenished. The dead may have been perceived as returning in the following year's floods, to their proper place in the landscape, entering the body transformed and rejuvenated. The rising of the streams and floods may thus have been a dangerous time, when the dead were abroad: the rushing chatter of water a cacophony of ancestral voices, a 'return of souls'.

5.8.3 A final sketch.

Instead of reading the grave goods included in the cart burials as a direct index of wealth and power, I have explored the way in which they reproduced social difference and authority

through a series of associations. In the cart burials from Wetwang Slack in particular, the artefacts embodied strong metaphors of power: weapons to wound and transform flesh, a mirror to reveal the body to itself, and the sealed casket - an ultimate container of substance - impregnable. The performative stages of such burials - the digging of the barrow away from the main cemetery, the funeral sacrifice involving the eating of pork, the visually impressive yet concealed arrival of the body in a vehicle, the exotic and ancestral artefacts included in the grave, the dissembling of the cart - followed the traditional structure of the rite, with subtle distinctions in each case. In contrast to the image of the Wetwang 'Lady' (Fig. 5.72, resplendent with mirror and hand-bag for a night out at Bridlington!) we should therefore see the artefacts buried with this woman as operating in the same discourse of social authority as the swords found in the adjacent graves - dazzling and terrifying in their adornment.

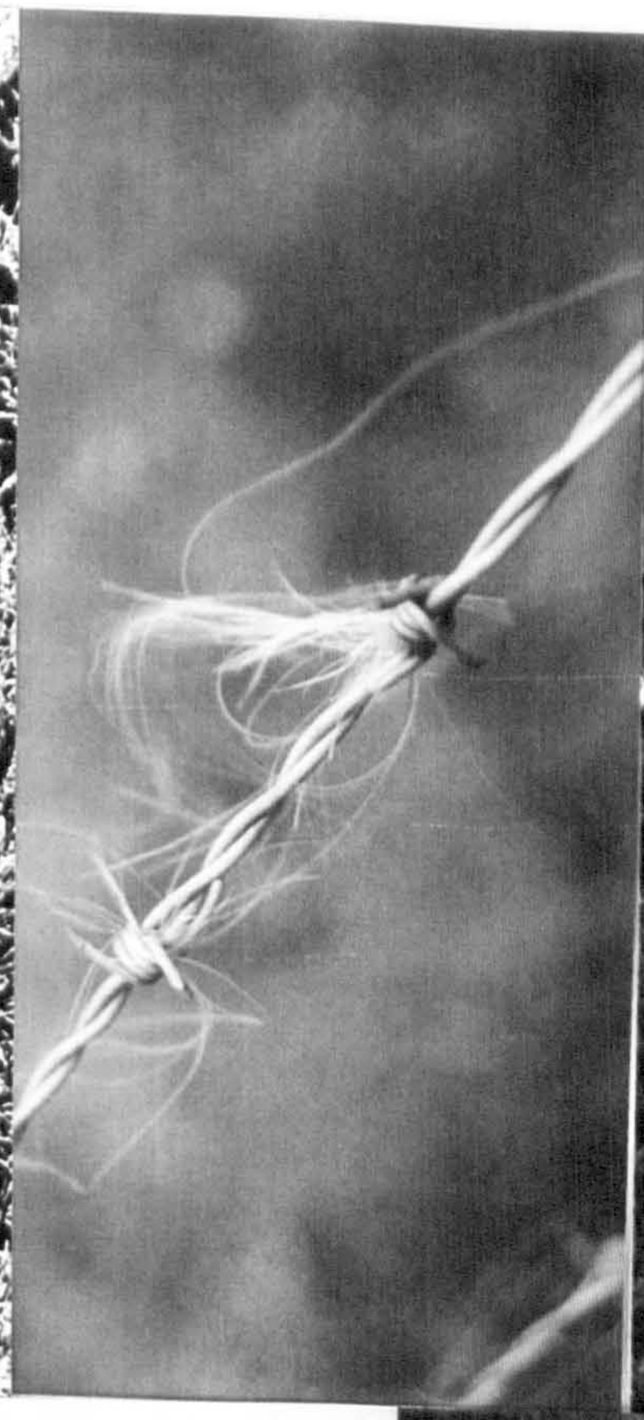
5.9 Conclusion.

> "One must... respectfully untie the threads the departed one keeps in this life. Without crying over tradition, let's remind ourselves: four shoulders, at an hour of the rising of the sun, a certain way of walking when going down, a rhythm when going up, a swaying of the hips over the ravines, a line that turns and coils, that sometimes retreats into a reinvented landscape. Through the sheet, the deceased would feel the pain of his friends, hear their heartbeat, drink their sweat." (Patrick Chamoiseau, *Solibu Magnificent*, 1998: 92).

Chamoiseau's storyteller recounts the way in which the dead know of our actions; through our performance, we bring into being our own identity, as well as theirs. The funeral analysis undertaken in this chapter has suggested that it was in the repeated performance of funeral rites that these principles of identity were interiorised, foreclosing the categories through which people saw (Butler, 1999: viii). Identities materialised through the reiterative character of these rites, becoming habitual, embodied dispositions towards the world and others. The similarity of these rituals reproduced the illusion of commonality and community (Cohen, 1985; 2000), whilst local differences were actually maintained in their performance and practice.

This tight control of the body has been framed within the scrutiny of relations that permeated every aspect of social practice in this landscape. Particular individuals were able to authorise certain kinds of identity and sanction particular relations, through the power of ritual practice. Transgressions merely strengthened the moral order that was being upheld. The rite therefore reproduced *vertical* and *sacred* lines of authority as well as horizontal or inter-communal affiliations, sustained through an interweaving of local kinship and distant alliances. Specific bodies became the site of intersecting discourses of ritual and craft knowledge, and the powerful reach of these social networks was reproduced through this politico-religious persona.

From the analysis, I have suggested that social life was conceptualised as a world of substances. Power was thus manifest through their appropriate control, materialising as the skill of transformation; of people and things, local and exotic, living and dead.



Weaverthorpe.

they know the rites of way:
my hand has only to flick
the swaying, high-boned hip,
to nudge the pendulous head,
set udders swinging between
hind legs patched with soil and shit.

by them I am known,
my herder's gait.
their names are my lineage,
their smell. warm turf,
sweat and hair-grease,
grass with the scent of cream to it,
rich on the lip,
    a bellyful.

each jaw longer than my handspan,
there is no tongue thicker
its curl crop rip.

I know too, the carving of breast from bone,
how each death holds the slather of birth.
the warm peel of hide and flesh, the blood
                a pulse,
rich and sticky, seeping into soil.
watering it,
    like the stream in flood
guzzles at gravel.

this surge is in every vein,
throbbing in the neck,
in the sweat and heft of ribs
and flank.

the gape
of each body in spate,
rhythms of thigh and hip
and thirst.

we are made
through this slow stumble
and trip of hooves and feet.
the herd's rise and dip
where we have worn the chalk skin
into scars.

so we mark the land's curve
with our dead, cut them into its bone.
they watch us come
and go.
our crossing of the land by their marks,
watering at dawn
the noon-day graze
the herding home.

we are their thread, living and dead
woven each day
through our warp
and weft.

Chapter 6.

The matter of seclusion: landscapes of the latest Iron Age/pre-Romano British period.

6.1 Introduction.

6.1.1 A window into the past?

In the early 1960s, quarrying in the slack near Garton began to uncover later prehistoric material - pottery, bone, worked stone and features such as ditches and postholes. A telephone call was made to the Granthams, butchers from Driffield, who were well known for their interest in local archaeology, and had long been involved in the rescue and salvage of prehistoric material (Challis and Harding, 1975). On this occasion, C. and E. Grantham removed a clutch of worked pieces of chalk, including a number of 'rough out' chalk figurines, and the startling image carved into the plaque illustrated in Fig. 6.1.

Inscribed on a conical piece of chalk a little over 5cm in diameter, is a representation of a roundhouse. The conical roof is fitted onto the apex of the stone, and an arched doorway and two shuttered windows are thickly caved onto the face of the building. Rays or strands fall away from the roof and over the back of the block, as if using the shape of the stone to conjure the effect of sloping thatch. The bottom of the image is chipped and damaged.

This piece of sculpture amounts to little more than a sketch, but as the only representation of a later prehistoric dwelling in the British Isles, it is both astounding and controversial. The plaque offers back the image touted by both experimental and interpretative archaeologists as the main residential *and* conceptual 'structure' of the Iron Age (cf Reynolds, 1979 and Fitzpatrick, 1994). For this very reason, it has been regarded with suspicion; it lacks a secure archaeological context (Brewster, 1980) and as archaeology is prone to fakery and artefactual plants, it has largely been dismissed. However, the Granthams had amassed an extensive collection of artefacts for their private museum, and as the regions most professional 'amateurs', had no reason to falsify material, nor were they likely to be deceived by a local charade (Makey, pers.comm.). Also, the plaque can be seen as part of a larger repertoire of carved chalk sculpture, including anthropomorphic forms, found in similar later Iron Age contexts.

I will return to the house plaque at the end of this chapter, but for now, I want to use it heuristically, to point us towards a frame of social relations which I will argue was becoming increasingly important in this later Iron Age period; that of the household.

6.1.2 Changes in the landscape.

The period is characterised by rapid and apparently dramatic changes in practices of inhabitation; the abandonment of the square barrow burial rite, and the mass enclosure of settlement. These have been explained traditionally as the results of invasion or colonisation (Ramm, 1978), despite growing evidence for cultural continuity during the early Roman period (Challis and Harding, 1975; Stead, 1979). Again, the work of this writing is to challenge such a view. Such an interpretation is only possible when we excise the period from its later Iron Age context, and let go of the political and social threads which were of continuing concern to these communities. This chapter will therefore explore the first century after the end of the funeral tradition, in terms of this *historical* context. (It will not deal with the early Roman period, nor will it address issues of Romanisation as a social process, as this would introduce very different networks of relations and discourses of identity, cf Hingley, 1989; Millet, 1990; Jones, 1997; Barrett, 1997).

Again, my analytical strategy is not to treat archaeological structures and deposits as texts to be 'read' for the social relations they contain. This is to fetishise space, architecture and artefacts, instead of understanding practices of inhabitation as *generative* (Lefebvre, 1991); that is, generative of *relations*. My aim is to explore how space - and certain *kinds* of spaces - are actively produced through social practice; how they are made. In so doing, I will again insist it is in their day-to-day occupation that certain relations are interiorised, to become a matter of 'how things are done' - the matter of praxis.

I will suggest that there is a discourse of seclusion in the late, pre-Roman Iron Age of East Yorkshire, in which households made very strong statements of independence. In exploring the practices through which this was reproduced, I will argue that this was an illusory seclusion, but one of great symbolic importance in the context of growing conflict and rivalry between kin groups.

6.2 The labour of seclusion.

6.2.1 The phenomena of rectilinear enclosures.

In the very late Iron Age and early Roman period, settlement began to be enclosed on a large scale (Fig. 6.2). Although I have argued that middle Iron Age linear earthwork systems framed areas of residence, these 'rectilinear enclosures' were very different in character. Known also as 'ladder' or 'droveway' settlements (because of their appearance in plan, and the fact that their central axis often appears to be laid out along a trackway), they consisted of groups of contiguous, ditched enclosures, which are rectangular in shape but vary greatly in size. The overall settlements also vary from in length and extent, from extended ladders or strands (e.g. Kilham, Wharram le Street and Foxholes), to smaller and more isolated clusters of enclosures (e.g. Thorpe Bassett, Cottam). Occasionally, these have a direct relationship with square barrow cemeteries (e.g. Bell Slack at Burton Fleming, and Wetwang and Garton Slack, Fig. 6.3), but more often, they appear to be located out of the bases of the dales, perched on the shoulders of slopes and higher areas of the Wolds.

This apparently intrusive 'colonisation' of new land, and the regularity of their layout, initially led archaeologists to interpret them as a product of the Roman conquest, either colonial settlements or the farms of "retired soldiers" dividing up the landscape with "military type ditches" (Ramm, 1978: 77). Their form, deduced from a growing body of aerial photographs (often taken by Derrick Riley and analysed by Herbert Ramm), suggested a rationalisation of land-use and intensification in production which fitted a model of Roman agrarian control. The rectilinear farmsteads of the Wolds, and the lower lying areas of Holderness, and the Vales of Pickering and York, were therefore seen as the economic base of the nearby forts of Malton, York, Hayton and Brough, and their associated vicus. Surface finds of second-third century A.D. pottery and metalwork appeared to confirm the date of this colonising process.

However, there were three problems with this model. Firstly, aerial photographs produce an illusion of coherence and regularity, which does a disservice to the scale of labour by which these settlements were created. The plan view is prioritised and inhabitation reduced to two dimensions, conflating a palimpsest of features into an ordered whole. There is no temporality here; no history of practice. Second, the material remains by which these settlements were being dated consisted of robust, mass produced and well-fired ceramics, which naturally survived longer in the ploughsoil than friable, hand-made, later Iron Age vessels (Hayfield, 1987). A reliance on ploughsoil archaeology inevitably produced a Roman date for these enclosures, which bore no relation to the actual period of time during which they had been occupied. Finally, this methodology was employed because it served classical meta-narratives of Romanisation and colonial rule. No enquiry was made into the actual *character* of their

inhabitation, because there was little interest in the local response and/or resistance to such a process.

Only the excavation of rectilinear sites could challenge these assumptions. Mortimer had excavated a series of ditches which he depicted as a 'ladder' system, as well as a small cemetery of unaccompanied inhumations, at Blealands Nook in 1873 (1905: 194). More systematic programmes of research work were undertaken at Driffield (Philips, 1960), Rudston (Stead, 1980), Garton Slack (Brewster, 1980), Wetwang Slack (Dent, 1984a; forthcoming), Brantingham and North Cave (Dent 1989), Foxholes (Lang, 1984), Wharram Grange Crossroads (Hayfield, 1987), Malton (Wenham and Heywood, 1997) and Welton (Mackey, 1998) began to investigate seriously the character of the late Iron Age - early Romano-British transition. More recently, contract archaeology in the region has sampled many other examples of later prehistoric - early Roman enclosures, on and off the Wolds including Sewerby (Steedman, 1991), Saltshouse Road (Humber Archaeological Partnership, 1991), Skipwith (Wagner, 1992), Caythorpe (Abramson, 1996) and Melton (Bishop, 1999). Whilst the small-scale trenching of ditches has revealed the chronological span of such sites, an analysis of the character of their inhabitation can only be made where open area excavation has occurred. Unfortunately, not all of these sites have been published, and in the following sections, I will draw mainly upon published excavations, or those where the archive is readily accessible, namely Rudston villa, Wetwang and Garton Slack, and excavations undertaken by this author at Wharram Grange Crossroads as part of the Wharram Landscape Research Project (1997-1999).

In the following sections, I will reiterate the fact that unless identity is understood as being continuously brought forth and reproduced in material practice, archaeology will continue to fall back upon external models of change.

6.2.2 On the road.

This model of colonisation can be challenged by the fact that most of these settlements are located on well established droveways or trackways which developed along the side of linear earthworks. At Paddock Hill, Thwing, a series of small enclosures were laid out from a double-ditched earthwork which was part of a longer range of Bronze age-middle Iron Age dykes. At Wetwang Slack, enclosures were hung off Ditch 1.1 (cut in the middle-later Iron Age, effectively dividing the southern part of the cemetery from later burials to the north), and two areas of nucleated settlement were located north of the cemetery, on the mid-slope at High and

Low Bitings, on subsidiary ditches running north-south into the slack (Dent, forthcoming). At Garton Slack, enclosures are lain out north of Main Ditch 1 (a continuation of Linear ditch 1.1), and again off subsidiary north-south ditches, running into the slack.

At Wharram Grange Crossroads (Fig. 6.4), rectilinear ditches were cut through what appeared to be the levelled remains of a linear earthwork ditch and bank. Virtually sterile chalk gravel had been rapidly backfilled, in a series of tips, mainly from the northern side where an upcast bank may have stood (Giles, 1999). This sequence was found in three separate trenches, over a distance of at least 100 metres (WGC97, F16 [3, 9]; WGC98, Tr.C, [0100]; WCG99 Tr.A, [0168]). This fill was loose, clean and sterile apart from a few bones of sheep and cattle.

All of these examples suggest that even where rectilinear enclosures were not built over areas of earlier settlement, they utilised existing monumental features and established routes of movement as central axes for their alignment. At Wharram Grange Crossroads, the aptness of the term 'droveway' enclosure was revealed in the excavation of one of these axial trackways (Fig. 6.5): the chalk bedrock surface was heavily trampled, to an almost 'metalled' appearance [0045], and was worn into two parallel ruts, presumably from carts. (Interestingly, these ruts suggest a wheel base length c.1.8 - 2.0 metres wide, which falls within the axle range of the East Yorkshire carts from burials at Garton Slack and Garton Station, Stead, 1991: 59). Although the track had become overgrown and boggy, eventually silting up during the mid-late 4th century A.D. (dated from Huntcliffe ware sherds found in organic silts [0027=0041=0042], sealed by massive soil deposition in the later Roman - medieval period), this track was worn to a depth of 0.3 metres below the bedrock, suggesting a long history of use.

This respect for the later prehistoric lay-out of the landscape does not indicate a rapid colonisation of the area by new settlers, but it does indicate that claims were being made to places with which people had no long-lived association. Respect is not always shown to past funeral monuments by these trackways. At North Dalton two roundbarrows appear to have been left in the centre of trackways which 'swell' around these architectural features. But at Bell Slack, a double-ditched droveway which follows the broad alignment of an earlier square barrow cemetery (BF23-64, Stead, 1991) clips the edge of several large square barrows which are caught in the 'run' of the road. Whilst it is possible that stock were driven around these tumuli, they would have prevented the passage of wheeled vehicles, and it is more likely that these latter mounds were levelled. Other enclosures in the area are cut right through the bank of

the Neolithic cursus monument D, and fields which overlie it imply that this monument was also being erased gradually from view.

It also suggests that the control of routeways was an increasing concern. It is one thing to pass along the base of a slack or hill ridge, and see the houses and pens of households at a distance, on the mid-slopes of the valley. It is quite another to be scrutinised as you are forced to pass through a series of embanked enclosures to either side. Access to these tracks could have been controlled through a series of gates or fences. It enabled inhabitants to monitor and permit passage through their settlement, as well as funnelling people into close contact with each other in their routine movements across the landscape. If, as I will argue below, this is an era of increasing sectarianism between households, then this day-to-day contact would have been a vital way in which their isolation was circumvented.

6.2.3 A late Iron Age phenomena.

Although politically contentious changes were occurring in this landscape, the Roman colonial model can also be challenged on the grounds that this large-scale enclosure of settlements begins in the later Iron Age. The primary deposits in many of the ditches are associated with an assemblage of ceramics which precede any deposits containing mass produced Roman wares, or imports. Although characterised by large coarseware jars, from globular to more straight-sided forms, with S-shape profiles, they are distinguished from the preceding 'Arras' style by an explosion in rim forms. Challis and Harding grouped these into four main types (1979: 96): everted (Type 1), sharply everted with a longer flaring rim (Type 2), thickened rims (Type 3) and upright, thickened rims (Type 3A). To some extent, these are variations on a theme, and there is a great degree of overlap and internal variation (Fig. 6.6). Rarer vessels include round bodied jars with upright rims (Type 4), flattened and expanded rims with slight bevels (Type 5), beaded rims (Type 6) and everted, slightly beaded rims, which form distinct lid-seat rests (Type 7). More barrel-shaped, inverted rim jars continue to be made, and one distinctive introduction in these assemblages are countersunk or plugged and moulded handles, which made these jars easy to manipulate and handle. The reappearance of heavily slashed or finger-nail impressed rims (found also in early Iron Age assemblages, e.g. Staple Howe, Brewster, 1963) is also notable.

These new jar forms are found in features from the latest Iron Age phases of roundhouses at Wetwang and Garton Slack (Brewster, 1980; Rigby, in Dent, forthcoming), and Rudston (Stead, 1980) indicating that they began to be made at some point in the first century B.C.

Rarely, burnished or cordoned vessels are found in these assemblages, including one sandy fabric bowl from Wetwang Slack and a cordoned situlate bowl from Rudston (Stead, 1980: 90), perhaps influenced by the remarkable ceramics produced at Dragonby, North Lincolnshire (May, 1996). Early wheel-thrown, continental imports in pre-Conquest assemblages are found on a number of sites, clustered along the north coast of the Humber (e.g. Redcliff, Brantingham, North Ferriby, Melton, Old Winteringham). These include Gallo-Belgic imports such as burr beakers, rare pieces of terra sigilata, terra rubra and terra nigra, white pipe-clay flagons and jugs and bell-shaped cups (Challis and Harding, 1975). But in general, the rectilinear settlements appear to have been quite insular in ceramic tradition, until at least the late 1st-2nd century A.D. (Evans, 1988). These indigenous forms thus continued to be used, developing into Romanised forms such as the Langton cookpot/jar (Challis and Harding, 1975: 99).

Importantly, primary fills from three sections of rectilinear ditches excavated at Wharram Grange Crossroads were associated solely with these pre-Roman ceramics, metalwork and stone (WGC97 F16 [7a, 13 and 8i and ii], WGC98, Tr.C [0089]; WGC99, Tr. A [0154], [0156] and [0157]). These contexts were all sealed by later ditch fills which included 1st-2nd century A.D. greywares and rare terra sigilata, and later Crambeck, Norton and Huntcliffe products from the 3rd-4th century A.D (Fig. 6.12: see Hayfield, 1987 and Monaghan, 1997 for summaries of these industries). This suggests that the enclosure ditches had been dug and began to be infilled with domestic material in the 1st century A.D. Contact with military centres such as Malton and York, and the growth of vicus were to dramatically change the social dynamics and scale of relations of these rural settlements (and are a research project in themselves), but in its initial stages, it can be seen that enclosure cannot be attributed to the political effect of the Conquest itself.

6.2.4 Taking the pattern apart.

Finally, we can take apart the colonial model in revealing the diachronic history of these enclosures. Although they appear co-ordinated and planned, this is an illusion of the 'plan view' afforded by aerial photographs and excavation. In fact, where junctions of adjoining enclosures have been investigated, there is often a clear sequence in which subsidiary paddocks have been 'tacked' onto existing compounds, or internal subdivisions have been made.

In Area 3b, Garton Slack, a square enclosure (Ditch 4, late 1st century B.C./1st century A.D.) was elaborated by a set of slighter subsidiary enclosures (Ditch 2 and 3, containing 2nd-3rd

century A.D. material, Fig. 6.7). An enclosure was added to the side of the middle-late Iron Age Main Ditch 1, where it runs down off the slack side in Area 6 and 9 (Brewster, 1980: fig. 80 and 93), and another was tucked into the corner where the earthwork turns at right angles to run east along the slack. The series of small enclosures in Area 5 were dug in four distinct phases (Brewster, 1980: fig. 33), and in area 10, a small paddock was added to the back of an enclosure, before this main compound was itself redefined twice (Brewster, 1980: 126).

At Wetwang Slack, Area 11, a rare example of middle-later Iron Age enclosure (11:7 and 11: 5's earliest phase) were internally divided in the early Roman period (ditches 11:13 and 11:547), before the whole enclosure was recut (11: 501, 11:5) and a further enclosure added to the south (11:502). In area 8a, a small enclosure was laid out to from the main linear earthwork ditch (8:18), and at some point later, this was cut by a tripartite enclosure to the east (11:18, 11:6, 11:80, 11:21, 11:20) which is itself recut at least once, along its western edge. Both of these two last two enclosures cut very deliberately through the old square barrow cemetery. Slighter enclosures were interspersed amongst old middle-late Iron Age settlement features as well, in Area 12b, 6b/c/e.

At Rudston, parallel-ditches of 2nd-3rd century A.D. date on the West Site were cut by two later right-angled enclosures (features 7 and 9, Stead, 1980, Fig. 6.8). On the East Site, a series of 1st century B.C./A.D. roundhouses were also truncated by a larger, right-angled enclosure ditch (feature 22/30, Stead, 1980: fig. 13). Finally, at Sewerby, another tripartite series of enclosures was excavated by Steedman (Humber Archaeological Unit, 1991). Again, the illusion of an ordered system is broken by a close examination of them in plan and through excavation. The central compartment appears to have been dug first, with northern and southern extensions added later (Steedman, 1991: 14). Again, the ceramic assemblages indicate a completely pre-Roman origin for the digging of the ditches, in the 1st century B.C./A.D.

This gradual accretion, modification and recutting of enclosures is also attested outside of the study area at Brantingham where an early phase of the enclosure again contained completely pre-Roman ceramics, including fine cordoned wares (Dent, 1989: figs. a-c). At Welton, a small 1st century B.C./A.D. enclosure occupied the corner between two droveways, before a series of later ditched enclosures were added around the trackways (Mackey, 1998). Lastly, at Melton, small rectilinear enclosures were again laid out from a double-ditched droveway, with other enclosures gradually added to the southern side of the track (Bishop, 1999).

(Typically, many of these rectilinear enclosures have a late Roman phase, c. 3rd-4th century A.D., which consists of a single broad-ditched square or rectangular enclosure, containing romanised dwellings - courtyard houses or villas - dug over the earlier phase of the settlement (e.g. Wharram Grange and Wharram le Street, Rahtz, Hayfield and Bateman, 1986; David, 1980, 1983; Wharram Grange Crossroads, Hatfield, 1987; and see general discussion in Stoertz, 1997: 53-55). Many of them continue to be used in the post-Roman period, as at Cottam (Richards, 2000), and Wharram Grange Crossroads, throwing up important questions about continuity, but these periods lie outside of the remit of this thesis).

The order and 'pattern' we thus see when looking at the rectilinear enclosures is illusory. They never amounted to a planned, colonial reorganisation of the landscape, because these features pre-date the conquest, and were not inhabited synchronically. Only open area excavation, incorporating both ditch junctions and areas of internal activity, will reveal this long-term history, allowing the investigation of changes in social practice. However, the basic point has been made that these were ongoing projects; montages which have been scratched over, graffitied and redrawn, onto which other enclosures have been glued and pasted, patchworks to which squares were added over time and by many hands.

6.2.5 Genealogies of landscape.

6.2.5.1 Working for the family.

Although many enclosures were co-existent, representing the spatial separation of different tasks, or plots belonging to different families, it is evident that major additions or divisions of this architecture were a product of time, and an expression of changes in social relations. But they were also the material conditions through which these relations were reproduced.

We should think of the scale and character of labour involved here. The digging of these ditches was sheer hard work: major ditches are between 1-1.5 metres deep, and 2-2.5 metres wide. Silt and bedrock chalk or gravel would have been cast up to form banks at the side, creating fresh white scars against the torn turf and trampled mud around them. They were highly visible works, yet they were not of the monumental scale of the linear systems, and would not have required the aggregation of large inter-communal groups. Instead, they could have been accomplished by a household in a series of stages, or as a concerted effort in 'slack' periods of the working year. In digging and sweating and hefting alongside each other, the members of the household saw their labour take effect, and recognised their solidarity. In this

work, the household could reproduced itself, confirming its claim to a particular plot of land, and marking it for people passing through.

6.2.5.2 Tending to place.

In anthropological case studies of small-scale cultivators, this labour on gardens, fields and compounds is a way in which the household's identity 'solidifies' over time (Strathern, 1988; Thomas, 1995), Such work is seen as a moral, even sacred duty. The care and attention given to place is a way in which people demonstrate their competence in tending to the needs of the land and how it should be appropriately treated (Basso, 1996). The neatness and order of a garden is a measure of skill and success. Pride and respect is thus intimately tied into an aesthetics of crops and soil. In a similar vein, Ballard has described the complex field systems and drainage ditches of the Tari Basin of the southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea, which are named after individuals, accruing a kinship history of cultivators who stretch back over 500 years (1994). Claims to place and resources are always predicated upon relations of kin but not solely determined by it. Rites are also monitored in terms of people's care for these ditches, whether they have been cleaned out, scoured and repaired (cf Chadwick, 1999).

One of the characteristics of rectilinear enclosures is that these ditches are repeatedly recut and redefined. Sections across the enclosures at Wetwang and Garton Slack reveal the recutting of ditches, fresh upcasting of banks, and insertion of divisions (e.g. Wetwang Slack Area 11, enclosure ditch 11:7 recut by 11:5; Wetwang Slack Area 7, enclosure ditch group 3b, recut by group 3d, with internal divisions, Fig. 6.9; Garton Slack Area 5, western ditch of enclosure, recut four times, to insert internal divisions, Fig. 6.10). At Wharram Grange Crossroads, three phases of recutting were recorded, all within the 1st century B.C./A.D. (see Fig. 4.9, WGC99, Tr. A, cuts [0155= 0191], [0200=0193], [0115]). This amounts to a recut approximately every generation; a reiterative, generational gestures which would have demonstrated respect for the place that had been inherited, and competence in caring for and tending the land.

6.2.5.3 Naming to be known.

As Ballard's work makes clear, these recutting and cleansing rites have another purpose. The roll-call of names associated with the Tari Basin fields is also a map of kinship history. They provided a material mnemonic for recalling those relations in sequence, and handing them on. In recutting them, turning over the soil, weeding and clearing vegetation, people were remembering their forebears and speaking of their lives, as well as considering their own inheritance of these places. In the seventeenth century, the 'beating of the bounds' of a parish

fulfilled a similar function; children were often physically ducked into streams or ditches to embed boundaries in the body (Udal, 1922). Such 'landscapes of lineage' powerfully inculcate children into their bloodline; it becomes physically engrained into their bodies through dirt, sweat and blisters.

The Fijian Kasuan also reproduce relations of kin through a discourse of land (Riles, 1998). Inheritance occurs through a principle of division, so that plots are always subdivided between descendants. This recalls a founding myth in which two brothers (the forebears of the Whippy and Simpson clans) first partitioned a plot between themselves. There is always a risk that the 'land will grow small' through these divisions, but through a strong preference for inter-clan marriage, these plots tend to reaggregate through inheritance: 'blood looks for its own', it 'closes the circle' or 'renews the link' (1998: 413). People thus perceive of themselves as members of a "shared geometry, dictated by a series of divided parcels acquired by their ancestor" (1998: 414). Genealogical talk is thus talk about the subdivision of the land.

Perhaps we can see the rectilinear enclosures as a similar genealogy of relations, giving them architectural form, marking the household's growth and multiplication, in the addition of new compounds. Similarly, the neglect, desolation and decay of plots, would have spoken of incompetence, a lack of care, or the disappearance and death of a bloodline. This patchwork amounted to a history of inhabitation, which could be read by others: arrivals, marriages, departures and deaths. A landscape of lineage.

6.2.5.4 Blood looks for its own.

This practice recalls the argument made in Chapter 5, that the square barrow cemeteries also reproduced a narrative of kinship in placing individual lives in relation to others. But there is a fundamental difference here; the cemetery reproduced these kin lines *within* the broader identity of a community. People experienced a strong, symbolic sense of communality, through the public performance of the same ritual (Connerton, 1989) even when this disguised differences in its actual execution (Barth, 1987). Cohen (1985; 2000) and Barth (1969; 2000) emphasise, that this kind of symbolic work often occurs when these identities are most under pressure: up against boundaries. Yet the rectilinear enclosures suggest that there has been a change in this discourse of identity: a move towards a more sectarian history, bracketing off the lives, resources and actions of the household, from other groups.

In the late Iron Age - early Roman period, we see the abandonment of a long-lived funeral tradition, and a radical change in the nature of settlement. Were we operating in the models discussed in Chapter 1, we might attribute this to an episode of ethnic violence and/or mass migration. But the argument sketched in Chapter 2 encourages us to explore the scale and character of these changes; to seek a contextual and historical understanding of these changes in practices of inhabitation.

I will suggest that the obsession with kinship witnessed in the later stages of the burial rite (when inhumations were crammed into 'gaps' between founder burials and inserted into their ditches, in desperate attempts to make gestures of affiliation), had an unintended series of consequences. By the 1st century B.C., the communal architecture of these cemeteries no longer worked; they told a series of *separate* histories of kin groups, which pulled against the broader skein of group relations. They belied the contested nature of rites of place, dividing kin group from kin group. They revealed the symbolic nature of ritual for what is was. It is within this context that we should understood the abandonment of the burial rite, and the speed with which this happened; not as the result of massive depopulation and recolonisation, but rather as the result of an internal political and historical process.

This work transformed people's relationship with land. Although locales had been framed in the middle Iron Age by broad systems of linear earthworks, settlement was still technically 'open' and reworkable. In contrast, rectilinear ditches and banks 'cut out' plots of turf and soil, and laid claim to them. Their reiterative redigging was an expression of this topophilia; an intense sense of belonging *in* place. It was also a way of transmitting those rites across time to descendants so that they could not be reworked by others, creating a perception of land *as* territory (Godelier, 1978). As Cohen notes of the crofts belonging to Whalsay families, these houses and fields are not just arenas of labour, but family territories with long histories (1979: 259). As such, they become fundamental referents for that household identity, especially when it is under threat. In the following sections, I therefore intend to explore the material conditions and social practices through which such identities were generated.

6.3 A surveillance society?

6.3.1 Inside and out.

In rectilinear settlements, space was enclosed by ditches and upcast banks. They may well have been finished with a low hedge or hurdled fence. Although out of the study area, the later Iron Age enclosure at Skipwith had a series of even stake holes (spaced at 2 metre intervals) running

along the eastern edge of its ditch, and a preserved piece of young birch wood was recovered from the fill (Wagner, 1989). At Wharram Grange Crossroads, an enclosure ditch was flanked to the south by a much shallower but parallel feature (WGC97, F16, Ditch Cut [11], fill [14, 15] Giles, 1998: Fig. 6.11), consisting of a flat-bottomed, worn gully, into which blocky material had slumped. It is possible that this was a small drainage gully or bedding trench for a hedgerow which flanked the ditch.

Rectilinear enclosures frequently lack an obvious entranceway, even where they have been completely excavated. Although the more ephemeral ditched enclosures in 12b, Wetwang Slack had two entrances in its eastern side, and a similar narrow enclosure in 6e opened into a funnel-entrance to the south, the more substantial ditched enclosures in 8a, 7a-c form continuous circuits. The same is true for enclosures in Area 5, 10 and 19, Garton Slack. These ditches are usually too wide to be stepped over, and stock would certainly have been unable to cross without the aid of some sort of planking or footbridge (still commonly seen in the Great Wolds Valley, where access to cottages is gained over the channel of the Gypsey Race). An environmental sample taken from an enclosure ditch (HA 27) at Hanging Cliff, Kilham, might support this hypothesis. It contained 1st century B.C./A.D. calcite tempered wares and an assemblage rich in shade and shelter-loving species of snails (Rigby and Stead, forthcoming). The excavated segment of ditch does not appear to have been re-cut or cleared of leaf-litter and loose rubble, and this micro-habitat could have been created by "the positioning of a localised structure", such as a footbridge or cattle-grid, for which no archaeological evidence remained (Wagner, in Rigby and Stead, forthcoming). Such structures were probably finished with gates or bars to emphasise this point of access.

This architecture of closure is complemented by a repertoire of other partitions and divisions. Fencelines are represented at Wetwang Slack by orderly rows of posts and stakeholes, such as B8:6 (Area 8d/7d) fenceline 3.32 (Area 6f) and a series of subsidiary fences laid out from an axial ditch in Area 6c. At Garton Slack, a long fenceline crosses from WS3, through GS29 and into GS27. Small gullies, sometimes in parallel, are also common: WS12b, [189 and 288] continue into WS12a as [258 and 194], and both lengths are crossed widthways by small ditches which could represent lockspits (e.g. WS12a [340]). At Foxholes, a series of internal partitions were inserted into an enclosure at Site 1a (Lang, 1984), and at Wharram Grange Crossroads, this pattern was again repeated in gully [0096] (WGC98, Tr. B) which consisted of a stake-lined shallow ditch, ending in a posthole. Two ditches [0056] and [0070] divided the area into a series of three parallel, north-south compartments. Again, the material from ditch

[0070] (fills [0065=0085] was completely pre-Roman in date, containing barrel-shaped inverted jars, everted bead-rims, as well as flaring and upright rim jars.

The architecture of the rectilinear enclosures changed the conditions of routine movement. They drew a line around the household and compound which was both physical *and* social because it made people experience space differently. In order for people to enter these demarcated spaces, they had to cross and enter at specific points; there was no longer a choice of how and from which direction to approach. The body was framed at its moment of entry and exit and could be monitored, watched. This gave a hierarchical control of visual access to those inside the enclosure: a capacity of surveillance (cf Foucault, 1991: 170). Fences and hedgerows prevented visual access. Whilst those seated in a cart or on horseback would have been able to see into these compounds, internal activities would generally have been hidden from public view, or at least veiled. Those within the enclosure grew up with an acute awareness of boundaries; their horizons framed by banks and ditches. Thresholds acquired a new importance, physically and conceptually defined "as the geometrical place/Of comings and goings" (M. Barrault, *Dominicale I*, cited in Bachelard, 1958 [1994]: 223). The movement of animals could be similarly restrained, guided and channelled, and the moment when objects or artefacts 'entered' the enclosures could similarly have been marked and noted.

I am thus suggesting that there was a very different phenomenology of day-to-day life during this period, in which the household's business and work was sequestered visually, physically and therefore also socially. Sound must have acquired greater importance, in this enclosed landscape; muffled movements along tracks, voices behind fences, sudden arrivals, the sound of gates unlatching and falling to. Roundhouses had always marked such moments of entry into and departure from the household, but now this discourse was being worked through the whole field of domestic inhabitation. Concepts of inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion were being reproduced at more insidious levels, in *all* fields of domestic work. This is how a discourse of social segmentation could became effective, engrained it in the daily movement of bodies in and out of places. It heightened the performances involved in face-to-face encounters, forcing people to negotiate their access into the space of others, creating social dramas of visits or raids, and making unsanctioned movements a matter of transgression and trespass.

6.3.2 Hierarchies of space.

Although people's experience of living and working around the domestic dwelling was radically changed by the architecture of the enclosure, most of the basic principles which

emerged from the analysis of middle-later Iron Age houses continued to be observed. Entrances continue to face south-east - east, respecting a cosmological event and alignment that continued to inform the annual schedule of tasks. Bearing this in mind, we could look again at the chalk plaque from GS5. If this is indeed the facade of a roundhouse, the feature described above as a representation of thatched roof might be seen rather as a series of rays behind a building in profile. As houses always have their back to the west, this might represent a house backlit against the setting sun.

Houses also continue to be built over and again, in the same position. At Sewerby, two roundhouses which could have been contemporary, are replaced by a third (Humber Archaeological Partnership, 1991), and on the East Site at Rudston, there are at least five phases of rebuilding of the same basic dwelling (Stead, 1980: fig. 13). Other roundhouses are found to the south and east of its footings, suggesting a close cluster of dwellings. Both of these sites are thus reminiscent of the Wetwang and Garton Slack 'rows'.

At Wetwang Slack itself, roundhouse B7:4 replaced two earlier dwellings on the same site, and is itself replaced by two subsequent roundhouses, B7:6 and B7:5. Although it may be of later Iron Age date, B8:4 also replaces an earlier dwelling, and continues to be occupied into the latest Iron Age-pre-Roman period. B9:6 has a similar continuity of occupation, again suggesting that there is not a complete and radical break in settlement, but rather a gradual change in occupational practices. At Garton Slack, House 1, GS7 probably replaces an earlier house to the east, and is larger and more substantial than its predecessor (House 2, Brewster, 1980: 221). The house represented by an internal ring of postholes and pits in GS11 (the 'Circular Stain and Pit Enclosure', Brewster, 1980: 421) appears to replace an earlier ring-ditched house to the south-east ('Mortuary House' 1), and possibly another to the north. House 2 may well have replaced House 1 in WS1, and a third house in alignment with these two suggests that they were still observing this linear or row arrangement (Brewster, 1980). House 1, GS10 also dates to this latest Iron Age period.

Structurally, there is little change in the architecture of these houses, although surface deposits are more commonly preserved from this period, especially at Garton Slack where a number of house floors are sunk into the gravel, and then allowed to accumulate deposits, before they were re-floored with fresh chalk rubble (House 2 and 3, WS1). A small stake-built roundhouse from this period is probably represented by a circular arc of postholes in Tr. B, WCG98. Brewster also suggests these two houses (along with House 1, WS1) were built of turf walls, as

they lacked any posthole or gully footings (1980: 6-7). (Interestingly, in 1794, Isaac Leatham commented that turf walls and wooden pails (hurdles) were still being used on the Wolds, though presumably not in domestic dwellings! in Crowther, 1992: 34). A central hearth seems to be indicated by burnt stone in section Z3 of House 1, GS10.

Although some floor deposits are preserved, domestic material within it appears to be used as part of the packed surface, rather than reflecting activity areas. However, many of the houses are associated with implements associated with weaving; chalk loomweights were found in House 2, WS1 (along with an iron blade, pin and fragment of bronze sheeting, ceramics and animal bone). GS11's 'circular stain' house contained a crescentic arc of small pits (probably an internal ring setting for the timber frame of the house), whose packing consisted of chalk slabs, a loom weight and a single potsherd. A further pit in the east side (possibly part of a paired doorpost setting) contained three bone combs and two cylindrical slides, with a chalk loomweight and a pig's jaw. However, fewer storage pits were found within the houses in general.

The roundhouse thus continued to be a locale in which certain activities were focused (cooking, eating, and domestic craftwork such as weaving), but other activities such as storage may have shifted into ancillary structures, and moved into the space of the yard or compound beyond (see below). A more hierarchical set of spaces was therefore created, moving from the intimacy of the domestic dwelling, into the broader frame of the enclosure. This produced a set of conditions in which access could be graded; permission might be granted to enter the enclosure, but not to penetrate the inner sphere of the house. It might thus have come to have a very different series of associations as this innermost enclosure, to do with privacy, familiarity and trust.

6.3.4 Small-scale cultivators and the engendered work of the household.

In many Papua New Guinean societies, the household is believed to solidify through work. The cultivation of gardens, repairs and additions to houses, the folding in of stock, and the feeding and raising of children, are all spheres in which the identity and reproductive capacity of the family is performed. Maturity is marked by the capacity of people to respond to others needs: a reciprocity which characterises competent social relations (Strathern, 1988: 90). A child thus grows into its web of social relations, rather than away from them. Gow describes a similar situation in Western Amazonia, where:

> "kin ties... are generated by acts of being fed as children by adults: acts which are subsequently extended by productive adults in memory of care given as children. Kinship is predicated on the active work of men and women linked together in marriage. Through work, they make gardens, harvest plantains and manioc, cook and brew beer." (Gow, 1995: 49).

However, household practices are often strongly gendered and age-related, and familial politics may well struggle over the products of labour and how it is acknowledged and perceived publicly. Both genders contribute to the maintenance of the household, but their contribution is not identical: it is different and asymmetrical (Thomas, 1995). Strathern has described the way in which men lay claims to pigs and the produce from gardens which are tended and cultivated largely by women, in an attempt to eclipse their contribution (1998). These resources are conspicuously deployed by men in ceremonial and cult activities. The power of appropriation is vital to male public prestige. They thus belittle domestic work "in a rhetoric of collective contempt" (1988: 91), but it is only ever a partial concealment or lunar eclipse, in that the attempt simultaneously draws attention to what is being hidden. Women's work is revealed as something to be disguised, and these veiling acts only "remind men of what they know", that the work of neither gender can evince or occlude that of the other because the fruits of that labour can never be reduced to the property of one party (1988: 91).

6.3.5 The division of labour and segregation of tasks.

Issues of gender are difficult to investigate in the domestic context of the rectilinear enclosures; there are no 'working floor' deposits which might indicate the spatial segregation of different tasks. However, the divisions of labour were made increasingly visible by the architecture of the enclosure itself. The compound framed not only the arrivals and departures of visitor but also the comings and goings of household members. Moreover, despite the lack of floor deposits, it is evident from structural remains within the enclosures and deposits of material within the ditches, that tasks were spatially segregated. Hayfield's extensive fieldwalking programme carried out over a series of rectilinear enclosures in the Wharram landscape (Wharram Grange Crossroads, Birdsall High Barn and Burdale Tunnel Top), revealed that domestic material was found in abundance over some enclosures, but not in others (1987; 1988). Through excavation, this has been demonstrated to relate to the differential deposition of material in ditches and the frequency of internal features, giving an approximate guide to the character and intensity of inhabitation features in each compound (Giles, 1998; cf Lang, 1984: 7).

Only a few of the enclosures were household compounds containing domestic dwellings, such as the central bay of the tripartite enclosure at WS7 (Dent, 1984a), the main enclosure in GS10 (Brewster, 1980), or the southern enclosure at Sewerby (Humber Archaeological Partnership, 1991b). These were surrounded by enclosures which had a variety of functions - storage, processing and craftwork areas, fields, pens and paddocks. Rectilinear, timber structures may have been used as barns, byres or stores, such as B8:1, in WS8a, B7:2 and B7:9 in WS7b, as well as B6:5, built over an old area of settlement in WS6d. A large barn or rectangular building was also erected in this period in GS12, and post settings were found in Tr. E, Birdsall High Barn, which may have indicate footings of smaller timber-built structure (1987: 46, Fig. 20).

Areas of craftwork were concentrated in the northerly enclosure at Wharram Grange Crossroads (WCG95, Tr. B), consisting of bronze and iron smelting debris, including fragments of crucibles, moulds and slag. Large roundels of clay (3-5 kg in weight) had also been brought to the site (WCG95, Tr. A), probably from the springs in the dale at Wharram. Whilst these would have been suitable for making daub or pot, Wagner notes that their low iron content would have been ideal for forming moulds and crucibles (1995: 1). Metalworking appears to continue to have a strong association with the enclosure in WS11, but also in WS7, south-east of the roundhouses. At Foxholes, later Iron Age/early Roman bronze and iron working (including bowl slag fragments), was concentrated in Site 1a (Lang, 1984).

Other enclosures, such as the enclosure ditch excavated along a trackway at Wharram le Street (Northern Archaeological Associates, in CBA Forum, 1996: 25), are devoid of both internal features such as pits and gullies, as well as domestic debris. These are likely to be stock corrals, paddocks or small fields. Lang discovered a series of phosphate-rich, clay-filled and trampled hollows in Site 1a at Foxholes, which he interpreted as cattle stalls (1984: 6), and the semi-circular structures interpreted by Makey as animal shelters or bothies (see Chapter 5) continue to be used into this period.

A general spread of middening debris south of the enclosures in WS7 may indicate areas of cultivation or midden storage, close to the edge of the settlement. Parallel, curving enclosures at Rudston (TA 087 676) have also been interpreted as field systems (Dent, 1995). Although out of the study area, environmental deposits at Skipwith suggested that it had been used for stock husbandry, rather than cultivation (Wagner, 1989), contrasting with a site at Naburn, which had extensive evidence of burnt grain (Jones, 1988).

At Kirkburn, a section was taken through a ditch which probably represents the boundary of a plot or field system belonging to the nearby rectilinear enclosures (Kirkburn, site 1, Ditch Z). The diverse fauna from its fill (including the woodland or scrub species *Ena obscura*) suggests that a hedge had been planted alongside the ditch, reinforcing the boundary line (Thew and Wagner, 1991: 151). It was not only the settlement enclosure but features in the broader landscape, which were being cordoned off, fenced and hedged in.

In the latest Iron Age/early Roman period, different activities and kinds of work appear to have been segregated spatially and compartmentalised. It is possible that the division of labour along gender, age and kin lines, was more rigidly observed than in the middle-later Iron Age. Work, and the working group, were being simultaneously framed *and* screened from public view, making it difficult for others to enter those spaces or join such tasks. The identity of each household, and the contribution of its members solidified through the performance of these tasks and responsibilities. The architecture of the enclosure wrested them away from the public sphere, and restrained access to resources in general; stock were being corralled and fenced away from other herds and flocks, crops were being demarcated by plot boundaries, and food and craft produce stored in timber buildings. This sequestration of resources speaks of an intense concern with the produce and property of the household. Such gestures usually indicate that they are under threat in some way, physically (from raids or theft) and socially (in terms of disputes or friction between households). I would suggest that this closer-knit of relations was being architecturally reproduced in each of these fields of domestic practice: residence, food production and consumption, craftwork, fieldwork and husbandry.

The number of weaving items found in such deposits - loomweights, needles, pins, points, bone combs and sliders, may indicate that textiles were particularly important ways in which identities were 'read' from the body. Repertoires of textiles are important ways in which social distinctions are reproduced or relations marked, in a non-discursive fashion (Eicher, 1995). Similarly, the great variety in ceramic forms seen in this period, may have been another way in which the household reproduced its individual identity within the domestic sphere.

Yet kin groups could not be entities closed in upon themselves. Socially and biologically, relational networks had to stretch beyond the confines of the household. I would argue that the aggregation of enclosures in ladder groups may suggest co-habiting families, who may well have pooled labour and resources during periods of domestic crises, whilst maintaining a symbolic independence of identity. The droveways would have been important arenas of

interaction, framing day-to-day meetings as well as encounters with members of other social groups. As Toren has argued, "paths connect households" (Toren, 1995: 173).

6.4 Histories of inhabitation.

6.4.1 Household substances.

Depositional behaviour was also transformed during the latest Iron Age/pre-Roman period. The enclosure ditches obviously increase the number of negative features in which domestic material could accumulate, but there also appears to have been a very deliberate infilling of these ditches with 'midden' material. Mortimer was one of the first archaeologists to describe the mixed nature of such a fill, from a rectilinear enclosure ditch at Blealand's Nook, which was:

> "filled with dark soil, containing many animal bones and much broken Roman pottery... a disc of bone [or] counter... a rough pear-shaped piece of chalk, pierced near the small end... a flat polished piece of chalk with lines incised on one side; and a shape-pointed bone implement" (1905: 198).

Excavations at Wetwang (Dent, forthcoming) and Garton Slack (Brewster, 1980), Foxholes (Lang, 1984) and Welton (Mackey, 1998) confirm this habit of depositing household waste in enclosure ditches closest to the areas of residence. At Wharram Grange Crossroads, the ditch excavated in F16 (WGC97) = [0106] (WGC98, Tr.C), and ditch [0155 =0191] and its subsequent recuts, all contained humic, dark silts (presumably once rich in organic material), incorporating butchered and worked animal bone, broken pottery, worked and incised pieces of stone, bone tools (especially needles, and also a knife handle, fig. 6.4.x). Analysis of this material is ongoing but it is evident that instead of being spread directly on fields, domestic waste was stockpiled at least for a time, before being backfilled into ditches. It is also evident that these ditches were cleaned out and recut routinely. For example, at least two phases of recutting were found in the rectilinear ditch at WGC98, Tr. A, indicating maintenance work that was carried out at least once every generation. (By the mid-2nd/3rd century A.D. however, these ditches were being allowed to silt up).

How might this change in depositional practice be interpreted? The excavation of midden material would have had practical use; this rich, rotted debris and silt could have been spread on ploughed fields as a fertile topsoil, to be worked in. In this way, the produce of the household was returned into a cycle of fertility, replenishing the soil from which crops would grow. Such active modification, as Gow argues, also attested to the active nature of social relations. Maintenance indicates a continuing care and concern for place which can be

witnessed by others (1995: 52). If we think about the actual experience of such labour (which must have been sweaty and smelly work, confined in the narrow trench of the ditch), we also realise that in cleaning out and recutting these ditches, people were re-encountering fragments of everyday life. Sherds from vessels, the remains of old meals, broken tools and toys. They would have re-lived the events that produced this debris; years of good harvests or bad storms, particular animals that had been slaughtered, and feasts that had been held. But if these maintenance events happened every generation or less, as I have suggested, they would have less personal memories than histories of the household.

Perhaps this was the point. I have argued that the discourse of community reproduced in the cemetery was gradually unravelled by architectural narratives of kinship. With the subsequent abandonment of the burial rite, this change in discourse had to be reproduced in some way. The landscape analysis of these rectilinear enclosures has suggested that some groups experienced a severe dislocation in residence, as other families laid claim to particular plots at their expense. During this period of increasing political tensions, discourses of familial identity and history were fundamental to people's sense of place in the world. In depositing and unearthing these material remains, the household was creating a *rapid* history of itself. This speed was important; domestic fragments were literally a history of their inhabitation; their reworking allowed people to engage in this narrative about themselves and their sense of belonging *in* place.

6.4.2 Living on, living in: the dead in the late Iron Age period.

The excavation of the square barrow burials suggests that people stopped being interred at some point in the 1st century B.C. A diversity of practices replaced this rite (Appendix IV). The main tradition appears to be excarnation: disarticulated human remains were recovered from various types of feature - a piece of human skull from Pit 1, Section C5, in Garton Slack Area 11 (Brewster, 1980), and a fragment of human femur from feature 86, in Wetwang Slack Area 11. Six other pieces of human skeleton come from a variety of pits and postholes at Wetwang Slack (Dent, forthcoming).

Complete adult inhumations are rare. An adult inhumation cemetery found north-east of the rectilinear enclosures at Blealand's Nook is probably later Roman in date (Mortimer, 1905: 197), as are rare examples of cremations (e.g. feature 166, Area 8, Wetwang Slack). More usually, burials are found interred within or close to the ditches of rectilinear enclosures. Four such burials were recovered from the central, southern area of Wetwang Slack, and at Garton

Slack, two inhumations were inserted into the partially infilled silts of Main Ditch 2, and seven into Main Ditch 1. At Wharram Grange Crossroads, six infants were interred in the rectilinear ditch [0015], two of them covered with limestone slabs, and an elderly adult female was buried in a shallow grave marked by a post, next to this ditch (Giles). The liminal quality of boundaries may have made them an appropriate place for the dead, who might be seen as permanent guardians or intercessors for these thresholds between the kin group and the outside world. But they also enabled the living to mark a generational claim upon place, through their forebears.

Two distinct burial practices are noted for infants. Firstly, they are often found under the floors of houses: in WS1, House 1, Grave 1, in WS1, House 3, Grave 2, and GS10, House 1, Infant Burials 1-3. Three burials of infants were also found in the gullies of roundhouses on the East Site at Rudston (B16-18) and another in the near vacinity (B15) (Stead, 1980: 21). A neonate burial was also found in what appears to be an east-facing house door posthole at Wharram Grange Crossroads (WGC98, Tr. B. [0010]). Secondly, they are found in small cemeteries, such as the twenty-two infants or neonates buried in Area 7b, Wetwang Slack (Dent, forthcoming). This area is just south of the middle enclosure occupied by roundhouses in the period. The cluster of graves is separated from the rest of this compound with a series of fencelines represented by gullies and postholes (Fig. 6.13). Another four infants were buried in Area 11, again demarcated by internal divisions in the enclosure. At Garton Slack, a similar cemetery was found in Area GS10, consisting of thirty-nine burials. It was separated from the house within the same enclosure by a right-angled gully, probably representing a fenceline (slots 1-5).

However, both of these traditions of burying infants and neonates are mimicked in the treatment of stock animals. They are also found as deposits under house floors or close to their perimeter wall. A calf was buried east of House 2 in WS1 (Brewster, 1980: 610), and an old male dog was buried against the wall of the same house. Cremated remains of a sheep were found in pit 8 within a roundhouse later truncated by Building 7, at Rudston (Stead, 1980: Fig. 11), two sheep were buried in A4 and pit 47, and perinatal calves in A5 and A6. All three within different roundhouses on the East Site, Rudston (Stead, 1980: Fig.12). But animal inhumations were also found in the same cemeteries as infants. Of the twenty complete animal burials at Wetwang Slack, most came from the infant cemetery, including calves, adult cows (3-4 years old) and a pig. A horse was buried in a grave to the east of the large ditched enclosure in Area 7. At Garton Slack, three animal burials (two calves and a sheep) and

fourteen incomplete burials, some of them cremated or burnt, were inserted in small graves with the infant cemetery.

Animals were also buried in graves outside domestic dwellings: oxen were found in pits in GS11, GS9 and GS5, and a sheep was buried in a pit in GS5. Occasionally these take the form of incomplete burials of articulated and disarticulated remains, such as the calf skull in pit 6b, House 1. At Wharram Grange Crossroads, a calf skull was placed on a pedestal of chalk and pinned down with two trimmed chalk blocks in Tr. A, WGS95. In Tr. B, WGC95, an adult cow was found inverted in a pit, with a high proportion of carrion snails in its skull, suggesting that it was not defleshed prior to burial (Wagner, 1995). The two horse burials from Kirkburn Site 2 should probably be seen as part of this tradition, one of which had worn teeth from biting on a bit (Stead, 1991: fig. 90).

As the various faunal specialists have emphasised, these animal burials probably reflect the disposal of farmyard stock, lost either at birth or dying from old age or disease. In the cases of complete inhumation, butchery or skinning marks are minimal, and many of them may have died from illnesses which rendered their flesh inedible. There are good reasons for burying such carcasses - to keep predators and scavengers away from the compound, for example. However, the manner and context of their burial demands further interpretation. As Mortimer noted at Blealands Nook, "the inhumed bodies of the pig and goat had been interred with the same amount of care as had been given to the human bodies." (1905: 197).Their repeated association with infants, in cemeteries and houses, suggests that these two classes of beings might be conceptualised as equivalencies for each other. Both may have been thought of as members of the household, yet not fully formed or fully human in some way. In death, their internment close to or within dwellings may have returned these 'domestic substances' to the household, so that they might be protécted, even reborn. This ritual speaks of the growing importance of stock and each *potential* human member of the household, in an era when the kin group was 'folding in' its resources in many fields of practice, making their place of belonging explicit.

6.5 How to forget the dead: defacing place.

In the analysis of different fields of practice presented above, I have argued that kin groups laboured at seclusion, reproducing a sense of identity centred on the household, premised on its independence from others. I have argued that this might be more symbolic than real, as each family was netted within a kin group which was bound into broader, non-kin relations in the

local community. This necessary interdependence would have constantly threatened the kin group's claims of seclusion and their tight sequestration of resources; permeating enclosures on a day-to-day basis, with exchanges, gifts, feuds, demands or news. The kin group had to constantly erase the evidence of this social osmosis.

One way in which it worked actively to unknot these ties, was to physically remove traces of the middle-later Iron Age discourse of community expressed in the square barrow cemeteries. In the space of a hundred years or less, fences were being erected and barns built over the remains of barrows, in Area 7b, Wetwang Slack (Dent, forthcoming). I have already mentioned that barrow mounds were probably levelled by a trackway at Bell Slack, Burton Fleming (see above) and earthworks such as the crescentic enclosures above Weaverthorpe (as yet undated), also cut through the square barrows (Stoertz, 1997: 82). Rectilinear enclosure ditches also cut through Iron Age inhumations at Creyke Farm, Coneygarth Hill and Burton Fleming. In the latter example, the ditches would have physically disturbed and disinterred human remains in burials BF43, BF44 and BF64, and cut through the top of burials BF28, BF29 and BF30 (Stead, 1991). At Wetwang Slack, several burials were disturbed by the tripartite enclosure in Area 7a-c, including the physical erasure of WS230 and burials north of this mound (Dent, forthcoming). Other structures appear to respect the barrows, such as the barn in Area 8a, but fences were built across the top of their platforms, in this area and 7a (see Fig. 6.14). Metalled road surfaces (contexts 8:344, 10:36, 10:57 and 12: 257) developed between the linear earthworks that run along the base of the cemetery at Wetwang Slack (dividing the earlier and later phases of burial, see Chapter 5), and these again appear to have levelled the graves in this area, as they are complemented by a series of cart ruts. However, these examples of physical erasure are not common, and most cemeteries are avoided by later settlement activity.

It would be possible to interpret these acts as the hand of incoming groups, with little respect for the burial customs of a people they were trying to erase, but they should rather be understood within the context of contemporary social and political tensions. As groups were forced to demarcate plots with which they may have had no genealogical relationship, they faced the blunt reality of the old discourse of 'blood, identity and soil'. To reiterate:

> "One can move places, but one cannot take one's soils with one, and one cannot make another's soil one's own. One may change company, but not one's dead, the dead ancestors who are his and not of the others; nor may one transform other people's dead onto one's own ancestors." (Barrès, summarised in Bauman, 1992: 684).

The dead had to be left behind, quite deliberately forgotten, and just as remembering takes work, so does forgetting (Middleton and Edwards, 1990). In order to release themselves from a discourse of communality which no longer had currency, as well as 'forget' that displacements had indeed taken place, these ties had to be severed. This could not be left to time: the process had to be active in its erasures. A general neglect for the dead and lapse in communal, commemorative ritual (Connerton, 1989) were therefore part of the same practice as more radical gestures of defacement: the labour of forgetting.

6.6 Myth-making or 'what to remember'.

I have argued that there was a strategic shift in memory practices in the latest Iron Age - from a commonly shared burial rite, to domestic practices celebrating the reproductive potential and closure of the household - by which kin groups were able to rework their relationship with history. Alongside deliberate acts of erasure, they enabled families to rapidly manufacture genealogical narratives out of the 'stuff' of household relations. However, some aspects of this deliberately antiquated and abandoned burial practice were kept firmly 'in view'.

When Mortimer published the incised chalk tablet from an enclosure ditch at Blealand's Nook, the triangular incisions and lines made little sense (1905: pl. lxiv, no.492). It was not until a body of more complete carved blocks had been assembled from secure archaeological contexts, that a pattern began to emerge (Stead, 1988). By comparison, it was evident that Mortimer's block was in fact a damaged figurine, often found without their heads, as if these have been accidentally or deliberately broken from the body. Their average size is 12.5 cm and they are usually rounded or trapezoidal; in other words, they rest comfortably in the hand. However, approximately a third of them contain incised dots or holes on the bases, by which they may have been supported during their manufacture and/or display in life.

Importantly, over half of the figurines are depicted with swords, both carefully carved with scabbard and handle (e.g. Garton Slack, Stead, 1988: Fig. 6.15) or more stylistically represented with a simple curved hilt (as in the example found in a rectilinear enclosure ditch at Wharram Grange Crossroads, in Tr. B, WGC95: Wagner, 1995, and another from Wetwang Slack, context [441]). Dagger or sword shaped designs on other figurines are covered in cross-hatching, and this decoration often continues in bands around the body of the figurine (e.g. the Malton figurines, Wenham, 1974: 6: Fig. 6.15), depicting textiles, belts, collars, cuffs and hems. Interestingly, these figurines are often found in contexts with other pieces of carved chalk, such as the two tablets from Garton Slack (GS10, House 1 and GS5, from a rectilinear

enclosure ditch). These are covered with geometric designs and scratches that mimic the textile designs on the figurines, and bear a resemblance to the geometric effect of the tabby weave preserved as mineralised textile in burial BF20 (Crowfoot, in Stead, 1991: 120). Amongst other interpretations, some of them may be the equivalent of preparatory sketches for the sculptures, as patterns for weaving itself; trial pieces to illustrate to others an intended design, or recall something that has been made.

Where heads are preserved on the figurines, facial details are often carved into their surface: simple dots for eyes, a nose and mouth are common, but the grimacing figure from a rectilinear ditch at Rudston has very distinct oval eyes and ears. Only one figurine is explicitly gendered - the male Withernsea figurine, depicted with hair, moustache, beard, phallus and sword. Small details of posture recall intimate aspects of the burial tradition: the sword always appears vertically along the back, in its position of suspension. as the 'backbone' of the figure. Where the hands of the figure are depicted, the left arm is open across the stomach, and the right reaches behind the back or over the shoulder, to grasp or touch the sword. Again, this recalls the posture of many crouched burials, in which the body is lain on its left, so that this arm is folded across the belly, leaving the right arm free. Finally, the continuation of fabric designs over the scabbard on a number of figurines may again recall this practice or wrapping swords before interring them, or else symbolise the dazzling ornamentation of the scabbard itself.

What were they? Can we, in fact, interpret figurines (Hamilton, Marcus, Bailey, Haaland, Haaland and Ucko, 1996; Coles 1990)? We may never get at the very wide range of meanings and associations they might have held, but their appearance and context of deposition tells us their role as part of the material conditions through which certain discourses were reproduced.

The similarities between the square barrow rite and these figures may suggest that they were contemporary, but their earliest known contexts are latest Iron Age/early Roman rectilinear enclosure ditches, and they continue to be deposited into the 2nd-3rd century A.D. (e.g. Rudston villa, Stead, 1980; the rectilinear enclosures in GS5 and the small enclosure in GS14, also from pits in House 1 in GS5 and House 1 in GS10, Garton Slack, Brewster, 1980; and a rectilinear ditch at Wharram Grange Crossroads, WGC95, Tr. B, Wagner, 1995). They may therefore have been influenced by Romanised sculpture, and represent local interpretations or equivalences for carved idols from shrines associated with 'new' gods and deities. Their association with houses and rectilinear ditches suggests they may have been household or enclosure idols; protective deities or spirits. They may also have been dolls, toys or game-

pieces (Stead, 1988: 25). However, several aspects of their appearance and treatment support the former rather than the latter interpretation.

The focus on both weaponry and dress recalls the argument made for the middle-late Iron Age, that engendered identity and power may have been conceived as capacities to transform substances; either through violent implements or decorative embellishment. The carving of sword and cloth imbue the figures with these capacities, and a strong metaphorical statement is made here, in which the sword appears as the 'backbone' of the body. These figures also offer a symbolic statement; with one hand they make a gesture of openness and welcome, but the other hand is always gripping or reaching for the sword, ready to defend the body.

Figurines always concern identity. They offer people a way of seeing themselves; embodying and presenting archetypal identities and values to the viewer. But figurines are deceptive, in that they "loosen and re-arrange the fabric of the actual", selecting some threads and discarding others (Bailey, 1996: 293). These figures speak of a concern with defence in the eternally armed posture and equipment of the body. The delicate incision of designs over these surfaces indicates that dress and bodily decoration was of great importance: these could be tattoos as well as fabrics, and this might have been an important way in which kin groups marked out their differences from others. They show us 'memory at work', but selective memory, recalling certain discourses from a now ancient burial practice and not others. These archetypal figures had one important difference; these ancestors were mobile, they could 'move places'.

As McNay (1999) and Taussig (1999) argue, 'figural aesthetics' draw attention to the made nature of life, blurring the boundaries between people and things in their mimesis (Bailey, 1996: 292):

> "the artwork must first have become alive in a spurt of mimetic efflorescence, thereby opening up for us a range of interesting possibilities regarding the mimetic faculty: as having not so much a life but also a death of its own - an even, perhaps, a life in death?" (Taussig, 1999: 33).

Their form may therefore have allowed them to 'live' parallel lives with the roundhouses and enclosures in which they were handled, displayed and finally discarded. But if they lived, then they also had to die. The 'decapitation', damage or fracture of figurines before deposition may indicate ritualised killings, and the repeated scratching and scarring of others (such as the Garton Slack figurines, Stead, 1988: fig. 8, no.14 and 15, and fig. 9. 2), uncannily recalls the reiterative spearing of corpses in the later Iron Age burial tradition. These acts of defacement,

the despoilation of something precious, *recreate* the sacred in their attempt to erase or dissipate its power. As Taussig argues, "defacement of the till-then-inert copy triggers its inherent capacity for life into life." (1999: 24); life floods the image, rising to its surface in the tearing *of* that surface.

If they were part of a household shrine and thus part of the life of the house, they too may have received a symbolic death when such dwellings were dismantled, taken apart and new structures raised over their foundations. The death of heads or the household of particular kin members may have occasioned both acts.

Küchler's description of the Malangan art of Melanesia emphasises how such material mnemonics are part of the way in which memory is dissipated in the landscape, and relations with place are reproduced (1987). These mortuary sculptures are composed from a repertoire of named images which are transmitted between those who share land, and images are assembled for a sculpture according to the type of land usage to be certified in mortuary transactions (1993: 90). It is not just a mnemonic, an aide-mémoire, but also a materialisation of those social and territorial relations, which are reworked upon death. Both land and sculpture hide an interiorised pattern or map of those rites and relations, which are embodied in the act of carving. The decorating of the surface of the sculpture is said to make a skin, recapturing the life-force which is spilling uncontrollably from the body as it decays. Filled with this power, they are described as hot and dangerously alive, and must be killed so that this life substance dissipates appropriately. They are often placed in the garden of the deceased garden, which gradually falls out of use, and as the surface of the sculpture weathers and its colours flake, so the plot is transformed from a place of inhabitation to a place of the dead. As Küchler notes "for landscape to become subject to recollection, it has to be rendered absent and handed over to forgetting." (1993: 97).

The deposition of these figurines in enclosure ditches may thus have been an important part of mortuary rituals, mimicking the decay and dissipation of the flesh of the body, in rites of excarnation. Sealed within layers of domestic debris which were *not* cleaned out and recut, they indicate a phase of the history of the compound when things fell into disrepair. Again, they work to reproduce a narrative of the lives of the families in these places. Even if these figures were toys or dolls, broken perhaps upon children's maturation, they indicate that people were telling particular kinds of stories about the past and their relationship with it.

6.7 Violence, raiding and theft.

Writing about memory, Gilroy notes "how unreliable, how intermittent, how partial, how selective" it is (1993: 29). The figurines are indeed selective about what they remember. They embody transformational power and martial discourse, keeping a watchful eye and ready hand, in the face of threats to the household. They are defensive, speaking of potential conflict.

What was the reality of this violence? The osteological and artefactual analysis undertaken in Chapter 5 suggested that it occurred at a face-to-face level but that such incidents were rare, and killing is often proscribed (Abbink, 1995). I have suggested that the martial discourse which was of clear importance in the later Iron Age (judging from the number of sword and spear burials), was concerned with the display of power, aided by implements which were effective 'props' for performance rather than simply providing a blade for battle. Anthropological analogies from Papua New Guinea (Thomas, 1995) indicate that lines of social fracture usually arise between kin groups or communities, usually arising over issues of land, stock, kin relations and transgressions of the moral order (Maschner and Reedy-Maschner, 1998). Fukai argues raiding can also be a way in which resources are 'levelled out' between neighbouring groups, and men can gather the necessary bridewealth payments for wives, demonstrating their strength, virility and worth, in the same act (1996). These discourses can therefore be important ways in which identities are constituted and performed to others, in the hope of reproducing new relations, such as marriage or clientship (Abbink, 1999).

The latest Iron Age of East Yorkshire is characterised by radical changes in the spatial organisation of residence and routine labour, through which broader sense of community (the 'open weave' of social relations) were symbolically rejected and the 'closer knit' of kin group and household strongly reproduced. The sequestration of land by particular families would have led to long-standing feuds with other groups, and these tensions over rites of place may have festered for generations. Small-scale challenges to these claims may have been common: cattle-raids, thefts of crops and tools, malicious gossip, refusals of aid in times of need, face-offs between rivals of each family. All of these important expressions of power leave little archaeological trace. However, Lang (1984) notes that the structures within a rectilinear enclosure at Foxholes were burned in a large conflagration. Although accidental fires would have been common, this may have been a deliberate act of desecration during a raid. Dawes, in Dent (forthcoming) argues that a scatter of disarticulated bone in Area 11 may represent a violent attack or raid on this enclosure: small fragments of disarticulated human bone were found in pit 11:505, ditch 11:05 and slot 11:10, and the 'mutilated' skull, forearms, lower torso

and thighs of an adult male (25-35 years old) were found in pit 11:11. These may represent the hastily buried body parts of a massacre victim, but they might equally be the partially decayed remains from an excarnated body, for which Area 11 may have been set aside. Only more detailed osteological analysis would resolve the interpretation.

6.8 Conclusion: the illusion of seclusion.

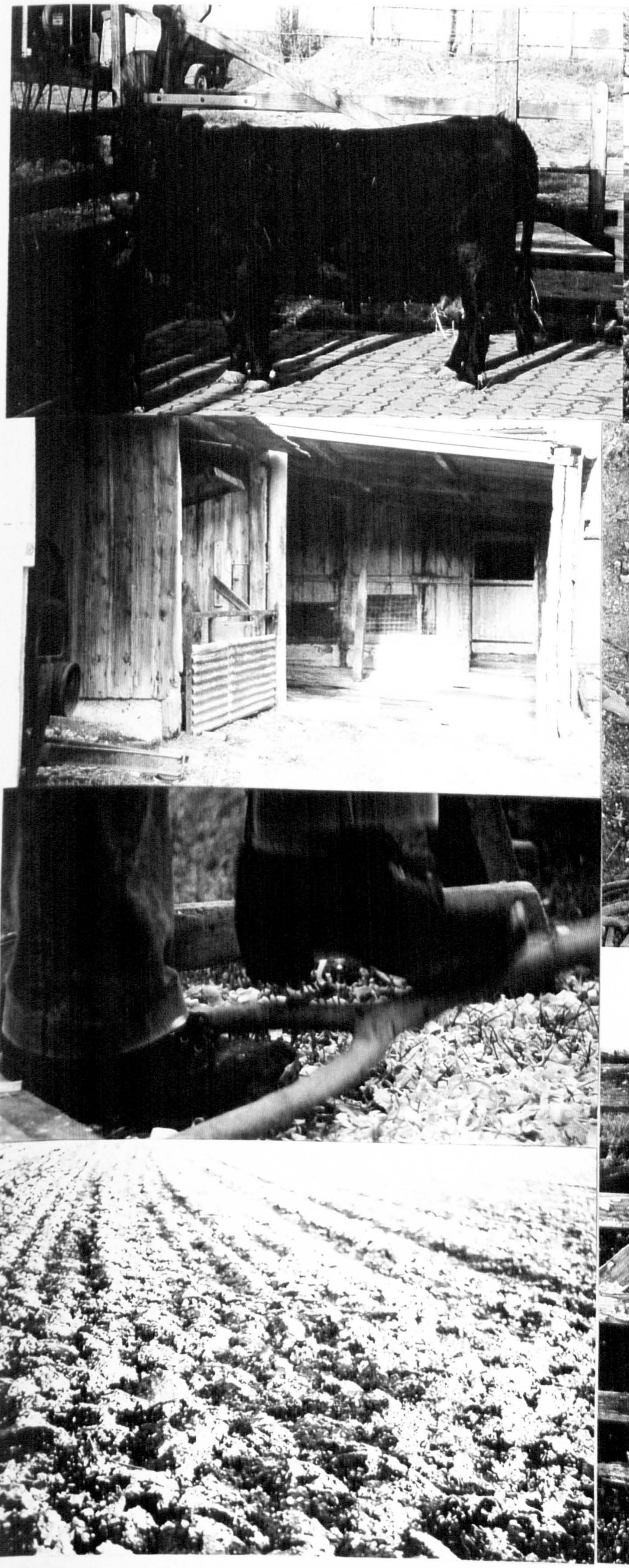
The landscape transformations seen in the latest Iron Age/pre-Roman period have been interpreted by a series of models which attributes their organised form either to the hand of Roman imperialism, or to the inevitable, evolutionary result of population growth, deteriorating climate and increased pressure on land (Dent, 1982: 453, Cunliffe, 1995: 96, fig. 41). In taking apart the illusion of order - revealing their histories - I have rejected these models. I have tried to place these changes, and the abandonment of the square barrow burial rite, in the context of long-term political discourses about land, place and identity. Finally, I have analysed a series of practices by which very different scales and characters of relations were constituted, between people, animals, artefacts and land.

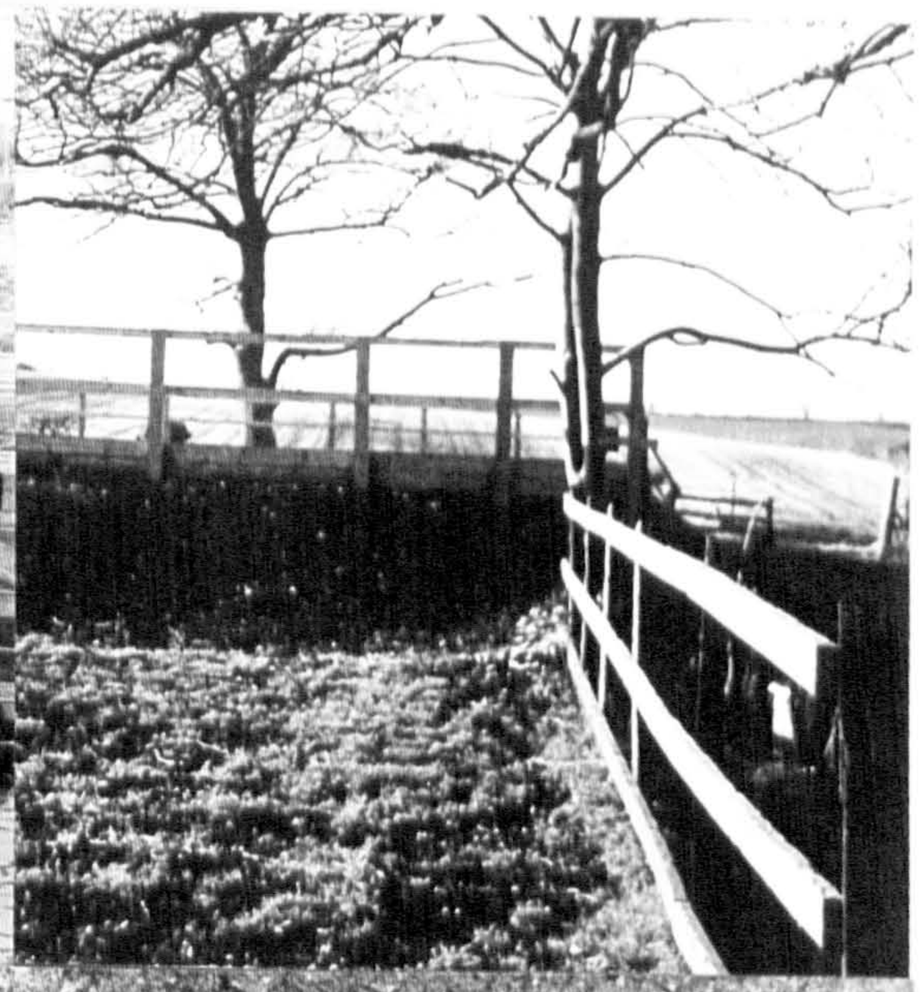
It might be suggested that this emphasis upon kinship and the household is why the northern part of the region resists Romanisation for so long, compared with settlements on the north coast of the Humber (Evans, 1988; Haselgrove, 1984). Rather than a deliberate practice of anti-colonial resistance, this insularity and 'failure' of engagement can be seen as a product of people turned inwards, towards local identity politics. This was where the day-to-day political concerns and social insecurities of people lay. The different series of dynamics set up when military rule did begin to impinge upon the Wolds, were to radically alter these discourses, but that - as they say - is another story.

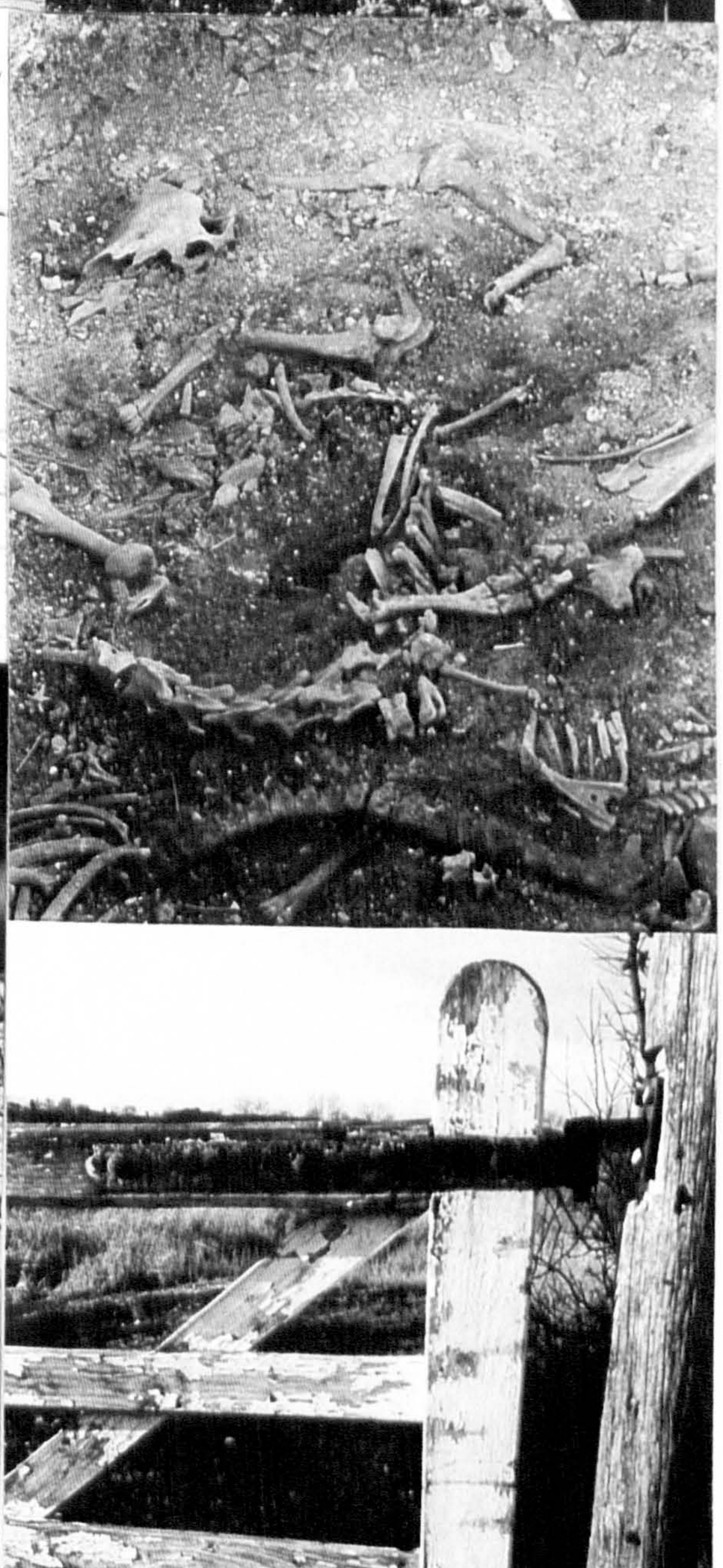
In summary, the enclosure of specific plots of land in relation to each other, can be seen as an account of descent and inheritance cut and raised into the landscape. The upkeep, maintenance and addition to these compounds was a way in which the family reproduced a narrative about itself, and created more explicit divisions of task and identity within the family group. The identity of the members of the household was also reproduced visually (as emphasised by the importance of textiles) as well as through consumption activities (marked in localised pottery repertoires). Depositional behaviour enabled people to create a rapid history of inhabitation, and the figurine tradition enabled them to selectively recall ancestral or sacral principles, whilst actively erasing traces of the practice which no longer held meaning for them.

Yet their active attempts to deny this broader skein of relations belies their dependence upon them; the attempt to disguise or efface *always* draws attention to the secret that is being hidden (Strathern, 1988; Taussig, 1999). Households were not the stable, immovable enclosed entities that were being symbolically reproduced in identity discourse, because both biologically and materially they had to reach beyond their confines, in order to survive. The labour of seclusion was an illusion.

> As Lefebvre argues, we should strip the house of its seeming solidity, so that it emerges: "permeated from every direction by streams of energy which run in and out of it by every imaginable route" (1991: 93). Instead of being concerned with the authenticity of the chalk plaque from Garton Slack, perhaps we can let the image work for itself, seeing it as a frame penetrated from all directions by rays or strands that are social relations - conduits, networks and pathways - of births, meals, garments, marriages, journeys, curses, deaths.







Chapter 7.

Conclusion.

'Working up what you have taken on'.

7.1 What's in a name?

In 1991, Ian Stead published *'Iron Age Cemeteries of East Yorkshire'*, an excavation report which followed his two seminal syntheses on the later prehistoric archaeology of East Yorkshire, *'The Arras Culture'* (1979) and *'La Tène Cultures of Eastern Yorkshire'* (1965). In his work (which I have drawn on extensively), we can see the transformation in archaeological paradigms over the latter half of the 20th century, from culture history to an approach which explores individual fields of practice.

In this thesis, I have challenged the idea that identity can be defined by a name, a place or a rite. I have rejected the reading of identity from material remains, and the underlying evolutionary or culture historical models that these rely upon. I have argued that in this obsession to name and define a people, they fail to make a critical enquiry into *how* identities are actually reproduced.

7.2 Identity as work.

This thesis has instead asked how we might apprehend identity analytically in later prehistory, and how we might then write such an archaeology of identity. I have argued that identity is the project through which people come to know themselves as social beings, through their webs of relations with others, and that these relations are reproduced in material practice. Material culture is not therefore a signature of identity, but the conditions and outcome of certain forms of identity practice. In outlining this theory of identity as material praxis, I have therefore laboured a very simple point; identity takes work, and it is reproduced through that work.

Archaeology's task is to make a critical analysis of the character and scale of these material conditions which frame specific understandings of the world and sanction certain social relations. The analysis has therefore focused on the *reiterative* practices through which people became inculcated into historically specific identities (Butler, 1999), and the ways in which these were transformed over time. It has employed a methodology which explores later

prehistoric inhabitation, by analytically distinguishing between different fields of practice, and how they were organised in time and space (after Ingold, 1993 and Andrews, Barrett and Lewis, 2000). It has moved between these by apprehending the frames of reference which allowed people to draw meanings from one field, into another (Barrett, 1999a/c). It has therefore recognised that the historically specific framing of practice is also the grounds of our *interpretative* possibility.

The thesis therefore finds itself in agreement with Roger Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, who are critical of the way in which 'identity' has been approached in anthropology and sociologically. The key terms which we use to handle the concept ('ethnicity', 'class', 'community', 'tradition') are themselves categories of social and political practice *and* analysis (2000: 4). They tend to reproduce the entity that is itself under scrutiny. This thesis can be accused of using them as a convenient shorthand at times, but it finds aligned with their preferred solution, which is to speak of identity as 'categories of practice' (2000: 4).

7.3 Interpretative summary.

The subject of this analysis has been the later prehistoric landscape of East Yorkshire, following the arc of a particular practice; the middle-late Iron Age square barrow burial rite. Whilst taking the emergence and disappearance of this tradition as its chronological boundaries, it has investigated the historical context of this practice; how it may have been taken up and subsequently abandoned, in light of transformations in discourses of identity.

Whilst it has been critical of the invasion model, it has refused to abandon the evidence for continental contact during the period. It has instead argued that exotic rites and artefacts were taken up within existing funeral practices, according to long-term political projects which transformed relations between people and place. Over the course of the 1st millennium B.C., it has suggested that a broad sense of community was gradually eroded by an increasingly permanent, kin-based tenurial claim upon place. I have suggested that the ancestral dead were strategically used in this project, and that the square barrow burial rite was refigured within the character of this practice, to reproduce a genealogical association with land. The thesis has suggested that the square barrow burial rite therefore appeared to sustain a regional sense of cohesion, whilst actually helping to reproduce tenurial claims for particular groups. By the later Iron Age, this discourse had itself been undermined by the genealogies which had emerged in the cemeteries. These were both an expression and consequence of the sectarian interests of individual households. The abandonment of the burial rite has therefore been set within the

context of this discourse on kinship, which the thesis has suggested was reproduced through the enclosure of settlement and social segregation of labour.

This project began with a very simple question, drawn from John Berger's *Twelve Theses* (1994, Fig. 2.2): "how do the living live with the dead?" The above analysis has suggested that there is no single practice, no one way of being in history (Bloch, 1977). The dead were part of the strategic means by which the living came to know themselves, and their place in the world, through an account of their own history.

Identity was not, therefore, an innate and stable property in the lives of prehistoric people, but fluid, shifting with place, time and the co-presence of others, as well as undergoing major transformations in the long durée. This is because relations are not fixed but develop in day-to-day life, and over the course of generations.

The analysis has revealed that the practices and principles by which communal affiliations are maintained, tend to be highly symbolic performances (Cohen, 1985; Connerton, 1989). They are therefore prone to local improvisation, erasure and manipulation. Identity does not merely concern a sense of belonging; it is contentious, and in its inclusion of some, there is always an exclusion of others. It is these practices of exclusion and the marking of difference (Barth's 'boundary work', 1969, 1994), which indicate the social unities people are actually trying to reproduce. They also constitute the grounds through which social authority maintains itself, by influencing others' perception of who they are, where and with whom, they belong.

7.4 Critical evaluation and research potential.

The approach taken in this thesis has at times been frustrated by particular problems with the material. Aspects of routine practice which are crucial to a taskscape approach, have been poorly investigated or published. A more systematic approach to sampling and environmental analysis for example, would greatly benefit an understanding of food production, storage and consumption. The seasonality of practice identified by Campbell and Hamilton, in the Danebury Environs Project (all of which are chalk-based sites, in Cunliffe, 2000), *should* be apprehendable for the East Yorkshire Wolds. A more thorough understanding of soils and colluvial processes across a range of sites must also be a priority for future work on the later prehistoric landscape.

The transcription of aerial photographs from Holderness and the Vales of York and Pickering would also help rectify the inevitable bias in this thesis, towards the chalk Wolds themselves. Hopefully, contract work in these regions will continue to redress the balance. Finally, the main research aim which emerges from this project, is a desire to investigate other open settlements which are contemporary with square barrow cemeteries, to evaluate whether the character of non-funerary practices seen at Wetwang and Garton Slack are typical of middle-late Iron Age inhabitation. The forthcoming publication of the pit clusters investigated by Rigby and Stead is thus eagerly anticipated, and will greatly enrich future interpretation.

7.5 Weaving webs of relations: a personal reflection.

In trying to conjure contrasting scales of identity, and how they were reproduced, I have drawn heavily upon the metaphor of weaving and sewing. Sifting bone needles, points and spindle whorls from the ditch fills of Wharram Grange Crossroads, the evidence for this craftwork not only dominated the Small Finds notebook, but came to have great resonance for my understanding of these communities. I have used it to capture both the to-and-fro movements of routine practice, as well as the way in which the fabric of social relations can at times resemble an 'open-knit' of relations, and at others, a 'closer-weave'. However, it is also capable of bearing another series of associations.

Tim Ingold's work has been extremely influential throughout the course of the project, but it is his approach to 'weaving the world' as 'making culture', that has particular resonance here. He argues that weaving provides a particularly apt metaphor for social practice, because it conveys how the material world always emerges through:

> "the mutual involvement of people and materials in an environment. The surface of nature is thus an illusion: we work within the world, not upon it. There are surfaces of course, which divide states of matter, not matter from mind. And they emerge within the form-generating process, rather than pre-existing as a condition for it." (2000: 68).

Drawing on Guss' work on Venezualan weaving, he argues that a basket comes into being through the unlaboured attunement of the weaver to a familiar task, and the resistant properties of the fibres themselves. There is a mutuality in the engagement which means that the maker is never totally in charge of the project, but is 'working with', rather than on, the inherited matter of the world. Ingold's approach thus resonates with the work of Judith Butler, in her insistence that identity is 'made to matter' through reiterative praxis.

People are always in relations *with* things, melding in what Latour has called a 'messy alliance' of humans and non-humans; a network of relations (1993). This is an approach that the thesis has tried to follow through in its interpretation, and a running thread (to continue the metaphor!) in the poetry and images that form a constitutive part of it. Weaving a basket is therefore also a way of weaving the world, and of bringing oneself into being in relation with it.

7.6 *'Working up what you have taken on'.*

The act of writing, says John Berger, "is nothing except the act of approaching experience" (1985: 14), and experience is indivisible and continuous within the frame of a lifetime. It folds back upon itself, referring backwards and forwards through memory. No discourse can exist independent of others; indeed, meaning *depends* upon people's ability to make interpretative relations between different fields of practice. In summary, it has been argued that archaeology can approach these labours in their 'mutual interlocking', through the inhabitation of landscape (Ingold, 1993), as a means of investigating the historic projects of identity which concerned these Iron Age communities.

It has also stressed that this interpretation will not arise solely through the material, but emerges in our engagement with it; the performative praxis of our own identity work, in relation to the past. It has therefore tried to bring the work of that archaeological 'performance' back to itself, and to the reader. As Battaglia notes, the attempt always 'falls short' (1999), but I can find no better way of expressing this intention, than Brecht's notes for actors:

"So you should simply make the instant
Stand out, without in the process hiding
What you are making it stand out from.
  Give your acting
That progression of one-thing-after-another,
  that attitude of
Working up what you have taken on. In this way
You will show the flow of events and also the course
Of your work, permitting the spectator
To experience this Now on many levels, coming from
  Previously and
Merging into Afterwards, also having much else Now
Alongside it. He is sitting not only
In your theatre but also
In the world."

Bertolt Brecht *(Poems on the theatre)*.

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